

**Gender Dimensions of
Macro Economic Reforms :
Gender Roles and Relations in Sri Lanka**

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I. Introduction

Conventional indicators of gender equality expressed in quantitative terms have been useful for cross country comparison of women's position over time. Underlining these indicators but invisible statistically are the gender roles and relations that shape the experiences of women and men in the family, the economy and society.

Gender roles

Gender roles are socially constructed and include socially ascribed roles perpetuated through gender role stereotypes and those 'achieved' through the process of social change. They are manifestations of learned behaviour or 'socialisation', a process that has been explained through different theories such as the cognitive development theory of acquiring a gender identity (Kohlberg, 1966), the social learning theory (Mischel, 1970) and the object relations theory (Chodorow, 1978, 1989). Women are not a homogeneous group and gender roles may vary according to age or social class, although according to Srinivas's theory of Sanskritisation, the norms, values and practices of the "upper classes" tend to be adopted by others, particularly as they seek upward mobility. Gender roles are also not static and can change through developments over time and the circumstances in which women and men are situated. For instance, increasing globalisation and macro economic changes could trigger changes and perhaps conflicts.

The gender differentiation of social roles is seen in three main areas – reproductive, productive and community roles. Women are seen to bear a disproportionate share of the contribution to the reproduction of society through the practices of child bearing, child rearing and household management. Although women have been economically active over the centuries, men are widely perceived as economic providers and primary

income earners irrespective of the real situation in families. Men dominate the public sphere in a labour market segregated horizontally and vertically by gender and in political and community life. This gender division of labour and the artificial separation into public and domestic spheres are apt to hide the inter-related roles of men and women. Feminist literature has underscored the fact that women's unequal responsibility for domestic work and perceptions of women as secondary earners have disadvantaged them in their access to the labour market, created the 'double day' of women, and constrained them in terms of time in participation in economic and community activities. The invisibility of some women's work is also an outcome of these normative behavioural role expectations.

In most countries women's labour force participation outside the home has increased in recent decades. In their review of studies of dual earner families, Piotrkowski and Repetti (1984) found no clear evidence that such participation has weakened women's maternal role. There is however abundant evidence that women's expanding economic role has not made the gender division of household tasks more equitable but has, in fact, extended women's working hours in their efforts to accommodate both economic and domestic roles.

Gender Relations

Ideology underpins patriarchal social norms, values, traditions, and customs which have created asymmetrical gender relations, and which in turn have been internalised by both women and men.

The family as the primary social unit is seen to be a central location of unequal gender relations and to be the earliest instrument of social control. Within the family, gendered and generational stratification are reflected in the degree of access of family members to resources and

control of resources, even those generated by themselves, in the division of household labour, in authority in decision making, and in the control of sexuality.

Asymmetrical relations are reflected further in a hierarchic gendered labour market and in a “glass ceiling” that impedes women’s access to decision making positions in the public sphere.

“Power” tends to be defined in binary terms of dominance and subordination despite the evidence of contradictions within specific circumstances. As Kandiyotti(1988) points out, patriarchy implies “a monolithic conception of male dominance”, and classic patriarchy had a specific pattern of three generational patrilocal households, early marriage of girls into male headed households and transfer of dowry to men, invisibility of women’s labour, and submission to all men. Patriarchal relations have been less oppressive in other societies.

It has been argued that the monetisation of the economy and the impact of market forces and globalisation have changed the relative powers of members of families in decision making and have thereby weakened the basis of patriarchal power relations. It is not clear whether greater equality in gender relations is limited to financial decisions engendered by women’s increasing access to independent resources or whether it has spilled over to more sensitive areas of marital and sexual relations. The slow progress of women to the highest levels of the political and occupational structures indicates further the competing and conflicting demands on women’s time as well as the uneven process of social change. Gender based violence has not been seen to decline with international conventions and with increasing awareness of women’s rights as human rights.

Macro economic changes and gender roles and relations

In recent decades the international movement of capital and labor and the demand for low cost female labor to reduce the production costs of international and national entrepreneurs have created new employment opportunities for women in “world market factories” and their extensions through subcontracting “chains”, and in cross country migration for employment. In economically developing countries, the implementation of structural adjustment programmes promoted by international financial institutions during the last two decades has accelerated export-oriented industrialisation and privatisation and has resulted in the collapse of some local industries. Who benefits, who loses is an important issue.

Where gender roles and relations are concerned, researchers have questioned Marxist assumptions that change in production modes that draw women from their homes into employment will automatically release women from oppression within the family and outside. (e.g. Beneria and Sen, 1997). It is seen that male power in spousal relations may be reduced when women have options for economic activities, preferably outside the home. Lim (1997) has pointed out that the availability of jobs in factories that enable women to escape temporarily the confines of their homes and to delay marriage and child bearing has partially liberated women from traditional patriarchal social relations.

Studies however, have not shown unequivocally that paid employment has reduced gender inequality and subordination in the family. Wolf's studies of factory workers in (Java), Indonesia and Taiwan illustrate the fact that the family - labour market nexus can take different forms. Young Indonesian women made their independent decision to seek employment in factories and had control of their incomes while in the case of young Taiwanese factory workers, families exercised full control of their entry to employment and their wages. It was found that

employment outside the home had reinforced the existing gender relations in families in the two societies (Wolf, 1987).

Elson and Pearson (1981) have argued further that world market factories and related employment opportunities have imposed control over the labour force that negates the rights of women workers, created new forms of gender subordination and reinforced the secondary status of women in the labour market, on the basis of gender role stereotypes that are carried over from the family to the workplace.

Studies have indicated also possible conflicts and 'role strain' when women seek employment outside the home in the context of changing gender roles and relations. Despite the fact that satisfactory employment has a positive impact on mental health, women themselves tend to be ambivalent regarding the consequences of their employment on families.

Gender equality appears to be facilitated by the transformation of what Szinovecz (1984) has termed a 'sex role segregated' family to a 'sex role transcendent' family in which role flexibility and power sharing are ensured.

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2. The Study

The Sri Lanka study on the gender dimensions of the impact of macro economic reforms on women workers in the garment and textile industries focused on the experiences of workers in Export Processing Zones, rural garment factories, home based piece rate garment production, and handloom textile industries, and those retrenched as a consequence of the privatisation or closure of powerloom textile factories as those most affected by the changes.

Phase 1 of the study examined the economic activities of the workers as well as some aspects of their economic and domestic roles and their perceptions and aspirations. This study has been published in the CENWOR Study Series No

Phase 2 of the study attempted to explore gender roles and relations in the families of a sub-sample of women workers. It is not possible to assess changes in the context of the lack of longitudinal data, but the study examines some important qualitative “indicators” of gender roles and relations and the perceptions of the women workers and selected women and men in their families of their roles and relations.

The dimensions examined were

- (i) Control of economic resources in the family – employment, income and assets
- (ii) Allocation of resources within the family – education, food and health care
- (iii) Gender division of household labour
- (iv) Gender relations in marriage, dowry, reproduction, sexuality
- (v) Household decision making and physical mobility
- (vi) Violence in the family, workplace and community.

The study was limited to a specific socio-economic group, - low income families, or the “working class”.

The insights that are envisaged from the study cannot be generalised but will add to the limited body of knowledge in Sri Lanka on gender roles and relations in families and some of the processes of social change.

Methodology

Forty percent of the households in each of the 12 locations surveyed in Phase I were selected for this study. The woman worker, a maximum of two other women and one man in the selected household were interviewed with the aid of semi-structured schedules. In 38 households the woman worker was the only adult female. In most households (54) there was one woman other than the worker, while in 48 households there were two additional women.

Though 148 households were selected, only 140 were included in the study as it was not possible to trace some of the women workers already surveyed in Phase I in the Free Trade Zone, rural garment factories and industrial estate. Thus 140 of the 370 women workers interviewed in the first Phase were covered in the second Phase of the study. A total of 296 women: 140 women workers and 150 additional adult women were interviewed. Only 118 men were interviewed in the 140 households (Table 2.1).

Information on general characteristics of household members, sex, age, marital status, educational level, vocational training, earning status and economic activity, migration status, infrastructure facility and assets of the household were sought from the senior woman member of the household.

The semi-structured schedule used to interview the women, including the woman worker addressed the following topics; her job working conditions, control of income, control over seeking/changing employment, contribution to household labour, control over assets, mobility, marriage practices, reproduction, decision making, access education and health, impact of women's work and violence in the domestic and public spheres.

The men were interviewed with a similar schedule as the women with slight modifications in the attitudinal questions.

Nine women workers from the sub-groups were chosen for in-depth case studies – Free Trade Zone (3), rural garment factories (3), home – based garment workers (1), textile factory workers (1), handloom workers (1) and retrenched textile workers (3).

Data processing was done by the Statistics division of CENWOR.

Table 2.1
Sample of households, women and men in the study

			Effective sizes of samples		
	No. of women workers interviewed during first phase of the study	Households selected for the second phase	Women workers	Women other than women workers	Men
(i)					
Free Trade Zone					
- Katunayake	50	20	19	26	18
- Biyagama	50	20	20	28	18
- Koggala	30	12	9	11	9
(ii)					
Home Based Garment Workers					
- Maharagama	30	12	12	8	12
(iii)					
Rural Garment Factories					
- Kurunegala	30	12	10	9	-
- Kalutara	30	12	12	17	11
- Malwatte	30	12	10	8	10
(iv)					
Textile Factory					
- Gampaha	30	12	12	13	12
(v)					
Hand-loom workers					
- Kurunegala	30	12	12	12	10
(vi)					
Retrenched workers					
- Anuradhapura	25	10	10	10	5
- Galle	20	8	8	6	8
- Matara	15	6	6	2	5
Total	370	148	140	150	118

3. Women Garment Workers in Export Processing Zones

A major policy introduced with the liberalization of the economy in 1977 was the establishment of Export Processing Zones that provided a range of incentives for foreign and local investors to establish export oriented industries. The Katunayake Zone was established in 1978, the Biyagama Zone in 1985 and the Koggala Zone in 1990. The lead industry has continued to be garment manufacture. Around 80% of the labour force in these Zones and 90% of garment workers have been women.

Phase 1 of the Study investigated the situation of 130 women workers and 30 men workers in the three Zones. The study found that economic reforms had increased economic pressures on families as well as opened up new employment opportunities particularly for young women. While women had been economically empowered in this process, the study confirmed the findings of earlier research that the quality of employment in these factories in terms of casualisation of labour, absence of avenues of upward occupational mobility, job security and low wages vis-à-vis rising living costs left much to be desired. Young women workers lived in congested boarding houses with minimal facilities in the vicinity of the Zone. The small number of married women had an increased work load in the context of an inequitable gender division of labour in the household.

Phase 2 was a more in-depth study of the experiences of a sub sample of these women workers, a maximum of two women members and one male member of these families as a 'reference' group. The interviews were conducted in the boarding houses and / or in their homes which were located in several districts.

Background

The men in these families were chiefly cultivators, half in the Katunayake and Biyagama households and 30% in the Koggala households. A smaller number in Katunayake and Biyagama and 45% in Koggala had regular jobs in the formal sector and around 20% were self employed in the industrial or services sector. There was a high percentage of male unemployment (15.6%) in the Katunayake garment workers' households, 8.3% in the Biyagama garment workers' households and none in the Koggala garment workers' households.

As inevitable in this sample, 61.3% of the economically active women in the Katunayake households, 47.6% in the Biyagama households and 60.0% in the Koggala households were EPZ garment workers. Several other women in Katunayake (22.6%) and Biyagama (40.9%) were unpaid family workers in agriculture, 12.3% and 6.8% were in the formal sector and very few were self employed. In the Koggala households 20% were in the formal sector and 20% were self employed.

It is clear that women workers, particularly in the Katunayake and Biyagama households, brought economic stability to their families in the villages through regular employment. It is also clear that women in these families in the three locations had few alternative employment opportunities other than in garment factories in Export Processing Zones (Table 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).

Income wise, around half these families in the Katunayake and Koggala households and 30% in the Biyagama households lived below the 'poverty line' or just above it while 21.9% of the Katunayake households 35% of the Biyagama households and 22.2% of the Koggala households had reasonable material resources (Table 3.4). A high percentage (77.7%) in Katunayake families, 45% in Biyagama families and 33.3% in Koggala

families owned only their homesteads (Table 3.5). Around 80% of homes in all three groups were average or better in infrastructure facilities, and other family assets were limited to savings in the form of bank deposits and jewellery (Tables 3.6-3.8). These women workers therefore belonged to relatively low income families with few assets. Of the 48 households in the study 27 had nuclear families.

Twenty households each of Katunayake and Biyagama workers and 12 households of Koggala workers in Phase 1 of the Study were visited in Phase 2. It was found that

- (i) Among the Katunayake garment workers one had left the original location. Two women workers had left their jobs, one because she had problems in the workplace and one on marriage. One was unemployed and the other was engaged in cultivation. There were, therefore, 17 EPZ garment workers.
- (ii) Among the Biyagama garment workers, two were unemployed, one after marriage, and the other because she was not taken back after absence on account of chicken pox. Two were self employed - cultivation and making statues, and 16 were still EPZ workers.
- (iii) Among the Koggala workers, three had left the area and could not be traced and one was unemployed and eight continued to be EPZ workers.

It is seen therefore that 41 of the original 52 garment workers in Phase 1 were still employed in the Zones indicating a high drop out rate of 21.2% within a year.

The group of other women in the families of garment workers comprised 26 from 16 of the 19 households of the Katunayake workers, 28 from the households of the Biyagama workers and 11 from the nine households of Koggala workers as the other households had no women other than the workers. There were no men too in one household among the Katunayake workers and two

households of the Biyagama workers. In all 48 women workers from Phase 1, and 65 other women and 45 men in the 48 households were interviewed.

Age wise, the majority of women workers (75.1%) and a significantly lesser percentage of other women (32.4%) and men (42.2%) were between 18 and 29 years of age. The difference was due to the fact that young women were preferred for employment in garment factories. Similarly, 66.7% of garment workers and only 26.2% of other women and 33.3% of men were unmarried. While 2.1% of women workers and 7.7% of other women were non schooled, only 2.2% of the men and 4.2% of women workers and 3.2% of other women had GCE Advanced Level qualifications (Table 3.9a – 3.11a) and (3.9b - 3.11b). Unemployment rates were high – 8.3% women workers, 46.2% other women (two third of whom were not in search of employment) and 21.4% of the men. Of the economically active among other women, nearly half were unpaid family workers in agriculture and lesser numbers were in relatively less paid activities in the manufacturing and services sectors. Men were farmers (26.7%), in business or trade 15.6% and around 30% were industrial and service workers (Table 3.12a and 3.12b).

Control of labour

International and national studies have shown that the demand for women workers in export-oriented industries is part of the international division of labour based on the use of low cost and pliable female labour to reduce production costs. The women garment workers in this study were clearly a part of this female labour force. The majority (79.6%) had been employed for less than five years as a part of the youthful labour force that tended to move in and out of the EPZs. In contrast 31% of

other women and 38.2% of the men had been employed in their current jobs for over ten years (Tables 3.13a and 3.13b).

It was seen that some of the garment workers from the Phase 1 Study, had already lost their jobs or had withdrawn from the labour force.. Fifteen (88.6%) of the 41 workers in the EPZ were permanent employees and two had temporary jobs. But only 29 of the 41 EPZ. workers (70%) had standard employment contracts. Of the 12 women workers in the formal sector in the second group, eight (66.7%) had standard contracts. The terms and tenure of employment of around one third of those in the formal sector had therefore to be negotiated with employers, leaving room thereby for manipulation and exploitation and resultant job insecurity. The men too were in a similar situation with 70% of regular workers having standard contracts. Benefits were not uniform, thus violating labour legislation. Hours of work also varied with around half the EPZ workers working more than eight hours on compulsory overtime on morning and night shifts. No employee was permitted to leave the work place during the tea or lunch intervals. Workers' organizations were found in only half the establishments and no woman was a member (Tables 3.14a – 3-17a and 3.14b – 3.17b).

Working conditions were perceived by the workers to be a form of harassment. The majority of garment workers (75%) complained of an excessive work load. Other grievances were that they were given work that involved continuous standing/sitting, they were moved from place to place and given unfamiliar jobs, they were compelled to work extra hours without additional payment and they were denied entitlements. Other women and the men in the manufacturing sector had the same complaints (Table 3.18a and 3.18b). Around half the other women and 61.8% of the men in these families were self employed workers and some of them were at the mercy of intermediaries or middlemen. It appears

therefore that both employers and intermediaries saw these women as an expendable labour force controlled by mechanisms that would ensure maximum profits. Some of the men had more “independent” occupations such as carpentry and masonry.

Control of economic resources

The women workers in the garment factories have had easy access to employment. Although initially nearly all the women workers in both groups said that they had made the decision to seek employment themselves, only 33.3% and 21.5% respectively in the two groups had made independent choices as others had consulted spouses and parents (Table 3.19a). Barriers had not constrained 62.5% and 23.1% but family disapproval (22.9% and 30.8%) as well as domestic responsibilities had been factors that limited their choice (Table 3.20a). Again, only 41.7% and 26.2% had had the freedom to select any occupation but many married women in particular were not permitted to work outside the home. Occupations that were specially disapproved were the armed forces, security services and road sweepers (Table 3.21a). Most men (71.1) had made independent decisions regarding their occupations (Table 3.19b).

With few exception both women, and men made at least some contribution to household income, around half contributing all their earnings. Most women appeared to control the income they generated. For instance, in the two groups, 97.7% and 82.9% handled their salaries or income themselves, 93.2% and 77.1% had their own separate bank accounts, 90% and 65.7% did not need permission from anyone to withdraw money from their accounts, and 79.5% of the women workers had their own informal savings such as cheetu (Table 3.22a). It will be noted that the garment workers who virtually constitute the first group had more economic independence than the women in the second group

who were engaged in other industries. Garment workers who lived away from home in boarding houses had acquired some control of their resources. It is surprising however, that only just over half the men had full control of their income, as 58.8% handled their salaries themselves and 29.4% handed them over to their wives, 58.8% had their own bank accounts and 55.9% could operate them independently. A relatively high percentage of men had no other savings (Table 3.22a).

As members of low income families, these women had few assets which were chiefly the fruits of their labour – bank deposits, other savings and jewellery (Table 3.23a). Around half of the women workers but few of the other women could dispose of these assets and to a lesser extent, land and houses, on their own and around 30% of all the women acquire assets (Tables 3.24a and 3.25a). Half the men owned land, houses and their own transport, chiefly bicycles, but a lesser percentage had savings. Their power to dispose of assets was as limited as the women's but was relatively greater in the acquisition of assets (Tables 3.23b – 3.24b). The economic empowerment that both women and men perceive in women working outside the home had several dimensions – increase in self esteem, knowledge, experience, mobility, and economic security, self-confidence, decision-making power and standing in the family, but their families have not improved in status in a rural society that tends to look askance at employment in export processing zones (Table 3.26a and 3.27a, 3.26b and 3.27b).

Allocation of resources

Access to education and health were explored as manifestations of allocation of resources within the family. Educational opportunity has been a focus of policy and social demand for nearly six decades in Sri Lanka. Hence it is not surprising that all women workers 95.4% other women and 97.8% of the men said that girls and boys should be given

the same educational opportunities. In their own families, 93.8%, 96.9% and 95.6% respectively noted that there had been no gender discrimination as for instance in expenditure, facilities or opportunities (Tables 3.28a and 3.28b). The few who disagreed said that boys had more opportunity, as for example, they could go to schools located far away from their homes. The majority of women and men subscribed to the view that boys (77.1, 72.3% and 71.1%) and girls (85.5%, 76.9 and 75.6%) should be educated to the highest possible level or should at least have the opportunity of acquiring a university degree. Aspirations for girls appear to be higher than for boys. A small percentage suggested vocational qualifications for boys (18.8%, 13.8% and 21.2%) and for girls (6.3%, 7.7% 15.6%) and only a secondary education for boys (2.1%, 10.8%, 2.2%) and for girls (6.3%, 12.4% and 6.6%) (Tables 3.29a and 3.29b). No child or only children irrespective of sex who are not doing well in school should be withdrawn from school in the event of a financial crisis. (88.7%, 98.5% and 88.9%), and only one woman each and one man stipulated the sex of the child – girl child or boy child (Tables 3.30a and 3.30b).

Some of these women (43.8% and 30.8%) and men (28.9%) said that different stereotypical tasks were assigned to children in schools such as crafts for boys and home science for girls, and leadership for boys and keeping the classroom clean for girls (Tables 3.31a and 3.31b). Some of the women, (25% and 20%) and 15% men had also gender specific behavioural expectations of girls and boys, of active, aggressive boys and passive, obedient girls. There was hardly any difference perceived however between male and female teachers (Tables 3.32a and 3.32b). The impact of gender role stereotype was therefore not pervasive. The vocational aspirations of the women in their youth had been influenced by such stereotypes of suitable 'feminine' occupations. Two women, however, had aspired to join the army or police force – a more recent

trend in the country. The majority of the women in the second group (60%) and 40% of the men could not identify specific aspirations (Tables 3.33a and 3.33b).

Many women and men (68.7%, 55.4% and 66.7%) agreed that men and women and, girls and boys, (71%, 58.4% and 55.6%) do not always eat together. The majority attributed this to different work patterns, and only a few (7%, 3% and 3%) noted that the underlying cause was the tradition that male members of families are accorded precedence in food. Most women and men (93.8%, 96.3% and 88.9%) said that male and female members of families had equal access to health care (Tables 3.34a and 3.34b).

Gender division of labour within the household

Although women garment workers said that their pattern of household tasks had changed with employment, they had household chores such as cooking, washing cooking utensils and washing clothes, as they had to perform these tasks in the boarding houses. Their involvement in these tasks hardly differed from that of other employed women in their households who were chiefly self-employed and home-based workers. In the context of their residential patterns, they had however to undertake less tasks pertaining to the care of children, the old and the sick as well as fetching water and fuel. The gender division of labour continues to be inequitable as 50% to 60% of the men said that they participated minimally or not at all in these tasks (Tables 3.35a and 3.35b). While the majority of the women and men said that men would take over women's tasks if they were ill, many women and men felt that there were tasks that men would never undertake (Tables 3.36a & 3.36b).

In this situation it is not surprising that both women and men were of the view that the economic activities of women outside their home had negative consequences in the household such as conflict over domestic

chores (97.5%, 98.5% and 97.8%), neglect of children (79.2%, 72.3% and 86.7%) and increased work load of these women as well as other women in their families who assisted in the context of the inequitable gender division of labour in families (Table 8.37a and 8.37b).

Gender relations – marriage, reproduction and sexuality

Around 33.3% of the garment workers, 72% of the other group and 88.9% of the men were married. No woman worker or man had been under 18 years at the time of marriage but one woman in the other group had been 12 years old and 20% had been between 16 and 18 years. In these families 6.3% of husbands had also been between 16 and 18 years. However, all agreed that their children should not be married before they were at least 18 years.

The majority (68.8% women workers, 64.6% other women and 75% men) said they had selected their own partners (Table 3.38a and 3.38b). The bias against marrying outside one's caste, religion and either group, was not very strong, among all three groups (Tables 3.39a and 3.39b). Dowries had been given in the case of 62.5% women workers, other women 35% and 33.3% men, and not all families of spouses had been satisfied. (Tables 3.40a and 3.40b) It was interesting that while 43.8% and 75% of married women in the two groups and 66.7% men intended to give dowries to their daughters no woman worker, and only one other woman and two men women wanted to insist on dowries for their sons. There appears to be a distinction between a gift and a bargain in these families (Table 3.41a and 3.41b). An increase in dowry demands was noted by only a minority who attributed it chiefly to economic problems or employed women accumulating their own dowries (Tables 3.42a and 3.42b).

There were, however nuances of acceptance of gender inequality in the perceptions of even young garment workers regarding some aspects of marriage and reproduction. The majority of married women workers (62.5%, and around 40% other women) had submitted to the virginity test without any reservations on their part; 18.5% and 13.8% of all the women felt that such a test was not necessary; 16.7% and 15.3% thought it unreasonable; and only one woman questioned the validity of the test. Those who felt it to be necessary, adduced the argument that women's 'purity' needed to be ascertained and their security ensured (Table 3.43a). Also 37.5% women workers, 46.2% other women and 42.2% men preferred sons, mainly because sons would look after parents and continue the family name. They felt that society and the family respected women more if they had sons. Two women feared harassment and desertion if they had no sons (Tables 3.44a and 3.44b).

Not many had used family planning methods (31.3%, 43.8% and 36.7%) and a few clearly indicated that they wanted children. Although 31.3% of the women and 26.7% of the men said they were aware of the availability of scanning facilities, only one woman and one man had sought the use of this facility to ascertain the sex of the unborn child (Table 3.45a and 3.45b).

Women as much as men seemed to have some control of their own lives within the institution of marriage. Most felt that sexual satisfaction was very important for husbands and to a lesser extent for wives, but 75.0% women workers, 70.8% other women and 70% men felt that they could refuse to have sex with their spouses. Only one man anticipated a negative reaction but around 40% of the women feared at least verbal abuse (Tables 3.46a and 3.46b). Over half (60.4% and 64.6%) of all the women, married and unmarried, and 42.2% of the men felt that a woman could move out of an unhappy marriage if she was economically

independent. Double standards of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour appear to operate. The majority considered it to be acceptable for a man to leave his wife if she was unfaithful (77.1%, 67.7 and 77.8%) but infidelity was considered to be a less cogent reason for a woman to leave her spouse (52%, 36% and 44.4%). Men could perhaps leave if they did not have sexual satisfaction (20.8%, 24.6% and 11.0%), but not women. Infertility was considered to be an issue for both. A positive trend, however, was that around half the women (47.9% and 49.2%) and men (51.1%) considered that wife beating was an adequate reason for a wife to leave her husband, as opposed to the general trend of acceptance of domestic violence. It is interesting too that only around 20% women and men said categorically that efforts should be made to avoid desertion for any reason (Tables 3.47a and 3.47b).

Household decision-making

Economic participation appear to have increased participation in decision-making in both groups of women but even current levels of participation were only high in providing daily family needs, and to a lesser degree in buying and selling assets or jewellery and in employment related issues. Authority in decision-making is limited to even a lower proportion of women and men (Table 3.48a, 3.48b, 3.49 a and 3.49b). A higher proportion of women garment workers 52.1%, particularly in the families of Katunayake and Koggala families, and other women (46.2%) than men (28.9%) felt that women should have more decision-making powers in the family – reflecting patriarchal resistance to power sharing within the family. In contrast both women (97.9% and 90.8% and men (80%) felt strongly that they should have more decision making powers in the affairs of the community, based not only on their rights but on their capacity (Table 3.50a and 3.50b).

An aspect of decision making was the common perception of the relative lack of freedom of physical mobility permitted to women as compared with men among all women, (96.9% other women and 93.3% men). It was admitted that fear of harassment rather than traditional norms accounted for this limitation. (Tables 3.51a and 3.51b). Physical mobility was seen to be most restricted in respect of cinemas and restaurants (Table 3.52a) and men appeared to have more positive, if unrealistic, perceptions of women to physical mobility (Table 3.52b).

An overall index of perceptions of gender equality appears to be the desire of the majority of women (83.3% and 89.2%) to be reborn as men (Table 3.53a).

Violence

According to the responses of these women and men, violence appears to be widespread in families in their own communities. The most common reasons for such violence were stated to be chiefly alcoholism (all women workers, 98.5% other women and 93.3% men), economic constraints (83.3%, 89.2% and 77.8%), and violation of patriarchal norms such as disobedience to husbands and elders, retorting to husbands (85.4%, 84.6% and 84.8%) and neglect of household duties (77.1%, 70.8% and 75.6%) (Table 3.54a and 3.53b).

As happens always, information regarding conflict in their own families was less forthcoming. In fact 41.7% women workers, 38.5% other women and 42.2% men said there was no conflict, in their homes. Economic problems were said to be the main reasons for disharmony. Women also spoke of alcoholic spouses and challenges to patriarchal norms by some women (Tables 3.55a and 3.55b).

Similarly 56.3% women garment workers, 40% other women and 53.3% of men said they had no experience of abuse in the family. Both women and men however spoke of forms of domestic violence such as verbal abuse, and to a more limited extent, threats, slapping and pushing and destroying objects. The response to abuse has been passive in most cases, but three women have attempted suicide and are has gone back to her parental home and another has sought the assistance of the police. One man admitted “hitting back” in response to physical violence (Tables 3.56a and 3.56b)

According to their responses experience of violence outside the domestic sphere has been limited (10.5% and 6.3% women and 31% men) but it is significant that four garment workers have been reportedly confronted with rape. Only two women workers reported sexual harassment in the workplace in the form of embarrassing comments (Tables 3.57a and 3.57b).

Conclusion

This sub sample comprised garment workers and their families. As in most studies it was seen that the garment workers were perceived as flexible labour controlled through various mechanisms to ensure maximum compliance at the lowest cost. Coming from low incomes without stable incomes, they have been economically empowered through their employment. According to their perceptions they have increased economic security , self confidence and self esteem and better status in the family, but it is an index of the status of factory workers in the Zones that the status of the family in the community has not improved. The majority of women and men in the families of garment workers included in the study were self employed and many were vulnerable to exploitation by intermediaries. The few workers in the formal sector, both women and men were exposed to the same working conditions as women workers.

Both women and men have imbibed also the country's traditions regarding the absence of discrimination in access to education and health. Their economic empowerment has not been translated however into social empowerment. While controlling the income they generate women have not challenged gendered norms or stereotypes or oppressive practices such as dowry, virginity tests, son preference, or the patriarchal norms that underpin gender inequality in the family. While exercising some autonomy in marital relations, the majority appear to have been restrained by social norms, or diffident in coping with domestic violence. The fact that only one woman has sought the assistance of the police, and only two women have reported sexual harassment in the public sphere underscores inequality in gender relations within and outside the family.

Table 3.1**Earning Status of Household Members (10 years and over)**

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Earning regular incomes	9	20.0	23	44.2	16	34.0	24	42.1	13	54.2	12	50.0	38	32.8	59	44.4
Earning irregular incomes	21	46.7	6	11.5	23	48.9	9	15.8	7	29.2	3	12.5	51	44.0	18	13.5
Not earning	15	33.3	23	44.2	8	17.0	24	42.1	4	16.7	9	37.5	27	23.2	56	42.1
Total No.	45	100	52	100	47	100	57	100	24	100	24	100	116	100	133	100

Table 3.2**Activity Status of Household Members (5 years and over)**

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Self employed	18	40.0	1	1.9	22	46.8	7	11.7	11	95.8	3	12.5	51	44.0	9	6.8
Salaried workers	7	15.6	23	44.2	12	25.5	23	38.3	9	37.5	12	50.0	28	24.1	58	51.3
Wage workers-ad hoc job piece rate	4	8.9	1	1.9			1	1.7					4	3.4	1	0.7
Unpaid family workers-agriculture	1	2.2	7	13.5			13	21.7					1	0.5	20	15.0
Unemployed-seeking work	7	15.6	3	5.8	4	8.5	3	5.0					11	9.5	6	4.5
Not seeking employment	3	6.7	11	21.2			8	13.3			4	16.7	3	2.6	23	17.3
Retired	1	2.2			5	10.6							6	5.2		
Student	3	6.7	6	11.5	3	6.4	5	8.3	4	16.7	5	20.8	10	8.6	16	12.0
Elders	1	2.2											1	13.8		
Handicapped					1	2.1							1	0.8		
Total	45	100	52	100	47	100	60	100	24	100	24	100	116	100	133	100

Table 3.3
Economic Activity by Sector

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	15	50.0	8	25.0	16	47.1	18	40.9	6	30.0	2	13.3	37	44.0	28	30.8
Animal husbandry			1	3.1											1	1.1
Mining and quarrying			1	3.1											1	1.1
Small Industries					1	2.9			2	10.0	1	6.7	3	3.6	1	1.1
Manufacturing	2	6.7	19	59.4	5	14.7	21	47.7	5	25.0	9	60.0	12	14.3	49	53.8
Professional services	2	6.7	2	6.2	5	14.7	2	4.5	2	10.0	1	6.7	9	10.7	5	5.5
Retail trade	6	20.0			4	11.8	2	4.5	2	10.0	2	13.3	12	14.3	4	4.4
Other services	2	6.7			1	2.9	1	2.3	3	15.0			6	7.1	1	1.1
Construction	3	10.0			1	2.9							4	4.8		
Ad hoc					1	2.9							1	1.1		
Not reported			1	3.1											1	1.1
Total	30	100.0	32	100.0	34	100.0	44	100.0	20	100.0	15	100.0	84	100.0	91	100.0

Table 3.4
Total monthly wage earnings of households

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<1000	1	5.3					1	2.1
1000 -<2000	4	21.1			2	22.2	6	12.5
2000 -<3000								
3000 -<5000	4	21.1	6	30.0	2	22.2	12	25.0
5000 -<7000	3	15.8	7	35.0	2	22.2	12	25.0
7000 -<8000	3	15.8			1	11.1	4	8.3
8000 -<10000								
10000 -<15000	1	5.3	7	35.0			8	16.7
15000 -<20000	3	15.8			1	11.1	4	8.3
20900					1	11.1	1	2.1
Total	19	100.0	20	100.0	9	100.0	48	100.0

Table 3.5
Ownership of Land

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lowland, highland, Homestead and state	1	5.3					1	2.1
Lowland, Highland and Homestead	1	5.3			1	11.1	2	4.2
Lowland and highland			4	20.0			4	8.3
Lowland, highland and State land			1	5.0			1	2.1
Lowland and homestead	1	5.3	1	5.0	3	33.3	5	10.4
Highland and homestead	1	5.3	4	20.0	1	11.1	6	12.5
Only lowland	1	5.3					1	2.1
Only homestead	14	73	9	45.0	3	33.3	26	54.2
Only highland			1	5.0			1	2.1
Only state land					1	11.1	1	2.1
Total	19	100.0	20	100.0	9	100.0	48	100.0

Table 3.6**Housing**

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
House Type								
Good	4	21.1	5	25.0	3	33.3	12	25.0
Average	11	57.9	11	55.0	5	55.6	27	56.2
Poor	2	10.0	2	10.0			4	8.3
Very poor	1	5.3	1	5.0	1	11.1	3	6.2
Not reported	1	5.3	1	5.0			2	4.2
Facilities in Home								
Good	3	15.8	3	15.0	3	33.3	9	18.8
Average	12	63.2	15	75.0	4	44.4	31	64.6
Poor	4	21.1	1	50.0	1	11.1	5	10.4
Very poor			1	5.0	1	11.1	2	4.2
Not reported	19	100.0	20				1	2.1
Total	19	100.0	20	100.0	9	100.0	48	100.0

Table 3.7**Ownership of Vehicles**

	Katunayake N=19		Biyagama N=20		Koggala N= 9		Total N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No vehicles	8	42.1	5	25.0	5	55.6	18	37.5
Cart	1	5.3					1	2.6
Bicycle	8	42.1	13	65.0	3	33.0	24	50.0
Motor bike			2	10.0			2	4.2
Not reported	2	10.5			1	11.1	3	6.2

Table 3.8
Ownership of Assets

	Katunayake N=19		Biyagama N=20		Koggala N= 4		Total N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bank Deposits	18	94.7	20	100.0	8	88.9	46	95.8
Other savings	16	84.2	18	90.0	7	77.8	41	85.4
Insurance Policy	3	15.8	14	70.0	3	33.3	20	44.7
Jewellery	19	100.0	19	95.0	8	88.9	46	96.8

Table 3.9a
Respondents by Age - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 - 24	11	57.9	9	34.6	11	55.8	5	17.9	5	55.6	3	27.3	27	56.3	17	26.2
25 - 29	3	15.8	1	3.8	3	15.0	3	10.7	3	33.3			9	18.8	4	6.2
30 - 39	3	15.8			3	15.0	3	10.7			1	8.1	6	12.5	4	6.2
40 - 49	2	10.5	4	15.4	1	5.0	4	14.3	1	11.1	2	18.2	4	8.3	10	15.4
50 - 59			11	42.3	2	10.0	11	39.3			5	45.5	2	4.2	27	41.5
60 - 69			1	3.8			2	7.1							3	4.6
Total	19	100.	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.10a
Marital Status - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	14	73.7	6	23.1	13	65.0	7	25.0	5	55.6	4	36.4	32	66.7	17	26.2
Married-Registered	5	26.3	18	69.2	5	25.0	16	57.1	4	44.4	7	63.6	14	29.2	41	63.1
Widowed			1	3.8	1	5.0	4	14.3					1	8.1	5	7.7
Separated			1	3.8											1	1.5
Divorced					1	5.0							1	2.1		
Deserted							1	3.6							1	1.5
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.11a
Educational Level - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No schooling - Cannot read and write			1	3.8											1	1.5
No schooling- Can read and write	1	5.3					4	14.3					1	2.1	4	6.2
Grades 1 - 5			6	23.1			10	35.7	1	11.1	6	54.5	1	2.1	22	33.8
Grades 6 - 11	15	78.9	17	65.4	15	75.0	9	32.1	5	55.6	4	36.4	35	72.9	30	46.1
Passed GCE O/level	2	10.5	1	3.8	5	25.0	4	14.3	2	22.2	1	9.1	9	18.8	6	9.2
Passed GCE A/level	1	5.3	1	3.8			1	3.6	1	11.1			2	4.2	2	3.1
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.12a
Current Economic Activity- Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not employed	1	5.3	14	53.8	2	10.0	12	42.9	1	11.1	4	36.4	4	8.3	30	46.2
Machine operator	12	63.2	1	3.8	14	70.0	2	7.1	4	44.4	1	9.1	30	62.0	4	6.2
Cutting cloth	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Sewing /Ironing	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Helper	2	10.5	3	11.5									2	4.2	3	4.5
Supervisor	1	5.3							1	11.1			2	4.2		
Quality controller					2	10.0			2	22.2			4	8.3		
Maintenance section worker									1	11.1			1	2.1		
Coir work			1	3.8											1	1.5
Making string hoppers							1	3.6							1	1.5
Farming	1	5.3	5	19.2	1	10.0	9	32.1			1	9.1	2	4.2	15	23.1
Making statues					1	10.0							1	2.1		
Rubber tapping											2	18.2			2	3.1
Selling food packets			1	3.8											1	1.5
Business/ Trade							2	7.1			1	9.1			3	4.6
Helping in business											1	9.1			1	1.5
Clerk							1	3.6							1	1.5
Accounts clerk							1	3.6							1	1.5
Assistant storekeeper											1	9.1			1	1.5
Labourer			1	3.8											1	1.5
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.13a
Duration of Employment - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<1 year	2	11.2	2	16.7	2	11.1	5	31.3					4	9.1	7	20.0
1 - <5 years	12	66.7	5	41.7	15	83.3	3	18.8	4	50.0	3	42.9	31	70.5	11	31.4
5 years - <10 years			3	25.0	1	5.6	1	6.3	4	50.0			5	11.4	4	11.4
10 years & above	1	5.6	2	16.7			5	31.3			4	57.1	1	2.3	11	31.4
Not reported	3	16.7					2	12.5					3	6.8	2	5.7
Total	18	100	12	100	18	100	16	100	8	100	7		44	100	35	100

Table 3.14a
Employment Status - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent Employee	15	83.3	3	25.0	16	88.9	2	12.5	8	100.0	4	57.	39	88.6	9	25.7
Temporary Employee	2	11.1	2	16.7			1	6.3					2	4.5	3	8.6
Casual Worker			1	8.3			1	6.3							2	5.7
Self employment	1	5.6	6	50.0	1	5.6	9	56.3			3	42.9	2	4.5	18	51.4
Contract workers					1	5.6							1	2.3		
Daily workers							1	6.3							1	2.9
Not reported							2	12.5							2	5.7
Total	18	100	12	100	18		16		8		7		44		35	

Table 3.15a
Standard or Negotiable Payment - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard	7	38.9	1	8.3	16	88.9	3	18.8	6	75.0	4	57.1	29	65.9	8	22.9
Negotiable with the Management	10	55.6	3	25.0			1	6.3	2	25.0			12	27.3	4	11.4
Other - not specified			3	25.0	1	5.6	1	6.3					1	2.3	4	11.4
According to output			1	8.3											1	2.9
Not reported/not applicable	1	5.6	4	33.3	1	5.6	11	68.8			3	42.9	2	4.5	18	51.4
Total	18	100	12	100	18	100	16	100	8	100	7	100	44	100	35	

Table 3.16a
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 18		Other Women N = 12		Workers N = 18		Other women N = 16		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 44		Other women N = 35	
	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical coverage	16	88.9	4	33.3	16	88.9	4	25.0	8	100.0	2	28.6	40	90.0	10	28.6
Weekly rest by rotation	9	50.0	2	16.7	17	94.4	4	25.0	5	62.5	4	57.1	31	70.5	10	28.6
All public and Mercantile holidays	3	16.7	2	16.7	17	94.4	4	25.0	5	62.5	1	14.3	25	56.8	7	20.0
EPF	14	77.8	5	41.7	16	88.9	2	12.5	8	100.0	4	57.1	38	86.4	11	31.4
ETF	14	61.1	5	41.7	16	88.9	1	6.3	8	100.0	4	57.1	38	86.4	11	31.4
Maternity leave	8	44.4	1	8.3	4	22.2	1	6.3	6	75.0	4	57.1	18	40.8	6	17.1
Nursing interval	8	44.4	1	8.3	4	22.2	1	6.3	6	75.0			18	40.8	6	17.1
Child care facilities	4	22.2			17	94.4							4	9.1		
Tea	16	88.9	4	33.3	10	55.6	3	18.8	8	100.0	2	28.6	41	93.2	9	25.7
Meals	14	77.8	3	2.0			1	6.3	8	100.0	2	28.6	32	72.7	6	17.1
Travel allowance	1	5.6							1	12.5			2	4.5		
Uniforms	10	55.6	2	16.7	1	5.6			5	62.5	1	14.3	16	36.4	3	8.6
Pension															1	2.9
Footwear					1	5.6							1	2.3		
Bonus													1	2.3		
Not reported	2	11.1	8	66.7	1	5.6	12	75.0			1	42.9	3	6.8	23	65.7

Table 3.17a
Working Time - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No fixed working time			2	16.7			1	6.3							3	8.6
6 - 7 hours			1	8.3											1	2.9
8 hours	10	55.6	5	41.7	5	27.8	3	18.8	8	100.0	4	57.1	23	52.3	12	34.3
More than 8 hours	7	38.9			12	66.7	1	6.3					19	43.2	1	2.9
Not reported/applicable	1	5.6	4	33.3	1	5.6	11	68.8			3	42.9	2	4.5	18	51.4
Total	18	100	12	100	18	100	16	100	8	100	7	100	44	100	35	100
No overtime			2		2	11.1	4	25.0			3	42.9	2	4.5	9	25.7
Compulsory overtime	13	72.2	4	33.3	2	11.1			7	87.5	1	14.3	22	50.0	5	14.3
Voluntary overtime					12	66.7			1	12.5			13	29.5		
Not specified compulsory or voluntary	4	22.2	1	8.3	1	5.6	1	6.3					5	11.4	2	5.7
Not reported/applicable	1	5.6	5	41.7	1	5.6	11	68.8			3	42.9	2	4.5	19	54.3
Total	18	100	12	100	18	100	16	100	8	100	7	100	44	100	35	100

Table 3.18a
Harassment at workplace - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 18		Other Women N = 12		Workers N = 18		Other women N = 16		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 44		Other women N = 35	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	1	5.6	3	25.0	1	5.6	1	6.3	3	37.8	3	42.9	5	4.4	7	20.0
Given various unfamiliar Jobs at close intervals in rotation	5	27.8					1	6.3	2	25.0			7	15.9	1	2.9
Shifted repeatedly from normal sitting place	5	27.8	1	8.3					2	25.0	1	14.3	7	15.9	2	5.7
Overloaded with work	14	77.8	2	16.7	15	83.3	4	25.0	4	50.0			33	75.0	6	17.1
Given work that involves continuous standing/sitting	8	44.4	1	8.3	17	94.2	2	12.5					25	56.8	3	8.6
Asked to work extra hours without extra pay	3	16.7	2	16.7									3	6.8	2	5.7
Exploitation by middlemen	1	5.6			6	33.3	1	6.3	1	12.5			8	18.2	1	2.9
Denying entitlements	1	5.6											1	2.3		
Compulsory overtime							1	6.3							20	57.1
Not reported	1	5.6	6	50.0	1	5.6	11	68.8			3	42.9	2	4.5		

Table 3.22a
Control of Income -Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 18		Other Women N = 12		Workers N = 18		Other women N = 16		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 44		Other women N = 35	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earning to household																
All	7	38.9	8	66.7			2	12.5	2	25.0	4	57.1	8	20.5	14	40.0
Half	1	5.6			1	5.6					2	28.6	2	4.5	2	5.7
Some	9	50.0	4	33.3	17	94.4	9	56.3	6	75.0	1	14.3	32	72.7	14	40.0
None	1	5.6					2	12.5					1	2.3	2	5.7
Not reported							3	18.8							3	8.6
Control of Salary																
Keep it	17	94.4	9	75.0	18	100	13	81.3	8	100	7	100	43	97.7	29	82.9
Hand over to husband	1	5.6	1	8.3									1	2.3	1	2.9
Not reported			2	16.7			3	18.8							5	14.3
Own Bank Account																
Yes, alone	16	88.9	8	66.7	18	100	15	93.8	7	87.5	4	57.1	41	93.2	27	77.1
No	2	11.1	4	33.3			1	6.3	1	12.5	3	42.9	3	6.8	8	22.9
Other Savings																
Till							1	6.3							1	2.9
Cheetu	14	77.8	5	41.7	13	72.2	2	12.5	8	100	6	85.7	35	79.5	13	37.1
None	3	16.7	7	58.3	4	22.2	10	62.5			1	14.3	7	15.8	18	51.4
Samurdhi/Janasavi							2	12.5							2	5.7
Not reported	1	5.6			1	5.6							2	4.6		
Permission/consultation to withdraw money from own account																
Not necessary	16	88.9	8	66.7	16	88.9	10	62.5	8	100	5	71.4	40	90.9	23	65.7
Husband					1	5.6	5	31.3					1	2.3	5	14.3
Mother	1	5.6	1	8.3							1	14.3	1	2.3	2	5.7
Not reported	1	5.6	3	25.0	1	5.6	1	6.3			1	14.3	2	4.6	5	14.3

Table 3.23a
Ownership of assets - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	1	5.3	3	11.5	6	30.0	10	35.7			1	9.1	7	14.6	14	21.5
House/flat	1	5.3	2	7.7	2	10.0	7	25.0			1	9.1	3	6.3	10	15.4
Vehicle							1	2.1							1	1.5
Jewellery	19	100	18	69.2	20	100	23	82.1	9	100	9	81.8	48	100	50	76.9
Bank deposit	16	5.6	14	53.8	20	100	23	82.1	8	88.9	5	45.5	44	91.7	42	64.6
Other Savings	14	73.7	15	57.7	13	65.0	6	21.4	8	88.9	1	9.1	35	72.9	28	43.1
Life Insurance	1	5.3	3	11.5			4	14.3			2	18.2	1	2.1	9	13.8
Consumer durables																
Radio	2	10.5	2	7.7	11	55.0	4	14.3			1	9.1	13	27.1	7	10.8
Television	4	21.1	2	7.7	1	5.0	2	7.1			1	9.1	5	10.4	5	7.7
Refrigerator	2	10.5	1	3.8									2	4.2	1	1.5
Sewing Machine	2	10.5	3	11.5	13	65.0	5	17.9	5	55.6	3	27.3	20	41.7	11	16.9

Table 3.24a

Assets that could be disposed of by women - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land			1	3.8							1	9.1			2	3.1
House/flat	1	5.3									1	9.1	1	2.1	1	1.5
Bank deposit	1	5.3	2	7.7					2	22.2	1	9.1	3	6.3	3	3.1
Jewellery	7	36.8	2	7.7	11	55.5	3	10.7	5	55.6	2	18.2	23	47.9	7	10.8
Consumer durable	1	5.3	1	3.8	10	50.0	5	17.9			2	19.2	11	2.0	8	12.3
Nothing	4	21.1	5	19.2	8	40.0	22	78.6	3	33.3	5	45.5	15	31.3	32	49.2
Not reported	7	36.8	17	65.4	1	5.0	1	3.6			1	9.1	8	16.7	19	29.2

Table 3.25a

Assets that could be bought by women - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	4	21.1	10	38.5	8	40.0	6	21.4	2	22.2	3	27.3	14	29.2	19	29.2
Jewellery	4	21.1	2	7.7	3	15.0	1	3.6	5	55.6	3	27.3	12	25.2	6	9.2
Land	2	10.5									1	9.1	2	4.2	1	1.5
Garments	6	31.6	8	30.8	10	50.0	18	64.2	3	33.3	6	54.6	19	39.6	32	49.2
Consumer products	1	5.3			3	15.0	3	10.7	1	11.1	1	9.1	5	10.4	4	6.2
Food	2	10.5	6	23.1	2	10.0	8	28.6	1	11.1			5	10.4	14	21.5
Nothing	3	15.8	4	15.4	1	5.0					1	9.1	4	8.3	5	7.7
Not reported					2	10.0	4	14.3	1	11.1			3	6.3	4	6.2
Permission necessary from																
No one	10	52.6	12	46.2	14	70.0	7	25.0	5	55.6	5	45.5	29	60.4	24	36.9
Husband	2	10.5	11	42.3	3	15.0	13	46.4	2	22.2	2	18.2	7	14.6	26	40.0
Father	5	26.3	1	3.8	2	10.0	2	7.1			1	9.1	7	14.6	4	6.2
Mother	5	26.3	2	7.7	3	15.0	4	14.3	2	22.2	3	18.2	10	20.8	9	13.8
Children			3	11.5	1	5.0	7	25.0			2	18.2	1	2.1	12	18.4
Brother							1	3.6			1	9.1			2	3.1
Not reported	2	10.5											2	4.2		

Table 3.26a**Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside the home - Women**

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N =26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger personality (self confidence, self esteem, able to assert properly	13	68.4	16	61.5	20	100	25	89.3	8	88.9	10	90.9	41	85.4	51	78.5
More experience, knowledge	18	94.7	22	84.6	17	85.0	24	85.7	6	66.7	4	36.4	41	85.4	50	76.9
More economic security	16	84.7	24	92.3	20	100	28	100	8	88.9	9	81.8	44	91.7	61	93.8
Enlarged social network	4	21.1	13	50.0	3	15.0	7	25.0	4	44.4	7	63.6	11	22.2	27	41.5
Increased decision making power	1	5.3	1	3.8							2	18.2	1	2.1	3	4.6
Improvement in family status	1	5.3											1	2.1		

Table 3.27a

Perceptions of changes in lifestyle of women when women starts working - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total workload																
- increased	19	100	26	100	7	35.0	14	50.0	9	100	11	100	35	72.9	51	78.5
- decreased					13	65.0	13	46.4					13	27.1	13	20.0
- same							1	3.6							1	1.5
Mobility - increased	18	94.7	25	96.2	19	95.0	28	100	8	88.9	11	100	45	93.8	64	98.5
- decreased	1	5.3	1	3.8					1	11.1			2	4.2	1	1.5
- not reported					1	5.0							1	2.1		
Self esteem																
- increased	19	100	26	100	16	80.0	23	82.1	9	100	11	100	44	91.7	60	92.3
- decreased							1	3.6							1	1.5
- same					4	20.0	4	14.3					4	8.3	4	6.2
Standing in the family																
-increased	18	94.7	26	100	9	45.0	10	35.7	9	100	11	100	36	75.0	47	72.3
-same	1	5.3					18	64.3					12	25.0	18	27.7
Household decision making																
-increased	19	100	26	100	15	75.0	13	46.4	9	100	11	100	43	89.6	50	76.9
-decreased					4	20.0	6	21.4					4	8.3	6	9.2
-same					1	5.0	9	32.1					1	2.1	9	13.8

Table 3.28a
Educational opportunities in families - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was of the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	19	100	24	92.3	20	100	27	96.4	9	100	11	100	48	100	62	95.4
Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	17	89.5	25	96.2	20	100	27	96.4	8	88.9	11	100	45	93.8	63	96.9
No discrimination in expenditure	4	21.1	4	15.4	12	60.0	16	57.1					16	33.3	20	30.8
Both can study to any level	13	68.4	20	76.9	20	100	27	96.4	8	88.9	11	100	41	85.4	58	89.2
Both provided with transport facilities	1	5.3			12	60.0	15	53.6					13	27.1	15	23.1
Both not given other work					10	50.0	15	53.6					10	20.8	15	23.1
Both provided all facilities							3	10.4							3	4.6
Not reported			2	7.7	3	15.0							3	6.3	2	3.1

Table 3.29a

Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys																
Highest level possible	1	5.3	2	7.7	1	5.0	4	14.3	1	11.1			3	6.3	6	9.2
As the child wishes					5	25.0	12	42.9					5	10.4	12	18.5
University degree	14	73.7	15	57.7	9	45.0	6	21.4	6	66.7	8	72.7	29	60.4	29	44.6
Vocational qualifications	4	21.1	3	11.5	5	25.0	6	21.4					9	18.8	9	13.8
GCE A/L			1	3.8					1	11.1	3	27.3	1	2.1	4	6.2
GCE O/L			3	11.5											3	4.6
Not reported			2	7.7					1	11.1			1	2.1	2	3.1
Girls																
Highest level possible	1	5.3	2	7.7			1	3.6	1	11.1			2	4.2	3	4.6
As the child wishes					7	35.0	14	50.0					7	14.6	14	21.5
University degree	17	89.5	17	65.4	10	50.0	8	28.5	5	55.6	8	72.7	32	66.7	33	50.8
Vocational qualifications			1	3.8	3	15.0	4	14.3					3	6.3	5	7.7
GCE A/L	1	5.3	1	3.8					1	11.1	3	27.3	2	4.2	4	6.2
GCE O/L			4	15.4					1	11.1			1	2.1	4	6.2
Not reported			1	3.8			1	3.6	1	11.1			1	2.1	2	3.1

Table 3.30a**Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints - Women**

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 19		N = 26		N = 20		N = 28		N = 9		N = 11		N = 48		N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	10	52.6	17	65.4	18	90.0	25	89.3	6	66.7	1	9.1	34	70.9	43	66.2
Child not doing well in school	6	31.6	8	30.8	2	10.0	3	10.7	1	11.1	10	90.9	9	18.8	21	32.3
Eldest child									1	11.1			1	2.1		
Girl child	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Boy child	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Not reported	1	5.3	1	3.8					1	11.1			2	4.2	1	1.5

Table 3.32a
Behavioural Expectations of School Children- Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No difference	11	57.9	15	57.7	17	85.0	28	100	8	88.9	9	81.8	36	75.0	52	80.0
Boys active, playful	1	5.3	3	11.5							1	9.1	1	2.1	4	6.2
Boys rag and bully	2	10.5											2	4.2		
Boys naughty			1	3.8											1	1.5
Boys restless			1	3.8											1	1.5
Girls decent			1	3.8	1	5.0							1	2.1	1	1.5
Girls obedient	2	10.5											2	4.2		
Girls passive			1	3.8					1	11.1	1	9.1	1	2.1	2	3.0
Girls excitable	1	5.3									1	9.1	1	2.1	1	1.5
Girls do not come forward	2	10.5	1	3.8	1	5.0							3	6.3	1	1.5
Not reported			3	11.5	1	5.0							1	2.1	3	4.5

Table 3.34a
Food and Health - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Food																
Men and women do not eat together	13	68.4	9	34.6	18	90.0	25	89.3	2	22.2	2	18.2	33	68.7	36	55.4
Different schedules	8	42.1	9	34.6	18	90.0	24	85.7	2	22.2			28	58.3	33	50.8
Tradition that men eat first	4	21.1									2	18.2	4	8.3	2	3.1
Not reported/applicable	1	5.3					1	3.6					1	2.1	1	1.5
Boys and girls do not eat together	14	73.7	11	42.3	18	90.0	26	92.9	2	22.2	1	9.1	34	71.0	38	58.4
Different schedules	9	47.4	9	34.6	17	85.0	24	85.7	1	11.1			27	56.3	33	50.8
Tradition that boys eat first	3	16.9	1	3.8							1	9.1	3	6.3	2	3.1
Not reported/ applicable			3	11.5	1	5.0			1	11.1			2	4.2	3	4.6
II. Health																
Men/women and Boys/Girls do not have the same access to health care	2	10.5	1	3.8			1	3.6	1	11.1			3	6.2	2	3.1
Boys get more attention than girls when they get sick	1	5.3	1	3.8					1	11.1			2	4.2	1	1.5
Girls get more attention than boys when they get sick							1	3.6							1	1.5
Not reported	1	5.3											1	5.3		

Table 3.36a
Activities that men will never do - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Will do any activity	3	15.8	2	7.7	6	30.0	7	25.0	5	55.6	2	18.2	14	29.2	11	16.9
II. Will not do																
Cooking	4	21.1	8	30.8	5	25.0	9	32.1	1	11.1	5	45.5	10	20.8	22	33.8
Cleaning toilets	6	31.6	3	11.5	13	65.0	19	67.9	3	33.3	5	45.5	22	45.6	27	41.5
Cleaning babies	2	10.5	1	3.8	8	40.0	10	35.7	3	33.3	4	36.4	13	27.1	15	23.1
Bathing babies	6	31.6	3	11.5	8	40.0	5	17.9	3	33.3	3	27.3	17	35.4	11	16.9
Washing women's clothes	4	21.4	4	15.4	13	65.0	19	67.9	1	11.1	6	54.5	18	37.5	29	44.6
Washing utensils	4	21.4							1	11.1	2	18.2	5	10.4	2	3.1
Collecting water and fuel	1	5.3			7	35.0	8	28.6	1	11.1			9	18.8	8	12.3
Washing men's clothes			1	3.8			1	.6							2	3.1
Washing babies clothes			3	11.5			1	3.6	1	11.1	4	36.4	6	12.5	14	21.5
Taking care of children, the old and sick	6	31.6	4	15.4	1	5.0	3	10.7	1	11.1	4	36.4	8	16.7	11	6.9
Not reported	5	26.4	12	46.2	1	5.0	1	3.6					6	12.5	13	20.0

Table 3.37a

Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home -Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N=65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	19	100	26	100	19	95.0	27	96.4	9	100	11	100	47	97.9	64	98.5
Neglect of children	11	57.9	16	61.6	20	100	28	100	7	77.8	3	27.3	38	79.2	47	72.3
Loss of family status	3	15.8	1	3.8	3	15.0	7	25.0	1	11.1			7	14.6	8	12.3
Conflict over distribution / control of earnings			4	15.4	5	25.0	6	21.4					5	10.4	10	15.4
Increased workload of other women in the household	8	42.1	15	57.7	18	90.0	27	96.4	7	77.8	11	100	33	68.8	53	81.5
Threat to family	6	31.6	6	23.1	2	10.0	5	17.9			2	18.2	8	16.7	13	1.5

Table 3.38a

Marriage - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 5		Other Women N = 20		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 21		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age of marriage of women																
16 - 18 years			3	15.0			6	28.6			1	14.3			10	20.8
18 - 25 years	3	60.0	9	45.0	7	100	12	57.1	3	75.0	5	71.4	13	81.3	26	54.2
25 years	2	40.0	8	40.0			2	9.5	1	25.0	1	14.3	3	18.8	11	22.9
12 years							1	4.8							1	2.1
Age of Husband at time																
16 - 18 years			1	5.0			2	9.5							3	6.3
18 - 25 years	2	40.0	6	30.0	2	28.6	10	47.6	1	25.0	1	14.3	5	31.3	17	35.4
25 years	2	40.0	12	60.0	4	57.1	9	42.9	3	75.0	6	85.7	9	56.3	27	56.3
Not reported	1	20.0	1	5.0	1	14.3							2	12.5	1	2.1
Partner selected by women																
Yes	3	60.0	15	25.0	5	71.6	11	52.4	3	75.0	5	71.4	11	68.8	31	64.6
No	2	40.0	5	25.0	1	14.3	9	42.9	1	25.0	2	28.6	4	25.0	16	33.3
Not reported					1	14.3	1	4.8					1	6.3	1	2.1
Consent obtained																
Yes	5	100.	17	85.0	6	85.7	17	81.0	4	100	5	71.4	15	93.8	39	81.3
No			2	10.0	1	14.3	3	14.3					1	6.3	7	14.6
Not reported			1	5.0			1	4.8							2	4.2

Table 3.39a

Marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic group - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for them N=	14		6		13		7		5		4		32		17	
Like to marry																
-outside caste	3	27.3	0		7	53.8	4	57.1	2	40.0	2	50.0	12	37.5	6	35.3
-outside religion	1	7.1	0		7	53.8	2	28.6	2	40.0	2	50.0	10	31.3	4	23.5
-outside ethnic group	2	14.3	0		7	53.8	3	42.9	2	40.0	2	50.0	11	34.4	5	29.4
Married women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son /daughter N=	5		20		7		21		4		7		16		48	
-outside caste	1	20.0	4	20.0	2	28.6	12	57.1	0		1	14.3	3	18.8	17	35.4
-outside religion	1	20.0	4	20.0	2	28.6	10	47.6	0		1	14.3	3	18.8	15	31.3
-outside ethnic group	1	20.0	4	20.0	2	28.6	11	52.4	0		1	14.3	3	18.8	16	33.3

Table 3.40a

Dowry practice in the Marriage of Women - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 5		Other Women N = 20		Workers N = 7		Other women N =21		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 7		Workers N=16		Other women N = 48	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry given																
No	2	40.0	13	65.0			11	52.4	2	50.0	5	71.4	4	25.0	29	60.4
Rs. 5,000 -			1	5.0	1	14.3	1	4.8			1	14.3	1	6.3	3	6.3
10,000			1	5.0	2	28.6	2	9.5			1	14.3	2	12.5	4	8.3
Property	1	20.0	3	15.0	6	85.7	9	42.9	2	50.0	1	14.3	9	56.3	13	27.1
Furniture					4	57.1	6	28.6					4	25.0	6	12.5
Jewellery	2	40.0	2	10.0	1	14.3							2	12.5	2	4.2
Not reported																
Whether in-laws satisfied																
Yes	1	20.0	4	20.0	7	100.0	19	90.5	2	50.0	2	28.6	10	62.5	25	52.1
Not reported	4	80.0	16	80.0			2	9.5	2	50.0	5	71.1	6	37.5	23	47.9

Table 3.41a
Children's Marriages - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 5		Other Women N = 20		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 21		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter																
Yes	2	40.0	13	65.0	4	57.1	17	81.0	1	25.0	6	85.7	7	43.8	36	75.0
No			6	3.0			1	4.8			1	14.3			8	16.7
Not reported	3	60.0	1	5.0	3	42.9	3	14.3	3	75.0			9	56.3	4	8.3
Intend to ask dowry for son																
Yes			1	5.0											1	2.1
No	3	60.0	15	75.0	3	42.9	17	81.0	1	25.0	7	100	7	43.8	39	81.3
Not reported	2	40.0	4	20.0	4	57.1	4	19.0	3	75.0			9	56.3	8	16.7
Desirable age of marriage for daughter																
18 - 25 years	2	40.0	12	60.0	4	57.1	16	76.2	1	25.0	5	71.4	7	43.8	33	68.8
> 25 years	1	20.0	8	40.0			2	9.5	1	25.0	2	28.6	2	12.5	12	25.0
Not reported	2	40.0			3	42.9	3	14.3	2	50.0			7	43.8	3	6.3
Desirable age of marriage For son																
18 - 25 years			3	15.0			6	28.6							9	18.8
> 25 years	3	60.0	15	75.0	2	28.6	11	52.4	2	50.0	7	100	7	43.8	33	68.8
Not reported	2	40.0	2	10.0	5	71.4	4	19.0	2	50.0			9	56.3	6	12.5

Table 3.42a
Trends in dowry demands - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	11	57.9	17	65.4	15	75.0	28	100	4	44.4	10	90.0	30	62.5	55	84.6
Increase because economic problems	1	5.3							3	33.3	1	9.1	4	8.3	1	1.5
More women are employed ,and collect money for dowry	3	15.3	2	7.7									2	4.2	2	3.1
Money important in society			3	11.5	1	5.0			1	11.1			1	2.1	3	4.6
Unemployed men ask for dowry					1	5.0							1	2.1		
Dowry part of marriage					2	10.0							2	4.2		
Not reported	5	26.3	4	15.4	1	5.0			1	11.1			8	16.7	4	6.2

Table 3.43a
Virginity Test - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not tested			7	35.0	3	42.9	19	90.5	2	50.0	2	28.6	5	31.3	28	58.3
Tested but no problem	4	80.0	13	65.0	4	57.1	2	9.5	2	50.0	4	57.1	10	62.5	19	39.6
Mother-in-law insisted											1	14.3			1	2.1
Not reported	1	20.0											1	6.3		
Total No. of married women	5	100	20	100	7	100	21	100	4	100	7	100	16	100	48	100
Views on virginity test																
Not necessary	2	10.5	2	7.7	4	20.0	6	21.4	3	33.3	1	9.1	9	18.8	9	13.8
Necessary	7	36.8	15	15.7	1	5.0	2	7.1	1	11.1	2	18.2	9	18.8	19	29.2
Needed for girl's security	2	10.5			7	35.0	5	17.9					9	18.8	5	7.7
Know whether well behaved, purity	2	10.5	2	7.7	1	5.0	1	3.6	3	33.3	7	63.6	6	12.5	10	15.3
Family demands			1	3.8											1	1.5
Unscientific									1	11.1			1	2.1		
Unreasonable/not appropriate	6	31.5	6	23.1	7	35.0	9	32.1	1	11.1	1	9.1	8	16.7	10	15.3
Not reported							2	7.1	1	11.1			7	14.6	8	12.3
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.44a
Son preference- Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, sons and daughters same	2	10.5	2	7.7	12	60.0	16	57.1	4	44.4	6	54.5	18	37.5	24	36.9
Yes, - son better	11		18		2	10.0	7	25.0	5	55.6	5	45.5	18	37.5	30	46.2
- woman gets more respect	6	31.6	7	26.9	1	5.0	5	17.0	2	22.2	1	9.1	9	18.8	13	20.0
- sons look after parents in old age	5	26.3	4	15.4	1	5.0	4	14.3	4	44.4	1	9.1	10	20.9	9	13.8
- necessary for family continuity	5	26.3	9	34.6	2	10.0	7	25.0	1	11.1	5	45.5	8	16.7	21	32.3
- boys can do all the things girls cannot do			1	3.8											1	1.5
- If no sons, will be harassed, threat of desertion	1	5.3							1	11.			2	4.2		
Not reported	6	31.6	6	23.1	6	60.0	5						12	25.0	11	16.9
Total No.	19		26		20		28		9		11		48		65	

Table 3.45a
Use of family planning methods - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 5		Other Women N = 20		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 21		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods	1	20.0	8	40.0	3	42.9	8	34.1	1	25.0	5	71.4	5	31.3	21	43.8
Reasons for not using																
- not necessary			4	20.0	3	42.9	9	42.9	1	25.0	1	14.3	4	25.0	14	31.3
- want another child			1	5.0			1	4.8							2	2.1
- inadequate information	1	20.0	5	25.0			1	4.8	1	25.0			2	12.5	6	12.5
- not easily available			1	5.0											1	2.1
- medical reasons	1	20.0							1	25.0	1	14.3	2	12.5	1	2.1
- husband does not agree					1	14.3							1	6.3		
- pregnant	1	20.0	1	5.0			2	14.3					1	6.3	3	6.2
Not reported	1	20.0											1	6.3		
Awareness of ultra scan facility																
Yes	2	40.0	11	55.0	1	14.3	1	4.8	2	50.0	3	42.9	5	31.3	15	31.3
No	2	40.0	9	45.0	5	71.4	18	85.7	2	50.0	4	57.1	9	56.3	31	64.6
Not reported	1	20.0			1	14.3	2	9.5					2	12.5	2	4.2
Use of ultra scan facility to ascertain sex of child																
Yes									1	25.0			1	6.3		
No	3	60.0	20	100	5	71.4	17	81.0	3	75.0	7	100	11	68.8	44	91.7
Not reported	2	40.0			2	28.6	4	19.0					4	25.0	4	8.3

Table 3.46a
Control of sexuality -Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 5		Other Women N = 20		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 21		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 7		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 48	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband																
Very	4	80.0	12	60.0	6	85.4	16	76.2	3	75.0	6	85.7	13	81.3	34	52.3
To some extent			6	30.0	1	14.3	4	19.0	1	25.0	1	14.3	2	12.5	11	16.9
Not reported	1	20.0	2	10.0			1	4.8					1	6.3	3	4.5
Importance of sexual satisfaction for wife																
Very	2	40.0	9	45.0	4	57.1	10	47.6	3	75.0	5	71.4	9	56.2	24	50.0
To some extent	2	40.0	10	50.0	3	42.9	10	47.6	1	25.0	2	28.6	6	37.5	22	45.8
Not reported	1	20.0	1	5.0			1	4.8					1	6.3	2	4.2
Refusal to have sex with spouse																
Cannot refuse	2	40.0	9	45.0					2	50.0	4	57.1	4	25.0	13	27.1
Can refuse	3	60.0	10	50.0	7	100	21	100	2	50.0	3	42.9	12	75.0	34	70.8
Not reported			1	5.0										1	2.1	
If refused, reaction of husband																
N=	3		10		7		21		2		3		12		34	
Understanding	1	33.3	8	80.0	6	85.7	17	81.0	1	50.0	1	33.3	8	66.7	26	76.5
Verbally abusive	1	33.3	1	10.0	3	42.9	11	52.4	1	50.0	2	66.7	5	41.7	14	41.2
Physically abusive			1	10.0											1	2.9
Sexually abusive											3	100			3	8.8
Reaction not reported	1	33.3											1	8.3		

Table 3.47a (contd.)
Moving out of a marriage - Women

Acceptable reasons for woman to leave husband																
If he beats her	10	52.6	16	61.5	4	20.0	7	25.0	9	100.	9	81.8	23	47.9	32	49.2
Unfaithful	10	52.6	5	19.2	10	50.0	13	46.4	5	0	6	54.5	25	52.1	24	36.9
Does not provide for family			2	7.7	1	5.0			1	55.6	1	9.1	2	4.2	3	4.6
Infertile	1	5.3	3	11.5	2	10.0	3	10.7	1	9.1	4	36.4	4	8.3	10	15.4
Impotent	6	31.6	9	34.6	3	15.0	2	7.1	4	11.1	8	72.7	13	27.1	19	29.2
Does not respect her/his family	2	10.5			3	15.0				44.4	1	9.1	5	10.5	1	1.5
Should not move out	1	5.3	1	3.8	8	40.0	14	50.0					8	16.	15	23.1
Not reported													1	2.1	1	1.5

Table 3.48a
Participation in Decision Making - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Participation before economic activity																
Yes	13	68.4	9	75.0	18	100	15	93.8	7	87.5	7	100	38	86.4	31	88.6
No	4	2.4	3	25.0			1	6.3	1	12.5			5	11.4	3	8.6
Not reported	1	5.3											1	2.3	1	2.9
Participation at present																
Yes	18	94.7	23	88.5	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	47	97.9	62	95.4
No	1	5.3	3	11.5									1	2.1	3	4.6
Areas of participation																
Providing daily family needs	18	94.7	19	73.1	8	40.0	28	100	6	66.7	5	45.5	32	66.7	52	80.0
Education of children	1	5.3	11	42.3	3	15.0	15	53.6	1	11.1	4	36.4	5	10.4	30	46.2
Marriage of children	1	5.3	11	42.3	4	20.0	10	35.7			6	54.5	5	10.4	27	41.5
Buying and selling of assets	2	10.5	4	15.4	20	100	27	96.4	2	22.2	3	27.3	24	50.0	34	52.3
Buying and selling of jewellery	10	52.6	11	42.3	13	65.0	16	57.1	7	77.8	4	36.4	30	62.5	31	47.7
Health care of family	6	31.6	10	38.5	13	65.0	27	96.4	4	44.4	7	63.6	23	47.9	44	67.7
Employment related issues	3	15.8	8	30.8	16	80.0	21	75.0	6	66.7	4	36.4	25	52.1	33	50.8
Disputes (eg neighbours)	2	10.5	4	15.4	1	5.0	2	7.1	1	11.1	4	36.4	4	8.3	10	15.4
Major expenses	3	15.8	8	30.8	18	90.0	26	92.9	4	44.4	3	27.3	25	52.1	37	56.9
Total	19	100	25	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.49a

Final authority in decision making - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	10	52.6	17	65.4	7	35.0	24	85.6	2	22.2	3	27.3	19	39.6	44	67.7
Education of children	1	5.3	8	30.8	1	5.0	3	10.7	1	11.1	2	18.2	3	6.3	13	20.0
Marriage of children	1	5.3	8	30.8			3	10.7			6	54.5	1	2.1	17	26.2
Buying and selling of assets	1	5.3	2	7.7	19	95.0	17	60.7	2	22.2	2	18.2	22		21	32.3
Buying and selling of jewellery	8	42.1	2	7.7	3	15.0	3	10.7			3	27.3	13	27.1	8	12.5
Health care of family	1	5.3	8	30.8	6	30.0	12	42.9	3	33.3	5	45.5	10	20.8	25	38.5
Employment related issues	3	15.8	1	3.8	7	35.0	7	25.0	1	11.1	2	18.2	11	22.9	10	15.4
Disputes eg neighbours	1	5.3					1	3.6			2	18.2	1	2.1	3	4.5
Major expenses	1	5.3	1	3.8	12	60.0	18	64.3	1	11.1	2	18.2	14	29.2	21	32.3
Not reported	2	10.5							1	11.1			3	6.3		

Decision making in family Should increase	16	84.2	20	23.1			1	3.6	9	100	10	90.9	25	52.1	30	46.2
	3	15.8	6	76.9	20	100	27	96.4					23	47.9	34	52.3
Should not increase	19		26		20				9		10		48		65	
Total No.																
Reasons for increase																
Women manage the household	4	25.0	1	5.0			1	100			2	20.0	4	16.0	4	13.3
Women too make good decisions	2	12.5	3	15.0					1	11.1	8	80.0	3	12.0	3	10.0
Women should have equal say	10	62.5	16	80.0					8	88.9	10		18	72.0	24	80.0
Total No.	16		20				1	100	9				25		30	
Decision making in the community																
Should increase	181	94.7	21	80.8	20	100	28	100	9	100	10	90.9	47	97.9	59	90.8
Should not increase		5.3	5	19.2							1	9.1	1	2.1	6	9.2
Total No	19		25										48		65	
Reasons for increase																
Women should have equal opportunities and rights	7	38.9	8	38.1			1	3.6	7	77.8	9	90.0	14	29.8	18	30.5
Women understand and think better	9	50.0	12	57.1	12	60.0	12	42.9	2	22.2	1	10.0	23	48.9	25	42.1
Women are more sincere, honest and responsible	2	11.1	1	4.8	14	70.0	20	71.4					14	29.8	21	35.6
Not reported													2	4.3		
Total No.	18	100	21	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	10	100	47	100	59	100

Table 3.51a

Freedom of movement of women and girls - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women/girls compared to men/ boys																
Less	19	100	25	96.2	20	100	27	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	63	96.9
No difference			1	3.8			1							2	3.1	
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100
Reasons for less freedom																
Not traditional	8	42.1	7	28.0			1	3.7	2	22.2	9	81.8	10	20.8	17	26.9
Fear of non-acceptance by society	4	21.1	6	24.0					5	55.6			9	18.8	6	9.5
Fear of being harassed	16	84.2	17	68.0	19	85.0	23	85.2	5	55.6	2	18.2	40	83.3	42	6.7
Cases of molestation in neighbourhood	2	10.5	1	4.0	3	15.0	7	25.9	1	11.1			6	12.5	8	12.7
General problems in country					4	20.0	3	11.1					4	8.4	3	4.8
Total	19	100	25	100	20	100	27	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	63	100

Table 3.52.1a

Physical mobility of women - Women Workers

	Katunayake N = 19				Biyagama N = 20				Koggala N = 9				Total N = 48							
	Yes	Alone	No	With- out permi ssion	Yes	Alone	No	With- out Permi ssion	Yes	Alone	No	With- out permi -ssion	Yes		Alone		No time		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	18	18	17	9	20	20	20	18	9	7	9	8	47	97.9	45	93.8	46	95.9	35	72.9
Banks	18	17	18	8	20	20	20	19	9	8	9	8	47	97.9	45	93.8	4	97.9	3	72.9
Temples	18	9	18	5	20	14	17	19	9	2	9	4	47	97.9	25	52.1	44	91.4	28	58.3
Restaurant	14	3	14	1	19	10	18	18	5	0	5	0	38	79.2	13	27.1	37	79.1	19	39.6
Cinema	12	0	1	1	16	5	15	13	5	0	5	0	33	68.8	5	10.5	31	64.6	14	29.2
Parental home	18	16	17	5	17	15	17	15	8	5	8	4	43	89.6	36	75.0	42	87.5	24	50.0
Homes of relations	19	11	18	7	20	16	18	16	9	4	9	4	49	100.0	31	64.6	45	93.8	27	56.3
Friends' houses	16	10	15	2	20	18	18	15	9	3	9	3	45	93.8	31	64.6	42	87.5	20	41.7

Table 3.52.2a

Physical mobility of women - Other Women

	Katunayake N = 26				Biyagama N = 28				Koggala N = 11				Total N = 65							
	Yes	Alone	No	With- out permi- ssion	Yes	Alone	No	With- out Permi- Ssion	Yes	Alone	No	With- out permi- ssion	Yes		Alone		No time		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	13	11	13	5	21	16	21	15	4	4	4	4	38	58.5	31	47.7	38	58.5	24	36.9
Banks	19	13	19	10	26	12	26	18	5	5	5	4	50	76.9	30	46.2	50	76.9	32	49.2
Temples	26	13	26	14	28	19	23	26	11	7	11	9	65	100	39	60.0	60	92.3	49	75.4
Restaurant	14	5	14	15	23	8	23	21	3	2	2	2	40	61.5	15	23.1	39	60.0	28	43.1
Cinema	11	2	11	4	4	0	4	3	2	2	2	2	17	26.2	4	6.2	17	26.2	9	13.8
Homes of relations	25	12	24	10	28	14	27	17	11	8	11	8	64	98.5	34	52.3	62	95.4	35	53.8
Friends' houses	26	14	26	7	27	15	25	15	11	7	11	8	64	98.5	36	55.3	62	95.4	25	39.1

Table 3.53a
Gender aspirations of rebirth - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn as a woman	3	15.8	3	11.5	1	5.0			1	11.1			5	10.0	3	4.6
To be reborn as a man	14	73.7	21	80.8	19	95.0	27	96.4	7	77.8	10	90.9	40	83.3	58	89.2
To be reborn as a man or woman	2	10.5	2	.7			1	3.6	1	11.1	1	9.1	3	6.3	4	6.2
Total No.	19	100	26	100	20	100	26	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.55a
Conflict issues within the family - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	2	10.5	6	23.1	13	65.0	13	4.4	5	55.6	6	54.5	20	41.7	25	38.5
Economic problems	11	57.9	9	34.6	4	20.0	3	10.7	1	11.1			16	33.3	12	18.5
Fight over property/money	2	10.5			3	15.0	11	39.2	1	11.1			5	10.5	11	16.9
Alcoholism problems			7	26.9	6	30.0	3	10.7	1	11.1	2	18.2	7	14.6	12	18.5
Household problems			1	3.8	1	5.0	2	7.1					1	2.1	3	4.6
Wife not in house when husband returns	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Retorting	1	5.3	1	3.8			2	7.1					1	2.1	3	14.6
Conflict with parents	1	5.3									1	9.1	1	2.1	1	1.5
Drunken father			1	3.8					2	22.2	1	9.1	2	4.2	2	3.1
Fight over family			1	3.8			2	7.1			2	18.2			5	7.7
Suspicion of husband											1	9.1			1	1.5
Children's problems											1	9.1			1	1.5

Table 3.56a

Experience of abuse in domestic sphere - Women

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Workers N = 26		Workers N = 20		Workers N = 28		Workers N = 9		Workers N = 11		Workers N = 48		Workers N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of abuse	5	26.3	13	50.0	17	85.5	8	28.6	5	55.6	5	45.5	27	56.3	26	40.0
Destroying objects			1	3.8			4	14.3	3	33.3	3	27.3	3	6.3	8	12.3
Verbal abuse	13	68.4	13	50.0	3	15.0	20	71.4	4	44.4	6	54.5	20	41.7	39	60.0
Threats	8	42.1	6	23.1	3	15.0	20	71.4	3	33.3	4	36.4	14	29.2	30	46.2
Sexual abuse			2	7.7							1	9.1			3	4.6
Restricted from meeting neighbours, relatives	1	5.3	1	3.8							1	9.1	1	2.1	2	3.1
Not given food							1	3.6			1	9.1			2	3.1
Not reported	1	5.3											1	2.1		
Response to abuse	N = 13		N = 13		N = 3		N = 20		N = 4		N = 6		N = 20		N = 39	
Tolerate it silently	7	53.8	6	46.2	2	66.7	18	90.0	3	75.0	6	100	12	60.0	30	76.9
Keep it myself	1	7.7					5	25.0					1	5.0	5	12.8
Let others know about in the family	7	53.8	6	46.2	3	100	6	30.0	1	25.0	1	16.7	11	55.0	13	33.3
Report to the police			1	7.7	1	33.3							1	5.0	1	2.6
Attempt suicide			1	7.7			1	5.0			1	16.7			3	7.7
Go back to maternal home					1	33.3	1	5.0					1	5.0	1	2.6
Discussed							2	10.0	1	25.0			1	5.0	2	5.2
Did not eat/crying					2	66.7	6	30.0					2	10.0	6	15.4

Table 3.57a

Violence outside the domestic sphere - Woman

	Katunayake				Biyagama				Koggala				Total			
	Workers N = 19		Other Women N = 26		Workers N = 20		Other women N = 28		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 11		Workers N = 48		Other women N = 65	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience	14	73.7	24	92.3	19	95.0	27	96.4	9	100	9	81.8	42	87.5	60	92.3
Rape	4	21.1											4	8.3		
Sexual harassment	2	10.5	1	3.8			1	3.6					2	4.2	2	3.1
Fight over property					1	5.0					2	18.2	1	2.1	2	3.1
Political violence											1	9.1			1	1.5
Not reported	1	5.3	1	3.8									1	2.1	1	1.5
Total	19	100	26	100	20	100	28	100	9	100	11	100	48	100	65	100

Table 3.9b
Respondents by Age - Men

Age group	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18-24	2	11.1	3	16.7	4	44.4	9	20.0
25-29	6	33.3	2	11.1	2	22.2	10	22.2
30-39	2	11.1	3	16.7			5	11.1
40-49	3	16.7	3	16.7			6	13.3
50-59	4	22.2	3	16.7	3	33.3	10	22.2
60-65			2	11.1			2	4.4
70 and above	1	5.6	2	11.1			3	6.7
Total	18	100.0	18	100.0	9	100.0	45	100.0

Table 3.10b
Marital status - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	6	33.3	4	22.2	5	55.6	15	33.3
Married-customary	1	5.6					1	2.2
Married-registered	11	61.1	14	77.8	4	44.4	29	64.4
Total	18	100.0	18	100.0	9	100.0	45	100.0

Table 3.11b
Educational Level - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 1-5	6	33.3	5	27.8	2	22.2	13	28.9
Grade 6-11	12	66.7	9	50.0	4	44.4	25	55.6
GCE OL		22.2	4	22.2	2	22.2	6	13.3
GCE AL					1	11.1	1	2.2
Total	18	100.0	18	100.0	9	100.0	45	100.0

Table 3.12 b
Current Economic Activity- Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not Employed	4	22.2	5	27.8	2	22.2	11	24.1
Motor Mechanic	1	5.6					1	2.2
Machine Operator			1	5.6	2	22.2	3	6.7
Powerloom operator	1	5.6					1	2.2
Carpenter	1	5.6					1	2.2
Welder	2	11.2					2	4.4
Mason			1	5.6			1	2.2
Farming	3	16.7	7	38.9	2	22.2	12	26.7
Fishing					1	11.1	1	2.2
Self Employment			1	5.6			1	2.2
Business/Trade	3	16.7	3	16.7	1	11.1	7	15.6
Selling cadjans	1	5.6					1	2.2
Samurdhi Devt.Officers					1	11.1	1	2.2
Labourer	1	5.6					1	2.2
Not Reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Total	18	100.0	18	100.0	9	100.0	45	100.0

Table 3.13b
Duration of Employment - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
< 1 year	1	7.1	1	7.7	1	14.3	3	8.8
1 year - < 5 years	2	14.3	3	23.1	4	57.1	9	26.5
5 years - < 10 years	4	28.6	3	23.1			7	20.6
10 years and above	6	42.9	5	38.5	2	28.6	13	38.2
Not reported	1	7.1	1	7.7			2	5.9
Total	14	100.0	13	100.0	7	100.0	34	100.0

Table 3.14b
Employment Status - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent Employee	2	14.2	1	7.7	2	28.6	5	14.7
Temporary Employee	4	28.4			1	14.3	5	14.7
Casual Worker	1	7.1			2	28.6	3	8.8
Self Employment	7	50.0	12	92.3	2	28.6	21	61.8
Total	14	100.0	13	100.0	7	100.0	34	100.0

Table 3.15b
Standard or Negotiable Payment- Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard	4	28.6	1	7.7	2	28.6	7	20.6
Negotiable with Manager	1	7.1			1	14.3	2	5.9
According to output	1	7.1					1	2.9
Others - not specified	3	21.4			1	14.3	4	11.9
Not applicable - self employed	5	35.7	12	92.3	2	28.6	19	55.9
Not reported					1	14.3	1	2.9
Total	14	100.0	13	100.0	7	100.0	34	100.0

Table 3.16b
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical Coverage	2	14.3	1	7.7	3	42.9	6	17.7
Weekly rest by rotation	2	14.3	1	7.7	3	42.9	6	17.7
All public and Mercantile holidays	2	14.3	1	7.7	3	42.9	6	17.7
EPF	2	14.3	1	7.7	2	28.6	5	14.7
ETF	2	14.3	1	7.7	1	14.3	4	11.8
Child care facilities	1	7.1					1	2.9
Tea	2	14.3	1	7.7	2	28.6	5	14.7
Meals	2	14.3			1	14.3	3	8.8
Travel Allowance	1	7.1					1	2.9
Uniforms	1	7.1					1	2.9
Not reported/Not applicable	12	45.7	12	92.3	4	57.1	26	76.5
Total	14	100.0	13	100.0	7	100.0	34	100.0

Table 3.17b
Working Time - Men

	Katunayaka N = 14		Biyagama N = 13		Koggala N = 7		Total N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No fixed working time	5	35.7	1	7.7	1	14.3	7	20.6
8 Hours	3	21.4			3	42.9	6	17.4
More than 8 Hours			1	7.7			1	2.9
Working time not reported	6	42.9	11	84.6	3	42.9	20	58.8
Total								
No Overtime	4	28.6			1	14.3	5	14.7
Compulsory Overtime	1	7.1					1	2.9
Voluntary Overtime	1	7.1					1	2.9
Not reported compulsory/voluntary			1	7.7	2	28.6	3	8.8
Not reported/self employment	8	57.1	12	92.3	4	57.1	24	70.6

Table 3.18b
Harassment at Workplace - Men

	Katunayaka N = 14		Biyagama N = 13		Koggala N = 7		Total 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No harassment	1	7.1	2	15.4	1	14.3	4	11.8
Overloaded with work	2	14.3	1	7.7	1	14.3	4	11.8
Work involves continuous standing	1	7.1	1	7.7	1	14.3	3	8.8
Exposed to electric shock					1	14.3	1	2.9
Exploitation by middleman			1	7.7			1	2.9
Not reported	11	78.6	9	69.2	4	57.1	24	70.6

Table 3.19b
Consultation regarding seeking/changing employment - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No One	14	77.8	13	73.2	5	55.6	32	71.1
Father	1	5.6			3	33.3	4	8.8
Mother	1	5.6	1	5.6	3	33.3	5	11.1
Wife	2	16.7	2	11.1	1	11.1	5	11.1
Children	2	16.7	2	11.1	1	11.1	5	11.1
Younger sister					1	11.1	1	2.2
Not Reported			1	5.6			1	2.2
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	45	100

Table 3.22b
Control of Income - Men

	Katunayaka N = 14		Biyagama N = 13		Koggala N = 7		Total N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earnings to household								
All	9		4		3		16	47.1
Half			1				1	2.9
Some	4		7		4		15	44.1
Not reported	1		1				2	5.9
Control of Salary								
Keep it	9		5		6		20	58.8
Hand over to wife	3		7				10	29.4
Hand over to wife/mother in law	1				1		2	5.9
Hand over to elder sister	1						1	2.9
Not reported			1				1	2.9
Own Bank Account								
Yes	7		10		3		20	58.8
No	7		2		4		13	38.2
Not reported			1				1	2.9
Other Savings								
No savings	9		11		6		26	70.5
Cheettu	5				1		6	17.7
Insurance			1				1	2.9
Samurdhi			1				1	2.9
Permission to withdraw money								
Not necessary	3		11		5		19	55.9
Not reported	11		2		2		15	44.1

Table 3.23b
Ownership of Assets - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	10	55.6	10	55.6	3	33.3	23	51.1
House/Flat	13	72.2	10	55.6	3	33.3	23	51.1
Vehicle	8	44.4	7	38.9	3	33.3	18	40.0
Jewellery	8	44.4	6	33.3	4	44.4	18	40.0
Bank deposit	3	16.7	9	50.0	4	44.4	16	35.6
Other savings	1	5.6	2	11.1	1	11.1	4	8.9
Life insurance	3	16.7	4	22.2	1	11.1	8	17.8
Consumer durables								
Radio	2	11.1	1	5.6			3	6.7
Television	3	16.7	2	11.1			5	11.1
Refrigerator			1	5.6			1	2.2
Sewing machines					1	11.1	1	2.2

Table 3.24b
Assets that could be disposed - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing	8	44.4	7	36.9			15	33.3
Land	5	27.8	2	11.1	1	11.1	8	17.8
House/Flat	5	27.8	2	11.1	1	11.1	8	17.8
Vehicle	3	16.7	6	33.3	1	11.1	10	22.2
Jewellery	1	5.6	4	22.2	2	22.2	7	15.6
Bank Deposit					1	11.1	1	2.2
Consumer durables	3	16.7	3	16.7	2	22.2	8	17.8
Not reported					4	44.4	4	8.9

Table 3.25b
Assets that could be bought - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	10	55.6	14	77.8	6	66.7	30	66.7
Land	1	5.6					1	2.2
Clothes					1	11.1	1	2.2
Nothing	2	11.1	2	11.1			4	8.9
Not Reported	5	27.8	2	11.1	2	22.2	9	20.0
Permission Needed from								
No one	13	72.2	13	72.2	6	66.7	32	71.1
Wife	2	11.1	3	16.7	1	11.1	6	13.3
Father	2	11.1			1	11.1	3	6.7
Mother	1	5.6	1	5.6	2	22.2	4	8.9
Children			2	11.1			2	4.4
Not Reported	2	11.1						

Table 3.26b**Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside home - Men**

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strong Personality (Self confidence, self esteem , able to assert positively)	9	50.0	15	83.3	6	66.7	30	66.7
More experience, knowledge	14	77.8	18	100	9	100	41	91.1
More economic security	13	72.2	17	94.4	9	100	39	86.7
Enlarged social network	10	55.6	4	22.2	1	11.1	15	33.3
Not Reported	1	5.6						

Table 3.27b**Perceptions of changes in lifestyles when women start working - Men**

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total work load								
- increased	13	72.2	5	27.8	8	88.9	26	57.8
- decreased	5	27.8	13	72.2	1	11.1	19	42.2
Mobility								
- increased	17	94.4	18	100	9	100	44	97.8
- ecreased	1	5.6					1	2.2
Self esteem								
-increased	17	94.4	14	77.8	9	88.9	39	86.7
-same	1	5.6	4	22.2	1	11.1	6	13.3
Standing in the family								
- increased	15	83.3	7	38.9	8	88.9	30	66.7
-decreased	3	16.7	1	5.6	1	11.1	1	2.2
-same			10	55.6			14	31.1
Household decision making								
-increased	14	77.8	10	55.6	8	88.9	32	71.1
-decreased	2	1.1	4	22.2	1	11.1	6	13.3
-same	1	5.6	4	22.2			5	11.1
-not reported	1	5.6					2	4.4

Table 3.28b
Educational opportunities in Families - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was at the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	18	100	17	94.4	9	100	44	97.8
Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	17	94.4	18	100	8	88.9	43	95.6
No discrimination in expenditure	5	27.8	7	38.9	2	22.2	14	31.1
Both can study to any level	14	77.8	17	94.4	8	88.9	39	86.7
Both provided with all facilities	1	5.6	8	44.4	2	22.2	1	2.2
Both provided with transport facilities	3	16.7	8	44.4	2	22.2	13	28.9
Both not given other work at home	2	11.1					12	26.7
Not reported	2	11.1					2	4.4

Table 3.29b
Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys								
Highest Level possible	4	22.2	2	11.1			6	13.3
As child wishes	1	5.6	4	22.2			5	11.1
University degree	9	50.0	6	33.3	6	66.7	21	46.7
Vocational qualifications	3	11.1	5	27.8	2	22.2	10	22.2
GCE OL	1	5.6					1	2.2
To get suitable job			1	5.6			1	2.2
Not Reported					1	11.1	1	2.2
Girls								
Highest possible level	3	16.7	2	11.1	1	11.1	6	13.3
As child wishes	2	11.1	5	27.8			7	15.6
University degree	9	50.0	7	38.9	5	55.6	21	46.7
Vocational qualifications	2	11.1	4	22.2	1	11.1	7	15.6
GCE AL	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.4
GCE OL	1	5.6					1	2.2
Not reported					1	11.1	1	2.2

Table 3.30b**Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints - Men**

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		9Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	13	72.3	15	83.3	5	55.5	33	73.3
Child not doing well in school	1	5.6	3	16.7	3	33.3	7	15.6
Oldest child	2	11.1					2	4.4
Boy child	1	5.6					1	2.2
Not Reported	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.4

Table 3.31b**Tasks assigned to boys and girls - Men**

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different Tasks	9	50.0	2	11.1	2	22.2	13	28.9
Same tasks	9	50.0	16	88.9	6	66.7	31	68.9
Not Reported					1	11.1	1	2.2
Total	18	100	28	100	9	100	45	100
Boys N=	9		2		2		13	
Farming	4	44.4			2	100	6	46.2
Cleaning gardens			1	50.0			1	7.7
Hard work	5	55.6	1	50.0			6	46.2
Art	1	11.1					1	7.7
Girls N=	9		2		2		13	
Home science	1	11.1	1	50.0	1	50.0	3	23.1
SewiNg	5	55.6					5	38.5
Sweeping	1	11.1	1	50.0	1	50.0	3	23.1
Not reported	2	22.2	1	50.0			3	23.1

Table 3.32 b
Behavioural expectations of school children. - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Difference	15	83.3	16	88.9	7	77.8	38	84.4
Boys active	2	11.1					2	4.4
Girls do not come forward					1	11.1	1	2.2
Girls conscientious	1	5.6					1	2.2
Girls slow	2	11.1					2	4.4
Girls obedient								
Not Reported			2	11.1	1	11.1	3	8.9

Table 3.33 b
Vocational Aspirations while at school- Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9	Total N = 45		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government Job	2	11.1	1	5.6			3	6.7
Teacher	2	11.1	3	16.7			5	11.1
Nurse	1	5.6					1	2.2
Army	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.7
Clerk			4	22.2	1	11.1	5	11.1
Technicians					2	22.2	2	4.4
Motor mechanic	1	5.6					1	2.2
Garment work			1	5.6	1	11.1	2	4.4
Run boutique			2	11.1	1	11.1	3	6.7
Farmer			2	11.1			2	4.4
Bungalow domestic worker	1	5.6					1	2.2
No specific aspirations	10	55.6	5	27.8	3	33.3	18	40.0

Table 3.34 b
Food and Health - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Food								
Men & women do not eat together	12	66.7	14	77.8	4	44.4	30	66.7
Different schedules	11	61.1	14	77.8	3	33.3	28	62.2
Tradition that men eat first	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.4
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Boys & girls do not eat together	9	50.0	12	66.7	4	44.4	25	55.6
Different schedules	9	50.0	12	66.7	2	22.2	23	51.1
Tradition that boys eat first					1	11.1	1	2.2
Not reported	4	22.2	2	11.1	1	11.1	7	15.6
II. Health								
Men/women and boys/girls same health care	2	11.1	1	5.6	2	77.8	40	88.9
Boys more attention	1	5.6	1	5.6	2	22.2	4	8.9
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Total	18		18		9		45	

Table 3.35 b
Household tasks of men - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 18		N = 18		N = 9		N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking								
Most			2	11.1			2	4.4
Some	4	22.2	2	11.1	2	22.2	8	17.8
Little	10	55.6	8	44.4	2	22.2	20	44.4
None	3	16.7	1	5.6	3	33.3	7	15.6
Not Reported	1	5.6	5	27.8	2	22.2	8	17.8
Washing cooking utensils								
Most			2	11.1			2	2.2
Some	4	2.2	7	38.9	2	22.2	13	28.9
Little	11	61.1	4	22.2	4	44.4	19	42.2
None	1	5.6	1	5.6	1	11.1	3	6.7
Not Reported	2	11.1	4	22.2	2	22.2	8	17.8
Child care								
Almost all			1	5.6			1	2.2
Most	1	5.6	4	22.2			5	11.1
Some	1	5.6	2	11.1			3	6.7
Little	7	38.9	5	27.8			12	26.7
None	5	27.8	1	5.6	6	66.1	12	26.7
Not Reported	4	22.2	5	27.8	3	33.3	12	26.7
Washing clothes								
Almost all	1	5.6					1	2.2
Some	3	16.7	6	33.3	5	55.6	14	31.1
Little	13	72.2	5	27.8	2	22.2	20	44.4
None			3	16.7	1	11.1	4	8.9
Not Reported	1	5.6	4	22.2	1	11.1	6	13.3
Fetching Water								
Almost all							1	2.2
Most	1	5.6					1	2.2
Some	1	5.6	4	22.2	4	44.4	11	24.4
Little	3	16.7	6	33.3	2	22.2	20	44.4
None	12	66.7	3	16.7	2	22.2	6	13.3
Not Reported	1	5.6	5	27.8	1	11.1	6	13.3
Taking care of old & sick								
Some	4	22.2	2	11.1	3	33.3	9	20.0
Little	7	38.9	9	50.1	1	11.1	17	37.8
None	5	27.8	2	11.1	4	44.4	11	24.4
Not Reported	2	11.1	5	27.8	1	11.1	8	17.8

Table 3.36 b
Household activities that men will never do - Men

	Katunayaka N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Does all the work	10	55.5	5	27.8	2	22.2	17	37.8
II. Will not do								
Cooking	4	22.2	5	27.8	5	55.6	14	31.1
Cleaning toilet	4	22.2	12	66.7	3	33.3	19	42.2
Cleaning babies	6	33.3	5	27.8	2	22.2	13	28.9
Bathing babies	5	27.8	5	27.8	2	22.2	12	26.7
Washing women's clothes	4	22.2	10	55.6	4	44.4	18	40.0
Washing men's clothes	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.4
Washing babies clothes	3	16.7	4	22.2	2	22.2	9	20.6
Washing utensils	3	16.7	1	5.6	1	11.1	5	11.1
Collecting wood and fuel	3	16.7	6	33.3	2	22.2	11	24.4
Taking care of child, old and sick	2	11.1	1	5.6	3	33.3	6	13.3
Shopping of household items	2	11.1	1	5.6	2	22.2	5	11.1
Attending to the garden	2	11.1	1	5.6			3	6.7
Sweeping the house	1	5.6			1	11.1	2	4.4
Anything	1	5.6					1	2.2
Not reported			1	5.6			1	2.2

Table 3.37b - Men
Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home

	Katunaya ka N = 18		Biyagam a N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	18	100	17	94.4	9	100	44	97.8
Neglect of children	15	83.3	17	94.4	7	77.8	39	86.7
Loss of family status	2	11.1	4	22.2			6	13.3
Conflict over distribution/control of economy	2	11.1	5	27.8	2	22.2	9	20.0
Increased work load of other women in the household	6	33.3	16	88.8	5	55.6	27	60.0
Threat to family	1	11.1	3	16.7	1	11.1	5	11.1
Increase in expenses	1	11.1					1	2.2

Table 3.39 b
Marriage outside caste, religion, ethnic group

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried men's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for them N=	6		4		5		15	
Like to marry								
-outside caste	1	16.7	3	75.0	3	60.0	7	46.7
-outside religion	1	16.7	3	75.0	3	60.0	7	46.7
-outside ethnic group			3	75.0	3	60.0	6	40.0
Married men's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son/daughter N=	12		14		4		30	
Like to marry								
-outside caste	6	50.0	8	57.1	0		14	46.7
-outside religion	3	25.0	6	42.9	0		9	30.0
-outside ethnic group	6	50.0	6	42.9	0		12	40.0

Table 3.40 b
Dowry practice in the marriage of men - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 12		N = 14		N = 4		N = 30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry taken								
No	6	50.0	8	57.1	3	75.0	17	56.7
Property			2	14.3			2	6.7
Furniture	4	33.3	6	42.9			10	33.3
Not Reported	2	16.7			1	25.0	3	10.0
Whether family satisfied								
Yes	6	50.0	12	85.7	1	25.0	19	63.3
No			1	7.1			1	3.3
Not Reported	6	60.0	1	7.1	3	75.0	1	3.3

Table 3.41 b
Children's Marriage - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 12		N = 14		N = 4		N = 30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter								
Yes	7	58.3	11	78.6	2	50.0	20	66.7
No	2	16.7			1	25.0	3	10.0
Not Reported	3	25.0	3	21.4	1	25.0	7	23.3
Intend to ask dowry for son								
Yes			1	7.1	1	25.0	2	6.7
No	9	75.0	10	71.4	2	50.0	21	70.0
Not Reported	3	25.0	3	21.4	1	25.0	7	23.3
Desired age of marriage for daughter								
18 years	1	8.3	2	14.3			3	10.0
18 - 25 years	6	50.0	8	57.1	2	50.0	16	53.3
Over 25 years	3	25.0	2	14.3	1	25.0	6	20.0
Not Reported	2	16.7	2	14.3	1	25.0	5	16.7
Desired age of marriage for son								
18 - 25 years	2	16.7	5	35.7			7	23.3
Over 25 years	7	58.3	4	28.6	3	75.0	14	46.7
Not Reported	3	25.0	5	35.7	1	25.0	9	30.0

Table 3.42 b
Trends in dowry demand - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	11	61.1	17	94.4	6	66.7	34	75.6
Increase because of economic problems	2	11.1	1	5.6	2	22.2	5	11.1
Gives value to marriage	1	5.6					1	2.2
Money important					1	11.1	1	2.2
Not Reported	4	22.2					4	8.9
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	45	100

Table 3.44 b
Son Preference - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No - sons and Daughters same	3	16.7	12	66.7	3	33.3	18	40.0
Yes - sons better	12	66.7	4	22.2	3	33.3	19	42.2
Yes, women get more respect	10	55.6	1	5.6	3	33.3	14	31.1
Sons look after parents in old age	6	33.3	2	11.1	1	11.1	9	20.0
Necessary to family continuity	1	5.6	4	22.2	1	11.1	6	13.3
Boys can do all the things girls cannot do	2	11.1			1	11.1	3	6.7
Not reported	3	16.7	2	11.1	3	33.3	8	17.8
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	42	100

Table 3.45 b
Use of Family Planning Methods - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N=12		N=14		N=6		N=30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods	3	25.0	4	28.6	4	100	11	36.7
Reasons for not using								
- Not necessary	1	8.3	4	28.6			5	15.7
- Wife does not agree			1	7.1			1	3.3
- Not enough information	3	25.0					3	10.0
- Do not like			1	7.1			1	3.3
- Wife Pregnant	1	8.3	3	21.4			4	13.4
- Want a child	2	16.7					2	6.7
Not reported	2	16.7	1	7.1			3	10.0
Aware of ultra scan facilities								
Yes	3	25.0	4	28.6	1	25.0	8	26.7
No	8	66.7	10	71.4	3	75.0	21	70.0
Not Reported	1	8.3					1	3.3
Use of ultra scan facilities to ascertain sex of child								
Yes			1	7.1			1	3.3
No	8	66.7	10	71.4	4	100	22	73.3
Not Reported	4	33.3	3	21.4			7	23.3
Total	12		14	100	4	100	80	100

Table 3.46 b
Control of Sexuality - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 12		N = 14		N = 4		N = 30	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband								
Very	9	75.0	9	64.3	3	75.0	21	70.0
To some extent	2	16.7	5	35.7	1	25.0	8	26.7
Not Reported	1	8.3					1	3.3
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband								
Very	8	66.7	9	64.3	2	50.0	19	63.3
To some extent	3	25.0	5	35.7	2	50.0	10	33.3
Not Reported	1	8.3					1	3.3
Refusal to have sex with husband								
Cannot refuse	5	41.7	2	50.0	1	7.1	8	26.7
Can refuse	6	50.0	2	50.0	13	92.9	21	70.0
Not reported	1	8.3					1	3.3
If refused reaction of wife N=	6		2		13		21	
Understanding	6	100.0	1	50.0	13	100.0	20	95.2
Verbally abusive			1	50.0			1	4.8

Table 3.47b
Moving out of a marriage - Men

	Katunayake N = 18		Biyagama N = 18		Koggala N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%.	NO.	%	No.	%
Opinion on woman moving out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent								
- Can move out	4	22.2	11	61.1	4	44.4	19	42.2
- Cannot move out	12	66.7	7	38.9	5	55.6	24	53.3
- Not reported	2	11.1					2	4.4
Acceptable reasons for man to leave wife								
Wife unfaithful	15	83.3	12	66.7	8	88.4	35	77.8
No sexual satisfaction	1	5.6	2	11.1	2	22.2	5	11.1
Infertile	1	5.6	1	5.6			2	4.4
Cannot bear sons	1	5.6					1	2.2
Poor housekeeper/cook					1	11.1	1	2.2
Does not respect him/his family			2	11.1	1	11.1	3	6.7
Should not move out	2	11.1	7	38.9	1	11.1	10	22.2
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Acceptable reasons for woman to leave husband								
If he beats her	12	66.7	4	22.2	7	77.8	23	51.1
Husband unfaithful	6	33.3	12	66.7	2	22.2	20	44.4
Infertile			2	11.1	1	11.1	3	6.7
Important	3	16.7	1	5.6	2	22.2	6	20.0
Does not respect her / family			1	5.6	1	11.1	2	4.4
Does not provide for family			1	5.6			1	2.2
Should not move out	2	11.1	7	38.9	1	11.1	10	22.2
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2

Table 3.48b
Participation in Decision Making - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No	%.	NO.	%	No.	%
Participation before economic activity								
Yes	11	78.6	11	84.6	7	100	29	64.4
No	1	7.1	2	15.4			3	6.7
Not reported	2	14.3					2	4.4
Participation at present								
Yes	14	77.8	18	100	8	88.9	40	88.9
No	2	11.1			1	11.1	3	6.7
Not reported	2	11.1					2	4.4
Areas of participation								
Providing daily family needs	14	77.8	15	83.3	6	66.7	35	77.8
Education of children	3	16.7	7	38.9	1	11.1	11	24.4
Marriage of children	5	27.8	6	33.3	1	11.1	12	26.7
Buying and selling of assets	7	38.9	17	94.4	4	44.4	28	62.2
Buying and selling of jewellery	2	11.1	10	55.6	4	44.4	16	35.6
Health care of family	3	16.7	9	50.0	2	44.4	14	31.1
Employment related issues	7	38.9	17	94.4	4	22.2	28	62.2
Disputes (eg neighbours)	4	22.2	2	11.1	1	11.1	7	15.6
Major expenses	7	38.9	17	94.4	5	55.6	29	64.4
Total	18		18		9		45	

Table 3.49b
Final authority in Decision Making - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 18		N = 18		N = 9		N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	11	61.1	5	27.8	3	33.3	19	42.2
Education of children	3	16.7	5	27.8	1	11.1	9	20.0
Marriage of children	4	22.2	3	16.7			7	15.6
Buying and selling assets	6	33.3	14	77.8	3	33.3	23	44.4
Buying and selling jewellery			1	5.6			1	2.2
Healthcare of family members			2	11.2			2	4.4
Employer related issues	1	5.6	11	61.1	2	22.2	14	31.1
Disputes eg. neighbours	1	5.6					1	2.2
Major expenses	6	33.3	14	77.8	3	3.33	23	44.4

Table 3.50b
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women - Men

	Katunayake		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No	%	NO.	%	No.	%
Decision making family								
Should increase	8	44.4	1	5.6	4	44.4	13	28.9
Should not increase	6	33.3	17	94.4	5	55.6	29	63.2
Not reported	4	22.2					1	8.9
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	45	100
Reasons for increase								
Women manage the household					1	25.0	1	7.7
Women can make good decisions	1	12.5					1	7.7
Women should have equal say	7	87.5	1	100	3	75.0	11	84.6
Total	8	100	1	100	4	100	13	100
Decision making in the community								
Should increase	13	72.2	15	83.3	8	88.9	36	80.0
Should not increase	4	22.2	3	16.7	1	11.1	8	17.8
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	45	100
Reasons for increase								
Women should have equal opportunity	2	15.4	1	6.7	5	63.5	8	22.2
Women understand better	8	61.1	8	53.3	2	25.0	18	50.0
Women are more sincere honest and responsible	3	23.1	9	60.0	2	25.0	14	38.5
Total	13	100	15	100	8	100	36	100

Table 3.51b
Freedom of movement of women and girls - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women /girls compared to men/boys								
Less	17	94.4	17	94.4	8	88.9	42	93.3
No difference			1	5.6	1	11.1	2	4.4
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.6
Total	18	100	18	100	9	100	45	100
Reasons for less freedom								
Not traditional	5	27.8	1	5.9	3	37.5	9	21.4
Fear of social disapproval	2	11.1			1	12.5	3	7.1
Fear of harassment	12	66.7	16	94.1	6	75.0	34	81.0
Cases of molestation in neighbourhood			6	35.3	1	12.5	6	14.3
General problems in country			2	11.8			2	4.8
Not Reported			1	5.9			1	2.4
Total	18		17		8		42	

Table 3.52b
Physical mobility of women - Men

	Katunayake N = 18				Biyagama N = 18				Koggala N = 9				Total N = 45							
	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without Permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	16	14	15	16	17	13	17	15	5	5	5	5	38	84.4	32	71.1	37	83.2	36	80.0
Banks	16	12	16	16	18	11	18	15	6	4	6	5	40	84.4	27	60.0	40	88.9	36	80.0
Temples	17	12	16	16	18	14	18	16	9	8	9	8	44	97.8	32	71.1	43	95.6	40	88.9
Restaurant	16	12	16	16	17	15	17	15	9	9	9	8	42	93.3	36	80.0	42	93.3	39	86.7
Cinema	14	12	14	14	14	14	14	11	8	7	8	7	36	80.0	33	73.3	36	80.0	32	71.1
Parental home	17	12	17	17	14	12	14	12	6	6	6	6	37	82.2	30	66.7	7	82.2	35	77.8
Homes of relations	16	12	16	16	15	12	15	12	8	7	8	8	39	86.7	31	68.9	39	86.7	32	71.1
Friends' houses	16	13	16	16	17	13	17	13	8	7	8	8	41	91.1	33	73.3	41	91.1	37	82.2

Table 3.53b
Gender aspirations of rebirth - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn as a woman			1	5.6			1	2.2
To be reborn as a man	18	100.0	17	94.4	7	77.8	42	43.3
To be reborn as a man or woman					2	22.2	2	4.4
Total No.	18	100.0	18	100.0	9	100.0	45	100.0

Table 3.54b
Conflict Issues in Neighbourhood - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N =18		N =18		N =9		N =45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcoholism	16	88.9	17	94.4	9	100	42	93.3
Fight over property/money	9	50.0	14	77.8	4	44.4	27	60.0
Fight with spouse and family	5	29.8	9	50.0	3	33.3	17	33.8
Dowry demands	4	22.2	4	22.2	3	33.3	11	24.4
Extra marital affairs	7	38.9	8	44.4	4	44.4	14	42.2
Neglect of household duties	13	72.2	16	88.9	5	55.6	34	75.6
Disobedience to husband/elders	10	55.6	13	72.2	4	44.4	27	60.0
Giving answers back	13	72.2	16	88.9	9	100	38	84.4
Economic constraints	11	61.1	18	100	6	66.7	35	77.8
Giving birth to girl child	2	11.1			1	11.1	3	6.7
Suspicion	10	55.6	3	76.7	6	66.7	19	42.2
Infidelity	8	44.4	9	50.0	4	44.4	21	46.7
Childlessness	3	16.7	2	11.1	1	22.1	7	15.6
Demand for hot meals	3	16.7	1	5.6	1	11.1	5	11.1
Physical mobility	3	16.7	1	5.6	1	11.1	5	11.1
Refuse sex	3	16.7					4	8.9
Children's problems			1	5.6			1	5.6
Drug addiction			3	16.7			3	16.7
Not reported	1	5.6					1	5.6

Table 3.55b
Conflict Issues within the Family - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N =18		N =18		N =9		N=45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Conflicts	6	33.3	10	55.6	3	33.3	19	42.2
Fight over property/money	6	33.3	2	11.1	1	11.1	9	20.0
Extra amarital affairs	1	5.6					1	2.2
Gambling	1	5.6			2	22.2	3	6.6
Fight over family			6	33.3			6	13.3
Alcoholic brothers					1	11.1	1	2.2
Spends more time in parents home and neglects household work	2	11.1					2	4.4
Disruption of education	1	5.6					1	2.2
Not reported	2	11.1	1		2	22.2	5	11.1

Table 3.56b
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere -Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 18		N = 18		N = 9		N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experiences	8	44.4	10	55.6	6	66.7	24	53.3
Verbal abuse	8	44.4	8	44.4	3	33.3	19	42.2
Threats	3	16.7	3	16.7	1	11.1	7	15.6
Throwing objects	3	16.7			1	11.1	4	8.9
Destroying household items					1	11.1	1	2.2
No conversation with wife			1	5.6			1	2.2
Not reported	1	5.6					1	2.2
Response to Abuse N=	10		8		3		21	
Tolerate silently	3	30.0	4	50.0	2	66.7	9	42.9
Explained to wife			1	12.5			1	4.8
Let others know in family	4	40.0	3	37.5	1	33.3	8	38.1
No meals	2	20.0					2	9.5
Hit back	1	10.0	1	12.5			2	9.5

Table 3.57b
Violence outside the domestic sphere - Men

	Katunayaka		Biyagama		Koggala		Total	
	N = 18		N = 18		N = 9		N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No violence	13	72.2	9	50.0	8	88.9	30	66.7
Fight over property	1	5.6	5	27.8			6	13.3
	1	5.6	1	5.6			2	4.4
Sexual harassment at workplace								
Fight in workplace			2	11.1			2	4.4
Political violence	2	11.1	1	5.6			3	6.7
Alcoholism of husband-quarrels							1	2.2
Not reported	1	5.6			1	11.1	1	2.2
Total	18		18		9		45	

4. Women Workers in Rural Garment Factories

In what was virtually a second phase in the export orientation of the economy initiated with the 1977 macro economic reforms, a programme of rural export industrialisation was implemented in the 1990s. The implicit policy decision was to transform the whole country into an 'Investment Promotion Zone'. In pursuit of this policy, the 200 rural garment factory scheme was introduced outside the three Export Processing Zones in different rural locations in the early 1990s. Since the mid 1990s this policy has been extended to establish Industrial Estates in several rural sites which also included garment factories as a major strategy in expanding export oriented industries.

In Phase 1 of the Study the situation of women and men workers was examined in two rural garment factories in the North Western Province and in Kalutara district to the South of the metropolitan district of Colombo and in a garment factory in an Industrial Estate established in the Gampaha district to the North of the Colombo district. All three factories are owned by foreign investors or firms. One is a part of a chain of factories established in the early 1990s by a local entrepreneur with formal links with a major British firm. The second and third are owned by foreign firms, the former having had a chequered development since the early 1990s, and the latter a recent venture established in 1997. All these enterprises have been part of the process of incorporating rural workers in the international labor market in the hope of revitalising the rural economy and accelerating the process of industrialisation.

Phase 2 of the Study explored the experiences of a sub-sample of women workers in 40% of the households in Phase 1 of the Study and samples of women other than the identified workers and men in these households. The focus is on the social and gender relations that

impinged on the lives of these women in their employment, access to and control of economic and other resources, household labor, marriage and decision-making.

Background

Thirty six of the 90 households in Phase 1 were selected for study but as two women in the Kurunegala households and two in the Malwatte households had moved since the Phase 1 study, this study was confined to 32 households.

Although firmly rooted in the rural sector only two families in the Kurunegala households and one family in the Malwatte (Gampaha district) household, depended on agriculture for their main income. Most men in these households were construction, industrial and service workers and some were unemployed. Among the women not many were economically active other than the women garment workers especially in the Malwatte households. Those economically active were mostly self employed with a few in manufacturing and services sectors and in unpaid family labour in agriculture. Incomes were somewhat higher than in agricultural households and only around 15% were around the poverty line and had poor housing. Only one family in Kurunegala was affluent. Among the Kurunegala households 80% owned some land, including state alienated land, less than an acre in extent. Among the Kalutara and Malwatte households 83.3% and 90% had only their homestead land (Table 4.1 - 4.8). Families therefore depended largely on wage income and the contribution of the women garment workers appeared to contribute to the economic stability of families.

Of the 36 garment workers of the Phase 1 study who constituted this sample, four had left the area as noted earlier and four had left the garment factories two in Kurunegala and two in Kalutara, and were no

longer economically active. One woman had left the factory as a reaction to the abusive behaviour of the management, and household work and child care responsibilities had compelled two women to withdraw from the labor force. The fourth had not indicated a reason for withdrawal. Hence only 28 of the 32 garment workers who were still in the area were employed in these factories – a drop out rate of 12.5% during a year.

The group of 34 other women in these households comprised one or two women, according to circumstances, from 26 households as six households had no women other than the garment workers. One man, each was identified in 11 of the 12 households in Kalutara and the ten households in Malwatte. As only two men could be met in the Kurunegala households, these households were not included in the sample of 21 men. Overall a total of 87 persons (66 women and 21 men) were interviewed in these three locations and only 62 persons were found to be economically active. – 28 garment workers, 16 other women and 18 men. Three men and 18 other women were not engaged in economic activities at the time of the study and no one under 18 years was economically active. All the women and men were interviewed for the non-economic aspects of the study.

Age wise 50%, 91.7% and 70% of the women garment workers in the Kurunegala, Kalutara and Malwatte households were between 18 and 29 years while the other women and the men in these households were distributed among all age groups. In this respect, the age structure of the Kurunegala garment workers in this sample appears to be atypical. Similarly 10% of the Kurunegala garment workers, and 75% and 60% respectively of the Kalutara and Malwatte garment workers were unmarried. Over two thirds of the other women in the households and 80% to 90% of the men were married. Women had higher educational attainment levels than the men as only one man, 18.7% of the women

garment workers and 29.4% of the other women had a complete secondary education. A substantial proportion were secondary school drop-outs, and a lesser proportion had lower education attainment including three illiterate women (Table 4.9a – 4.11a, and 4.9b – 4.11b).

Control of Labour

Besides the 28 women garment workers in factories in the rural sector, the other women in the sample were machine operators, beedi wrappers, clerks and other service workers, and self employed women engaged in servicing, vending, rubber tapping and animal rearing. The men were masons, carpenters, machine operators, traders, and service workers – security guard, minor office employee, driver and lorry cleaner [Table 4.12a and 4.12b]. All these occupations tend to be at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy and the women garment workers too have had few alternatives in view of their educational levels and the incidence of unemployment in the country.

As the rural garment factories were established in the 1990s, 78.6 % of the women garment workers have less than five years of service. It was seen in the Phase 1 study that one fourth of garment workers had been employed previously, chiefly in other factories. Around one third of the other women and the men had over ten years of service in their current economic activity [Table 4.13a and 4.13b] .

All 28 garment workers were permanent workers but only half (14) had standard contracts. All the Malwatte workers and 50% of the Kurunegala workers had flexible agreements with employers which increased their vulnerability to arbitrary termination of services. All garment workers were given the benefits enforced by labour legislation but the Malwatte workers had the best amenities with respect to meals and travel. The workers who had the least amenities were those in the Kalutara factory

which has closed down between the two phases of the study as a consequence of labour unrest. Labour control was exercised not only through terms of employment but also through compulsory (71.4%) and 'voluntary' overtime beyond the scheduled eight hours of work. No night shifts were reported in these three factories, perhaps due to their rural location and the fact that the workers were not housed in lodgings in the vicinity of the factories. Among the other women workers in these households, service workers who had permanent jobs and machine operators were protected by labour legislation but machine operators had the same forms of labour control such as compulsory overtime as the garment workers (Table 4.14a – 4.17a, and 4.14b – 4.17b).

Only half the men were employed in the formal sector, those who were in temporary or casual employment did not receive benefits such as EPF and ETF and facilities such as medical coverage while all had problems of excessive hours of work and overtime [Table 4.14b - 4.17b]. They complained of job instability but not of the working environment. On the other hand most garment workers and other industrial workers complained of over work, work that involved continuous standing, and frequently changing to unfamiliar tasks and even being compelled to work extra hours without pay. Over 80% of the self-employed women held that they were exploited by middlemen who extracted labour without commensurate payment (Table 4.18a and 4.18b). Self employed men were chiefly masons and carpenters who had relatively more control of their labour inputs.

Participation in labour unions has been minimal. No garment workers were members of any Trade Union and only two of the other women were members of an Employers' Society in the factory and a Welfare Society. Only half the men were in formal sector jobs and some of them were

members of trade unions. Men machine operators had the same restrictions on their mobility during working hours as the women.

Control of Economic Resources

Economic resources in this study encompass employment, income and assets. Over 80% of the women garment workers and around half the other women said that they had made their own decision to seek employment, but it was found that in actual practice only around 30% of the women in both groups made independent choices as they have sought the concurrence of husbands or parents (4.19a). Around 25% to 30% have faced opposition from the family and 60% to 70% have had specific occupations vetoed by spouses or parents. These occupations included jobs outside the home, far from home, overseas, or those which involved night shifts and danger, and specifically jobs in the armed and security forces (Table 4.20a and 4.20a).

Men have had the freedom to make their own decisions. No man has consulted his wife and two men (9.6%) have had discussions with parents or children (Table 4. 19b).

The income generated by these women and men make a crucial contribution to household income. Half the women garment workers and 80% of the other women workers contribute half or all their wages to the family and 88.9% of the men claimed to contribute all their employment income to the family. More importantly from the perspectives of the study, 82.1% of women garment workers, 81.3% of other women workers and 81.3% of men workers have control of their salaries or wages. Around 18% of the women hand over their wages to their parents or parents-in-law but not to their spouses while 22% of the men hand over their wages to their wives. Women garment workers (78.6%) and 62.5% of other women workers also have their independent bank accounts, and

two thirds also have their own informal savings such as cheetu. 78.6% of the garment workers and 56.3% of the other women workers can withdraw from their accounts without consultation with any member of the family. Only half the men have bank accounts which they operate independently and only one man has informal savings (4.22a and 4.22b]. It appears therefore that women are relatively more in control of the economic resources they generate from employment.

Few women have assets such as lands, houses or vehicles. All women garment workers however have acquired jewellery and 70% to 80% have bank deposits and other savings, 82.4% of other women workers own jewellery, 64.7% have bank deposits and 50 have other savings. Not many however can dispose of their assets without concurrence and the only articles they could acquire on their own are clothes (Table 4.23a and 4.24a and 4.25a). In contrast, 72.7% of the men in the Kalutara households and 40.0%% of men in the Malwatte households own land and houses . Again 63.6% and 30.09% respectively own vehicles. The majority of men in the Kalutara households but none in the Malwatte households can dispose of their assets independently and two thirds of all the men can acquire anything without anybody's concurrence. It is interesting however that very few men have bank deposits or other savings. No man has a life insurance policy while 18.8% women garment workers have such policies (Table 4.23b, 4.24b and 4.25b]. The responses of these women and men reflect gender inequality in the ownership of traditional assets such as land and houses. It is clear, however, that access to employment has enabled women workers to acquire their own assets through their capacity and motivation to invest in savings.

Both women and men were invited to articulate their perceptions of changes that take place in the personality and the life styles of women

when they are employed outside the home Positive changes felt by women garment workers and other women in their families were increased economic security (93.8% and 91.2%), improved self-esteem (100% and 97.1%), increased mobility (96.9% and 100%), increased decision making power in the household (87.5% and 88.2%), improved standing in the family (78.1% and 76.5%), more knowledge and experience (78.1% and 73.5%), more self-confidence (53.1% and 47.1%) and an enlarged social network (43.8% and 50.0%). An adverse consequence was an increased work load (90.6% and 85.3%) (Table 4.26a and 4.27a). Men noted the same changes in women even more forcefully in some instances, in increased self-esteem, standing in the family, mobility, household decision making, economic security, more knowledge and experience, and greater workload, and as the women had done, to a lesser extent in self-confidence and enlarged social network (Table 4.26b and 4.27b). Their observations appear to validate the women's own perceptions of the positive impact of employment on women.

Allocation of Resources

Two of the basic rights of members of families are equal access to resources through education and health care.

In consonance with the strong policy focus on access to education over decades, virtually all women and men wanted the same educational opportunities for girls and boys. According to the perceptions of 71.8% of women garment workers, 88.2% other women and 90.5% of the men, similar educational opportunities have been provided in their families. Examples given are absence of gender discrimination in expenditure, support to study to any level desired, and provision of equal facilities and time. A few of the women had different views. They felt that boys had an advantage in that they do not have to attend to other work at home and are allowed to travel to distant schools (Table 4.28a and 4.28b).

Views regarding the level to which girls and boys should study also surfaced some differences. A university degree, the highest possible level or as high as the child desire were the aspirations for boys of 70.7% garment workers, 59.8% other women and 57.2% men, and the aspirations for girls were of a higher percentage in all three groups - 78.1%, 67.6% and 61.9% respectively. Vocational qualifications were deemed to be appropriate for boys by 12 - 15 % of women and men and 17.4% and 30.4% men felt that boys and girls respectively should be educated only to GCE (O/L or A/L) (Tables 4.29a and 4.29b). It appears that men were more conservative but that there was no overt gender discrimination in levels of aspirations. For both boys and girls the need for a high level of education was to ensure a good job and a better quality of life.

There was an absence of gender discrimination, too, in the responses to the query as to who should be withdrawn from schools in the context of financial constraints. The men were the most forthright in their responses; 53.1% of the garment workers, 55.9% of other women and 76.2% of the men said no child should be withdrawn even in such circumstances; and 34.4%, 26.5% and 19.2% respectively said that the child who was not doing well in school or the oldest child, irrespective of sex should be withdrawn. No man said that a boy child or girl child should be removed from school. Two garment workers (6.3) and one other woman (2.9) preferred to withdraw the boy child and two women members of the family, the girl child (Tables 4.30a and 4.30b).

The majority of garment workers (75.0%) and 14.7% of other women observed that there was gender differentiation in assigning tasks to girls and boys in schools - boys were given farming, carpentry, construction and "hard" work, and girls sewing, home science and cleaning the

classroom. Men were less perceptive as only 38.1% noted any difference, although this minority also noted farming to be a male activity and sweeping a female activity (Table 4.31a and 4.31b). The majority – 65.6% garment workers, 61.8% other women and 76.2% men - saw no gender differentiation in behavioural expectations. Nevertheless, around 40% women and 25% men commented on the fact that schools expect boys to be playful, active and even aggressive, and girls to be decent, quiet and passive (Table 4.32a and 4.32b). The vocational aspirations of these women and men in their own school days also reflected gender role stereotypes. The women had aspired to the few occupations accepted as appropriate for women - teacher, nurse, clerk. The men had had a wider range of vocational aspirations such as engineer, motor mechanic, teacher, carpenter, mason, army, business, trade, driver (Table 4.33a and 4.33b). Hence educational opportunity was affected adversely by gendered norms that limited choice.

Access to food within the family has been an issue underscored in gender literature. While 50% of garment workers, 38.2% of other women and 57.1% of the men agreed that men and women do not sit to eat together in families, and 46.9%, 44.1% and 57.1% respectively had similar perceptions of boys and girls eating separately, most of these women and men attributed this situation to the different time patterns of male and female activities. Very few women and men considered this a traditional practice that accorded priority to male needs. There was consensus largely by over 80% of garment workers, other women and the men that men, women, girls and boys had access to the same levels of health care (Table 4.34a and 4.34b).

Gender Division of Labour within the Household

The responses of the women and men regarding their participation in household tasks indicates that the gender division of labour is

inequitable in most households. 'Almost all' or 'most' of cooking was said to be the task of 53.5% garment workers and 68.8% other women and only 23.9% of the men; washing cooking utensils by 60.7%, 62.5% and 19.2% respectively, child care by 42.9%, 37.8% and 19.2%, washing clothes by 64.3%, 52.5% and 28.6%, fetching water and fuel by 57.2%, 56.3% and 23.9%; and care of the old and sick by 50.0%, 31.3% and 19.2%. There were some variations such as the limited participation of other women in Kurunegala in washing clothes, fetching water and fuel and care of the old and sick. But overall, around half the women had intensive and time consuming involvement in these tasks. The participation of men was different in the two locations. All the men in the Malwatte households participated chiefly to a "little" extent. In the Kalutara households at least one third of the men had a relatively high degree of sharing household tasks (Table 4.35a and 4.35b).

Among the women, 40.6% of garment workers and 26.5% of other women felt that men will not undertake any task while 12.5% and 16.8% of the two groups of women and one third of the men said that men would undertake any task. Women identified washing men's clothes and shopping as tasks that most men would do. It is interesting that men too agreed that these two tasks as well as fetching water and attending to the garden were chores that men were likely to undertake (Table 4.36a and 4.36b).

It is apparent that equal participation in domestic tasks remains a distant goal and that women's dual roles make heavy demands on their time and energy.

In assessing changes that have taken place with the increasing numbers of women working outside the home, there was virtual consensus (97% of women and 95% men) that there was conflict over domestic chores.

Neglect of children was seen as a negative consequence by 71.8% garment workers 64.7% other women and 61.9% of men. There was also a perception among most women and men in the Kalutara households that an increased work load in the domestic sphere had been thrust on non-employed women in the household (Table 4.37a and 4.37b).

Gender Relations – Marriage, Reproduction and Sexuality

In all three locations the minimum age of marriage has been 16 years, but the majority of women and the spouses of the men have been between 18 and 25 years and even over 25 years at marriage. Half the men and the spouses of the women have been between 18 and 25 years and half have been over 25 years. (Tables 4.38a, 4.38b). The desirable age of marriage for both daughters. and sons. in the opinion of the women and the men is between 18 and 25 years or over 25 years. (Tables 4.40a, 4.1a and 4.40b, 4.41b) Around half the unmarried women were prepared to marry outside their caste, and 62.5 and 36% of married women in the two groups and 36.8% of married men liked their children marrying outside their caste. Few women wished to marry outside their religion and ethnic group, and around 30% of women workers, 16% of older women and 31.6% men were agreeable to their children marrying outside their religion and ethnic group. (Tables 4.39a and 4.39b).

Gender relations between spouses reflected contradictions caused by the interface of women's changing roles and gendered norms that buttress oppressive practices. All the married garment workers in Kalutara and Malwatte and two thirds in Kurunegala and 68% of the other married women in their families had been able to exercise their choice in the selection of their partners. (Table 4.38a). Many women are therefore no

longer inhibited by family control. Around 90% of the men in both locations had exercised their choice. (Table 4.38b).

The practices associated with marriage still appear to have a relatively strong hold on women, thereby reinforcing gender inequality. The dowry system still operates in marriage but 81.3% of women workers and 64% of other women have not been given dowries, and 57.9% of the men have not received dowries. At the same time, 55.6% of garment workers in Kurunegala, none in Kalutara and Malwatte, and 60% to 80% of other women in these families in all locations, and only 26.3% of the men wanted to give dowries to their daughters. In contrast only one woman and one man in the Kalutara households wanted to ask dowry for their sons. (Tables 4.40a, 4.44a and 4.40b, 4.44b). the distinction between giving a dowry as economic support to their daughters and engaging in bargaining for their sons surfaces in this sample too. While 85.7% of the men have not seen an increase in the demand for dowries, around 40% of the women have observed that economic problems and the increase in the number of employed women who can accumulate dowries have tended to extend the practice. Two women and one man have also commented that dowries are perceived to be a strategy to enhance the status and progress of husbands. (Tables 4.42a and 4.42b)

A more obnoxious practice, the virginity test appears to have wide acceptance among women. The large majority in all locations, 81.3% of garment workers and 84% of other women, have undergone the test passively without awareness of its implications for women's subordination. Two thirds of the women felt that such a test was necessary to ensure security and respect for women in the context of the social norms to which they subscribed. Only around 10% questioned its appropriateness to modern society, its relevance and its unscientific basis. (Table 4.43a).

Son preference is not as strong as in some other societies but half the garment workers and other women and two thirds of the men believed that it was important to have sons. Reasons were the conventional claims that a woman with sons receives more respect and that sons will look after parents and sisters and ensure family continuity. One woman even expressed the fear that women without sons were vulnerable to harassment. (Table 4.44a and 4.44b).

Only one third of the women and two thirds of the men said that they had used family planning methods to control the size of families. Some of the women and men who did not use these devices preferred natural methods, faced opposition from husbands or feared side effects as they had inadequate access to information. 62.5% of garment workers, 52% of other women and 63% of the men were aware of the availability of ultra scan facilities but only three women had used it to ascertain the sex of the foetus (Table 4.45a and 4.45b).

Gender relations were also explored in the areas of control of sexuality and autonomy within a marriage. 93.7% of garment workers 96% and of other women would refuse to have sex with their spouse if they did not wish to do so; 43.5% and 40% expected their spouses to be understanding but 31.3% and 28% anticipated verbal abuse and 9.4% and 8.0% physical abuse (Table 4. 46a). Among the men however only 63.2% would refuse and they would expect their spouses to be understanding (Table 4.46b).

Around half the women also would exercise their option to move out of an unhappy marriage if they had financial resources – 50% of garment workers in Kurunegala, 75.0% in Kalutara and 30% in Malwatte, and 44.4%, 58.8% and 12.5% other women in the three locations.

Significantly only 42.9% of the men – 63.6% in Kalutara and 20% in Malwatte said that women could do so. The most acceptable reasons for husbands to leave their wives were considered to be infidelity of the wife by 75% of the garment workers, 85% of other women and 85.7% of the men. Other reasons were absence of sexual satisfaction – 28.1%, 41.2% and 28.6% respectively - and infertility, 34.4%, of women workers and of other women. 29.4%. Acceptable reasons for a wife to leave a husband were, wife beating by 62.5% of garment workers, 55.9% of other women and 76.2% of the men. Infidelity of the husband was the next issue – 50%, 50% and 33% and infertility – 31.3%, 9.4% and 33% (Table 4.47a and 4.47b).

Women were seen to be able to select their partners, control their sexuality and walk out of a marriage but were socialised into accepting practices such as virginity tests and preference for sons.

Household Decision Making

Women and particularly men claimed to participate in decision making in the household. For both the most extensive area of decision making was in the provision of daily family needs. Women were seen to be relatively more involved in decisions regarding the marriage of their children. Men participated actively in all aspects including buying and selling assets. Most (70%-90%) men in the Kalutara households but few in the Malwatte households shared in household decision making in all aspects of household life, but overall the pattern of decision making was not markedly different. Men, however had clearly more authority in family decisions. (Tables 4.48a, 4.49a, 4.48b and 4.49b).

Most women (around 70%) felt that women's share in decision making should increase both in the household as well as in the community. A lower percentage of men (61.9%) said that women's decision making

powers in the household should increase, but almost all (90.5%) favoured greater decision making powers for women in the community. Patriarchy was imbedded in gender relations within the family but diffused in the less intimate public sphere. However more men than women gave overt expression to acceptance of the principle of equality in power sharing in the household. (Tables 4.50a and 4.50b)

The extent of freedom of movement of girls and women mirrors their degree of autonomy in the household and their vulnerability to social control. Both women (94.1%) and men (95.5%) were in agreement that girls and women have less freedom in physical mobility, as a consequence of fear of sexual harassment outside their homes as well as of traditional norms that tended to impose social disapproval of women's freedom of mobility (Table 4.51a and 4.51b). Unlike men, women fear that their - freedom was restricted in freedom to visit public places- cinemas and restaurants rather than places associated with their daily life, and kinship and friendship networks. Men did not appear to see such a distinction. Women claimed restriction of their freedom to travel alone. Both underscored the crucial feature of women's lack of autonomy - the need for "permission" for mobility outside the home (Table 4.52a and 4.52b)

A reflection of perceptions of the overall advantaged situation of men is that 52.9% of the women wanted to be reborn as men , 38.2% as men or women and 8.8% as women. Inevitably 90.5% of the men wanted to be reborn as men and 9.6% as men or women (Tables 4.53a, 4.53b).

Violence

Both women and men spoke of a relatively high degree of domestic violence in families in their neighbourhood. All the men and 94.1% of the women attributed such violence chiefly to alcoholism. Economic

constraints and infidelity also loom large as factors that underlie violence in gender relations. Both felt that violation of gendered norms of unequal relations in the family that assigned household work to women and demand their submission to the authority of men gave rise to conflict. These patriarchal expectations were reflected in the responses of 70% to 80% of the men and 50% to 60% of women (Table 4.54a and 4.54b).

Regarding domestic violence in their families, 52.4% of the men and only 34.4% of workers and 17.6% the women in the family said there was no conflict. Half the women and one fourth of the men blamed the economic constraints of families. But both women and men were less forthcoming in responses related to men's control of women's mobility and sexuality and inequitable gender roles in the family (Table 4.55a and 4.55b).

Responses from women regarding abuse in the family were more explicit. Reports of abuse in the family also differed - 61.9% of the men, 46.9% of women workers and only 32.3% of the other women stating that they had not experienced any form of abuse in the family. The majority of the women have experienced verbal abuse, 21.9% of women workers, 26.5% of other women have suffered physical abuse and 8.8% of other women have endured extreme physical violence in the form of battering. Around 30 % men have claimed verbal abuse from their spouses. Reaction to abuse, particularly by women, has been generally passive. The majority of women have tolerated abuse silently or confided only in their families, inhibited perhaps by the veil of privacy that shrouds such violence. However, a minority of women have taken action - 5% had retorted, 12.5% of women workers had gone back to their parental homes, 10% to attempted suicide and 10% of women workers had reported to the police. Of the 30% men who had reported chiefly verbal abuse, one has resorted to physical violence (Table 4.56a and 4.56b).

Most women, 84.2% of garment workers, 88.2% of other women and 90.5% of men said they had not experienced violence outside the home. A few women however had been victims of sexual abuse and around 6% women in both groups had been exposed to sexual harassment in the workplace in the form of embarrassing comments and taunts with sexual overtones. One women garment worker and another woman had been victims of rape. A few men spoke of clashes, including communal riots (Table 4.57a and 4.57b).

Conclusion

Women garment workers make a crucial contribution to their family. The experiences of women and men had varied according to the work environment. The garment workers and other women and men in similar occupations are vulnerable to job uncertainty and often to harsh working conditions created by the low priority given to human development issues.

In gender relations women in their households unlike the men face contradictory situations. Women's options in employment are often limited by family attitudes and responsibilities. Men have more assets such as land, housing and vehicles but women have as much control as men over the income they generate from employment and the savings they accumulate. Both women and men have observed that positive changes have taken place in the personality and position of women workers in their families and in society.

There was consensus that there is no gender discrimination in access to education, food and health care within families, although gender role stereotypes are sufficiently strong to limit aspirations, options and life chances. The gender division of labour in the household is however

clearly inequitable with women, employed or otherwise shouldering the larger share of domestic tasks. Men appear to have a larger share in decision making in the household and women have restricted physical mobility. With respect to gender relations within the framework of marriage, women have considerable freedom and men total freedom in the selection of their spouses. Many women felt empowered to resist control of sexual relation by spouses and to move out of an unsatisfactory marriage. But both women and men are still socialised in gendered norms that influence them to accept oppressive practices such as dowry (50%), and virginity test (80%) and also son preference (50%), but not to the extent of discriminating against the girl child.

Domestic violence appears to be endemic in families, although both women and men were more reticent regarding violence within their own families. Men perceived little violence in the family. More women however see men as perpetrators of verbal abuse, and to a less extent physical abuse. Reactions are relatively passive with a few taking overt action such as desertion, attempted suicide and complaints to the police. Few have reported violence outside the home. Sexual harassment appears to be under-reported but there have been two instances of rape that illustrate the vulnerability of women to sexual violence in society.

Table 4.1

Earning Status of Household Members - (10 years and over)

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Earnings regular income	5	25.0	13	54.2	11	39.3	14	41.2	11	68.8	13	59.1	27	42.2	40	50.0
Earning irregular income	7	35.0	3	12.5	6	21.4	5	14.7	2	12.5	1	4.5	15	23.4	9	11.2
Not earning	8	40.0	8	33.3	11	39.3	15	44.1	3	11.5	8	36.4	22	34.4	31	38.8
Total	20	100	24	100	28	100	34	100	16	100	22	100	64	100	80	100

Table 4.2

Activity Status of Household Members - (5 years and over)

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Self employed	2	8.7	1	4.0	9	30.0	5	14.3	2	12.5	1	4.5	13	18.9	7	8.5
Salaried worker	3	13.0	3	12.0	5	16.7	1	2.9	9	56.3			17	24.6	4	4.9
Wage worker - piece rate	3	13.0	2	8.0									3	4.3	2	2.4
Wage worker - monthly	1	4.3	10	40.0	1	3.3	13	37.1			12	54.5	2	2.9	35	42.7
Wage worker - daily	1	4.3			1	3.3							2	2.9		
Wage worker - ad hoc	1	4.3											1	1.4		
Unpaid family worker			2	8.0							1	4.5			3	3.6
Unemployed - seeking work	1	4.3			4	13.3	1	2.9	1	6.3	1	4.5	6	8.7	2	2.4
Unemployed - not seeking work	1	4.3	3	12.0	2	6.7	8	22.9	2	12.5	4	18.2	5	7.2	15	18.3
Elders	1	4.3					1	2.9					3	4.3	1	1.2
Students	8	34.8	4	16.0	8	26.7	6	17.1	2	12.5	3	13.6	16	23.2	13	15.9
Handicapped	1	4.3											1	1.4		
Total	23	100	25	100	30	100	35	100	16	100	22	100	69	100	82	100

Table 4.3
Economic Activity by Sector

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	1	9.1	2	11.1					1	9.1	1	7.1	2	5.3	3	5.9
Animal husbandry					3	18.8	2	10.5					3	7.9	2	3.9
Small Industries	1	9.1					3	15.8	1	9.1			2	5.3	3	5.9
Manufacturing	3	27.3	10	55.6	3	18.8	14	73.7	2	18.2	12	85.7	8	21.1	36	70.6
Construction					5	31.3			5	45.5			10	26.3		
Professional Services	3	27.3	2	11.1	2	12.5							5	13.2	2	3.9
Clerical Services			4	22.4											4	7.8
Business					1	6.3			1	9.1			2	5.3		
Retail Services																
Other Services	2	18.2			2	12.5			1	9.1	1	7.1	5	13.2	1	2.0
Odd jobs	1	9.1											1	2.6		
Total	11	100	18	100	16	100	19	100	11	100	14	100	38	100	51	100

Table 4.4

Total monthly wage earnings of households

	Kurunegala		Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rs.								
3,000 -< 5,000	2	20.0	1	8.3	2	20.0	5	15.6
5,000 -< 7,000	1	10.0	4	33.3	5	50.0	10	31.2
7,000 -< 8,000								
8,000 -<10,000	2	20.0	1	8.3			3	9.4
10,000 -<15,000	4	40.0	6	50.0	3	30.0	13	40.6
15,000 -<20,000								
22,000	1	10.0					1	3.1
Total	10	100	12	100	10	100	32	100

Table 4.5

Ownership of Land

	Kurunegala		Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not own	2	20.0					2	6.2
Lowland, highland and homestead	2	20.0					2	6.2
Lowland and homestead			1	8.3	1	10.0	2	6.2
Lowland, Highland and State land	1	10.0					1	3.1
Lowland and state land	1	10.0					1	3.1
Highland and State	1	10.0					1	3.1
Homestead and State land			1	8.3			1	3.1
Only homestead			10	83.3	9	90.0	19	59.3
Only state land	3	30.0					3	9.4
Total	10	100	12	100	10	100	32	100

Table 4.6**Housing**

	Kurunegala		Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
House Type								
Good	3	30.0	2	16.7	1	10.0	6	18.8
Average	6	60.0	8	66.7	6	60.0	20	62.5
Poor	1	10.0	2	16.7	3	30.0	6	18.8
Facilities in Home								
Very Good			1	8.3			1	3.1
Good			1	8.3	1	10.0	2	6.2
Average	8	80.0	8	66.7	7	70.0	23	71.9
Poor	2	20.0	2	16.7	2	20.0	6	18.8
Total	10	100	12	100	10	100	32	100

Table 4.7**Ownership of Vehicles**

	Kurunegala N = 11		Kalutara N = 13		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 32	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No vehicles	3	30.0	3	25.0	5	50.0	11	34.4
Tractor	1	10.0					1	3.1
Bicycle	5	50.0	8	66.7	3	30.0	16	50.0
Motor bike	2	20.0	1	8.3			3	9.4
Not reported			1	8.3	2	20.0	3	9.4

Table 4.8**Ownership of other Assets**

	Kurunegala N = 10		Kalutara N = 12		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 32	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bank Deposits	10	10.0	10	83.3	9	90.0	29	90.6
Other savings	6	60.0	11	91.7	7	70.0	24	79.0
Insurance Policy	2	20.0	5	41.7	1	20.0	8	25.0
Jewellery	10	100.0	12	100.0	9	90.0	31	96.9

Table 4.9a
Respondents by Age - Women

Economic Activity	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Women Workers		Other women		Women Workers		Other women		Women Workers		Other women		Women Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 - 24	4	40.0	2	22.2	9	75.0	4	23.5	4	40.0	1	12.5	17	53.1	7	20.6
25 - 29	1	10.0	2	22.2	2	16.7	1	5.9	3	30.0	1	12.5	6	18.8	4	11.8
30 - 39	1	10.0			1	8.3	2	11.8	3	30.0	1	12.5	5	15.6	3	8.8
40 - 49	4	40.0	2	22.2			3	17.6					4	12.5	5	14.7
50 - 59			2	22.2			4	23.5			4	50.0			10	29.4
60 - 69							3	17.6							3	8.8
70 & above			1	11.1							1	12.5			2	5.9
Total	10	100	9	100	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	34	100

Table 4.10a
Marital Status - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	1	10.0	3	33.3	9	75.0	3	17.6	6	60.0	3	37.5	16	50.0	9	26.5
Married- Customary											1	12.5			1	2.9
Married-Registered	7	70.0	4	44.4	3	25.0	12	70.6	4	40.0	4	50.5	14	43.8	20	58.8
Widowed			1	11.1			1	5.9							2	5.9
Divorced							1	5.9							1	2.9
Separated	2	20.0	1	11.1									2	6.3	1	2.9
Total	10	100	9	100	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	34	100

Table 4.11a
Educational Level - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No schooling - Illiterate							1	5.9			2	25.0			3	8.8
Grades 1 - 5	1	10.0	3	33.3			4	23.9			2	25.0	1	3.1	9	26.5
Grades 6 - 11	5	50.0			11	91.7	10	58.8	9	90.0	2	25.0	25	78.1	12	35.3
GCE O/level	3	30.0	4	44.4	1	8.3	1	5.9			2	25.0	5	15.6	7	20.6
GCE A/level	1	10.0	2	22.2			1	5.9	1	10.0			1	3.1	3	8.8
Total	10	100	9	100	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	34	100

Table 4.12a
Current Economic Activity- Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No economic activity	2	20.0	4	44.0	2	16.7	9	52.9			5	62.5	4	12.5	18	52.9
Machine operator	2	20.0			6	50.0	1	5.9	3	30.0	2	25.0	11	34.4	3	8.8
Knitting jersey									1	10.0			1	3.1		
Linking									4	40.0			4	12.5		
Checking									1	10.0			1	3.1		
Labelling									1	10.0			1	3.1		
Helper - packer					2	16.7	1	5.9					2	6.3	1	2.9
Weaving cloth	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Sewing	1	10.0	1	11.1									1	3.1	1	2.9
Production Assistant	3	30.0											3	9.4		
Supervisor	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Quality Controller					2	16.7							2	6.3		
Beedi wrapping			1	11.1			3	1							4	11.8
Clerk			2	22.2											2	5.9
Bill Clerk							1	5.9							1	2.9
Attendant			1	11.1											1	2.9
Selling condiments											1	12.5			1	2.9
Animal rearing							1	5.9							1	2.9
Rubber tapping							1	5.9							1	2.9
Total	10	100	9	100	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	34	100

Table 4.13a
Duration of Employment - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6 months			1	20.0											1	6.3
6months - <1 year			1	20.0			1	12.5							2	12.5
1 - <5 years	4	50.0	1	20.0	9	90.0	2	25.0	9	90.0	3	100	22	78.6	6	37.5
5 years - <10 years	4	50.0	1	20.0	1	10.0							5	17.9	1	6.3
10 years & above			1	20.0			5	62.5	1	10.0					6	37.5
Not reported													1	3.6		
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100

Table 4.14a
Employment Status - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent employee	8	100	3	60.0	10	100	4	50.0	10	100	2	66.7	28	100	9	56.3
Temporary employee			1	20.0											1	6.3
Self employment			1	20.0			4	50.0			1	33.3			6	37.5
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100

Table 4.15a
Standard or Negotiable Payment - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard	4	50.0	3	60.0	10	100	4	50.0			1	33.3	14	50.0	8	50.0
Negotiable with the Management	1	12.5	1	20.0					10	100	2	66.7	11	39.3	3	18.8
Other - not specified							2	25.0							2	12.5
Seasonal							1	12.5							1	6.3
According to output	3	37.5											3	10.7	1	6.3
Varies			1	20.0											1	6.3
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	

Table 4.16a
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 8		N = 5		N = 10		N = 8		N = 10		N = 3		N = 28		N = 16	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical coverage	8	100	1	20.0	8	80.0	3	37.5	10	100	2	66.7	26	92.9	6	37.5
Weekly rest by rotation	6	75.0	3	60.0	10	100	3	37.5	10	100	2	66.7	26	92.9	8	50.0
All public and Mercantile holidays	7	87.5	2	40.0	2	20.0	1	12.5	6	60.0	2	66.7	15	53.6	5	31.3
EPF	8	100	2	40.0	10	100	4	50.0	10	100	2	66.7	28	100	8	50.0
ETF	8	100	1	20.0	10	100	4	50.0	10	100	2	66.7	28	100	7	43.8
Maternity leave	7	87.5	2	40.0	8	80.0	3	37.5	3	30.0			18	64.3	5	31.3
Nursing interval	4	50.0			2	20.0	1	12.5	4	40.0			10	35.7	1	6.3
Tea	5	63.5	1	20.0	1	10.0			10	100	2	66.7	16	57.1	3	18.8
Meals	1	12.5							10	100	2	66.7	11	39.3	2	12.5
Travel allowance					1	10.0			8	80.0	1	33.3	9	32.1	2	12.5
Uniforms	2	25.0							6	60.0	1	33.3	8	28.6	1	6.3
Bonus	1	12.5											1	3.6		
Reason			2	40.0											2	12.5
Not reported			2	40.0			5	62.5			1	33.3			8	50.0

Table 4.17a
Working Time - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No fixed working time			2	40.0			2	25.0			1	33.3			5	31.3
3 - 5 hours							2	25.0							2	12.5
6 - 7 hours							1	12.5							1	6.3
8 hours	8	100	3	60.0	8	80.0	1	12.5	10	100	2	66.7	26	92.9	6	37.5
More than 8 hours					2	20.0	2	25.0					2	7.1	2	12.5
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100
No overtime			3	60.0			5	62.5							8	100
Compulsory overtime			1	20.0	10	100	3	37.5	10	100	2	66.7	20	71.4	6	37.5
Voluntary overtime	8	100	1	20.0									8	28.6	1	6.3
Not showed/applicable											1	33.3			1	6.3
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100
No shift work	8	100	4	80.0	10	100	8	100	8	80.0	2	66.7	26	92.9	14	87.5
Morning shift			1	20.0											1	6.3
Night shift			1	20.0											1	6.3
Not reported/applicable									2	20.0	1	33.3	2	7.1	1	6.3
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100

Table 4.18a
Harassment at workplace - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 8		Other Women N = 5		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 3		Workers N = 28		Other women N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	8	75.0	4	80.0	1	10.0	3	37.5	1	10.0			8	28.6	7	43.8
Given various unfamiliar Jobs at close intervals in rotation			1	20.0	5	50.0	3	37.5	1	10.0			6	21.4	4	25.0
Shifted repeatedly from normal sitting place					5	50.0	2	25.0					5	17.9	2	12.5
Overloaded with work	1	12.5	1	20.0	5	50.0	3	37.5	9	90.0	2	66.7	15	53.6	6	37.5
Given work that involves continuous standing/sitting	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	30.0			4	40.0			8	28.6	1	6.3
Asked to work extra hours without extra pay					1	10.0							1	3.6		
Exploitation by middlemen			1	20.0			4	50.0							5	31.3
Forced to do overtime					1	10.0							1	3.6		
Not reported							1	12.5			1	33.3				

Table 4.20a**Barriers to seeking / changing employment - Women**

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 9		N = 12		N = 17		N = 10		N = 8		N = 32		N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No barrier	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	16.7	1	5.9	10	100	7	87.5	13	40.6	9	26.5
Cannot leave family occupation/family opposition	1	10.0	1	11.1	7	58.3	8	47.1			1	12.5	8	25.0	10	29.4
Childcare responsibilities	2	20.0	1	8.3	3	17.6							2	6.3	5	14.7
No education/skills/information	8	80.0	7	77.8	2	16.7	2	11.8					10	31.3	9	26.5
No contacts/influence	4	40.0	2	22.2			1	5.9					4	12.5	7	20.6
Weak sight/sick	3	30.0	1	11.1			2	11.8							3	8.8
Old age													3	9.4		
Distance					1	8.3							1	3.1		

Table 4.22a
Control of Income -Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 8		Other Women N = 5		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 3		Workers N = 28		Other women N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earning to household																
All	3	37.5	3	60.0			5	62.5	5	50.0	1	33.3	8	28.6	9	56.3
Half	2	25.0	1	20.0	4	40.0	3	37.5					6	21.4	4	25.0
Some	2	25.0	1	20.0	5	50.0			5	50.0	2	66.7	12	42.9	3	18.8
None	1	12.5			1	10.0							2	7.1		
Control of Salary																
Keep it	7	87.5	5	100	6	60.0	5	62.5	10	100	3	100	23	82.1	13	81.3
Hand over to mother/mother in law					4	40.0	3	37.5					4	14.3	3	18.8
Hand over to father/father in law	1	12.5											1	3.6		
Own Bank Account																
Yes, alone	6	75.0	4	80.0	6	60.0	3	37.5	10	100	3	100	22	78.6	10	62.5
Yes, joint	1	12.5											1	3.6		
No account	1	12.5	1	20.0	4	40.0	3	37.5					5	17.9	4	25.0
Not reported							2	25.0							2	12.5
Other Savings																
No Savings	4	50.0	2	40.0	1	10.0	3	37.5	3	30.0			8	28.6	5	31.3
Till					1	10.0	1	12.5					1	3.6	1	6.3
Cheetu	4	50.0	3	60.0	6	60.0	3	37.5	7	70.0	3	100	17	60.0	9	56.3
Not reported					2	20.0	1	12.5					2	7.1	1	6.3
Permission/consultation to withdraw money from own account																
Not necessary	6	75.0	3	60.0	6	60.0	4	50.0	10	100	2	66.7	22	78.6	9	56.3

Husband	1	12.5			1	10.0	1	12.5				2	7.1	1	6.3	
Mother			1	20.0										1	6.3	
Father	1	12.5										1	3.6			
Not reported			1	20.0	3	30.0	3	37.5			1	33.3	3	10.8	5	31.3

Table 4.23a
Ownership of assets - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	1	10.0	2	22.2	1	8.3	2	11.8			3	37.5	2	6.3	7	20.6
House/Flat			2	22.2	1	8.3	2	11.8			3	37.5	1	3.1	7	20.6
Vehicle	2	20.0	1	11.1			1	5.9			1	12.5	2	6.3	3	8.8
Jewellery	10	100	8	88.8	12	100	13	76.5	10	10.0	7	87.5	32	100	28	82.4
Bank deposit	8	80.0	6	66.6	7	58.3	9	52.9	10	10.0	7	87.5	25	78.1	22	64.7
Other Savings	4	40.0	4	44.4	11	91.7	6	35.3	8	80.0	7	87.5	23	71.9	17	50.0
Life Insurance	1	10.0			5	41.7	1	5.9					6	18.8	1	2.9
Consumer durables																
Radio	3	30.0			1	8.3	2	11.8	1	10.0	1	12.5	5	15.6	3	8.8
Television	2	20.0	2	22.2	1	8.3							4	12.4	2	5.8
Refrigerator			1	11.1	1	8.3							1	3.1	1	2.9
Fan					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Gas cookers	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Sewing Machine			1	11.1	4	33.3	1	5.9					4	12.4	2	5.8

Table 4.24a

Assets that could be disposed of by women - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land			1	11.1	1	8.3							1	3.1	1	2.9
House/Flat			1	11.1	1	8.3							1	3.1	1	2.9
Jewellery	9	90.0	4	44.4	6	50.0	4	23.5					15	46.9	8	23.5
Bank deposit	4	40.0	2	22.2	3	25.0	3	17.6					7	21.9	5	14.7
Consumer durables	2	20.0			4	33.3							6	18.8		
Nothing	1	10.0	2	22.2	1	8.3	3	17.6	9	90.0	8	100	11	34.4	13	38.2
Not reported					1	8.3	8	47.0								

Table 4.25a

Assets that could be bought by women - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything					1	8.3	1	5.9	6	60.0	6	75.0	7	21.9	7	20.6
Jewellery	1	10.0			1	8.3	2	11.8					2	6.3	1	2.9
Land					2	16.7	1	5.9					2	6.3	1	2.9
Garments	8	80.0	2	22.2	5	41.7	6	35.3	4	40.0			17	53.1	8	23.5
Electrical items	3	30.0			1	8.3							4	12.5		

Food	4	40.0	1	11.1	2	16.7	6	35.3					6	18.8	7	20.6
Furniture	1	10.0			1	8.3	2	11.8					2	6.3	2	5.8
Nothing			1	11.1	3	25.0	9	52.9			2	25.0	3	9.4	12	35.3
Not reported	2	20.0	6	66.7									2	6.3	6	17.6
Permission necessary from																
No one	2	20.0	6	66.7	1	8.3	3	17.6	5	50.0			8	25.0	9	26.5
Husband	6	60.0	2	22.2	3	25.4	11	64.7	1	10.0	2	25.0	10	31.3	15	44.1
Father	1	10.0			7	58.3	2	11.8	2	20.0			10	31.3	2	5.8
Mother	4	40.0	1	11.1	5	41.7	1	5.9	2	20.0			11	34.4	2	5.8
Father in law	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Mother in law	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Children							2	11.8							2	5.8
Brother					1	8.3	1	5.9	2	20.0	6	75.0	1	3.1		
Not reported													2	6.3	7	20.6

Table 4.26a
Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside the home - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger personality of self confidence/self esteem	3	30.0			12	100	14	82.4	2	20.0	2	25.0	17	53.1	16	47.1
More experience, knowledge	5	50.0	6	66.7	10	83.1	12	70.6	10	100	7	87.5	25	78.1	25	73.5
More economic security	9	90.0	8	88.9	11	91.7	17	100	10	100	6	75.0	30	93.8	31	91.2
Enlarged social network	6	60.0	7	77.8	3	25.0	7	41.2	5	50.0	3	37.5	14	43.8	17	50.0

Increased decision making power	1	10.0	2	22.2			1	5.9					1	3.1	3	8.8
Improvement in family status																

Table 4.27a
Perceptions of changes in lifestyle of women when women starts working - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total workload																
- increased	8	80.0	5	55.6	12	100	16	94.1	9	90.0	8	100	29	90.6	29	85.3
- decreased	1	10.0	3	33.3					1	10.0			2	6.3	3	8.8
- same	1	10.0	1	11.1			1	5.9					1	3.1	2	5.8
Mobility																
- increased	10	100	8	88.9	12	100	17	100	9	90.0	8	100	31	96.9	34	100
- decreased			1	11.1					1	10.0			2	6.3		
- same																
Self esteem																
- increased	10	100	8	88.9	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	33	97.1
- same			1	11.1												
Standing in the family																
- increased	3	30.0	1	11.1	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	25	78.1	26	76.5
- same	6	60.0	8	88.9									6	18.8	8	23.5
Household decision making																
- increased	6	60.0	5	55.6	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	28	87.5	30	88.2
- same	4	40.0	4	44.8									4	12.8	4	11.8

Table 4.28a
Educational opportunities in families - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was of the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	10	100	9	100	10	83.3	17	100	10	100	8	100	30	93.8	34	100
Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	7	70.0	8	88.9	9	75.0	15	88.2	7	70.0	7	87.5	23	71.8	30	88.2
No discrimination in expenditure	2	20.0	1	11.1	8	66.7	10	58.8					10	31.3	11	32.3
Both can study to any level	6	60.0	7	77.8	2	16.7	4	23.5	4	40.0	3	37.5	12	37.5	14	41.2
Both provided with transport facilities			1	11.1					3	30.0	4	50.0	3	9.4	5	14.7
Both not given other work	1	10.0			1	8.3							2	6.3		
Not reported	3	30.0	1	11.1	1	8.3	2	11.8	3	30.0	1	12.5	7	21.9	4	11.8

Table 4.29a

Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys																
Highest level possible	1	10.0	1	11.1	3	25.0	5	29.4					4	12.4	6	17.6
As the child wishes	3	30.0			1	8.3							4	12.4		
University degree	2	20.0			5	41.7	6	35.3	8	80.0	8	80.0	15	46.9	14	41.2
Vocational qualifications					3	25.0	5	29.4	1	10.0			4	12.4	5	14.7
GCE A/L	2	20.0	3	33.3									2	6.3	3	8.8
GCE O/L	2	20.0	4	44.4			1	5.9					2	6.3	5	14.7
Not reported			1	11.1							1	10.0	1	3.1	1	2.9
Girls																
Highest level possible					2	16.7	5	29.4					2	6.3	5	14.7
As the child wishes	3	30.0	1	11.1	1	8.3	1	8.3					4	12.4	2	5.8
University degree	2	20.0			7	58.3	8	47.1	10	100	8	100	19	59.4	16	47.1
Vocational qualifications					1	8.3	1	5.9					1	3.1	1	2.9
GCE A/L	2	20.0	3	33.3									2	6.3	3	8.8
GCE O/L	3	30.0	4	44.4	1	8.3	1	5.9					4	12.4	5	14.7

Not reported			1	11.1			1	5.9							2	5.8
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Table 4.30a
Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	2	20.0	1	11.1	5	41.7	10	58.8	10	100	8	100	17	53.1	19	55.9
Child not doing well in school	5	50.0	2	22.2	5	41.7	6	35.3					10	31.3	8	23.5
Eldest child			1	11.1	1	8.3							1	3.1	1	2.9
Girl child			2	22.2											2	5.8
Boy child	1	10.0			1	8.3	1	5.9					2	6.3	1	2.9
Not reported	2	20.0	3	33.3									2	6.3	3	8.8

Table 4.31a
Tasks assigned to boys and girls in school - Women

	Kurunegala	Kalutara	Malwatte	Total
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	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different tasks	7	70.0	5	50.0	8	66.7	12	70.6	9	90.0	5	62.5	24	62.5	22	64.7
Same tasks	2	20.0	3	30.0	4	33.3	4	23.5	1	10.0	3	37.5	7	37.5	10	29.4
Not reported	1	10.0	1	10.0			1	5.9					1	3.1	2	5.8
Total	10	100	9		12		17		10		8		32		34	
Boys N=	7		5		8		12		9		5		24		22	
Construction	1	14.3	1	20.0									1	4.2	1	4.5
' Hard' work	4	57.1			3	37.5	4	33.3	1	11.1			8	33.3	4	18.2
Farming	2	28.6	5	100	4	50.0	8	66.7	8	88.9	4	80.0	14	58.3	17	77.3
Crafts							1	8.3							1	4.5
Carpentry			2	40.0											2	2.9
Cleaning			1	20.0			1	8.3			1	20.0			3	13.6
Fetching water					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Girls N=	7		5		8		12		9		5		24		22	
Home science			2	40.0	3	37.5	1	8.3	3	33.3			6	25.0	3	13.6
Sewing			1	20.0	3	37.5	5	41.7	4	44.4	3	60.0	7	29.2	9	40.9
Sewing dusters	1	14.3											1	4.2		
Cleaning Classroom	7	100	3	60.0	5	62.5	4	33.3	1	11.1	1	20.0	13	54.2	8	36.4
Light work									1	11.1			1	4.2		
Not reported											1	20.0			1	4.5

Table 4.32a
Behavioural Expectations of School Children- Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total				
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Expectations of Boys & Girls																	
No difference	7	70.0	6	66.7	10	83.3	9	52.8	4	40.0	6	75.0	21	65.6	21	61.8	
Boys active, playful	1	10.0					5	29.4	3	30.0	2	25.0	4	12.5	7	20.6	
Boys aggressive					1	8.3							1	3.1			
Girls decent					1	8.3	1	5.9	1	10.0			2	6.3	1	2.9	
Girls passive							3	17.6							3	8.3	
Girls timid	2	20.0											2	6.3			
Girls limited responsibility									1	10.0			1	3.1			
Not reported			3	33.3					1	10.0			1	3.1	3	8.8	

Table 4.33a
Vocational aspirations while at school -Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 9		N = 12		N = 17		N = 10		N = 8		N = 32		N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good job											1	12.5			1	2.9

Teacher	3	30.0	3	33.3	2	16.7	10	58.8	2	20.0	1	12.5	7	21.9	14	41.2
Nurse	3	30.0	1	11.1	7	58.4	1	5.9	3	30.0	1	12.5	13	40.6	3	8.8
Clerk			1	11.1					5	50.0	1	12.5	5	15.6	2	5.8
Army					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Police					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Farmer			1	11.1											1	2.9
Self employment							2	11.8							2	5.8
Job along with house work	1	10.0											1	3.1		
No specific aspiration	3	30.0	3	33.3	1	8.3	4	23.6			4	50.0	4	12.5	11	32.4

Table 3.34a
Food and Health - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Food																
Men and women do not eat together	3	30.0	2	22.2	3	25.0	5	29.4	10	100	6	75.0	16	50.0	13	38.2
Different schedules	1	10.0			3	25.0	2	11.8	10	100	6	75.0	14	43.8	8	23.5
Tradition that men eat first	2	20.0	1	11.1			2	11.8					2	6.3	3	8.8
Boys and girls do not eat together	3	30.0	2	22.2	2	16.7	5	29.4	10	100	8	100	15	46.9	15	44.1
Different schedules	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	16.7	1	5.9	9	90.0	7	87.5	12	37.5	9	26.5
Tradition that boys eat first							3	17.6							3	8.8
Not reported/ applicable	2	20.0	1	11.1			1	5.9	1	10.0	1	12.5	3	9.4	3	8.8
II. Health																
Men/women and Boys/Girls do not have the same access to health care	9	90.0	7	77.8	10	83.3	13	76.5	9	90.0	8	100	28	87.5	28	82.4
Boys get more attention than girls when they get sick			1	11.1	2	16.7	2	11.8					2	6.3	3	8.8
Girls get more attention than boys when they get sick							1	5.9							1	2.9
Not reported	1	10.0	1	11.1			1	5.9	1	10.0			2	6.3	2	5.8

Table 4.35a
Household tasks of employed women- Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking																
Almost all	1	12.5	1	20.0			5	62.5	5	50.0			6	21.4	6	37.5
Most	3	37.5	2	40.0	5	60.0	1	12.5	1	10.0	2	66.7	9	32.1	5	31.3
Some	4	50.0	2	40.0	2	20.0	1	12.5					6	21.4	3	18.8
Little					1	10.0			4	40.0	1	33.3	5	17.9	1	6.3
None					2	20.0							2	7.1		
Not reported							1	12.5								
Washing cooking utensils																
Almost all	1	12.5					6	75.0	5	50.0			6	21.4	6	37.5
Most	4	50.0	1	20.0	6	60.0	1	12.5	1	10.0	2	66.7	11	39.3	4	25.0
Some	3	37.5	4	80.0	2	20.0	1	12.5					5	17.9	5	31.3
Little					1	10.0			4	40.0	1	33.3	5	17.9	1	6.3
None					1	10.0							1	3.6		
Child care																
Almost all	1	12.5	1	20.0			4	50.0	2	20.0			5	17.9	3	18.8
Most	2	25.0	2	40.0	4	40.0			1	10.0	1	33.3	7	25.0	3	18.8
Some	1	12.5	2	40.0									1	3.6	2	12.5
Little	1	12.5			1	10.0			4	40.0	1	33.3	6	21.4	1	6.3
None	3	37.5			5	50.0	3	37.5	3	30.0	1	33.3	11	39.3	6	37.5
Not reported							1	12.5								
Washing clothes																
Almost all	1	12.5			1	10.0	6	75.0	5	50.0			7	25.0	6	37.5

Most	3	37.5	1	20.0	7	70.0	1	12.5	1	10.0	2	66.7	11	39.3	4	25.0
Some	3	37.5	4	80.0	1	10.0							4	14.3	4	25.0
Little	1	12.5			1	10.0	1	12.5	4	40.0	1	33.3	6	21.4	2	12.5

Table 4.35a (contd.)
Household tasks of employed women- Women

Fetching water																
Almost all	2	25.0			1	10.0	6	75.0	5	50.0			8	28.6	6	37.5
Most	1	12.5			6	60.0	1	12.5	1	10.0	2	66.7	8	28.6	3	18.8
Some	2	25.0	4	80.0	2	20.0							4	14.3	4	25.0
Little	2	25.0							4	40.0	1	33.3	6	21.4	1	6.3
None	1	12.5	1	20.0	1	10.0	1	12.5					2	7.1	2	12.5
Taking care of old and sick																
Almost all					1	10.0	3	37.5	5	50.0			6	21.4	3	18.8
Most	2	25.0			5	50.0			1	10.0	2	66.7	8	28.6	2	12.5
Some			1	20.0											1	6.3
Little					1	10.0			4	40.0	1	33.3	5	17.9	1	6.3
None	6	75.0	4	80.0	3	30.0	5	62.5					9	32.1	9	56.3
Total	8	100	5	100	10	100	8	100	10	100	3	100	28	100	16	100

Table 4.36a
Activities that men will never do - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Will do any activity									4	40.0	4	50.0	4	12.5	4	11.8
II. Will not do																
Cooking	2	20.0	5	55.6	6	50.0	7	41.2					8	25.0	12	35.3
Cleaning toilets	3	30.0	4	44.4	7	58.9	9	52.9					10	31.3	13	38.2
Cleaning babies	1	10.0	2	22.2	5	41.7	9	52.9					6	18.8	11	32.3
Bathing babies	1	10.0	1	11.1	7	58.9	13	76.5					8	25.0	14	41.2
Washing women's clothes	3	30.0	2	22.2	4	33.3	5	29.4					7	21.9	7	20.6
Washing utensils	2	20.0	3	33.3	5	41.7	9	52.9					7	21.9	12	35.3
Collecting water and fuel	3	30.0	2	22.2	3	25.0	3	17.6					6	18.8	5	14.7
Washing men's clothes					1	8.3	1	5.9					1	3.1	1	2.9
Washing babies clothes	1	10.0	1	11.1	7	58.9	5	29.4					8	25.0	6	17.6
Taking care of children, the old and sick					8	66.7	12	70.6					8	25.0	12	35.3
Shopping for household items			2	22.2	2	16.7	1	5.9					2	6.3	3	8.8
Attending the garden	3	30.0	4	44.4	2	16.7	1	5.9					5	15.6	5	14.7

Sweeping the house	3	30.0	4	44.4	2	16.7	1	5.9					5	15.6	5	14.7
Any work	7	70.0	3	33.3			2	11.8	6	60.0	4	50.0	13	40.6	9	26.5

Table 4.37a
Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home -Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	10	100	9	100	11	91.7	17	100	10	100	7	87.5	31	96.9	33	97.1
Neglect of children	10	100	7	77.8	6	50.0	8	47.1	7	70.0	7	87.5	23	71.8	22	64.7
No time for husband's needs	2	20.0											2	6.3	1	2.9
Loss of family status					1	8.3	1	5.9	1	10.0			2	6.3	1	5.8
Conflict over distribution / Control of earnings			2	22.2											2	5.8
Increased workload of other women in the household			1	11.1	10	83.3	17	100			2	25.0	10	31.3	20	58.8
Threat to family	4	40.0	3	33.3	5	41.7	9	52.9					9	28.1	12	35.3

Table 4.38a
Marriage - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 9		Other Women N = 6		Workers N = 3		Other women N = 14		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 5		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 25	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age of marriage of women																
16 - 18 years	4	44.4	3	50.0			6	42.9					4	25.0	9	36.0
18 - 25 years	4	44.4	3	50.0	3	100	5	35.7	2	50.0	1	20.0	9	56.3	9	36.0
> 25 years	1	11.1					3	21.4	2	50.0	4	80.0	3	18.8	7	28.0
Not reported																
Age of Husband at time																
18 - 25 years	6	66.7	5	83.3	2	66.7	8	57.1	1	25.0			9	56.3	13	52.0
>25 years	3	33.3	1	16.7	1	33.3	6	42.9	3	75.0	5	100	7	43.7	12	48.0
Partner selected by women																
Yes	6	66.7	3	50.0	3	100	11	78.6	4	100	3	60.0	13	81.3	17	68.0
No	3	33.3	3	50.0			3	21.4			2	40.0	3	18.8	8	32.0
Consent obtained																
Yes	7	77.8	4	66.7	3	100	14	100	4	100	3	60.0	14	87.5	21	84.0
No	1	11.1	2	33.3									1	6.3	2	8.0
Not reported	1	11.1									2	40.0	1	6.3	2	8.0

Table 4.39a

Marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic group - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son /daughter																
-outside caste	0		2	66.7	7	77.8	3	100	0		0		7	43.7	5	55.6
-outside religion	0		1	33.3	4	44.4			0		0		4	25.0	1	11.1
-outside ethnic group	0		1	33.3	3	33.3			0		0		3	18.8	1	11.1
Total	1		3		9		3		6		3		16		9	
Married women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son /daughter																
-outside caste	5	55.6	3	50.0	2	66.7	6	42.9	3	75.0	0		10	62.5	9	36.0
-outside religion	1	11.1	1	16.7	2	66.7	3	21.4	3	75.0	0		6	37.5	4	16.0
-outside ethnic group	0		1	16.7	2	66.7	3	21.4	3	75.0	0		5	31.3	4	16.0
Total	9		6		3		14		4		5		16		24	

Table 4.40a
Dowry practice in the Marriage of Women - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 9		Other Women N = 6		Workers N = 3		Other women N = 14		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 5		Workers N=16		Other women N = 25	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry given																
No dowry	8	88.9	5	83.3	2	66.7	11	78.6	3	75.0			13	81.3	16	64.0
<Rs. 5,000							1	7.1							1	4.0
Rs. 5,000- 10,000			1	16.7	1	33.3							1	6.3	1	4.0
Property			1	16.7			2	14.3			1	20.0			4	16.0
Furniture	1	11.1					1	7.1	1	25.0	4	80.0	2	12.5	5	20.0
Not reported											1	20.0			1	4.0
Whether in-laws satisfied																
Yes	2	22.2	1	16.7	1	33.3	3	21.4			4	80.0	3	18.8	8	32.0
Not reported	7	77.8	5	83.3	2	66.7	11	78.6	4	100	1	20.0	13	81.3	17	68.0

Table 4.41a
Children's Marriages - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter																
Yes	5	55.6	4	66.7			11	78.6			3	60.0	5	31.3	18	72.0
No			2	33.3			3	21.4			2	40.0			7	28.0
Not reported	4	44.4			3	100			4	100			11	68.8		
Intend to ask dowry for son																
Yes							1	7.1							1	4.0
No	6	66.7	5	83.3	1	33.3	11	78.6			4	80.0	7	43.7	20	80.0
Not reported	3	33.3	1	16.7	2	66.7	2	14.2	4	100	1	20.0	9	56.3	4	16.0
Desirable age of marriage for daughter																
18 - 25 years	5	55.6	6	100	1	33.3	12	85.7			1	20.0	6	37.5	19	76.0
> 25 years	2	22.2					2	14.3			4	80.0	2	12.5	6	24.0
Not reported	2	22.2							4	100			8	50.0		
Desirable age of marriage For son																
18 - 25 years	4	44.4	3	50.0			1	7.1					4	25.0	4	20.0
> 25 years	3	33.3	3	50.0	2	66.7	13	92.9			2	40.0	5	31.3	18	72.0
Not reported	2	22.2			1	33.3			4	100	3	60.0	7	43.7	3	12.0
Total	9		6		3		14		4		5		16		25	

Table 4.42a
Trends in dowry demands - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	2	20.0			8	6.7	8	47.1	5	50.0	6	75.0	15	46.9	14	41.2
Increase because economic problems	3	30.0	2	22.2			4	23.5					3	9.4	6	17.6
More women are employed, and collect money for dowry	4	40.0	5	55.5	4	33.3	4	23.5					8	25.0	9	26.5
For better status of husband			2	22.2											2	11.8
Increase	1	10.0					1	5.9					1	3.1	1	5.9
Not reported									5	50.0	2	25.0	5	15.6	2	11.8

Table 4.43a
Virginity Test - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No test	1	11.1	1	16.7	1	33.3	2	14.3	1	25.0			3	18.8	3	12.0
Tested but no problem	8	88.9	5	83.3	2	66.7	11	78.6	3	75.0	5	100	13	81.3	21	84.0
Pressure from mother-in-law							1	7.1								
Total No. of married women	9		6		3		14		4		5		16		25	
Views on virginity test																
Not necessary	3	30.0			2	16.7	3	17.6					5	15.6	3	8.8
Necessary	4	40.0	6	66.7	8	66.7	11	64.7	6	60.0	3	37.5	18	56.3	20	58.8
Necessary or security of women	1	10.0									2	25.0	1	3.1	2	5.9
Unscientific							1	5.9							1	2.9
Unreasonable/not appropriate			2	22.2											2	5.9
Need to get respect from family					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Not suitable for modern society	2	20.0					2	11.8					2	6.3	2	5.9
Not reported			1	11.1	1	8.3			4	40.0	3	37.5	5	15.6	4	11.8
Total No.	10		9		12		17		10		8		32		34	

Table 4.44a
Son preference- Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, sons and daughters same	5	50.0	7	77.8	6	50.0	8	47.1					11	34.4	15	44.1
Yes, – Son better	5	50.0	2	22.2	6	50.0	9	52.9	5	50.0	6	75.0	16	50.0	17	50.0
Not reported									5	50.0	2	25.0	5	15.6	2	11.8
Reasons for son preference																
- woman gets more respect	3	30.0	2	22.2	1	8.3			4	40.0	6	75.0	8	25.0	8	23.5
- sons look after parents in old age	1	10.0			1	8.3	2	11.8	5	50.0	5	62.5	7	21.9	7	20.6
- necessary for family continuity	2	20.0			2	16.7	7	41.2					4	12.5	7	20.6
- strength for family	2	20.0	1	11.1	1	8.3							3	9.4	1	5.9
- sons can look after sisters	1	10.0					1	5.9					1	3.1	1	5.9
- If no sons, will be harassed, threat of desertion									1	10.0			1	3.1		

Table 4.46a
Control of sexuality -Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 9		Other Women N = 6		Workers N = 3		Other women N = 14		Workers N = 4		Other women N = 5		Workers N = 16		Other women N = 25	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband																
Very	3	33.3	1	16.7	3	100	12	85.7	3	75.0	2	40.0	9	56.3	15	60.0
To some extent	6	66.7	5	83.3			2	14.3	1	25.0	3	60.0	7	43.7	10	40.0
Not reported																
Importance of sexual satisfaction for wife																
Very	3	33.3			3	100	10	58.8	2	50.0	2	40.0	8	50.0	12	48.0
To some extent	6	66.7	5	83.3			4	23.5	2	50.0	3	60.0	8	50.0	12	48.0
Not reported			1	16.7			3	17.6							4	16.0
Refusal to have sex with spouse																
Cannot refuse					1	33.3	5	35.7			1	20.0	1	6.2	6	24.0
Can refuse	9	100	6	100	2	66.7	7	50.0	4	100	4	80.0	15	93.8	17	68.0
Not reported							2	14.3							2	8.0
If refused, reaction of husband	9		6		2		7		4		4		15		17	
N=																
Understanding	5	55.6	2	33.3	1	50.0	4	57.1	4	100	4	100	10	66.7	10	58.8
Verbally abusive	4	44.5	4	66.7	1	50.0	3	42.9					5	33.3	7	41.2
Physically abusive	3	33.3	2	33.3									3	20.0	2	11.8
Reaction not reported							2	28.6							2	11.8

Table 4.47a
Moving out of marriage - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can move out	5	50.0	4	44.4	9	75.0	10	58.8	3	30.0	1	12.5	17	53.1	15	44.1
Cannot move out	5	50.0	5	55.6	3	25.0	7	41.2	7	70.0	7	87.5	15	46.9	19	55.9
Acceptable reasons for man to leave wife																
With unfaithful	7	70.0	7	77.8	8	66.7	14	82.4	9	90.0	8	100	24	75.0	29	85.3
Fails virginity test	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	16.7	3	17.6			1	12.5	3	9.4	4	11.8
Family has not kept to dowry agreement					1	8.3	1	5.9					1	3.1	1	2.9
No sexual satisfaction	2	20.0			6	50.0	14	82.4	1	10.0			9	28.1	14	41.2
Infertile					9	75.0	10	58.8	2	20.0			11	34.4	10	29.4
Cannot bear sons					1	8.3			1	10.0			2	6.3		
Poor housekeeper/cook					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Does not respect him/his family					3	25.0	1	5.9					3	9.4	1	2.9
No right to move out	1	10.0	1	11.1									1	3.1	1	2.9
Should not move out	2	20.0	2	22.2									2	6.3	2	5.8

Table 4.47a (contd.)
Ability of a woman to move out of unhappy marriage
if economically independent - Women

Acceptable reasons for woman to leave husband																
If he beats her	7	70.0	5	55.6	4	33.3	6	35.3	9	90.0	8	100	20	62.5	19	55.9
Unfaithful	3	30.0	5	55.6	11	91.7	12	70.6	2	20.0			16	50.0	17	50.0
Does not provide for family					1	8.3	1	5.9			1	12.5	1	3.1	2	5.8
Infertile	2	20.0			7	58.3	10	58.8	1	10.0			10	31.3	10	29.4
Impotent	2	20.0			5	41.7	9	52.9					7	21.9	9	26.5
Does not respect her/her family	1	10.0											1	3.1		
Should not move out	3	30.0	3	33.3									3	9.4	3	8.3

Table 4.48a
Participation in Decision Making - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Participation before economic activity	8	80.0	5	62.8	3	33.3	3	20.0	9	90.0	2	33.3	20	74.1	10	34.5
Participation at present	10	100	8	88.9	9	75.0	15	88.2	8	80.0	6	75.0	27	100	29	100
Areas of participation																
Providing daily family needs	8	80.0	5	62.5	9	100	12	80.0	8	100	6	100	25	92.6	23	79.3
Education of children	5	50.0	5	62.5	2	22.2	6	40.0			4	66.7	7	24.1	15	51.7
Marriage of children	4	40.0	5	62.5	2	22.2	9	60.0			4	66.7	6	22.2	18	62.1
Buying and selling of assets	6	60.0	4	50.0	5	55.6	6	40.0			1	16.7	1	40.7	10	34.5
Buying and selling of jewellery	6	60.0	2	25.0	8	88.9	13	86.7					14	51.9	15	51.7
Health care of family	1	10.0	1	12.5	6	66.7	9	60.0					7	25.9	10	34.5
Employment related issues	6	60.0	4	50.0	2	22.2							8	29.6	4	13.8
Disputes (eg neighbours)			1	12.5	1	11.1	2	13.4					1	3.7	3	10.2
Major expenses	7	70.0	5	62.5	2	22.2							9	33.3	5	17.2
Total	10		9		12		17		10		8		32		34	

Table 4.49a
Final authority in decision making - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 8		Workers N = 9		Other women N = 15		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 27		Other women N = 29	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	5	50.0	3	37.5	3	33.3	9	60.0	8	100	6	100	16	59.2	18	62.1
Education of children	4	40.0	3	37.5			3	20.0			3	50.0	4	14.8	9	31.0
Marriage of children	3	30.0	4	50.0			3	20.0			3	50.0	3	11.7	10	34.5
Buying and selling of assets	5	50.0	3	37.5			1	6.7					5	18.5	4	13.8
Buying and selling of jewellery	3	30.0	2	25.0	3	33.3	4	26.7					6	22.2	6	20.7
Health care of family	1	10.0	1	12.5	3	33.3							4	14.8	1	3.4
Employment related issues	3	30.0	1	12.5	1	11.1							4	14.8	1	3.4
Major expenses	3	30.0	3	37.5	3	33.3							6	22.2	3	10.2
Not reported	4	40.0	4	50.0			3	20.0					8	29.6	7	24.1

Women should have equal opportunities and rights	2	50.0	1	33.3	6	66.7	11	78.6					8	25.6	12	35.3
Women understand and think better					1	11.1	2	14.3					1	3.1	2	5.8
Women are more sincere, honest and responsible	1	25.0	1	33.3									3	9.3	2	5.8
Women do sound & economic work and have good ideas	1	25.0	2	66.7									1	3.1	2	5.8
Total	10		9		12		17		10		8		32		34	

Table 4.51a
Freedom of movement of women and girls - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women/girls compared to men/ boys																
Less	9	90.0	9	100	12	100	15	88.2	9	90.0	8	100	30	93.8	32	94.1
No difference	1	10.0					2	11.8	1	10.0			2	6.3	2	5.8
Total	10		9		12		17		10		8		32		34	
Reasons for less freedom																
Not traditional	1	10.0	4	44.0	12	100	11	64.7					13	40.6	15	44.1
Fear of non-acceptance by society					1	8.3	1	5.9	2	20.0	4	50.0	3	9.4	5	14.7
Parental control							1	5.9							1	2.9
Fear of being harassed	9	90.0	9	100	3	25.0	5	29.4	6	60.0	4	50.0	18	56.3	18	52.9
Fear of molestation					1	8.3							1	3.1		
Not reported									1	10.0			1	3.1		
Total	10		9		12		17		10		8		32		34	

Table 4.52.1a

Physical mobility of women - Women Workers

	Kurunegala N = 10				Kalutara N = 12				Malwatte N = 10				Total N = 32							
	Yes	Alone	No Time Limit	With-out permission	Yes	Alone	No Time Limit	With-out permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	With-out permission	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Work place	9	9	8	5	12	12	11	12	10	7	10	8	31	96.9	28	87.5	29	90.6	25	78.1
Banks	8	8	8	4	12	12	11	12	10	6	10	8	30	93.8	26	81.3	29	90.6	24	75.0
Temples	10	3	7	6	12	5	9	5	10	4	10	8	32	100	12	37.5	20	62.5	19	59.4
Restaurant	10	7	8	5	11	11	10	8	10	5	10	8	31	96.9	23	71.8	25	84.4	21	65.6
Cinema	4	4	1	3	11	0	10	10	9	1	9	7	24	75.0	5	15.6	20	62.5	20	62.5
Parental home	9	5	7	6	6	4	6	1	10	6	10	8	25	78.1	15	46.9	23	71.8	15	46.9
Homes of relations	10	4	8	8	11	4	9	7	10	6	10	8	31	96.9	14	43.8	27	84.4	23	71.8
Friends' houses	10	5	6	8	10	4	10	8	10	6	10	8	30	93.8	15	46.9	26	81.2	24	75.0

Table 4.52.2a

Physical mobility of women - Other Women

	Kurunegala N = 9				Kalutara N = 17				Malwatte N = 8				Total N = 34							
	Yes	Alone	No Time limit	With-out permission	Yes	Alone	No Time limit	With-out Permission	Yes	Alone	No Time Limi	With-out permission	Yes		Alone		No time Limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	1	1	0	0	8	7	7	1	8	6	8	6	17	50.0	14	41.2	16	47.1	7	20.6
Banks	6	3	5	0	12	10	11	3	8	6	8	6	26	76.5	19	55.9	24	70.6	9	26.5
Temples	8	4	6	2	15	7	15	8	8	3	8	6	31	91.2	14	41.2	29	85.3	16	47.9
Restaurant	7	4	5	2	8	0	8	7	8	6	8	6	23	67.6	10	29.4	21	61.8	15	44.1
Cinema	4	0	1	1	8	0	8	7	8	2	8	6	20	58.8	2	5.8	17	50.0	13	38.7
Parental home	8	5	7	2	13	10	13	6	8	6	8	6	29	85.3	21	61.8	28	82.4	14	41.2
Homes of relations	9	5	7	3	16	6	16	11	8	6	8	6	33	97.1	17	50.0	31	91.2	20	58.8
Friends' houses	8	4	5	3	13	5	12	10	8	6	8	6	29	85.3	15	44.1	25	73.5	19	55.9

Table 4.53a
Gender aspirations of rebirth - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn as a woman	2	20.0	3	33.3	1	8.3							3	9.4	3	8.8
To be reborn as a man	1	10.0	2	22.2	6	50.0	8	47.1	10	100	8	100	17	53.1	18	52.9
To be reborn as a man or woman	7	70.0	4	44.4	5	41.7	9	53.0					12	37.5	13	38.2
Total	10	100	9	100	12	100	17	100	10	100	8	100	32	100	34	100

Table 4.54a
Conflict issues in families in neighbourhood - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	1	10.0	2	22.2									1	3.0		
Alcoholism	9	90.0	7	77.8	11	91.7	17	100	10	100	8	100	30	93.8	32	94.1
Fight over property/money					11	91.7	16	94.1	6	60.0	2	25.0	17	53.1	18	52.9
Fight with spouse and family	1	10.0	1	11.1	10	83.3	16	94.1					11	34.4	17	50.0
Dowry demands					8	66.7	17	100					8	25.0	17	50.0
Extra marital affairs	2	20.0	3	33.3	10	83.3	17	100			1	12.5	12	37.5	21	61.8

Neglect of household duties					8	66.7	16	94.1	9	90.0	4	50.0	17	53.1	20	58.8
Disobedience to husband/elders					9	75.0	15	88.2	4	40.0	5	62.5	13	40.6	20	58.8
Giving answers back	3	30.0	1	11.1	10	83.3	17	100	5	50.0	4	50.0	18	56.3	22	64.7
Economic constraints	7	70.0	6	66.7	10	83.3	17	100	1	10.0	2	25.0	18	56.3	25	73.5
Giving birth to girl child					3	25.0	8	47.1					3	9.4	8	23.5
Suspicion	4	40.0	2	22.2	12	100	17	100	9	90.0	6	75.0	25	78.1	25	73.4
Infidelity	2	20.0			10	83.3	14	82.4	7	70.0	4	50.0	19	59.4	18	52.9
Childlessness					5	41.7	8	7.1					5	15.6	8	23.5
Demand for hot meals					1	8.3	7	41.2					1	3.1	7	20.6
Refusal of sex	1	10.0			1	8.3	3	17.6					2	6.3	3	8.3
Physical mobility					1	8.3	4	23.5					1	3.1	4	11.8

Table 4.55a
Conflict issues within the family - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	3	30.0	2	22.2	4	33.3	4	23.5	4	40.0			11	34.4	6	17.6
Economic problems	2	20.0	5	55.6	1	8.3	6	35.3	4	40.0	2	25.0	7	21.9	13	38.7
Fight over property/money/land					2	16.7	2	11.8	1	10.0	2	25.0	3	9.4	4	11.8
Fight with husband	1	10.0			1	8.3	1	5.9					2	6.3	1	2.9

Alcoholic husband	2	20.0	2	22.2	4	33.3	1	5.9					6	18.8	3	8.8
Wife not in house when husband returns	1	10.0											1	3.1	2	5.8
Refusal of sex by wife							2	11.8					1	3.1	1	2.9
Children's problems	1	10.0								1	12.5		1	3.1	1	2.9
Family problems	1	10.0			1	8.3	1	5.9			4	50.0	2	6.3	5	14.7
Alcoholic father			1	11.1									1	3.1		
Not reported	1	10.0	1	11.1					1	10.0	1	12.5	2	6.3	2	5.8

Table 4.56a
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere - Women

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Women workers N = 10		Other women N = 9		Women workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Women workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Women workers N = 32		Other workers N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of abuse	3	30.0	2	22.2	5	41.7	5	29.4	7	70.0	4	50.0	15	46.9	11	32.3
Destroying objects	2	20.0	1	11.1	1	8.3	5	29.4					3	9.4	6	17.6
Verbal abuse	7	70.0	7	77.8	7	58.3	12	70.6	2	20.0	4	50.0	14	43.8	23	67.6
Threats	5	50.0	3	33.3	5	41.7	7	41.2					10	31.3	10	29.4
Throwing of objects	1	10.0			2	16.7	6	35.3					3	9.4	6	17.6
Sexual abuse							3	17.6							3	8.8
Slapping, pinching, pulling hair, pushing	4	40.0	2	22.2	3	25.0	7	41.2					7	21.9	9	26.5
Beating (with sticks, iron rod, knives, utensils)							3	17.6							3	8.8
Not given food							1	5.9							1	2.9
Not reported									1	10.0					1	2.9
Response to abuse	N = 10		N = 9		N = 12		N = 17		N = 10		N = 8		N = 32		N = 34	
Tolerate it silently	5	50.0	7	77.8	7	58.3	12	70.6					12	37.5	19	55.9
Let others know about in the family	3	30.0	2	22.2							3	37.5	3	9.4	5	14.7
Report to the police	3	30.0											3	9.4		
Attempt suicide					3	25.0	3	17.6					3	9.4	2	8.8
Go back to maternal home	4	40.0											4	12.5		
Talk back/leave							1	5.9	2	20.0			2	6.3	1	2.9
Not reported									1	10.0			1	3.1		

Table 4.57a
Violence outside the domestic sphere - Woman

	Kurunegala				Kalutara				Malwatte				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 9		Workers N = 12		Other women N = 17		Workers N = 10		Other women N = 8		Workers N = 32		Other women N = 34	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience	10	100	9	100	10	83.3	16	94.1	7	70.0	5	63.5	27	84.4	30	88.2
Rape					1	8.3	1	5.9					1	3.1	1	2.9
Sexual harassment																
Fight over property					1	8.3			2	20.0	2	25.0	3	9.4	2	5.8
Others - not specified											1	12.5			1	2.9
Not reported									1	10.0			1	3.1		

Table 4.9 b
Men Respondents by Age - Men

Age group	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18-24	1	9.1	1	10.1	2	9.5
25-29	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
30-39	1	9.1	3	30.0	4	19.04
40-49	3	27.3			3	14.3
50-59	4	36.4	2	20.0	6	28.6
60-65	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.5
70 and above			1	10.0	1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.10 b
Marital status of men - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.5
Married-customary			1	10.0	1	71.4
Married-registered	10	90.0	8	80.0	18	85.7
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.11b
Educational Level of Men - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.15	%
Grade 1-5	3	27.3	2	20.0	5	23.8
Grade 6-11	8	72.8	7	70.0	15	71.4
GCE OL						
GCE AL			1	10.0	1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.12 b
Current Economic Activity- Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No economic activity	2	18.2	1	10.0	3	14.3
Machine Operator	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.5
Carpenter			1	10.0	1	4.8
Mason	4	36.4	3	30.0	7	33.3
Electric crane operator	1	9.1			1	4.8
Sewing						
Dyeing cloth			1	10.0	1	4.8
Business/Trade			1	10.0	1	4.8
Security	1	9.1			1	4.8
Driver			1	10.0	1	4.8
State minor office employee	1	9.1			1	4.8
Lorry cleaner	1	9.1			1	4.8
Farming			1	10.0	1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100.0

Table 4.13 b
Duration of Employment - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 year - < 5 years	1	11.1	2	22.2	3	16.7
5 years - < 10 years	2	22.2	4	44.4	6	33.3
10 years and above	4	44.4	2	22.2	6	33.3
Not reported	2	22.2	1	11.1	3	16.7
Total	9	100	9	100	18	100

Table 4.14 b
Employment Status - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent	3	33.3	4	44.4	7	38.9
Temporary	1	11.1			1	5.6
Casual Worker	1	11.1			1	5.6
Self Employment	4	44.4	4	44.4	8	44.4
Not reported			1	11.1	1	5.6
Total	9	100	9	100	18	100

Table 4.15 b
Standard or Negotiable Payment- Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard	5	55.6	2	22.2	7	38.9
Negotiable with Manager			1	11.1	1	5.6
According to instruments			3	33.3	3	16.7
According to the equipment						
Varies	4	44.4	1	11.1	5	27.8
Not reported			2	22.2	2	11.1
Total	9	100	9	100	18	100

Table 4.16 b
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical Coverage	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	22.2
Weekly rest by rotation	4	44.4	2	22.2	6	33.3
All public and Mercantile holidays	4	44.4	1	11.1	5	27.8
EPF	3	33.3	2	22.2	5	27.8
ETF	3	33.3	2	22.2	5	27.8
Child care facilities	2	22.2			2	11.1
Tea	3	33.3	2	22.2	5	27.8
Meals	3	33.3	2	22.2	5	27.8
Travel Allowance			1	11.1	1	5.6
Uniforms	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	22.2
Not applicable/reported	4	44.4	7	77.8	11	61.1
Total	9	100	8	100	18	100

Table 4.17 b
Working Time - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. No fixed working hours	4	44.4	3	33.3	7	38.9
8 Hours	2	22.2	4	44.4	6	33.3
More than 8 Hours	3	33.3			3	16.7
Not reported			2	22.2	2	11.1
2. No shift work	7	77.8	4	44.4	1	61.1
Morning shift	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	11.1
Night shift	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	11.1
Not reported /applicable	1	11.1	4	44.4	5	27.8
3. No overtime					8	44.4
Voluntary	5	55.5	3	33.3	3	16.7
Overtime but not specific	3	33.3	2	22.2	2	1.1
Not reported	1	11.1	4	44.4	5	27.8
Total	9	100	9	100	18	100

Table 4.18 b
Harassment at Workplace - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No harassment	8		1		9	50.0
Overloaded with work			1		1	5.6
Not reported	1		7		8	44.9
Total	9		9		18	100

Table 4.19 b
Consultation regarding seeking/changing employment - Men

	Kalutara		Malwattea		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No One	9	81.8	10	100	19	90.5
Husband/wife						
Father	1	9.1			1	4.8
Mother	1	9.1			1	4.8
Children	1	9.1			1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.22 b
Control of Income - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of Household Income						
All	9	100	7	77.8	16	88.9
Half						
Some			1	11.1	1	5.6
Not reported			1	11.1	1	5.6
Control of Salary						
Keep it	5	55.6	8	88.9	13	81.3
Hand over to wife	4	44.4			4	22.2
Not reported			1	11.1	1	5.6
Own Bank Account						
Yes, alone	4	44.4	5	55.6	9	50.0
Yes, joint			1	11.1	1	5.6
No	5	55.6	2	22.2	7	38.9
Not reported			1	11.1	1	5.6
Other savings						
No savings	7	77.8	7	77.8	14	22.2
Cheetu	1	11.1			1	5.6
Not reported	1	11.1	2	22.2	3	16.7
Permission to Withdraw						
Not necessary	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	50.0
Mother			1	11.1	1	5.6
Not reported	3	33.3	5	55.6	8	44.9
Total	9	100	9	100	18	100

Table 4.23 b
Ownership of Assets - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	8	72.7	4	40.0	12	57.1
House/Flat	8	72.7	4	40.0	12	57.1
Vehicle	7	63.6	3	30.0	10	47.6
Jewellery	2	18.2	4	40.0	6	28.6
Bank deposit	1	9.1	4	40.0	5	23.8
Other savings	1	9.1			1	4.8
Life insurance						
Radio	3	27.3	1	10.0	4	19.04
Television	2	18.2			2	9.5
Refrigerator	1	9.1			1	4.8
Fan	1	9.1			1	4.8

Total	11	100	10	100	21	100
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Table 4.24 b
Assets that could be disposed of by Men - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	8	72.7			8	38.1
House/Flat	6	64.5			6	28.6
Vehicle	1	9.1			1	4.8
Bank Deposit	1	9.1			1	4.8
Consumer durables	1	9.1			1	4.8
Not reported/nothing	2	18.2	10	100	12	57.1
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.25 b
Assets that could be bought by Men - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Assets that could be bought without permission						
Anything	9	88.9	5	50.0	14	66.7
Nothing	1	11.1			1	4.8
Not Reported	1	11.1	5	50.0	6	28.6
Permission necessary from						
No one	9	88.9	5	50.0	14	66.7
Wife	1	11.1			1	4.8
Father						
Not Reported	1	11.1	5	50.0	6	28.6
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.26 b
Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside home - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger Personality (eg. Self confidence)	9	81.8	2	20.0	11	52.4
More experience, knowledge	7	63.6	9	90.0	16	76.2
More economic security	10	90.9	9	90.0	19	90.5
Enlarged social network	6	54.5	3	30.0	9	42.9
Increase decision making						

power			1	10.0	1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.27 b
Perceptions of changes in life styles when women start working - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total work load						
- increased						

Table 4.28 b
Educational opportunities in Families - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Girls & boys should have the same educational opportunities	11	100	9	90.0	20	95.2
2. Girls & boys have had similar Educational opportunities in the family	11	100	8	80.0	19	90.5
Eg. no discrimination in expenditure	6	54.5			6	28.6
Both can study to any level	5	45.5	8	100	13	61.9
Not reported			1	10.0	1	4.8
Not applicable			1	10.0	1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.29 b
Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Men

	Boys						Girls					
	Kalutara		Malwana		Total		Kalutara		Malwana		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Highest Level possible	2	18.2			2	9.6						
University degree	5	45.5	5	50.0	10	47.6	6		7	70.0	13	61.9
Vocational qualifications	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3			1	10.0	1	4.8
GCE AL	2	18.2			2	9.6	4	36.4	1	10.0	5	23.8
GCE OL	1	9.1			1	4.8	1	9.1			1	4.8
Not Reported			3	50.0	3	14.3			1	10.0	1	4.8

Total	11	100	10		21	100	11	100	10	100	21	100
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Table 4.30 b

Withdrawal from School in the event of financial or other constraints - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	6	54.6	10	100	16	76.2
Child not doing well in school	2	18.2			2	9.6
Eldest child	2	18.2			2	9.6
Not reported	1	9.1			1	4.8
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100

Table 4.31 b
Tasks assigned to boys and girls - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different Tasks	5	45.5	3	30.0	8	38.1
Same tasks	6	54.5	7	70.0	13	61.9
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100
Boys						
Farming	4	80.0	3	100	7	87.5
Hard work	1	20.0			1	12.5
Climb trees	1	20.0			1	12.5
Cleaning gardens	1	20.0			1	12.5
Girls						
Home science	1	20.0			1	12.5
Sewing	4	80.0	2	66.7	6	37.5
Sweeping	3	60.0			3	37.5
Clean class-room			1	33.3	1	12.5
Not reported	1	20.0			1	12.5
Total	5	100	3	100	8	100

Table 4.32 b
Behavioural expectations of school children. - Men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 21	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No differences	8	72.7	8	80.0	16	76.2

Boys - active	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Girls - timid	1	9.1			1	4.8
Girls - decent	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3

Table 4.33 b
Vocational Aspirations while at school- Men

	Kalutara N = 18		Malwatte N = 9		Total N = 45	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Higher job			1	10.0	1	4.8
Job accepted by society			1	10.0	1	4.8
Job without responsibility			1	10.0	1	4.8
Engineer	1	9.1			1	4.8
Motor mechanic	1	9.1			1	4.8
Teacher	2	18.2			2	9.6
Nurse	1	9.1			1	4.8
Carpenter			1	10.0	1	4.8
Mason			1	10.0	1	4.8
Army	2	18.2			2	9.6
Attendant	1	9.1			1	4.8
Business/Trade	1	9.1			1	4.8
Run boutique	1	9.1	2		3	14.3
Driver	1	9.1	1		2	9.6
Bungalow servant			1		1	4.8
No specific aspiration			1		1	4.8

Table 4.34 b
Food and Health - Men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 21	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Food						
Men & women do not eat together	3	27.3	9	90.0	12	57.1
Difference schedules	1	9.1	9	90.0	10	47.6
Tradition that men eat first	2	18.2			2	9.6
Boys & girls do not eat together	3	27.3	9	90.0	12	57.1
Different schedules	1	9.1	5	50.0	6	28.6
Tradition that boys eat first	1	9.1			1	4.8
Not reported	1	9.1	4	40.0	5	23.8
II. Health						
Men/women and boys/girls same health care	9	81.8	9	90.0	18	85.7
Boys more attention	1	9.1			1	4.8
Not reported	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.6

Table 4.35b
Household tasks of employed - Men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N + 21	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking						
Almost all	2	18.2			2	9.6
Most	3	27.3			3	14.3
Some	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Little	1	9.1	7	70.0	8	38.1
None	3	27.3	1	10.0	4	19.04
Not reported	1	9.1			1	4.8
Washing cooking utensils						
Almost all	2	18.2			2	9.6
Most	2	18.2			2	9.6
Some	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Little	2	18.2	7	70.0	9	33.3
None	4	36.4	1	10.0	5	23.8
Child care						
Almost all	2	18.2			2	9.6
Most	2	18.2			2	9.6
Some	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.6
Little	2	18.2	5	50.0	7	33.3
None	4	36.4	1	10.0	5	23.8
Not reported			3	30.0	3	14.3
Washing clothes						
Almost all	3	27.3			3	14.3
Most	3	27.3			3	14.3
Some	1	9.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Little	1	9.1	7	70.0	8	38.1
None	3	27.3	1	10.0	4	19.04
Fetching water						
Almost all	3	27.3			3	14.3
Most	2	18.2			2	9.6
Some			2	20.0	2	9.6
Little	2	18.2	7	70.0	9	42.9
None	4	36.4	1	10.0	5	23.8
Taking care of old and sick						
Almost all	2	18.2			2	9.6
Most	2	18.2			2	9.6
Some			2	20.0	2	9.6
Little	2	18.2	7	70.0	9	42.9
None	5	45.5	1	10.0	6	28.6

Table 3.36b
Household activities that men will never do - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Does all the work			7	70.0	7	33.3
Cooking	3				3	
Cleaning toilets	5	27.3			5	33.3
Cleaning babies	5	45.5			5	14.3
Bathing babies	6	45.5			6	23.8
Washing women's clothes	4	54.5			4	23.8
Washing men's clothes	2	36.4			2	28.6
Washing babies clothes	4	18.2			4	19.04
Washing utensils	4	36.4			4	19.04
Collecting wood and fuel	2	36.4			2	9.6
Taking care of child, old and sick	3	18.2			3	14.3
Shopping of household items	2	27.3			2	9.6
Attending to the garden	2	18.2			2	9.6
Sweeping the house						
Not reported	3	27.3	3	30.0	6	28.6
Total	11	100	10	100	21	100
II Will not do anything						

Table 4.37b
Perception of negative changes when women work outside home - Men

	Kalutara N =		Malwatte N =		Total N =	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	11	100.0	9	90.0	20	95.2
Neglect of children	9	81.8	4	40.0	13	61.0
Increased work load of other					11	52.4
Women in household	11	100.0				
Not reported			1	10.0	1	4.8

Table 4. 38b
Marriage - men

	Kalutara N = 10		Malwatte N = 9		Total N = 19	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Age of marriage of men						
Between 18 & 25 years	6	60.0	2	22.2	8	42.1
Above 25 years	4	40.0	7	77.8	11	57.9
Not reported						
Age of wife at marriage						
Between 16 & 18 years	2	20.0			2	10.5
Between 18 & 25 years	7	70.0	6	66.7	13	68.4
Above 25 years	1	10.0	3	33.3	4	21.1
Partner selected by men						
Yes	9	90.0	8	88.9	17	89.5
No	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	10.5
Not reported						
Consent obtained						
Yes	10	10.0	9	100.0	19	100.0
No						
Not reported						

Table 4.39b
Marriage outside caste, religion, ethnic group - men

	Kalutara N = 1		Malwatte N = 1		Total N = 2	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Like son/daughter to marry outside caste						
Like to marry						
- Outside caste	1	10.0	0		1	50.0
-Religion	1	10.0	0		1	50.0
- Ethnic group	1	10.0	0		1	50.0
	N = 10		N = 9		N = 19	
Married men's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son/daughter						
Like to marry						
- Outside caste	6	60.0	1	11.1	7	36.8
- Religion	5	50.0	1	11.1	6	31.6
- Ethnic group	5	50.0	1	11.1	6	31.6

Table 4.40b

Dowry practice in the marriage of men - Men

	Kalutara N = 10		Malwatte N = 9		Total N = 19	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Whether dowry taken						
No	6	60.0	5	58.9	11	57.9
Property	3	30.0	1	11.1	4	21.1
Furniture	1	10.0	2	22.2	3	15.8
Not reported			1	11.1	1	5.3
Whether in-laws satisfied						
Yes	4		3		7	
No						
Not gives/not reported	6		6		12	

Table 4.41b
Children's Marriage -Men

	Kalutara N = 10		Malwatte N = 9		Total N = 19	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter						
Yes	3	30.0	2	22.2	5	26.3
No	5	50.0	3	33.3	8	42.1
Not reported	2	20.0	4	44.4	6	31.6
Intend using dowry from son						
Yes	1	10.0			1	5.3
No	8	80.0	3	33.1	11	57.9
Not reported	1	10.0	6	66.7	7	36.8
Desirable age of marriage for daughter						
Between 18 & 25 years	7	70.0	2	22.2	9	47.4
Over 25 years	3	30.0	3	33.3	6	31.6
Not reported			4	44.4	4	21.1
Desirable age of marriage for son						
Between 18 & 25 years	3	33.3			3	15.8
Over 25 years	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	47.4
Not reported			6	66.7	4	31.6

Table 4.42 b
Trends in dowry demand - men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No increase	8	72.7	10	100.0	18	85.7
Increase because money important	1	9.1			1	4.8
Dowry seen as avenue to progress	1	9.1			1	4.8
Women employed	1	9.1			1	4.8

Table 4.44b

Son preference - men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No. sons and daughters same	4	36.4			4	19.04
Yes sons better	6	54.5	8	80.0	14	66.76
- woman gets more respect			8	80.0	8	38.1
- sons looks after parents in old age	4	36.4	8	80.0	12	57.1
- necessary for family continuity	5	45.5			5	23.8
- strength for family	1	9.1			1	4.8
Not reported			2	20.0	2	9.5
Total	11		10		21	

Table 4.45b
Use of family planning methods - men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Used methods	7	70.0	6	66.7	13	68.4
Reasons for not using:						
Not necessary	1	10.0			1	5.3
Not enough information	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	10.5
Wants a child	1	10.0			1	5.3
Pregnant			2	22.2	2	10.5
Fear of health problems	1	10.0			1	5.3
Total no (married)	10		9		19	
Awareness of Ultra Scan						
- yes	9	90.0	3	33.3	12	63.2
- No	1	10.0	6	66.7	7	36.8
Not reported						
Use of Ultra scan facility, to ascertain sex of child						
Yes	10	100.0	7	77.8	17	89.4
No			2	22.2	2	10.5
Not reported	10		9		19	
Total No						

Table 4.46b
Control of sexuality - men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Satisfaction for husband						
Very	9	90.0	6	66.7	15	78.9
To some extent	1	10.0	3	33.3	4	21.1
Not reported						
Importance of sexual Satisfaction for wife						
Very	7	70.0	6	66.7	13	68.4
To some extent	3	30.0	3	33.3	6	31.6
Not reported						
Refusal to have sex with spouse						
Do not say, No	6	60.0	6	66.7	12	63.2
If so, reaction of spouse						
Understanding	3	30.0	9	100.0	12	63.2
Not reported	1	10.0			1	5.3
Total	10		9		19	

Table 4.47b
Ability to move out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent - Men

	Kalutara N - 11		Malwatte N - 10		Total N = 21	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Opinion on women moving out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent						
Can move out	7	63.6	2	20.0	9	42.9
Cannot move out	4	36.4	8	80.0	12	57.1
Not reported						

Acceptable reason for men to leave wife						
Wife unfaithful	8	72.7	10	100.0	18	85.7
No sexual satisfaction	6	54.5			6	28.6
Does not respect his family	7	63.6	1	10.0	8	38.1
Not reported	1	9.1			1	5.8
Acceptable reasons for women to leave husband						
If he beats her	6	54.5	10	100.0	16	76.2
If unfaithful	7	63.6			7	33.3
Infertile	6	54.5	1	10.0	7	33.3
Impotent	5	45.5	1	10.0	6	28.6

Table - 48b
Participation in decision making - men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Participation before Economic activity -						
- Yes	10	90.9	10	100.0	20	95.2
- No	1	9.1			1	4.8
Participation at present						
Yes	10	90.9	9	90.0	9	90.5
No	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.6
Total No.	11		10		21	

Areas of participation						
Providing daily family needs	9	90.0	8	88.9	17	89.5
Education of children	7	70.0	3	33.3	10	52.6
Marriage of children	8	80.0	3	33.3	11	57.9
Buying & selling assets	9	90.0	1	11.1	10	52.6
Buying & selling jewellery	9	90.0			9	47.4
Health care of family	5	50.0	1	11.1	6	31.6
Employment related issues	5	50.0			10	52.6
Disputes of neighbours	9	90.0	1	11.1	7	36.8
Major expenses	7	70.0			10	52.6
Not reported	9	90.0	1	11.1		
			1	11.1		
Total No.	10	100.0	9	100.0	19	100.0

Table 4.49b
Final authority in decision making

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Providing daily family needs	8	80.0	9	100.0	17	89.5
Education of children	6	60.0	3	33.3	9	47.4
Marriage of children	7	70.0	2	22.2	9	47.4
Buying & selling assets	5	50.0			5	26.3
Buying & selling jewellery	5	50.0			5	26.3
Health care of family	2	20.0			2	10.5
Employment related issues	7	70.0			7	36.8
Disputes of neighbours	5	50.0			5	36.3
Major expenses	7	70.0			7	36.8
Not reported	1	10.0			1	5.3
Total No.	10	100.0	9	100.0	19	100.0

Table 4.50b
Perceptions of increasing decision making power of men - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Decision making in family						
Should increase	4	44.4	9	90.0	13	61.9
Should not increase	7	77.8	1	10.0	8	38.1
Not reported						
Total No.	11		10		21	
Reasons for increase						
Women should have equal say	1	25.0	7	77.8	8	61.5
Women manage the household	1	25.0			1	7.7
Women can make good decisions						
Women are employed	2	50.0	1	11.1	1	7.7
Not reported			1	11.1	3	23.1
Total No.	4		9		13	
Decision making in the community						
Should increase	10	90.0	9	90.0	19	90.5
Should not increase	1	9.1	1	10.0	2	9.6
Total No.	11		10		21	
Reason for increase						
Women should have equal Opportunities	6	60.0	1	11.1	7	36.8
Women understand things better	3	30.0	7	77.8	10	52.6
Women are more sincere, honest and responsible	1	10.0	1	11.1	2	10.5
Not reported	1	10.0			1	5.3
Total No.	10		9		19	

Table 4. 51b
Freedom of movement of women and girls -Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Relative freedom of women'girls compared to men/boys						
Less	9	80.8	10	100.0	19	90.5
No difference	2	18.2			2	9.6
Total No.	11	100	10	100.0	21	100.0
Reasons for less freedom						
Not traditional	8	88.9			8	42.1
Fear of harassment	4	44.4	7	70.0	11	57.9
Fear of molestation	1	11.1			1	5.3
Fear of social disapproval			2	20.0	2	10.5
Not reported			1	10.0	1	5.3
Total No.	9	100.0	10	100.0	19	100.0

Table 4.52b
Physical mobility of girls and women - Men

	Kalutara N = 11				Malwatte N = 10				Total N = 21							
	Yes	Alone	No time limit	With- out Permi- ssion	Yes	Alone	No Time limit	With- out permi- ssion	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	10	10	10	10	9	8	9	1	19	90.5	18	85.7	19	90.5	11	52.4
Banks	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	1	19	90.5	19	90.5	19	90.5	11	52.4
Temples	11	12	11	11	9	9	9	1	20	95.2	20	95.2	20	95.2	12	57.1
Restaurant	11	11	11	11	9	9	9	1	20	95.2	20	95.2	20	95.2	12	57.1
Cinema	11	11	11	11	9	9	9	1	20	95.2	20	95.2	20	95.2	12	57.1
Parental home	11	9	10	1	9	9	9	1	20	95.2	18	85.7	19	90.5	2	9.5
Homes of relations	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	1	19	90.5	19	90.5	19	90.5	11	52.4
Friends' houses	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	1	19	90.5	19	90.5	19	90.5	11	52.4

Table 4.53b
Gender aspirations for rebirth - Men

	Kalutara		Malwatte		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
To be reborn as a Man	9	81.8	10	100	19	90.5
To be reborn as a man or woman	2	18.2			2	9.6
Total No.	11	100.0		100.0	21	100.0

Table 4.54 b
Conflict issues in families in neighbourhood - men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 21	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No conflict	1	9.1			1	4.8
Economic constraints	11	100.0	3	30.0	14	66.7
Fights over property/money	11	100.0	4	40.0	15	71.4
Alcoholism	11	100.0	10	100.0	21	100.0
Fight with spouse and family	10	90.0	1	10.0	11	52.4
Dowry demands	10	90.0			10	47.6
Extra marital affairs	11	100.0	2	20.0	13	61.9
Suspicion	10	90.0	7	70.0	17	80.9
Infidelity	11	100.0	2	20.0	13	61.9
Neglect of household duties	10	90.0	7	70.0	17	80.9
Disobedience to husband/elders	11	100.0	4	40.0	15	71.4
Giving answers back	11	100.0	4	40.0	15	71.4
Demand for hot meals	8	72.7			8	38.1
Refusal of sex	2	18.2			2	9.6
Physical mobility	2	18.2			2	9.6
Giving birth to girl child	5	45.5			5	23.8

Table 4.55b
Conflict issues within the family - men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 21	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No conflict	4	44.4	7	70.0	11	52.4
Economic problems	2	22.2			2	9.6
Fight over property/money	1	11.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Alcoholic husband	1	11.1			1	4.8
Gambling	1	11.1			1	4.8
Conflict with spouses' relations	1	11.1			1	4.8
Household problems	1	11.1			1	4.8
Wife spent more time in parent's house - neglect of household work			1	10.0	1	4.8
Not reported	1	11.1			1	4.8

Table 4.56b
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere - Men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N = 21	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No abuse	7	77.8	6	60.0	13	61.9
Verbal abuse	2	22.2	2	20.0	4	19.04
Threats	1	11.1	1	10.0	2	9.6
Not speaking with spouse	1	11.1			1	4.8
Not given feed	1	11.1			1	4.8
Destroying household items	1	11.1			1	4.8
Not reported	1	11.1	2	20.0	3	14.3
Reaction to abuse N	4		4		8	
=						
Tolerate silently			1	25.0	1	12.5
Let others know in family	1	25.0	2	50.0	2	25.0
Talk back	3	75.0	1	10.0	4	50.0
Hit back						
Not reported						

Table 4.57b
Violence outside the domestic sphere - men

	Kalutara N = 11		Malwatte N = 10		Total N - 21	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No violence	11	100.0	8	80.0	19	90.5
Fights over property			2	20.0	2	9.6
Sexual harassment in the work place						
Caste/commercial riots			1	10.0	1	4.8

5. Home-based Workers in the Garment Industry

The Informal Sector

Introduction

The macro economic reforms and the export orientation of industry from the end of the 1970 saw very early the expansion of the garment industry spilling over to the informal sector. Enterprising but non affluent families used residual material or fabrics not utilised by garment factories to produce garments and household linen for the domestic market, especially for low income consumers.

Home-based women workers in this study were located in a village in the suburbs of Colombo that had large numbers of households engaged for around three decades in this 'cut piece sewing industry; using cloth remnants purchased from garment factories or more recently from cloth [rolls from shops. The Phase 1 study found that these women were primary income earners in low income families or were engaged in creating additional resources for business oriented families, They were either self employed or were subcontracted workers. The locality had benefited from this local industry while the workers were also not hemmed in by institutional regulations as in factories. Nevertheless the self employed faced the vicissitudes of the open market. Labour control was largely through the middlemen-traders and subcontractors, and incomes were consequently low.

The participants in the in-depth study were drawn from 12 of the 30 households in the major survey and comprised seven self employed and five piece rate women workers, as well as eight other women from the same households and one man from each household. As seven of the households had no other women, these eight women came from five households. Eight were nuclear families and four were extended families.

Three women workers and nine men were heads of households. Around half the households depended on self employment. The majority of men were employed in the services sector and 70% of economically active women were self employed or piece rate workers. One fourth of the households had incomes below the 'poverty level,' and only one family was affluent. Most of them had only their homesteads, but housing conditions of half the families were good (Tables 5.1– 5.8).

Of the two groups of women in the study, the 12 home-based workers were between 30 and 70 years, eight were married, three were widows and one was unmarried. They were chiefly secondary school drop-outs as only one had a complete secondary education. The eight other women in the sample of households were younger as seven belonged to the second generation, and were between 18 and 30 years old. Five were unmarried and all eight had a complete secondary education. One of these women was not economically active, but four were in the formal sector, employed as trainee nurses or typists. Three were home-based workers, two in the same cut piece sewing industry and one in farming. The men in the survey in these household belonged to all age groups. Around 90% were married and 56.3% had GCE (O/L) educational attainment. Three men were involved in the cut piece sewing industry, three in trade or cultivation, and there were two mechanics, two drivers and one labourer. One man was unemployed (Tables 5.9 – 5.11).

Control of Labour

The majority of women workers (83.3%) and men (72.7%) had been engaged in economic activities over five years, but all the other women had entered the labour force during the last five years (Table 5. 13).

As seen in Phase 1 of the Study, the sub contracted piece rate workers in the cut piece sewing industry, both women and men, were often at the mercy of middleman or intermediaries who determined their profits. The

self employed workers had to face the pressures of a competitive market that was controlled largely by traders and were given low prices for their products. Although the latter had more autonomy than the subcontracted workers, both were vulnerable to exploitation and malpractices.

The four men (36.4%) and four 'other women' (57.2%) – the two typists and nurse trainees in the formal sector had relatively stable employment, regulated by contracts that fixed working hours, but some were not protected by labour laws and not all enjoyed amenities such as meals, and tea although all four men were members of trade unions. They complained of over work and physical strain but their mobility during working hours was not restricted (Table 5.14 – 5.18).

Control of Economic Resources

Family appears to have some influence on women's decision to seek employment, change employment and their choice of employment. Among the women workers 41.7% said they could take their own decisions in their access to and choice of employment but 58.3% of married workers had to consult their husbands, while the majority of the other women in these families interviewed had to consult their husbands, or in the case of unmarried women, their fathers and mothers. (Table 5.19). The child care responsibilities of the workers (33.3%) and family opposition in the case of the other workers (25.0%) were perceived to be the major barriers to seeking or changing employment. (Table 5.20). The family also appeared to have a significant role in determining the type of employment selected. The home based women workers had not been encouraged to seek employment outside their homes (66.7). Half the second group were employed in the formal sector in culturally accepted "feminine" areas of employment as trainee nurses and typists, and it is clear that factory employment, and jobs with night shifts were frowned upon. (Table 5.21). In the context of the rapid

expansion of factory-based industrialization in Sri Lanka, this social disapproval of factory employment has some significant implications, and could explain the large numbers of unfilled vacancies currently in the Export Processing Zones. In contrast, 75% of the men made independent decisions regarding employment, 16.7% consulted their wives and 8.3% their mother (Table 5.19).

All the women and men engaged in economic activities contributed all or at least a proportion of their earnings to the household. This is inevitable as women in low income families often seek employment as a survival strategy for their families. At the same time these women appear to control to a great extent the income they generate, keeping their earnings in their own hands, (100% and 71.4% respectively), operating bank accounts individually (91.7% and 100%) and also using informal sources of savings which are under their control, as for instance cheettu (50.0% and 85.7%). The women workers were in sole control of their bank accounts, but all the married women among other women needed the approval of their spouses to withdraw money. On the whole they appeared to have considerable independence in the utilisation of their incomes. On the other hand, 81.8% of the men handed over their earnings to their wives and one to his mother, perhaps for “safe keeping”; 81.8% of the men had their own bank accounts which they operate independently but around half had no other savings (Table 5.22).

Two thirds of the men owned land and half the men owned their houses. Half the women workers owned lands or houses. But the assets which the women have accumulated – Bank deposits, other savings, jewellery and sewing machines - were owned by them (Table 5.23). Nevertheless the situation regarding the sale and acquisition of assets is not clear as 41.7% of women workers and 25% of the other women and 16.7% of the men needed their spouse’s approval (Table 5.24 and 5.25) and only 33.3% and 25% of the two groups of women and 66.7% of the men stated

that they could decide to buy any assets. (Table 5.25). Men therefore appear to have more control of their assets.

The impact of access to and control of economic resources on their empowerment is reflected in the perceptions of women workers and other women of changes in their own lives and men's perceptions of changes in women. Their perceptions were that women who work outside the home have acquired knowledge and experience (91.7%, 100% and 100%), self confidence (75%, 62.5% and 66.7%) increased self esteem (83.3%, 100% and 41.7%), mobility (100%, 87.5% and 100%) and enlarged their social networks (83.3%, 62.5% and 91.7%). They have made less gains in economic security, their standing in the family and in household decision making, but have increased their work load significantly. (Table 5.26 and 5.27).

Allocation of resources

Two areas in which gender differences in allocation of resources have a significant impact on the life chances of women and men are education and health. A social climate that supports gender equality in access to educational opportunity is reflected in the views of all women and men that -:

- i.) boys and girls should be given the same educational opportunities, and that
- ii.) it is not correct to provide different opportunities

Women workers, other women and men stated that similar educational opportunities have been provided for girls and boys - in their families (66.7%, 50% and 91.7%) and illustrations were given such as no discrimination in expenditure and facilities, release from housework for both and opportunity to study up to the same level. (Table 5.28). The latter point is reiterated in Table 5.29 as 75% of all women state that boys and 75% and 62.5% respectively state that girls should be educated

to the level they desire. The rest of the women specified a university degree for boys (12.5%) and for girls (8.3% and 12.5%) and vocational qualifications for boys (16.7% and 12.5%) and for girls (8.3% and 25%). The men too had high aspirations for girls and boys 8.3% to the highest possible level and 25% to university degree for both girls and boys, to the level girls' desire (66.7%) and boys' desire (33.3%) and vocational qualification for boys (25.04).

These women and men did not also favour the idea of withdrawing girls or boys from school in a context of economic constraints. No child should be withdrawn (75%, 37.5%, and 41.7%) or only a child, girl or boy, who is not doing well in school should be withdrawn (25.0%, 62.5% and 58.2%) (Table 5.30). There was no gender differentiation on the part of women or men and the girl child was in no way disadvantaged.

While access to education is considered a right, the gendered process of socialization in their own education and in the current educational process appears to affect these women. While a substantial number (75% and 50%) said there were no differences in the tasks assigned girls and boys in schools, some have noted that gender specific tasks are given to boys - farming and to girls - sewing. Men saw no gender difference, and certainly boys had more "status" tasks (Table 5.31). Again while 83.3% and 50% of women workers and other women and 91.7% of men did not favour differential behavioural expectations of girls and boys or observed gender differences in the behaviour of male and female teachers, a few perceived boys as being active and girls as obedient, sociable and excitable, and male teachers were said to be clever and female teachers to be soft spoken and conscientious. (Table 5.33). Their own vocational aspirations in their school days clearly reflects the pervasive impact of gender role stereotypes as women have aspired to be chiefly teachers, nurses and clerks and men have included technical jobs (Table 5.33).

An interesting finding of the study was that these women and men observed that women and men and girls and boys do not eat together, not because they were unequal or because such behaviour was culturally determined, but because their “schedules” were different so that a common meal was not practical. They stated too that there were no gender differences in families in access to health care. (Table 5.34).

Gender division of household labour

Women were seen to perform almost all or most of the domestic chores enumerated in Table 5.35 – cooking, washing cooking utensils, washing clothes, fetching water and fuel, and to be largely responsible for child care and care of the old and sick. On the other hand 25% to 50% of the men, participated in household tasks only to ‘some’ or a little extent. Over half of them said that there were differences after they embarked on economic activities. All felt that male members of their families would take over some of their tasks if they were unwell, but there were some tasks that men would never do – cleaning toilets (66.7% and 62.5% women and 58.3% men) cooking (50% of both groups of women and 33.3% men), washing women’s clothes (41.7%, 20% and 25.0%), while 25% and 37.5% women said that men would not undertake any domestic tasks. (Table 5.36).

As seen in other studies, women have increased access to employment and have been empowered economically and personally to some extent but the gender division of labour within the household continues to be unequitable

There was some agreement regarding the likely negative impact of women’s economic activities outside the home on changing gender roles and relations in the families. These negative consequences were conflict over domestic chores (all women workers, 87.5% other women and all men), neglect of children (100%, 87.5% and 91.7%), increased work load

of other women in the households (all women and 91.7% men) and conflict over distribution or control of earnings (58.3%, 62.5% and 75.0%) (Table 5.37).

Gender relations – marriage, reproduction and sexuality

All these women and men had married only once, the majority of women had been between 18 and 25 years and the husbands had been between 18 and 25 years or over 25 years at marriage. Men and their wives were almost equally divided between the 18 – 25 and over 25 age groups. All men and other women and 81.8% of the women workers had selected their own partners and in no case had the marriage been imposed on them. (Table 5.38). The age at which they would like their daughter to marry was preferably between 18 and 25 years and their sons after they obtained a job or after 25 years. Child marriage is therefore not favoured in these families. Biases against inter caste, inter religious and inter ethnic marriages existed among the women workers and men who belonged to the older group or were married but were perhaps diminishing among the younger persons (Table 5.39).

The dowry system is a social practice that has been assailed from a gender perspective by critics. In these households , 45.5% and 33.3% of the women workers and other women and 45.5% of the men had not been given a dowry and the rest had received relatively small dowries. Around two thirds of the in-laws had been satisfied with the dowry. (Table 5.40). It is interesting that the majority of these women (63.6 % and 66.7%) and men (72.7%) intended to give dowries to their daughters but none of the women workers and only one of the other women and men intended to ask dowries for their sons. (Table 4.41). There was a division of opinion as to whether there had been an increase in the demand for dowries but those who felt that there was an increase attributed it to economic needs and the fact that more women were employed. (Table 5.42).

Issues of gendered norms and unequal power relations were reflected in the virginity test that is associated with marriage “rituals”. Most of the women (81.8% and 100%) had undergone this ‘test’ but in their cultural socialization did not see it as a problem or an issue of gender equality. Some women felt that it was unnecessary, unreasonable, shameful and stressful for women. Those who defended it spoke of family demands and the need for security for girls. (Table 5.43).

Refreshingly however, son preference was not found among the women workers (100%) and among the majority of the second group (62.5% and the men 75.0%). A few felt that a son could strengthen or ensure the continuity of a family and that the lack of a son could result in harassment of the mother. (Table 5.44). While the majority of women (90.9% and 66.7%) and all the men were aware of the availability of ultra scan facilities to ascertain the sex of a child, not many (27.3%, 33.3% and 36.4%) had used this facility. (Table 5.45).

Family planning methods were used by the majority of women workers (72.7%) and men (54.5%) but by only a minority of the second group who did not appear to consider such methods necessary. Opposition from the husband was indicated in only two cases. (Table 5.45). The majority of women and men were of the view that sexual satisfaction was important for husbands and wives. All the women but only a few men said that they could refuse to have sex with their spouses. Most women (81.8% and 66.7%) felt that there would be no negative consequences and a few envisaged only verbal abuse as a reaction to their refusal. (Table 5.46).

It is significant also that 91.7% and 87.5% of the women in the two groups and 83.2% of the men felt that they could move out of an unhappy marriage if they were economically independent. The most important reason for such a move was considered to be infidelity on the

part of husband or wife (80% - 100%). Only few women and men (16.7%, 12.5% and 8.3%) said that wife battering was an adequate reason for leaving the husband – a testimony to the wide acceptance of domestic violence as a way of life. On the other hand only one woman and two men felt that it was “not right” for husband or wife to abandon a marriage. (Table 5.47).

These women were therefore sufficiently empowered to select their partners, adopt family planning methods, refuse to have sex with their spouse, and to envisage moving out of an unsatisfactory marriage, if they had adequate resources. They had no marked son preference or bias against a girl child but they tended to accept oppressive social practices such as dowry and the virginity test which devalue their human dignity.

Household decision making and physical mobility

The majority of women and men have claimed that they participated in decision making in the family before they commenced economic activities (83.3%, 75% and 91.7%) and that they continued to participate (83.3%, 75% and 100%). Relatively extensive participation was seen in meeting daily family needs, education of children, buying and selling of assets and jewellery, and health care of family members. Participation was low in marriage of children, in the male group and among women in employment related issues and major expenses. (Table 5.48). Authority in decision making was relatively limited and was seen only in meeting daily needs, education of children and buying and selling of assets, and in employment among women (Table 5.49).

There appears to have been little increase in decision making as a consequence of economic participation as seen also earlier in Table 5.21. Around only half the women and men (50%, 62.5% and 50%) felt that women’s decision making powers in the family should be increased, but a much higher proportion of women (91.7% and 87.5%) and all the men

felt that women's decision-making power in the community should be increased, chiefly because women had qualities necessary for effective participation. (Table 5.50).

An aspect of gender inequality was the perception among all women and men that women and girls had less freedom of mobility than men and boys, largely, through fear of harassment and abuse (Table 5.51). Areas in which constraints to physical mobility were relatively less were to banks, religious centres, work places, educational institutions and homes of relations and friends. Cinemas and restaurants were places in the public domain to which women had more restricted access without an escort.. Men were more conservative in their attitudes to work women's mobility to unrestricted by escorts and need for permission (Table 5.52).

It is interesting to note as a 'footnote' that all men wanted to be reborn as men, and that 66.7% of women workers and 75% out of other workers among women, wanted to be reborn as men, 8.3% and 12.5% as either men or women and only 25% of the women workers and none in the second group, as women. (Table 5.53).

Violence

Both groups of women and the men identified a high degree of violence in families in their neighbourhood arising from chiefly alcoholism, (100%, 75%and 100%) conflicts over property and money, (91.7%, 62.5%and 83.3%), economic constraints (199%, 87.5%and 83.3%), and challenges to patriarchal relations by 'disobedience' to spouse and elders (83.3%, 62.5%and 91.7%), retorting (100%, 87.5%, 100%) and presumed neglect of household duties (83.3%, 87.5%, 75.0%). Suspicion, infidelity and extra-marital issues also surfaced as issues. (Table 5.54).

No conflict was reported in their own families by 16.7% of women workers, 25% of other women and 25% of men. Economic problems were causes of conflict, and in the view of women, retorting by women and alcoholic husbands (Table 5.55). The manifestations of domestic violence (or harassment) were limited chiefly to verbal abuse, threats, destroying household items and throwing objects. Battering was not reported by women but one man admitted to “hitting back”. It is a moot point whether the veil of family privacy and prestige resulted in these low key responses. The response to abuse was also generally muted – keeping it to oneself, silent tolerance, and informing the family. (Table 5.56).

The majority of women and men (58.3%, 75% and 58.3%) said they had no experience of violence outside the domestic sphere. Violence was caused by clashes over property and only one woman reported harassment. Only one of the trainee nurses complained of sexual harassment – remarks, touching, bruising – when travelling in buses. A few of the men had been involved in political clashes (Table 5.57).

Conclusion

These home-based women workers as well as other women in their families, half of whom were employed in the formal sector, appeared to have been empowered in some aspects of their lives such as control of their earnings and related assets, entering and moving out of marriage, and in their personhood. Patriarchal family norms reflected in the responses of both men and women however continued to influence choice of employment, division of household labour, gender power relations in decision-making in the family in some areas of activity, in social practices such as dowry and virginity tests, as well as in acceptance of domestic violence. Although the influence of gender role stereotypes appeared to have affected vocational aspirations, progressive social norms and policies in the country pertaining to gender equality in access to education and health services have influenced attitudes to

equal educational opportunity, health care and the value of a girl child. However the recognition of women of their relative subordination is reflected in their aspiration to a man's status and role.

Table 5.1
Earning Status of Household Members (10 years and over)

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Earning regular incomes	7	38.9	6	18.8
Earning irregular incomes	7	38.9	17	53.1
Not earning	4	22.2	9	28.1
Total	18	100.0	32	100.0

Table 5.2
Activity Status of Household Members (5 years and over)

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Self employed	8	40.0	9	25.7
Salaried worker	5	25.0	6	17.1
Wage worker -piece rate			8	22.9
Unpaid family worker			1	2.9
Retired and self employed	1	5.0		
Not seeking employment			1	2.9
Sick	1	5.0		
Student	5	25.0	10	28.6
Total	20	100.0	35	100.0

Table 5.3
Economic Activity by Sector

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture			1	2.9
Manufacturing	3	15.0	14	40.0
Small industries			1	2.9
Professional service	7	35.0	2	5.7
Clerical service			4	11.4
Business			1	2.9
Retail trade	3	15.0	1	2.9
Other services	1	5.0		
Not reported	6	30.0	11	31.4
Total	20	100.0	35	100.0

Table 5.4
Total monthly wage earnings of households

Rupees	No.	%
1000 -< 2000	1	8.3
2000 -< 3000	2	16.7
3000 -< 4000	2	16.7
4000 -< 5000	1	8.3
5000 -< 7000	3	25.0
7000 -<10000	2	16.7
22,000	1	8.3
Total	12	100.0

Table 5.5
Ownership of Land

	No.	%
Only lowland	1	8.3
Highland and homestead	1	8.3
Only highland	1	8.3
Only homestead	9	75.0
Total	12	100.0

Table 5.6
Housing

	No.	%
House type		
Very good	4	33.3
Good	2	16.7
Average	2	16.7
Poor	3	25.0
Very poor	1	8.3
Home facility		
Very good	3	25.0
Good	2	16.7
Average	2	16.7
Poor	4	33.3
Very poor		
Not reported	1	8.3
Total	12	100.0

Table 5.7
Ownership of Vehicles

	N=12	
	No.	%
No vehicles	3	25.0
Bicycle	6	50.0
Motor bike	1	8.3
Three wheeler	1	8.3
Van	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3

Table 5.8
Ownership of Assets

	N=12	
	No.	%
Bank deposit	12	100.0
Other savings	8	66.7
Insurance policy	7	58.6
Jewellery	12	100.0

Table 5.9
Respondents by Age

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 - 24			3	37.5	1	8.3
25 - 29			4	50.0	2	16.7
30 - 39	4	33.3			1	8.3
40 - 49	4	33.3			5	41.7
50 - 59	3	25.0	1	12.5	2	16.7
60 - 69	1	8.3			1	8.3
Total	12	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0

Table 5.10
Marital Status

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	1	8.3	5	62.5	1	8.3
Married -customary	1	8.3			1	8.3
Married -registered	7	58.3	3	37.5	10	83.3
Widowed	3	25.0				
Total	12	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0

Table 5.11
Educational Level

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 1 - 5					1	8.3
Grades 6 - 10	11	91.7			4	33.3
GCE O/L	1	8.3	4	50.0	7	56.3
GCE A/L			4	50.0		
Total	12	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0

Table 5.12
Current Economic Activity

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No economic activity			1	12.5	1	8.3
Farming			1	12.5		
Sewing cut pieces	12	100.0	1	12.5	2	16.7
Cutting cloth			1	12.5		
Typist			2	25.0		
Nursing (trainee)			2	25.0		
Mechanic					2	16.7
Driver					2	16.7
Trade					2	16.7
Trade and cultivation					1	8.3
Laborer					1	8.3
Total	12	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0

Table 5.13
Duration of Employment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
< 1 year			1	14.3	1	9.1
1 - < 5 years	1	8.3	6	85.7	2	18.2
5 - < 10 years	7	58.3			6	54.5
10 years and above	3	25.0			2	18.2
Not reported	1	8.3				

Total	12	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0
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Table 5.14
Employment Status

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent employee			2	28.6	4	36.4
Contract worker	2	16.7	1	14.3		
Casual worker			1	14.3		
Self employment	10	83.3	2	28.6	7	63.6
Student nurse			1	14.3		
Total	12	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0

Table 5.15
Standard or Negotiable Payment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard			4	57.1	4	36.4
According to the quantity	6	50.0	2	28.6	1	9.1
Varies	4	33.3	1	14.3	5	45.5
Not reported	2	16.7			1	9.1
Total	12	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0

Table 5.16
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 7		Men N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical coverage			4	57.1	2	18.2
Weekly rest by rotation			4	57.1	4	36.4
All public and mercantile holidays			3	42.9	4	36.4
EPF			1	14.3	3	27.3
ETF			1	14.3	3	27.3
Tea			1	14.3	1	9.1
Meals			1	14.3	1	9.1
Uniforms			1	14.3	4	36.4
Footwear			1	14.3	1	9.1
Loan facilities					1	9.1
Not applicable	12	100.0			7	63.6

Table 5.17
Working Time

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No fixed working hours	12	100	3	42.9	7	63.6
8 hours			3	42.9	3	27.3
More than 8 hours						
Number of hours varies			1	14.3	1	9.1
Total	12	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0

Table 5.18
Harassment at workplace

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 7		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No harassment	4	33.3	2	28.6	4	36.4
Overloaded with work	3	25.0	2	28.6	5	45.5
Given various unfamiliar jobs that at close intervals			3	42.9		
Given work that involves continuous sitting			1	14.3	3	27.3
Given work that involves continuous standing			1	14.3		
Shifted repeatedly from normal sitting place			1	14.3		
Difficulty in getting supply, get low price for the product	2	16.7				
Exploitation by middlemen	5	41.7			3	27.3
Denying entitlements	1	8.3			3	27.3
Do not pay properly	3	25.0			1	9.1
Robbing garments	1					
Inability to sell clothes in time	1					
Harassment by senior students			1	14.3		

Table 5.19
Consultation regarding seeking /changing employment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No one	5	41.7	1	12.5	9	75.0
Husband /Wife	7	58.3	3	37.5	2	16.7
Father			2	25.0		
Mother			3	37.5	1	8.3
Daughter			1	12.5		
Not reported			1	12.5		

Table 5.20
Barriers to seeking / changing employment

	Workers		Other Women	
	N = 12		N = 8	
	No.	%	No.	%
No barriers	2	16.7	2	25.0
Do not know how to go about			1	12.5
Cannot leave family occupation	1	8.3		
Family members will not permit	1	8.3	2	25.0
Child care responsibilities	4	33.3		
Household responsibilities	1	8.3		
Illness	1	8.3		
Old age	1	8.3		
Contract and pay back			3	37.5
Transport difficulties	1	8.3		

Table 5.21
Occupations for women opposed by family

	Workers		Other Women	
	N = 12		N = 8	
	No.	%	No.	%
No occupation	1	8.3		
Jobs not accepted by society	2	16.7	1	12.5
Jobs outside home	8	66.7	2	25.0
Jobs with night shift	2	16.7	3	37.5
Factory worker				
Prostitution			1	12.5

Table 5.22

Control of Income -Men

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 7		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earnings to household						
All	3	25.0			2	18.2
Half			1	14.3	1	9.1
Some	9	75.0	6	85.7	8	72.7
Not reported						
Control of salary						
Keep it	12	100	5	71.4	1	9.1
Hands over to wife					9	81.8
Hands over to mother-in-law/mother			2	28.6	1	9.1
Own bank account						
Alone	11	91.7	7	100	9	81.8
Joint	1	8.3			1	9.1
No account					1	9.1
Other Savings						
Cheetu	6	50.0	6	85.7	4	36.4
Insurance	1	8.3			1	9.1
Samurdhi Savings	1	8.3				
None	2	16.7			6	54.5
Not reported	2	16.7	1	14.3		
Permission to withdraw money from own account						
Not necessary	12	100	4	57.1	10	90.9
From husband			3	42.9	1	9.1

Table 5.23
Ownership of Assets

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	6	50.0			8	66.7
House/flat	6	50.0			6	50.0
Vehicles					6	50.0
Jewellery	12	100.0	8	100.0	10	83.3
Bank deposit	12	100.0	8	100.0	4	33.3
Other savings	11	91.7	8	100.0	4	33.3
Life insurance	4	33.3	2	25.0	6	50.0
Consumer durable						
Radio	3	25.0	1	12.5	9	75.0
Television	3	25.0	1	12.5	6	50.0

Refrigerator	5	41.7	1	12.5	3	25.0
Fan	1	8.5	1	12.5	2	16.7
Sewing machine	8	66.7	4	50.0	1	8.3

Table 5.24
Assets that could be disposed of by women/men

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 8		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	3	25.0				
House/flat	1	8.3				
Bank deposit	1	8.3	2	25.0	2	16.7
Jewellery	9	75.0	4	50.0	5	41.7
Consumer durable	6	50.0	2	25.0	7	58.3
Vehicle					6	50.0
Nothing			2	25.0		
Not reported	2	16.7	1	12.5	1	8.3

Table 5.25
Assets that could be bought by women/men

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 8		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	4	33.3	2	25.0	8	16.7
Anything after discussion with husband	1	8.3			1	8.3
Anything after discussion with parents	1	8.3	1	12.5		
Jewellery			1	12.5		
Food and garments	6	50.0	3	37.5	1	8.3
Not reported					2	16.7
Permission necessary from						
No one	6	50.0	5	62.5	9	75.0
Husband/Wife	5	41.7	2	25.0	2	16.7
Mother						
Not reported	1	8.3	1	12.5	1	8.3

Table 5.26
Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside the home

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger personality Eg: self confidence	9	75.0	5	62.5	8	66.7
More experience, knowledge	11	91.7	8	100.0	12	100.0
More economic security	5	41.7	6	75.0	4	33.3
Enlarged social network	10	83.3	5	62.5	11	91.7
Increased decision making power					1	8.3

Table 5.27
Perceptions of changes in lifestyle when women start working

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total work load- Increased	11	91.7	5	62.5	11	91.7
-Decreased	1	8.3	1	12.5	1	8.3
-Remained same			2	25.0		
Mobility -Increased	12	100.0	7	87.5	12	100.0
-Remained same			1	12.5		
Self esteem -Increased	10	83.3	8	100.0	5	41.7
-Remained same	2	16.7			7	58.3
Standing in the family -Increased			4	50.0	2	16.7
-Remained same			4	50.0	10	83.3
Household decision making -Increased	5	41.7	3	37.5	3	25.0
-Decreased	1	12.5			1	8.3
-Remained same	6	50.0	5	62.5	1	8.3

Table 5.28
Educational opportunities in families

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was of the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	12	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0

Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	8	66.7	4	50.0	11	91.7
No discrimination in expenditure	4	33.3	1	12.5	5	41.7
Both do not attend to other work	2	16.7			4	33.3
Both can study up to any level	7	58.3	4	50.0	11	91.7
Both are provided with transport	5	41.7			7	58.3
Both are provided with all facilities	1	8.3	1	12.5	2	16.7

Table 5.29
Level to which boys and girls should be educated

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 8		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys						
Highest level possible					1	8.3
As the child wishes	9	75.0	6	75.0	3	33.3
University degree			1	12.5	6	25.0
Vocational qualification	2	16.7	1	12.5	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3			1	8.3
Girls						
Highest level possible					1	8.3
As the child wishes	9	75.0	5	62.5	8	66.7
University degree	1	8.3	1	12.5	3	25.0
Vocational qualification	1	8.3	2	25.0		
Not reported	1	8.3				

Table 5.30
Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 8		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Child not doing well in school	3	25.0	5	62.5	7	58.3
No child	9	75.0	3	37.5	5	41.7

Table 5.31
Tasks assigned to boys and girls in school

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different tasks	2	16.7	4	50.0		
Same tasks	9	75.0	4	50.0	8	66.7
Not reported	1	8.3			4	33.3
Total	12	100	8	100	12	100
Boys N= Farming	1	50.0				
Environmental			3	75.0		
Not reported	1	50.0	1	25.0		
Total	2	100	4	100		
Girls N= Sewing eg. duster	1	50.0	3	75.0		
Bring flower plants	1	50.0				
Light tasks			1	25.0		
Not reported			1	25.0		
Total	2	100	4	100		

Table 5.32
Behavioural expectations of school children- Women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No difference	10	83.3	4	50.0	10	83.3
Boys active eg. climb trees			1	12.5	1	8.3
Boys rag and bully			1	12.5		
Girls obedient	1	8.3			1	8.3
Girls sociable			1	12.5		
Girls get excited			1	12.5		
Not reported	1	8.3				

Table 5.33
Vocational aspirations while at school

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Doctor					1	8.3
Teacher	4	33.3	6	75.0	3	25.0
Nurse	4	33.3	1	12.5		
Clerk	2	16.7	2	25.0	4	33.3
Garment job					3	25.0
Technical job					2	16.7

Job with reasonable salary	1	8.3				
No aspiration	1	8.3				

Table 5.34
Food and Health

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Food						
Men and women do not eat together	12	100	8	100	11	91.7
Reason						
Different schedules	12	100	8	100	11	91.7
Boys and girls do not eat together	12	100	8	100	11	91.7
Reason						
Different schedule	11	91.7	5	62.5	11	91.7
Not reported	1	8.3	3	37.5	1	8.3
II Health						
Men/women/Boys/Girls same health care	12	100	8	100	11	91.7

Table 5.35
Household tasks of employed women/men

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking						
Almost all	7	58.3	2	28.7		
Most	4	33.3	2	28.7	2	16.7
Some	1	8.3			3	25.0
Little			3	42.9	1	8.3
None					2	16.7
Not reported					4	33.3
Washing cooking utensils						
Almost all	4	33.3	1	14.3		
Most	5	41.7	3	42.9	4	33.3
Some	3	25.0	2	28.6	2	16.7
Little			1	14.3	3	25.0
Not reported					3	25.0
Child care						
Almost all	7	58.3	1	14.3	1	8.3

Most			1	14.3	1	8.3
Some			3	42.9	3	25.0
Little	1	8.3			1	8.3
None	2	16.7			1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7	2	28.6	5	41.7
Washing clothes						
Almost all	2	16.7	2	28.6		
Most	7	58.3	1	14.3	1	8.3
Some	3	25.0	3	42.9	5	41.7
Little			1	14.3	4	33.3
Not reported					2	16.7
Fetching water						
Almost all	1	8.3	2	28.6		
Most	2	16.7			1	8.3
Some	3	25.0	2	28.6	2	16.7
Little	3	25.0	3	42.9	3	25.0
None	3	25.0			3	25.0
Not reported					3	25.0

Table 5.35 (contd.)
Household tasks of employed women

Taking care of old and sick						
Almost all	6	50.0				
Most	2	16.7	1	14.3	1	8.3
Some	2	16.7	2	28.6	2	16.7
Little	1	8.3	2	28.6	5	41.7
None			1	14.3	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	1	14.3	3	25.0

Table 5.36
Activities that men will never do

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Will do any activity	3	25.0	3	37.5	4	33.3
II. Will not do						
Cooking	6	50.0	4	50.0	4	33.3
Cleaning toilets	8	66.7	5	62.5	7	58.3
Cleaning babies			4	50.0	1	8.3
Bathing babies	1	8.3	2	25.0	2	16.7

Washing women's clothes	5	41.7	4	20.0	3	25.0
Washing babies' clothes	1	8.3	2	10.0	1	8.3
Washing utensils	2	16.7	2	10.0	1	8.3
Collecting water and fuel	1	8.3	3	37.5	2	16.7
Shopping for household items	1	8.3				
Sweeping the house	1	8.3				
Not reported					1	8.3

Table 5.37
Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home -Women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	12	100	7	87.5	12	100
Children get neglect	12	100	7	87.5	11	91.7
Loss of family status	9	75.0	4	50.0	9	75.0
Conflict over distribution /control of earnings	7	58.3	5	62.5	9	75.0
Increased workload of other women in the household	12	100	8	100	11	91.7
Threat to family	5	41.7	3	37.5	4	33.3
Loss of free time	2	16.7	2	25.0	3	25.0
Unpleasant experience outside home	2	16.7				
Increase of expenses					1	8.3

Table 5.38
Marriage

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 11		N = 3		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%

<u>Age of marriage of women/men</u>						
18 - 25 years	7	63.6	2	66.7	5	45.5
> 25 years	4	36.3	1	33.3	6	54.5
<u>Age of Husband/wife at time of marriage</u>						
18 - 25 years	4	36.3	2	66.7	5	45.5
> 25 years	4	36.3	1	33.3	6	54.5
<u>Partner selected by women/men</u>						
Yes	9	81.8	3	100	11	100
No	1	9.1				
Not reported	1	9.1				
<u>Consent obtained</u>						
Yes	11	100	3	100		
No					11	100

Table 5.39
Marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic group

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried						
Like to marry outside						
- caste	1	100	1	20.0	0	
- religion	1	100	1	20.0	0	
- race	1	100	1	20.0	0	
Total	1		5		1	
Married						
Like son/daughter to marry outside						
- caste	4	36.4	2	66.7	4	44.1
- religion	2	18.2	2	66.7	3	33.1
- race	2	18.2	2	66.7	3	33.1
Total	11		3		11	

Table 5.40
Dowry practice in the Marriage of Women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 11		N = 3		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Whether dowry given</u>						
No	5	45.5	1	33.3	5	45.5
Rs. 5,000 – 10,000	3	27.3			2	18.2
Rs. 10,000 – 25,000	1	9.1	1	33.3	2	18.2
Property	1	9.1	1	33.3	2	18.2
Furniture	6	54.5	2	66.7	5	45.5
<u>Whether in-laws satisfied</u>						
Yes	7	63.6	2	66.7	8	72.7
No					2	18.2
Not reported	4	36.4	1	33.3	1	9.1

Table 5.41
Children's Marriages

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Intend to give dowry to daughter</u>						
Yes	7	63.6	2	66.7	8	72.7
No					2	18.2
Not reported	4	36.4	1	33.3	1	9.1
<u>Intend to ask dowry for son</u>						
Yes			1	3.3	1	9.1
No	6	54.5			2	18.2
Not reported	5	45.5	2	66.7	8	72.7
<u>Desirable age of marriage for daughter</u>						
18 – 25 years	7	63.6	2	66.7	7	63.6
> 25 years	1	9.1			1	9.1
Not reported	3	27.3	1	33.3	3	27.3
<u>Desirable age of marriage for son</u>						
18 – 25 years	1	9.1				
> 25 years	4	36.4			6	54.5
After getting job			1	33.3		
Not reported	6	54.6	2	66.7	5	45.5
Total no. of married women/men	11		3		11	

Table 5.42
Trends in dowry demands

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	7	58.3	3	37.5	5	41.7
Increase due to						
- economic problems	1	8.3	1	12.5	1	8.3
- more women	1	8.3	2	25.0	1	8.3
- more women employed	1	8.3				
- expectation of dowry to start business					1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7	2	25.0	4	33.3

Table 5.43
Virginity Test

	Workers		Other Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
No test	2	18.2		
Tested but no problem	9	81.8	3	100
No. of married women	11	100	3	100
Views on virginity test				
Not necessary	2	16.7		
Shame	1	8.3		
Unreasonable	1	8.3	5	62.5
Mental stress for girls	1	8.3		
Necessary	3	25.0	1	12.5
Needed for girl's security	1	8.3		
Family want it	1	8.3		
No views			1	12.5
Not reported	2	16.7	1	12.5
Total	12	100	8	100

Table 5.44
Son preference

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, Sons and daughters same	12	100	5	62.5	9	75.0

Yes, sons better	1	8.3				
- Strength for family	2	16.7				
- Pleasure for mother			1	12.5	3	25.0
- Mother gets more respect					2	16.7
- Family continuity						
Not reported			2	25.0		

Table 5.45
Use of family planning methods

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 11		N = 3		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods	8	72.7	1	3.3	6	54.5
Reasons for not using						
Husband/wife does not agree	2	18.2				
Medical reasons	1	9.1			1	9.1
Not necessary			1	33.3	2	18.2
Not easily available			1	33.3	1	9.1
Not reported					1	9.1
Awareness of ultra scan facility						
Yes	10	90.9	2	66.7	11	100
No	1	9.1	1	33.3		
Use of ultra scan facility						
Yes	3	27.3	1	33.3	4	36.9
No	7	63.6	2	66.7	7	63.7
Not reported	1	9.1				

Table 5.46
Control of sexuality

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 11		N = 3		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband						
Very	1	9.1	2	66.7	4	36.4
To some extent	8	72.7	1	33.3	6	54.5
Not reported	2	18.2			1	9.1
Importance of sexual satisfaction for wife						
Very	1	8.1	1	33.7	6	54.5
To some extent	8	72.7	22	66.8	5	45.5
Not reported	2	18.2				

Refusal to have sex with spouse						
Can refuse	11	100	3	100	6	54.5
Not reported					5	45.5
If refused reaction of husband N =	11		3		6	
Understanding	9	81.8	2	66.7	4	66.7
Verbally abusive	2	18.2	1	33.3		
Not reported					2	33.3

Table 5.47
Ability of a woman to move out of unhappy marriage if economically independent

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 11		N = 3		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can move out	11	91.7	7	87.5	10	83.2
Cannot move out	1	8.3			2	16.7
Not reported			1	12.5		
Acceptable reasons for man to leave wife						
Unfaithful wife	12	100	7	87.5	10	83.3
Fails virginity test	1	8.3				
No sexual satisfaction	1	8.3			1	8.3
Should separate, not leave	1	8.3				
Husband has no right to leave			1	12.5	1	8.3
If do not kept to dowry agreement					1	8.3
If conflict do not agree					3	25.0
Not reported			1	12.5	1	8.3
Acceptable reasons for woman to leave husband						
If he beats her	2	16.7	1	12.5	1	8.3
Unfaithful	12	100	7	87.5	11	91.7
Do not agree/conflict	1	8.3			2	16.7
Should not leave husband			1	12.5	1	8.3
Not reported			1	12.5		

Table 5.48
Participation in Decision Making

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%

Participation before economic activity						
Yes	10	83.3	6	75.0	11	91.7
No	1	8.3			1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	2	25.0		
<u>Participation at present</u>						
Yes	10	83.3	6	75.0	12	100
Not reported	2	18.2	2	25.0		
Total	12		8		12	
Areas of participation						
Providing daily family needs	8	80.0	6	100	10	83.3
Education of children	8	80.0	2	33.3	7	58.3
Marriage of children	3	30.0			1	8.3
Buying and selling of assets	10	100	5	83.3	10	83.3
Buying and selling of jewellery	7	70.0	3	50.0	2	16.7
Health care of family members	7	70.0	3	50.0	5	41.7
Employment related issues	3	30.0	5	83.3	9	75.0
Disputes (neighbours, etc)	1	10.0			2	16.7
Major expenses	1	10.0	2	33.3	12	100
Total	10		6		12	

Table 5.49
Final Authority in Decision Making

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 10		N = 6		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	6	60.0	3	50.0	4	33.3
Education of children	6	60.0			1	8.3
Marriage of children	3	30.0			1	8.3
Buying and selling of assets	7	70.0	6	100	5	41.7
Buying and selling of jewellery	1	10.0	2	33.3		
Health care of family	1	10.0	2	33.3		
Employment related issues	4	40.0			7	58.3
Major expenses	6	60.0	4	66.7	1	8.3
Not reported	1	10.0			10	83.3

Table 5.50
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Decision making in family						
Should increase	6	50.0	5	62.5	6	50.0
Should not increase	6	50.0	3	37.5	6	50.0
<u>Reasons for increase</u>						
Women manage the household	1	8.3			3	25.0
Women too make good decisions	3	25.0	2	25.0	2	16.7
Women should have equal say	1	8.3	1	12.5		
Women do all the work in family					1	8.3
<u>Not reported</u>	2	16.7	2	25.0		
<u>Decision making in the community</u>						
Should increase	11	91.7	7	87.5	12	100
Not reported	1	8.3	1	12.5		
<u>Reasons for increase</u>						
Women should have equal opportunities and rights	1	9.1	1	14.3	1	8.3
<u>Women are more sincere, honest and responsible</u>	9	81.8	4	57.1	9	75.0
Women understand and think better	2	18.2			1	8.3
Women can do any work successfully			2	28.6		
Women do all the work in family					1	8.3

Table 5.51
Freedom of movement of women/girls as compared with men/boys

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women/girls compared to men/boys						
Less	12	100	8	100	12	100
<u>Reasons for less freedom</u>						
Not traditional					3	25.0
Fear of being harassed	11	91.7	5	62.5	7	58.3
Fear of verbal abuse			2	25.0		
Girls get corrupted	1	8.3				
General problems in country	3	25.0			2	16.7
Not reported			1	12.5	3	25.0

Table 5.52
Perceptions of Physical mobility of Women

	Women Workers N = 12								Other Women N = 8								Men N = 12							
	Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission		Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission		Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Work place	11	91.7	10	83.3	11	91.7	10	83.3	10	83.3	8	66.7	10	83.3	1	8.3	10	83.3	8	66.7	10	83.3	1	8.3
Banks	12	100	11	91.7	12	100	11	91.7	10	83.3	8	66.7	10	83.3	0		10	83.3	8	66.7	10	83.3	0	
Temples	12	100	7	58.3	9	75.0	11	91.7	11	91.7	3	25.0	10	83.3	0		11	91.7	3	25.0	10	83.3	0	
Cinemas	3	25.0	1	8.3	3	25.0	1	8.3	10	83.3	2	16.7	10	83.3	2	16.7	10	83.3	2	16.7	10	83.3	2	16.7
Restaurants	10	83.3	5	41.7	5	41.7	10	83.3	11	91.7	5	41.7	11	91.7	0		11	91.7	5	41.7	11	91.7	0	
Parental home	10	83.3	6	50.0	10	83.3	9	75.0	11	91.7	2	16.7	11	91.7	1	8.3	11	91.7	2	16.7	11	91.7	1	8.3
Homes of relations	12	100	9	75.0	12	100	10	83.3	12	100	3	25.0	12	100	1	8.3	12	100	3	25.0	12	100	1	8.3
Friends' houses	12	100	8	66.4	12	100	8	100	12	100	3	25.0	12	100	1	8.3	12	100	3	25.0	12	100	1	8.3

Table 5.53
Gender aspirations of rebirth

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn As a woman	3	25.0				
As a man	8	66.7	6	75.0	12	100
As either man/woman	1	8.3	1	12.5		
Not reported			1	12.5		
Total	12		8		12	

Table 5.54
Conflict issues in families in neighbourhood

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcoholism	12	100	6	75.0	12	100
Fight over property/money	11	91.7	5	62.5	10	83.3
Fight with spouse and family	9	75.0	4	50.0	7	58.3
Extra marital affairs	5	41.7	2	25.0	6	50.0
Neglect of household duties	10	83.3	7	87.5	9	75.0
Disobedience to husband/elders	10	83.3	5	62.5	11	91.7
Retorting	12	100	7	87.5	12	100
Suspicion	7	58.3	2	25.0	3	25.0
Infidelity	3	25.0	2	25.0	4	33.0
Economic constraints	12	100	7	87.5	10	83.3
Dowry demands			1	12.5	1	8.3

Table 5.55
Conflict issues within the family

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	2	16.7	2	25.0	3	25.0

Alcoholism of husband	1	8.3	1	12.5		
Economic problems	8	66.7	2	25.0	3	25.0
Household problems	1	8.3				
Retorting	3	25.0				
Children's problems			1	12.5		
Conflict with husband's relations	1	8.3			4	33.3
Drunken father			1	12.5	1	8.3
Spent more time at parental home and neglect of home work					1	8.3
Not reported			1	12.5		

Table 5.56
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of abuse			4	50.0	3	25.0
Throwing objects	1	8.3				
Destroying household items	4	33.3	1	12.5		
Verbal abuse	9	75.0	3	37.5	6	50.0
Threats	8	66.7			2	16.7
Threat to be sent back to parental home	1	8.3				
Not given food					1	8.3
Do not speak					2	16.7
Not reported			1	12.5		
Response to abuse	N = 12		N = 4		N = 9	
Tolerate it silently	7	58.3	2	50.0	3	33.3
Keep it oneself	1	8.3	1	25.0	4	44.4
Let others know about in the family	5	41.7			2	22.2
Blame	9	75.0	1	25.0		
Hit back					1	11.1

Table 5.57
Violence outside the domestic sphere

	Workers	Other Women	Men
	N = 12	N = 8	N = 12

	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of violence	7	58.3	6	75.0	7	58.3
Fight over property	5	41.7			2	16.7
Harassment/assault	1	8.3				
Sexual harassment in work place					3	25.0
Political conflict					2	16.7
Not reported			2	12.5		

6. Women Textile Workers

The macro economic reforms introduced in 1977 and the concomitant liberalisation of the economy and the reduction of the role of the public sector on the economy under structural adjustment programmes resulted in the privatisation of the large powerloom textile mills established by the state. The factory in which the textile workers in this study were employed was privatised in 1982 and has been owned and managed by the present company since 1984. Industrial disputes occurred under the previous owner and present owner after privatisation, but it was seen in Phase 1 that at the time of the study employer- labour relations were good. The study also found that these women and men workers enjoyed better working conditions than the garment workers in the study although there were nuances of the trend towards casualisation of labour characteristics of the private sector in the 1980s and 1990s. Their incomes too compared favourably with other factory workers and more women were in non manual jobs. Several had been employees in this factory for many years and did not envisage moving in search of better jobs. Their educational levels too had been higher than many workers in EPZ factories.

Phase 2 of the Study examined the different facets of gendered power relations in employment and in the family and their impact on women workers.

Background

The 12 households in the sub-samples of the 30 households in Phase 1 comprised six nuclear and six extended families. Both, women and men in these families were employed in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors of the economy with more women in the manufacturing sector. unemployment rates were relatively low. Only one household had

monthly earnings below the poverty line and two others hovered over it. The sample captured a high income family of an excellence and 25% of the households had middle level income. Three quarters of the households also owned between half an acre to three acres of land. Housing conditions were good in half the households and satisfactory in others without visible manifestations of poverty. One household owned a van and one third had motor bikes, while all households had bank deposits and some other forms of savings. Insurance policies were held by 41.7% of the families. (Tables 6.1 – 6.8).

There were no heads of households among the 12 women workers in the sample. Three were spouses of heads and the others were chiefly offspring. In conformity with the design of the study to select up to two other women in each household, 13 women were identified – two from each of four households and one from each of five households. Three households had no other women. A male was identified in each of the 12 households – six were heads of households and six were from the second generation.

Age wise, nearly 60% of the women workers were between 18 and 29 years of age, but 75.0% of the other women and the men in these households in the sample were between 30 and 60 years, with one woman over 60 years (Table 6.9). Half the women were married and 75% of the other women and the men were ever married, and included two widows (Table 6.9). Three fourths of the women workers had at least a complete secondary education with GCE (O/L) or (GCE A/L) attainment and one woman worker was a university graduate. Around 60% of the other women and the men were school dropouts and one man was a university graduate (Table 6.11). The women workers were therefore younger and more educated than their family members.

The women workers included one of the women in non manual employment - the lecturer cum head of the training section and 11 of the machine operators. Among the 'other women' category, around 70% were not economically active and a few women were self employed in agriculture, home-based sewing (cut pieces and bridal clothes) and retail trade. The occupations of the 12 men ranged from an accountant and two army personnel to a mechanic, four machine operators, three farmers, a waiter, and a pensioner who had declared himself "unemployed"(Table 6.12).

Control of Labour

Two thirds of the women workers had been employed for less than five years and were part of the young female labour force that was a predominant feature of the manufacturing industry, but at least one woman worker had been employed for `18 years. Two of the other four economically active women in these families had been engaged in their activity for less than five years. Nearly half the men had been employed less than five years and one third had been employed over 10 years (Table 6.13).

According to their terms of employment, all 12 women workers were permanent employees of the factory and received monthly salaries/wages but only seven had standard contracts. Five had contracts that were "negotiable with the management", therefore introducing an element of casualisaton and job insecurity that undermines the "permanent" status of the job. Similarly seven of the 12 men had ' permanent' employment but one had a 'negotiable contract'. The four other women in the family and three of the men were self employed and had their own uncertainties caused by dependence on the market. (Table 6.14 and 6.15).

Benefits provided to the women workers conformed to labour legislation. Tea and meals were provided to all women workers by the factory establishment and some received travel allowances and uniforms. Incentive payments for attendance were paid to some of them. Two of the 'permanent' men employees however did not receive EPF and ETF.

Few men had the amenities the women had in the different workplaces in which they were employed (Table 6.16). The freedom to go out during tea and lunch intervals was confined to non manual employees, and in the case of the men, only to the Accountant.

The women workers had their regular eight hours of work. All 11 machine operators worked on early morning and night shifts, five of them undertaking voluntary overtime and six of them compulsory overtime work. Among the eight men employed in establishments, three said they worked more than eight hours, the four manual workers had early morning and night shifts, three of them undertaking voluntary overtime and one compulsory overtime work. The self employed women and men in these households worked according to the demands on their time (Table 6.17). Half the women and men manual workers complained of difficult working conditions and what was perceived to be harassment. Their main grievance was that they were overloaded with work and were given work that involved standing continuously. One women complained that she was shifted repeatedly from her normal work position, another that she had to work extra hours without pay, and another that she was exploited by supervisors. One man said that he was denied his entitlement, and a self employed man complained of exploitation by 'middlemen' or intermediaries (Table 6.18). All the women workers were members of Trade Unions as these unions operated without any restrictions outside EPZs. Only three men were members of Trade Unions.

Despite the operations of trade unions in the factory establishment of the women workers and in some of the workplaces in which the men were employed, and the amenities provided to the women workers, it is evident that there was control of factory workers to meet the needs and targets of the employers. Manifestations of such control of labour are the casualisation of labour, compulsory overtime and the absence of freedom of movement during even the lunch interval. In both formal employment and in self employment the supervisors or the middlemen were the intermediary agents of control.

Control of Economic Resources

Women's control of economic resources would be determined by degree of choice and control over their access to employment, income, and assets. Although all the women workers, two of the economically active other women and all the men stated that they had made the decision to take their current job, other responses indicate that the family had some influence and even control in a few instance over women seeking or changing employment and working in a specific occupation. While 25% of women workers and 46.2% of the other women claim to have made their independent decisions, three fourth of the women workers, comprising the majority of married and unmarried women and, over half the other women felt they had perforce to consult their spouses or parents. In contrast 75% of the men made their own decisions regarding employment (Table 6.19). Two women workers and one other woman said that that family approval was necessary in seeking or changing employment. According to over half in both groups of women, families objected to specific types of occupation such as jobs outside the home, and jobs that involved night work or risks and to specific jobs such as armed and security services, overseas domestic work, and sweeping roads (Table 6.20 and 6.21).

Women and men workers contributed to household income except one women worker. One third of the women workers, 25% of the other women and 72.7% of the men workers contributing their entire monthly salary or wages. Nevertheless all the women factory workers except one and the two home-based women workers had control of their income and made their own decisions regarding its disposal. In contrast almost two third of the men handed over their salaries or wages to their wives, mothers or mothers-in-law. Bank accounts were held by 83.3% of the women workers, the two home-based women workers and all the men. Again, while all the women who had bank accounts were in control of their operations, only 54.5% of the men could operate them without consultation with other members of their family (Table 6.22). Women workers appear to be empowered by their access to income generated by employment to retain control of these resources. It could be that the widely held assumption that women are reliable 'keepers' and managers of household income and expenditure has influenced the decision of the majority of men to hand over their salaries to womenfolk in their families.

Few women have immovable assets such as land and houses. The assets of women workers in the powerloom factory and other women are chiefly bank deposits, other savings and jewellery. One third of the women workers have insurance policies and some consumer durables. Half the men own land or houses and two third own vehicles but relatively fewer men have Bank or other savings or life insurance (Table 6.23). 66.7% of the women workers, 53.8% of other women and 58.3% of the men state that they could dispose of their assets independently. The assets that women can dispose of seem to be chiefly jewellery and consumer durables. Half the women need the concurrence of the spouse or parent but it is a reflection of gender inequality that only one man needs to seek the approval of a parent, and no man needs the concurrence of his

spouse (Table 6.24). Assets could be acquired independently by 58.3% of women workers, 53.8% of other women and 91.7% of men. Women have the “power” chiefly to acquire clothes and jewellery (Table 6.25).

Men have the benefit of traditional power as heads of households in ownership of land and houses but appear to be less concerned with savings where as women’s informal power is buttressed by their savings income and savings assets.

Women perceive employment outside the home as a positive experience in providing more economic security, enlarging their horizons and to a lesser extent improving their personality through self-confidence and enlarging their social contacts. The men in their families have endorsed their perception (Table 6.26). Both these women and the men in the study believe that there are perceptible changes in the life styles of employed women in terms of increased mobility, improved self-esteem and standing in the family, more decision-making power in the household unit also an increased workload (Table 6.27).

Allocation of resources

The gender dimensions of allocation of resources within families was examined with reference to education and health care. There was consensus among the women and men in the study that girls and boys should have the same educational opportunities. In a country in which gender equality in access to general education has prevailed for decades, it is not surprising that all the women and men said that girls and boys in their families have had similar educational opportunities. The non respondent was a woman who had no sons. Respondents said that there was no gender discrimination as for instance in motivation or in facilities including expenditure and time (Table 6.28).

There were no gender differences too in the aspirations of women and men for the education of girls and boys - 91.7% of the women workers, 92.3% of the other women and 75% of the men wanted, both girls and boys to be educated to the higher possible level, to a university degree or to meet the aspirations of the children. The men suggested vocational qualification for boys (16.7%) and to a lesser extent for girls (8.3). One woman in the group of women members of the families of workers suggested GCE (O/L, A/L) for both girls and boys) (Table 6.29). 91.7% of women workers, all the other women and 83.3% of the men said that no child should be withdrawn from school for financial reasons. One man said that in such circumstances, the child not doing well in school, irrespective of sex, should be withdrawn (Table 6.30).

These women and men observed however that there were some gender differences in the content of education and in the social climate of the school. Different tasks were assigned to boys and girls according to 41.7% of the women workers, 53.8% of other women and 75% of the men. Boys were assigned 'heavy' work such as construction, digging flower beds, and carpentry. Girls were given light work, sewing, home science and tasks such as sweeping the classroom (Table 6.31). Many women and men (75%, 61.5% and 83.3%) did not perceive any differences in behavioural expectations from boys and girls, but a few noted that boys were expected to be playful and aggressive and girls to be passive and retiring. They saw little differences between men and women teachers, except a few women who felt that women teachers were more polite and more conscientious (Table 6.32). The vocational aspirations that these women and men had in their own school days also reflected similar gender role stereotypes. Women workers and these women in their families who had aspirations wanted to be teachers, nurses or clerks. The men had wanted to be in trade, in the army or to be accountants or clerks (Table 6.33).

The tendency of women and girls to eat 'after' men and boys has been considered as a manifestation of gender inequality in access to food. Around half the women and the majority of men agreed that men and women, and boys and girls do not often sit together but many attributed this situation to different schedules of work. Only one woman and one man said that it was the tradition that men eat first and only one man said that it was the tradition for boys to eat first. Only one woman worker said that boys deserve more attention in health care but 66.7% of the women workers, 92.3% of the other women and 83.3% of the men said that there were no gender differences in health care (Table 6.34).

It is evident therefore that there has been hardly any gender discrimination in access to education, health and food within families, a situation that was made possible by the positive and gender fair policies pertaining to education, health and food introduced by the state in the 1940s.

Gender Division of Labour within the Household

The traditional inequitable gender dimension of household work is reflected in the responses presented in Table 6.35 with respect to six domestic tasks – cooking, washing cooking utensils, child care, washing clothes, fetching water, and taking care of the old and sick. The men's participation as estimated by them is very limited – 16.7%, 16.7%, 33.3%, 25%, 16.7% and 25% undertaking a substantial share of these six tasks. Some share tasks ranges from 16.7% to 41.7% (fetching water). Few confess to no participation. The other women workers in the families who are home-based self employed women shoulder almost the whole burden of domestic tasks – 100%, 100%, 75%, 100%, 75% and 75%. The privilege of little or no participation is rare.

There is however more sharing of tasks in the families of women workers in the textile factory, women's substantial contribution being 50%, 66.6%, 33.4%, 58.3%. This is clearly a consequence of the absence of women workers from home for several hours, and even on night shifts and the adjustments necessary therein. 83.3% of the women workers, 75% of the other women workers and 33.3% of the men said that patterns of activity had changed after women found employment. While 33.3%, 38.5% and 50% respectively believed that male members of the family would undertake the tasks that women would do if they were unwell, some women and men said that there were tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing and sweeping that men would never do (Table 6.36).

The negative consequences such changes have been articulated in their responses. Virtually all the women workers (91.7%), and all the women and men in the families state that there is conflict over domestic chores in families in which women are employed, perceived neglect of children, (83.2%, 76.9% and 83.3%), increased workload of other women in the family (58.3%, 61.5% and 58.3%) and to a lesser extent, conflict over the distribution and control of earnings (8.3%, 23.5%, 25.0%) (Table 6.37).

Changes are clearly taking place in the gender division of labour in the household, necessitated by changing work and living patterns, and are accompanied by some degree of resistance and conflict.

Gender Relations – Marriage, reproduction and sexuality

Half the women workers and around 75% of the women and men in their families in the study were married. Only two of the women members of the family and the spouse of one of the men had been between 16 and 18 years of age when they were married. All other women had been either 18 to 25 years old (40% to 50%) or over 25 years and all other had been over

25 years (Table 6.38). Their aspirations for their children were similar. The majority wanted their sons to be over 25 years, and 33.3% of the women workers, 40% of women in the other group and 55.6% of the men preferred their daughters to be over 25 years when they married (Table 6.41). The rising age of marriage of girls is a consequence of their involvement in the labour force and parents accept this reality. One third of the women workers did not mind marriage outside their caste and religion and one third of the men outside their caste. Marriage across ethnic division was not desired. Women were even more conservative regarding daughters and sons marrying outside caste, religion, and ethnic group and their reaction ranged from efforts to dissuade to opposition. Nearly half the men were not concerned with such distinctions in the marriages of their children (Table 6.39).

The majority of the women workers 83.3% and men (66.7%) but only 30% of the other women had chosen their partners without family opposition (Table 6.38). Dowries had been given in the marriages of only one women worker and half the other women and one third of the men to the satisfaction of the parties of the spouses (Table 6.40). But 50% of the women workers, 90% of the other women and 56% of the men intended to give their daughters dowries, indicating acceptance of the dowry system. None of the women workers and the men and only one woman in the other group intended to ask for dowries for their sons (Table 6.41). The different stances reflects perhaps the need perceived to provide economic security for their daughters rather than insistence on a commercial bargain. In fact, the majority had not observed an increase on the demand for dowries. The minority who felt that there had been an increase attributed it to economic problems, the propensity on the part of employed women to “collect” their dowries and “demand and supply” in affluent families (Table 6.42).

If dowries were not a major issue, there were other manifestations of gender inequality and the internalisation of subordination by women. The majority of the women – 66.7% of the workers and 60% of the other had submitted to imposition of the virginity test and had recognised it as a necessity ritual chiefly to ensure their security and respect. Only two women workers questioned the scientific basis on desirability of this practice (Table 6.43). Son preference was not very strong, but 41.7% of the women workers, 61.7% of the other women and 41.7% of the men preferred - a son for the conventional reasons – respect for the mother, dependence of parents on sons in their old age and family continuity (Table 6.44).

Not many used family planning methods – 16.7% of women workers, 40% of the other women and 33.3% of men – largely because they felt it was not necessary, they had inadequate information, they wanted children, and either they or their spouses did not like the idea. Awareness of the ultra scan facility was not uniform – 8.33% of women workers, 20% of other women and 55.6% of men. But even among those who were aware, only two women workers and two men had used this facility to ascertain the sex of the unborn children (Table 6.45).

There was widespread recognition of the importance of sexual satisfaction for husband and to a less extent of its importance for wives. None of the women and two third of the men had the strength to refuse to have sex with their spouse, and a few women envisaged verbal abuse on refusal (Table 6.46). On the other hand the majority 83.3% of women workers, 61.5% of other women and 75% of men said they could move out of an unsatisfactory marriage if they had the financial resources. For the majority, the most acceptable reason for a man leaving his wife was infidelity, and for a wife to leave her husband, domestic violence or battering and only secondarily, infidelity. Few disputed the need to move

out in such circumstances, and some felt they could not do so (Table 6.47).

Women were not entirely powerless in marriage, in selection of spouse or breaking up the marriage but internalisation of gender inequality was reflected in the acceptance of dowries, the virginity test, son preference and the control of sexuality by men.

Household Decision Making

Although there was a perception that decision-making in the household increased with women's access to economic resources through employment, women workers and the men felt that they always shared decision-making power. Only the other women in the families observed a significant increase in the decision-making power after employment. Participation was more evident in some areas on decision-making. All three groups participated in providing daily family needs and in the education of their children, the women workers also chiefly in buying and selling assets in employment related issues and on major expenses; the other women in the marriage of their children, in buying and selling assets and in the health care of the family; and men in buying and selling assets, employment related issues and health care of the family (Table 6.48). Decision-making power was confined in fact to provide in daily family needs and in the case of the women workers, in employment related issues (Table 6.49).

Most women workers (91.7%) and around half the other women and the men felt that women should have more decision-making power in the family, because they should have an equal say in the affairs of the family. Most women workers (91.7%) and a higher percentage of other women (84.6%) and men (66.7%) felt that women should have a greater share in decision-making in the community. Many women felt that they were

equipped to do so, and some women and men at least believed that women should have equal opportunities (Table 6.50). The issue of decision-making was not identified as a cause of stress and economic constraining were the major concern.

Another issue related to decision-making was the limited freedom of movement girls and women had relative to boys and men. Only a minority consider this gender difference to be associated with women's "traditional" subordinate role and consequent fear of social disapproval. The majority - 83.3% of the women workers, 69.2% of other women and 75% of the men associated it with the fear of harassment, abuse and molestation in the public sphere (Table 6.51).

Nevertheless the majority of women and men noted that women had a fair degree of physical mobility - to go unescorted and without a time limit to educational institutions, workplaces, banks, religious places and home of parents, relatives and friends. Only men however assumed that women had the same freedom to go unescorted to restaurants and cinemas (Table 6.52).

Women were seen as a disadvantaged group, and 66.7% of women workers, 84.6% of the other women and 83.3% of men wished to be reborn as a man (Table 6.53).

Violence

Both women and men observed that violence was a common occurrence in families in their communities. There was consensus that the most frequent cause was alcoholism and secondly economic constraints giving rise to quarrels over property and family. Other conflict issues stemmed from the threat to the patriarchal power structure caused by women's presumed neglect of household duties, "answering back" and

disobedience to spouse and elders as well as from suspicion of extra marital affairs and infidelity by women or men (Table 6.54).

There was less frankness in responses regarding conflict issues within one's own family. Half the women and men denied that there were such issues and those who admitted to conflict, attributed it to economic problems, alcoholic husbands and household and children's problems. A few men pointed to women neglecting household duties, to their absence when the husband returns home and to their "answering back" (table 6.55).

Most women workers (83.3%) and even half the other women (53.8%) and men (58.3%) said they had no experience of domestic violence. Two women workers and two men and around 40% to 45% of other women spoke of threats and verbal abuse. More specific instances of physical violence such as slapping, pinching, pushing and throwing of objects was reported by a few women. Victims tolerated such abuse silently or informed their families (Table 6.56).

Virtually all the women workers (83.3%) other women (84.6%) and men (100%) said they had no experience of violence outside the home, and only one woman worker had been a victim of verbal sexual harassment in the workplace (Table 6.57). It is possible that most of these households were stable and non conflictual or that the extent of violence has been understated .

Conclusion

Women textile workers and their families had some family resources. The women workers had higher educational levels than many other factory workers. The working conditions too were relatively better but both women and men were affected to some extent by the trend towards

casualisation of labour. They were provided with workers' benefit and extra amenities but were integrated in the industrial machine. Other women in their families were self employed and most did not have higher level jobs so that these workers brought economic stability to families.

Although families influenced the choice of employment of these women and men, the women worker had more control of their income and savings while men had more immovable assets. In all families there had not been gender differences in access to education, food or health care.

Employment had some impact on women workers. The gender division of labour was inequitable as men undertook few risks and the women who were not employed in factories bore the burden. But there was some evidence of sharing of work in the families of workers. Women had also increased self-confidence, self-esteemed status and mobility.

Women were not powerless in the institution of marriage as they could select their partners and could move out of unhappy marriages but they internalised social norms that made them accept practices such as dowry and the virginity test and an attribute such as son's preference. Decision-making was shared to a limited extent and physical mobility was restricted not by tradition but by the violence in the environment, although they themselves claimed to have no experience of violence outside the domestic sphere. Domestic violence was reported in the neighbourhood but only minimally in the home.

The experience of these families reflect the changing roles of women and attendant problems.

Table 6.1
Earning Status of Household Members (10 years and over)

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Earning regular incomes	13	54.2	13	44.8
Earning irregular incomes	6	25.0	4	13.8
Not earning	5	20.8	12	41.4
Total	24	100	29	100

One of the males and one of the females who are not earning between 10 and 14 years

Table 6.2
Activity Status of Household Members (5 years and over)

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Self employed	7	25.0	4	13.8
Salaried worker	10	35.7	12	41.4
Wage worker - monthly			1	3.4
Unpaid family worker			1	3.4
unemployed seeking work	1	3.6	2	6.9
Not seeking employment			6	20.7
Retired	3	25.0		
Student	7	10.7	2	6.9
Not reported			1	3.4
Total	28	100	29	100

Table 6.3
Economic Activity by Sector

	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	5	29.4	2	11.1
Manufacturing	2	11.8	9	50.0
Small industries	2	11.8	1	5.6
Professional service	5	29.4	5	27.8
Retail trade	2	11.8	1	5.6
Other services	1	5.9		
Total	17	100	18	100

Table 6.4
Total monthly wage earnings of households

Rupees	No.	%
2,000 -< 3,000	1	8.3
3,000 -< 5,000	2	16.7
5,000 -< 7,000	2	16.7
7,000 -< 8,000	1	8.3
8,000 -< 10,000	2	16.7
10,000 -< 15,000	3	25.0
15,000 -< 20,000		
24,000	1	8.3
Total	12	100

Table 6.5
Ownership of Land

	No.	%
Lowland, highland and homestead	3	25.0
Lowland and highland	2	16.7
Highland and homestead	3	25.0
Only highland	1	8.3
Only homestead	3	25.0
Total	12	100

Table 6.6
Housing

	No.	%
House type		
Very good	3	25.0
Good	2	16.7
Average	7	58.3
Home facility		
Very good	2	16.7
Good	4	33.3
Average	6	50.0
Total	12	100.0

Table 6.7
Ownership of Vehicles

	N=12	
	No.	%
No vehicles	4	33.3
Bicycle	4	33.3
Motor bike	4	33.3
Van	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3

Table 6.8
Ownership of Assets

	N=12	
	No.	%
Bank deposit	12	100
Other savings	11	91.7
Insurance policy	5	41.7
Jewellery	12	100

Table 6.9
Respondents by Age

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 - 24	5	41.7	3	23.1	3	25.0
25 - 29	2	16.7				
30 - 39	3	25.0	3	23.1	3	25.0
40 - 49	1	8.3	3	23.1	3	25.0
50 - 59	1	8.3	3	23.1	3	25.0
60 - 69			1	7.7		
Total	12	100	13	100	12	100

Table 6.10
Marital Status

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	6	50.0	3	23.1	3	25.0
Married - registered	6	50.0	8	61.5	9	75.0
Widowed			2	15.4		
Total	12	100	13	100	12	100

Table 6.11
Educational Level

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 1 - 5			2	15.4		
Grades 6 - 11	3	25.0	6	46.2	7	58.3
Passed GCE O/L	3	25.0	3	23.1	3	25.0
Passed GCE A/L	5	41.7	2	15.4	1	8.3
Degree	1	8.3			1	8.3
Total	12	100	13	100	12	100

Table 6.12
Current Economic Activity

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not employed			9	69.2	1	8.3
Farming			1	7.7	3	25.0
Machine Operator	9	75.0			2	16.7
Power loom	2	16.7			1	8.3
Sewing cut pieces			1	7.7		
Sewing - brides (dressing)			1	7.7		
Mechanic					1	8.3
Lecturer/Head of Training	1	8.3				
Deputy Accountant					1	8.3
Army Officer					1	8.3
Air Force Trainee					1	8.3
Trade			1	7.7		
Waiter					1	8.3
Total	12	100	13	100	12	100

Table 6.13
Duration of Employment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
6mnths -< 1 year					1	9.1
1 year -< 5 years	8	66.7	2	50.0	4	36.4
5 years -< 10 years	2	16.7			2	18.2
10 years and above	1	8.3	2	50.0	4	36.4
Not reported	1	8.3				
Total	12	100	4	100	11	100

Table 6.14
Employment Status

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Permanent employee	12	100			7	63.6
Temporary employee					1	9.1
Self employed			4	100	3	27.3
Total	12	100	4	100	11	100

Table 6.15
Standard or Negotiable Payment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standard	7	58.3			6	54.5
Negotiate with the Management	5	41.7			1	9.1
According to the output					1	9.1
Not reported			4	100	3	27.3
Total	12	100	4	100	11	100

Table 6.16
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 4		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Medical coverage	10	83.3			8	72.7
Weekly rest by rotation	9	75.0			7	63.6
All public and mercantile holidays	9	75.0			6	54.5
EPF	10	83.3			5	45.5
ETF	9	75.0			5	45.5
Maternity leave	8	66.7			NA	
Nursing intervals	9	75.0			NA	
Child care facilities	4	33.3			1	9.1
Tea	10	83.3			1	9.1
Meals	10	83.3			1	9.1
Travel allowance	6	50.0			6	54.5
Uniforms	3	25.0			4	36.4
Footwear					4	36.4
Not reported/not applicable	2	16.7	4	100	3	27.3

* Not applicable as they were self employed workers

Table 6.17

Working Time

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 4		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No fixed working hours			2	50.0	1	9.1
8 hours	12	100			5	45.5
More than 8 hours					3	27.3
Not reported					2	18.2
No shift work	1	8.3	2	50.0	3	27.3
Morning shift	11	91.7			4	36.4
Night shift	10	83.3			4	36.4
Not reported/not applicable	12	100	2	50.0	4	36.4
No overtime			3	75.0	3	27.3
Compulsory overtime	6	50.0			1	9.1
Voluntary overtime	5	41.7	1	25.0	3	27.3
Not reported/not applicable	1	8.3			4	36.4

Table 6.18
Harassment at workplace

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 4		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No harassment	5	41.7	1	25.0	3	27.3
Overloaded with work	5	41.7			2	18.2
Given work that involves continuous standing	6	50.0			2	18.2
Shifted repeatedly from normal sitting place	1	8.3				
Asked to work extra hours without pay	1	8.3				
Denying entitlements					1	9.1
Exploitation by supervisors	1	8.3				
Exploitation by middlemen					1	9.1
Not reported	1	8.3	3	75.0	5	45.5

Table 6.19

Consultation regarding seeking /changing employment

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No one	3	25.0	6	46.2	9	75.0
Husband/Wife	4	33.3	3	23.1	1	8.3
Father	5	41.7	1	7.7		
Mother	5	41.7	1	7.7	1	8.3
Children						
Brother/Sister	1	8.3	3	23.1	1	8.3
Not reported					1	8.3

Table 6.20
Barriers to seeking / changing employment

	Workers		Other Women	
	N = 12		N = 13	
	No.	%	No.	%
No barriers	8	66.7	7	53.8
Family members will not permit	2	16.7	1	7.7
Child care responsibilities	1	8.3	5	38.5
No alternative	2	16.7		
No contacts/influence	1	8.3		
Old age			1	7.7

Table 5.21
Occupations for women opposed by family

	Workers		Other Women	
	N = 12		N = 13	
	No.	%	No.	%
No occupation	4	33.3	6	46.2
Jobs outside home	1	8.3	3	23.1
Jobs with night shift	1	8.3	1	7.7
Foreign jobs/house maid	1	8.3		
Unsafe employment	2	16.7		
Forces	1	8.3		
Security services	1	8.3	1	7.7
Traffic controller			1	7.7
Sales girl			1	7.7
Labourer sweeping roads	1	8.3		
Prostitution	1	8.3		
Not reported	1	8.3		

Table 6.22
Control of Income

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 4		N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earnings to household						
All	4	33.3	1	25.0	8	72.7
Some	7	58.3	1	25.0	3	27.3
None	1	8.3				
Not reported			2	50.0		
Control of salary						
Keep it	11	91.7	2	50.0	4	36.4
Hand over to husband/wife	1	8.3			5	45.5
Hand over to mother-in-law/mother					2	18.2
Not reported			2	50.0		
Own bank account						
Yes, alone	10	83.3	2	50.0	11	100
No	2	16.7				
Not reported			2			
Other Savings						
Assets	10	83.3	2	50.0	3	27.3
Till	1	8.3				
Insurance					1	9.1
No savings	1	8.3			7	63.6
Not reported			2	50.0		
Permission to withdraw money from own account						
Not necessary	10	83.3	2	50.0	6	54.5
Mother	1	8.3			1	9.1
Not reported	1	8.3	2	50.0	4	36.4

Table 6.23
Ownership of Assets

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	3	25.0	3	23.1	6	50.0
House/flat	1	8.3	1	7.7	6	50.0
Vehicles					8.8	66.7
Jewellery	12	100	13	100	4	33.3
Bank deposit	11	91.7	11	84.6	6	50.0
Other savings	10	83.3	6	46.2	2	16.7

Life insurance	4	33.3	2	15.2	2	16.7
Consumer durables:						
Radio	5	41.7			2	16.7
Television	4	33.3			2	16.7
Refrigerator	1	8.3				
Fan	3	25.0			2	16.7
Sewing machine	4	33.3	5	38.5		

Table 6.24
Assets that could be disposed of by women/men

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 13		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	1	8.3	2	15.4	3	25.0
House/flat	1	8.3			1	8.3
Bank deposit	1	8.3	2	15.4	3	25.0
Jewellery	6	50.0	3	23.1	1	8.3
Consumer durables	5	41.6	2	15.4	1	8.3
Vehicles					3	25.0
Nothing	4	33.3	6	46.2	5	41.7

Table 6.25
Assets that could be bought by women/men

	Workers N = 12		Other Women N = 13		Men N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	4	33.3	3	23.1	6	50.0
Land	2	16.7				
Jewellery	3	25.0	2	15.4		
Clothes for family	4	33.3	6	46.2		
Furniture	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Food	1	8.3	4	30.8		
Day to day needs	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Nothing	1	8.3	2	15.4	2	16.7
Not reported	2	16.7			4	33.3
Permission necessary from:						
No one	7	58.3	7	53.8	11	91.7
Husband/Wife	3	25.0	2	15.4		
Father	2	16.7	1	7.7		
Mother	2	16.7	1	7.7	1	8.3

Not reported			3	23.1		
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Table 6.26
Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside the home

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger personality Eg: self confidence self esteem	7	58.3	9	69.2	5	41.7
More experience, knowledge	9	75.0	12	92.3	11	91.7
More economic security	9	75.0	12	92.3	10	83.3
Enlarged social network	7	58.3	5	38.5	7	58.3
Increased decision making power	1	8.3			1	8.3
Improvement in family status					1	8.3

Table 6.27
Perceptions of changes in lifestyle when women start working

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total work load - Increased	9	75.0	11	84.6	10	83.3
- Decreased	1	8.3	2	15.4	2	16.7
Mobility - Increased	10	83.3	12	92.3	12	100
- Decreased			1	7.7		
Self esteem - Increased	9	75.0	13	100	12	100
- Same	1	8.3				
Standing in the family - Increased	9	75.0	9	69.2	10	83.3
- Same	1	8.3	3	23.1	2	16.7
- Decreased			1	7.7		
Household decision making - Increased	8	66.7	12	92.3	10	83.3
- Same	1	8.3			1	8.3
- Decreased	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Not reported	2	15.4			1	8.3

Table 6.28
Educational opportunities in families

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was of the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	12	100	13	100	12	100
Had provided similar education opportunities to both boys and girls in the family	12	100	12	92.3	12	100
No discrimination in expenditure	3	25.0	3	23.1	3	25.0
Both can study up to any level	9	75.0	11	84.6	11	91.7
Both are provided with transport And other facilities	3	25.0	4	30.8	3	25.0
Both do not attend to any other work at home	1	8.3	3	23.1	3	25.0
Not applicable (no sons)			1	7.1		

Table 6.29
Level to which boys and girls should be educated

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys						
Highest level possible	4	33.3	2	15.4	2	16.7
As the child wishes	3	25.0	2	15.4	1	8.3
University degree	4	33.3	8	61.5	6	50.0
GCE A/L			1	7.7		
Vocational qualification					2	16.7
Not reported	1	8.3			1	8.3
Girls						
Highest level possible	4	33.3	1	7.7	2	16.7
As the child wishes	2	15.4	3	23.1		
University degree	5	41.7	8	61.5	8	66.7
GCE A/L			1	7.7		
Vocational qualification					1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3			1	8.3

Table 6.30
Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	11	91.7	13	100	10	83.3
Child not doing well in school					1	8.3
Not applicable/not reported	1	8.3			1	8.3

Table 6.31
Tasks assigned to boys and girls in school

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different tasks	5	41.7	7	53.8	9	75.0
Same tasks	6	50.0	6	46.2	3	25.0
Not reported	1	8.3				
Total	12	100	13	100	12	100
Boys N=	5		7		9	
Agriculture	2	40.0	5	71.4	6	66.7
Prepare flower beds	1	20.0				
Art	2	40.0				
Dancing	2	40.0				
Carpentry			1	14.3		
Hard work			1	14.3	1	11.1
Girls N=	5		7		9	
Home Science	1	20.0	1	14.3	2	22.2
Art					1	11.1
Sewing	4	80.0	5	71.4	1	11.1
Dancing					1	11.1
Light work			1	14.3		
Sweeping					5	55.6

Table 6.32
Behavioural expectations of school children

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No difference	9	75.0	8	61.5	10	83.3
Boys very active					2	16.7
Boys playful	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Boys bully			1	7.7		
Girls passive	2	16.7	2	15.4		
Girls do not come forward					2	16.7
Not reported			1	7.7		

Table 6.33
Vocational aspirations while at school

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Highest possible job	1	8.3				
Govt. job			1	7.7	4	33.3
Teacher	5	41.7	2	15.4		
Nurse	4	33.3	1	7.7		
Clerk	1	8.3	1	7.7	1	8.3
Accountant					1	8.3
Army Officer					1	8.3
Army					1	8.3
Run boutique					2	16.7
No aspiration	1	8.3	8	61.6	2	16.7

Table 6.34
Food and Health

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Food						
Men and women do not eat together	5	41.7	7	58.3	9	75.0
Reasons:						
Different schedules	5	41.7	6	46.2	8	66.7
Tradition that men eat first			1	7.7	1	8.3
Boys and girls do not eat together	5	41.7	7	68.3	8	66.7
Reasons:						
Different schedules	3	25.0	6	46.2	3	25.0
Traditions that boys eat first					1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7	1	7.7	4	33.3
II Health						
Men/women/boys/girls same health care	8	66.7	12	92.3	10	83.3
Boys get more attention	1	8.3				
Not reported	3	25.0	1	7.7	2	16.7

Table 6.35
Household tasks of employed women/men

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 4		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking						
Almost all	4	33.3	2	50.0		
Most	2	16.7	2	50.0	2	16.7
Some	3	25.0			3	25.0
Little	3	25.0			4	33.0
None					2	16.7
Not reported					1	8.3
Washing cooking utensils						
Almost all	4	33.3	1	25.0		
Most	4	33.3	3	75.0	2	16.7
Some	1	8.3			3	25.0
Little	3	25.0			5	41.7
None					1	8.3
Not reported					1	8.3
Child care						
Almost all	2	16.7	1	25.0	1	8.3
Most	2	16.7	2	50.0	3	25.0
Some	1	8.3			2	16.7
Little	3	25.0			1	8.3
None	1	8.3			1	8.3
Not reported	3	25.0	1	25.0	4	33.3
Washing clothes						
Almost all	3	25.0	1	25.0		
Most	4	33.3	3	75.0	3	25.0
Some	1	8.3			4	33.3
Little	3	25.0			4	33.3
None	1	8.3				
Not reported					1	8.3
Fetching water						
Almost all	3	25.0	1	25.0		
Most	2	16.7	2	50.0	2	16.7
Some	4	33.3			5	41.7
Little	2	16.7	1	25.0	4	33.3
None	1	8.3				
Not reported					1	8.3

Table 6.35 (contd.)
Household tasks of employed women

Taking care of old and sick						
Almost all	2	16.7	1	25.0		
Most	2	16.7	2	50.0	3	25.0
Some	2	16.7			2	16.7
Little	4	33.3			3	25.0
None	1	8.3	1	25.0	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3			3	25.0

Note: Women in all men's households are employed

Table 6.36
Activities that men will never do

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Will do any activity	4	33.3	5	38.5	6	50.0
II. Will not do						
Cooking	1	8.3	4	30.8	3	25.0
Cleaning toilets	1	8.3	2	15.4	3	25.0
Cleaning babies	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Bathing babies	1	8.3	1	7.7	1	8.3
Washing women's clothes	3	25.0	2	15.4	2	16.7
Washing babies' clothes	1	8.3				
Washing utensils	1	8.3	1	7.7	1	8.3
Taking care of children, old & sick	1	8.3	1	7.7		
Sweeping the house					1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7	3	23.1	1	8.3

Table 6.37
Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	11	91.7	13	100	12	100
Children get neglect	10	83.3	10	76.9	10	83.3
Loss of family status	1	8.3	3	23.1	1	8.3
Conflict over distribution /control of earnings	1	8.3	3	23.1	3	25.0
Increased workload of other women in household	7	58.3	8	61.5	7	58.3
Threat to family	3	25.0	4	30.8	4	33.3
Increase of unwanted expenses	1	8.3				
Not reported	1	8.3				

Table 6.38
Marriage

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 6		N = 10		N = 9	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age of marriage of women/men						
16 - 18 years			2	20.0		
18 - 25 years	3	50.0	4	40.0	1	11.1
> 25 years	2	33.3	4	40.0	7	77.8
Not reported	1	16.7			1	11.1
Age of Husband/wife at time of marriage						
16 - 18 years					1	11.1
18 - 25 years			3	30.0	4	44.4
> 25 years	6	100	7	70.0	3	33.3
45 years					1	11.1
Partner selected by women/men						
Yes	5	83.3	3	30.0	6	66.7
No	1	16.7	6	60.0	2	22.2
Not reported			1	10.0	1	11.1
Consent obtained						
Yes	6	100	7	70.9	9	100
No			3	30.0		

Table 6.39
Marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic group

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried						
Like to marry outside						
- caste	2	33.3	0	0.0	1	33.3
- religion	2	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
- race	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	6		3		3	
Married						
Like son/daughter to marry outside						
- caste	0	0.0	1	10.0	4	44.4
- religion	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	44.4
- race	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	44.4
Total	6		10		9	

Table 6.40
Dowry practice in the Marriage of Women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 6		N = 10		N = 9	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry given						
No	5	83.3	5	50.0	6	66.7
< Rs. 5,000			1	10.0		
Rs. 5,000 - 10,000			1	10.0		
Rs. 25,000 - 50,000	1	16.7			1	11.1
Property			3	30.0	1	11.1
Furniture			2	20.0		
<u>Not reported</u>			1	10.0	1	11.1
Whether in-laws satisfied						
Yes	1	16.7	5	50.0	3	33.3

Table 6.41
Children's Marriages

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter						
Yes	3	50.0	9	90.0	5	55.6
Not reported	3	50.0	1	10.0	4	44.4
Intend to ask dowry for son						
Yes			1	10.0		
No	3	50.0	8	80.0	6	66.7
Not reported	3	50.0	1	10.0	3	33.3
Desirable age of marriage for daughter						
18 - 25 years	1	16.7	5	50.0	1	11.1
> 25 years	2	33.3	4	40.0	5	55.6
Not reported	3	50.0	1	10.0	3	33.3
Desirable age of marriage for son						
18 - 25 years	3	50.0	8	80.0	6	66.7
Not reported	3	50.0	2	20.0	3	33.3
Total no. of married women/men	6	100	10	100	9	100

Table 6.42
Trends in dowry demands

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	9	75.0	7	53.8	7	58.3
Increase due to						
- economic problems	1	8.3	3	23.1	4	33.3
- more women employed and collected money for dowry	1	8.3	1	7.7		
- Wealthy people expect dowry	1	8.3	1	7.7	1	8.3
Not reported			1	7.7		

Table 6.43
Virginity Test

	Workers		Other Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
No test	2	33.3	4	40.0
Tested but no problem	4	66.7	6	60.0
No. of married women	6	100	10	100
Views on virginity test				
Not necessary			3	23.1
Not desirable	1	8.3		
Not scientific	2	16.7		
Necessary	6	50.0	8	61.6
Needed for girl's virginity	1	8.3		
Girl's gets respect from family	1	8.3		
Not reported	1	8.3	2	15.4
Total	12	100	13	100

Table 6.44
Son preference

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, sons and daughters same	5	41.7	2	15.4	6	50.0
Yes, sons better	5	41.7	8	61.6	5	41.7
- mother gets more respect	5	41.7	6	46.2	5	41.7
- strength for family			1	7.7		
- family continuity	1	8.3			1	8.3
- son look after parents in old age	1	8.3	4	30.8		
- son can look after sisters	1	8.3				
Not reported	2	16.7	3	23.1	1	8.3

Table 6.45
Use of family planning methods

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 6		N = 10		N = 9	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods	1	16.7	4	40.0	3	33.3
Reasons for not using						

Not necessary	1	16.7	1	10.0	1	11.1
Do not like it	1	16.7				
Use natural methods	1	16.7				
Husband/wife does not agree			1	10.0	1	11.1
Not enough information			4	40.0	2	22.2
Want a child					2	22.2
Too late-pregnant	1	16.7				
Not reported	1	16.7				
Awareness of ultra scan facility						
Yes	5	83.3	2	20.0	5	55.6
No	1	16.7	8	80.0	3	33.3
Not reported					1	11.1
Use of ultra scan facility to ascertain sex of child						
Yes	2	33.3			2	22.2
No	3	50.0	2	20.0	3	33.3

Table 6.46
Control of sexuality

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 6		N = 10		N = 9	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband						
Very	5	83.3	6	60.0	8	88.9
To some extent	1	16.7	4	40.0	1	11.1
Importance of sexual satisfaction for wife						
Very	4	66.7	5	50.0	7	77.8
To some extent	2	33.3	5	50.0	2	22.2
Refusal to have sex with spouse						
Cannot refuse					3	33.3
Can refuse	6	100	10	100	6	66.7
If refused, reaction of husband N=						
Understanding	5	83.3	7	70.0	6	100
Verbally abusive	1	16.7	2	20.0		
Not reported			1	10.0		

Table 6.47
Ability to move out of unhappy marriage if economically independent

	Workers	Other Women	Men
	N = 12	N = 13	N = 12

	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can move out	10	83.3	8	61.5	9	75.0
Cannot move out	2	16.7	5	38.5	3	25.0
Acceptable reasons for man to leave wife						
Unfaithful wife	11	91.7	11	84.6	10	83.3
Fails virginity test	1	8.3	1	7.7	2	16.7
No sexual satisfaction	2	16.7	2	15.4	1	8.3
Infertile	3	25.0			1	8.3
Cannot bear sons	1	8.3			2	16.7
Does not respect him/family	2	16.7	2	15.4	1	8.3
Should not move out	1	8.3	2	15.4	3	25.0
Acceptable reasons for wife to leave husband						
If he beats her	9	75.0	10	76.9	8	66.7
Unfaithful	6	50.0	4	30.8	4	33.3
Does not provide for family	1	8.3	2	15.4	2	15.4
Infertile					1	7.7
Impotent	1	8.3	2	15.4	2	15.4
Does not respect him/family	2	16.7				
Should not move out	2	16.7	2	15.4	3	23.1
Not reported	1	8.3				

Table 6.48
Participation in Decision Making

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Participation before economic activity						
Yes	11	91.7	4	30.8	11	100
No	1	8.3				
Participation at present						
Yes	10	83.3	11	84.6	12	100
No	2	16.7	2	15.4		
Total	12		13		12	
Areas of participation						
Providing daily family needs	6	60.0	11	100	11	91.7
Education of children	6	60.0	6	54.5	7	58.3
Marriage of children			6	54.5	3	25.0
Buying and selling of assets	4	40.0	6	54.5	6	50.0
Buying and selling of jewellery	7	70.0	3	27.3	5	41.7
Health care of family	4	40.0	6	54.5	6	50.0

Employment related issues	7	70.0	4	36.4	6	50.0
Disputes (neighbours, etc)	2	20.0	3	27.3	3	25.0
Major expenses	6	60.0	4	36.4	5	41.7
Construction of houses			1	9.1		
Total	10		11		12	

Table 6.49
Final Authority in Decision Making

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 10		N = 11		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	4	40.0	8	72.7	11	91.7
Education of children	4	40.0	4	36.4	5	41.7
Marriage of children			5	45.5	2	16.7
Buying and selling of assets	3	30.0	1	9.1	2	16.7
Buying and selling of jewellery	1	10.0			1	8.3
Employment related issues	5	50.0	1	9.1	2	16.7
Disputes			1	9.1		
Major expenses	3	30.0	2	18.2	3	25.0
Not reported	1	10.0				

Table 6.50
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Decision making in family						
Should increase	11	91.7	7	53.8	6	50.0
Should not increase	1	8.3	6	46.2	6	50.0
Reasons for increase						
Women can manage the household					1	16.7
Women too make good decisions	1	9.1				
Women should have equal say	9	81.8	6	85.7	5	83.3
Important for progress of family	1	9.1				

Not reported			1	14.3		
Decision making in the community						
Should increase	11	91.7	11	84.6	8	66.7
Should not increase	1	8.3	2	15.4	4	33.3
<u>Reasons for increase</u>						
Women should have equal opportunities and rights	4	36.4	3	27.3	3	37.5
<u>Women are more sincere, honest and responsible</u>	2	18.2	3	27.3	3	37.5
Women understand and think better	6	54.5	6	45.5	2	25.0
Women can do any work successfully	1	9.1				

Table 6.51
Freedom of movement of women/girls as compared with men/boys

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women/girls compared to men/boys						
Less	12	100	13	100	12	100
<u>Reasons for less freedom</u>						
Traditional	4	33.3	3	23.1	3	25.0
Fear of social disapproval	2	16.7	4	30.8	2	16.7
Fear of harassment	9	75.0	9	69.2	8	66.7
Fear of verbal abuse	1	8.3				
Fear of molestation					1	8.3
Work at home					1	8.3

Table 6.52
Perceptions of Physical mobility of Women

	Women Workers N = 12								Other Women N = 13								Men N = 12							
	Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission		Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission		Yes		Alone		No time limit		With-out permission	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Work place	12	100	12	100	12	100	10	83.3	3	23.1	3	23.1	3	23.1	1	7.7	10	83.3	10	83.3	10	83.3	10	83.3
Banks	11	91.7	11	91.7	11	91.7	10	83.3	12	92.3	9	69.2	12	92.3	5	38.5	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100
Temples	12	100	8	66.7	12	100	9	75.0	12	92.3	5	38.5	12	92.3	8	61.5	12	100	12	100	12	100	11	91.7
Cinemas	4	33.3	2	16.7	4	33.3	3	25.0	3	23.1			3	23.1			11	91.7	11	91.7	11	91.7	11	91.7
Restaurants	8	66.7	5	41.7	3	25.0	7	58.3	4	30.8	1	7.7	4	30.8	1	7.7	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100
Parental home	12	100	10	83.3	12	100	7	58.3	11	84.6	6	46.2	11	84.6	6	46.2	12	100	12	100	12	100	12	100
Homes of relations	12	100	9	75.0	12	100	6	50.0	13	100	6	46.2	13	100	8	61.5	11	91.7	10	83.3	11	91.7	11	91.7
Friends' houses	12	100	8	66.7	12	100	7	58.3	12	92.3	7	58.3	12	92.3	7	58.3	12	100	11	91.7	12	100	12	100

Table 6.53
Gender aspirations for rebirth

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn As a woman	2	16.7	2	15.4		
As a man	8	66.7	11	84.6	10	83.3
As either man/woman	2	16.7			2	16.7
Total	12		13		12	

Table 6.54
Conflict issues in families in neighbourhood

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcoholism	12	100	13	100	12	100
Fight over property/money	10	83.3	5	38.5	9	75.0
Fight with spouse and family	9	75.0	6	46.2	6	50.0
Dowry demands	2	16.7	4	30.8	4	33.3
Extra marital affairs	6	50.0	6	46.2	6	50.0
Neglect of household duties	7	58.3	11	84.6	7	58.3
Disobedience to husband/elders	4	33.3	7	53.8	6	50.0
Retorting	7	58.3	12	92.3	7	58.3
Economic constraints	9	75.0	10	76.9	10	83.3
Giving birth to girl child	2	16.7	1	7.7	2	16.7
Suspicion	6	50.0	7	53.8	7	58.3
Infidelity	8	66.7	4	30.8	7	58.3
Childlessness	3	25.0	3	23.1	4	33.3
Demand for hot meals	2	16.7	2	15.4	3	25.0
Refusal of sex			2	15.4	2	16.7
Physical mobility	2	16.7	3	23.1	1	8.3

Table 6.55
Conflict issues within the family

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	6	50.0	7	53.8	6	50.0
Economic problems	2	16.7	1	7.7		
Fight over property/money					2	16.7
Alcoholic husband	2	16.7				
Alcoholic father			1	7.7		
Gambling					1	8.3
Household problems	1	8.3	2	15.4		
Family problems			1	7.7		
Childlessness			1	7.7		
Childlessness problems	2	16.7				
Retorting	1	8.3			1	8.3
Wife not at home when husbands' relations come					1	8.3
More time spend in parents' home and neglect of household					1	8.3
Not reported					1	8.3

Table 6.56
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 8		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of abuse	10	83.3	7	53.8	7	58.3
Slapping, pinching, pushing, pulling hair			2	15.4		
Throwing objects	1	8.3				
Threats	2	16.7	5	38.5	1	8.3
Verbal abuse	1	8.3	6	46.2	2	16.7
Not reported					2	16.7
<u>Response to abuse</u>	N = 2		N = 6		N = 5	
Tolerate silently	1	50.0	4	66.7	3	60.0
Crying			2	33.3		
Let others know in the family	1	50.0	2	33.3	1	20.0
Go back to parental home					1	20.0

Table 6.57
Violence outside the domestic sphere

	Workers		Other Women		Men	
	N = 12		N = 13		N = 12	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of violence	10	83.3	11	84.6	12	100
Sexual harassment at work place	1	8.3				
Not reported	1	8.3	2	15.4		

7. Women Handloom Workers

The vicissitudes of the handloom industry with its expansion and feminisation in the 1960s and 1970s in the heyday of import substitution policies and its collapse with market liberalisation in 1977 affected the fortunes of large numbers of rural women whose major livelihood was weaving. The handloom weavers in villages in the Kurunegala district are some of the women whose economically depressed status depicted in Phase 1 of the study reflects the failure of successive efforts to revive the village-based industry, in contrast to the success of individual women entrepreneurs with resources and initiative whose handloom exports compete successfully in the open economy.

The sub sample selected for the study consisted of twelve of the thirty households of weavers in Phase 1. Seven were nuclear families and five were extended families. The men were chiefly in the services or were self employed. Besides the 12 women handloom weavers, there were a few self employed women and one woman was in the army in the conflict area. The percentage of unemployed women was relatively high - 15.6%. (Table 7.1 - 7.3) Relative poverty was evident as 25% of the household lived below the poverty line and around 40% just above it (Table 7.4). All households except one had land in the village structure but allotments did not exceed one to two acres in the most. In the case of the majority, housing was poor or very poor and other assets and facilities were minimum. (Tables 7.5 - 7.8)

Besides the 12 handloom weavers, seven of whom were employed by the Department of Textiles and five by the Textile Co-operative Society, twelve other women from seven of these households that had more women and ten men participated in the study. Two households did not

have resident men. Of the weavers, 75% were between 40 and 60 years while two thirds of the other women were between 18 and 40 years. Of the men, 70% were over 40 years. In both groups of women 75% were married, or in the case of the second group, married or widowed and 80% of the men were married. . Despite their low economic status, over 40% had a complete secondary education while only 30% of the men had this level of educational attainments - a further cause of frustration in employment (Tables 7.9 - 7.11).

Economic activities

The women weavers worked either in the village based Janasalu weaving Centre of the Department of Textiles or were engaged by Textile Cooperative Societies. Both the Department and Textile societies purchased yarns and dyes and distributed them among the women who received piece rate payments for the products. Products were sold by the Department and Societies to shops or at outlets or at exhibitions in a market which had little demand for them.

The women weavers were casual workers as they had no official contracts or security of employment even within the ambit of the Department. They worked eight hours a day, had no overtime or shifts. They had the freedom to leave the workplace during the lunch hour and did not face harassment in their work. Their problem was inadequate remuneration, but the Department and Societies found it difficult to sell their products and often absorbed losses. They were, in fact, victims of macro economic policies that were biased towards the large export oriented sector and the indifferent stance adopted by the State to local industries operating at village level. The two women in the second group were a piece rate worker producing reed tea boxes and a self employed cultivator. The low percentage of economically active women in this group is in itself an indicator of the lack of alternative employment

opportunities in communities that were outside the export oriented industrialisation process in the country (Table 7.12).

The men in the households were engaged in a variety of economic activities. Of the two permanent employees, the Police Sergeant had a stable job with benefits that included also medical coverage, a travel allowance, uniform and foot wear. The teacher was a pensioner who was employed again and was a member of a trade union of teachers. The two lorry drivers were temporary or casual workers with no job security. Five men were self employed – a carpenter, tailor, vendor a farmer and a owner of a shop. They faced the uncertainties of the market. Around one third of the women and over 40% of the men had been employed for over ten years. Each job had its own problems (Table 7.13 and 7.14).

Control of economic resources

It appears from their responses that both spouses and parents influenced these women and men in their choice of employment. The major barriers to employment in the perceptions of the women were the lack of alternative employment opportunities, child care responsibilities and the lack of contacts or influence, political and otherwise, which they felt have contributed to their depressed status. Family control, however, is seen in the list of occupations that were disapproved in the case of 50% and 66% of the women in the two groups. These were not only any jobs outside the home, but specifically those occupations in which opportunities are currently available - factory work in EPZs, domestic work overseas and the armed forces (Tables 7.15 – 7.17).

Half of the women and most of the men contributed all their earnings to the household for family survival, but even others made some contribution. All the women appear to have had control over the income they generated by their labour. All economically active women handled

their own earnings and 66.7% and 50% respectively had their own bank accounts and could operate them independently. On the other hand, the majority were unable to dispose of or acquire assets without the approval of spouse or parents. All the men handed over their salary to their wives (88.9%) or to parents-in-law (11.1%), but men had more assets than women and could acquire or dispose of them independently (Tables 7.18 – 7.21).

According to the perceptions of both women and men employment gave women economic security, some knowledge and experience, mobility, self-esteem, standing in the family and increase in decision making power, but did not improve their self confidence. Nor would their low status income occupation increase the status of their families in the community (Table 7.22– 7.23).

Allocation of resources

The inquiry was limited to allocation of resources within families for education and health. All the women and men agreed that boys and girls should have the same educational opportunities and that it was not correct to provide different opportunities. In their own families, similar education opportunities had been offered to boys and girls with encouragement to study up to any level and without discrimination in expenditure or facilities – 83.3%, 91.7% and 90% (Table 7.24). With the exception of a few women in the second group and men whose horizons were limited to secondary education, the others felt that boys and girls should be educated to the highest possible level in keeping with their wishes, and to at least a university degree (Table 7.25). But while the majority, 75%, 66.7% and 60.0% felt that no child or only a child who is not doing well in school should be withdrawn if faced with financial constraints, 25% of women workers, 33% of other women and 40% of the

men said that the girl child should be withdrawn in such circumstances, thus contradicting their earlier statements (Table 7.26).

Again, while the majority (83.3%, 66.7% and 70%) said that boys and girls were assigned the same tasks in school, two women and one man were aware of gender differentiation in the curriculum in assigning, for instance, carpentry, crafts and farming to boys and home science and sewing to girls (Table 7.27). Most of them had differential behavioural expectations of boys and girls such as physically separating boys and girls and perceiving girls to be obedient, passive, sociable and excitable and boys to be aggressive (Table 7.28) Their vocational aspirations at school had also followed the conventional, stereotypical goals of employment as teachers and clerks while the men had set their sights on state employment (Table 7.29).

Allocation of food resources was not gender based. More than half felt that male and female members ate together and that those who did not do so had varying time schedules. Only one woman in each group (but no man) said that it was traditional that men eat first. With few exceptions among the women, both women and men said that men, women, boys and girls in their families received the same health care (Table 7.30).

Gender division of household labour

The gender division of labour in these households was clearly inequitable. Most women were burdened with all domestic chores, with child care and with care of the old and the sick and the participation of men was very limited according to their own responses, except in fetching water and fuel (Table 7.31). While half the women and men said that the pattern of household work of women had been modified as a result of their economic activities, and 83.3% and 50.0% women

respectively and 90% of the men said that men would undertake their tasks if they were unwell, they felt too that men would never accept tasks such as cooking and washing women's clothes. It is interesting that men too endorsed these views (Table 7.32).

The negative changes that women and men identified as the consequences of women taking to jobs outside the home were partly related to their domestic role. In particular both women and men (75.0%, 66.7% and 80.0%) tended to attribute conflict over domestic chores and neglect of children (66.7%, 83.3% and 80.0%) to employment outside the home (Table 7.33).

Gender relations – marriage, reproduction and sexuality

These women and men had been married only once. 77.8% of the women workers and 66.7% of other women had been 18 to 25 years at the time of marriage. Their husbands had been 18 to 25 years or over 25 years. Half the men had been over 25 years at marriage while 62.5% of the wives had been between 18 and 25 (Table 7.34). Most hoped that their daughters marry when they were 18 to 25 years and that sons would be over 25 years. No one favoured adolescent marriages (Table 7.36). No body – women workers, other women and men - approved of marriage outside their caste, religion and ethnic group for themselves or for their children.

The women had conformed to traditional practices. Their spouses had been selected by the family (88.9% and 77.8%) with their agreement, 77.8% in both groups had been given dowries, chiefly property and furniture, and most families of spouses had been satisfied with the transactions (Table 7.35). With regard to their children too, 77.8% and 44.4% wished to give their daughters dowries, but only 33.3% wanted to ask dowries for their sons (Table 7.36). They saw no substantial increase

in demands for dowries. A few said that it was the duty of parents to give their daughters dowries, that unemployed men wanted dowries, and that employed women collect money for dowries. Half the men had selected their spouses.. Most of them had noted a trend in increase in demand for dowries as a consequences of economic constraints and the need for men to engage in business (Table 7.37).

The traditional orientation of these women was seen in their acceptance of the virginity test as an integral part of the marriage ceremony (77.8% and 88.9%) and their faith in the need for this test (50.0% and 75%) chiefly to ensure good behaviour and purity in women. One woman, however, challenged the scientific basis of such a test (Table 7.38). Son preference however was articulated by around half the women and 70% of the men. Their concern chiefly was that sons were required to look after parents in their old age (Table 7.39). While only 44.4% and 33.3% of the women workers and other women used family planning methods, most of them (88.9% and 100%) were aware of the availability of scanning facilities but had not used the facility to ascertain the sex of children. More men had used family planning methods, and they were all aware of the availability of scanning facilities but no one had used this facility (Table 7.40).

Many women believed that sexual satisfaction was more important for husbands than for wives. Only 50.0% of the men but 41.7% women and 66.7% other women felt they could not refuse to have sex with spouses, although they did not appear to anticipate a violent reaction if they were to refuse (Table 7.41). But 75% women workers and 41.7% other women and half the men felt that a woman could move out of an unhappy marriage if economic circumstances made it possible. A range of acceptable reasons for a man leaving his wife or a woman leaving her husband were identified by both women and men but there was no

strong feeling about infidelity of husband or wife and about wife beating. Fertility was seen to be more important (Table 7.42)

Household decision making

As much as the men these women also saw themselves as decision makers and almost all said that they participated in decision making. High levels of participation were reported however only in providing daily family needs (100% and 90%) and in the education of children (83.3% and 70%), and participation in other areas such as buying and selling assets, employment related issues and health care of family members was less extensive. Authority too was limited to these two areas of providing family needs and the education of children. Men appeared to have had more decision making powers in employment and health related issues and decisions related to major expenses. They tended also to exercise more authority overall (Tables 7.43 and 7.44).

There was, however, a desire on the part of both women and men that women should increase their decision making power in the family (91.7%, 91.7% and 90%) because women are the managers of the household and can make good decisions. Also that women should have a greater role in decision making in the community (100% and 91.7% of the women and 70% of the men) because they had qualities of honesty and responsibility and because women should have equal opportunities (Table 7.45).

It was accepted too by all women workers, 83.3% of other women and 90% of the men, that women and girls had less freedom of movement than men and boys. The most important reason they felt was not tradition but fear of harassment and molestation (Table 7.46). Physical mobility was seen by women to be most restricted to temples, cinemas and restaurants unlike to educational institutions, workplaces and

banks which were seen to be pragmatic needs. Men appeared to be under the illusion that women could move about freely but they were more conservative in their insistence on control through permission (Table 7.47).

Overall, 75% of women workers, 66.7% of other women and 90% of men preferred to be re-born as men in the context perhaps of their perceived advantages that man had in society (Table 7.48).

Violence

Both women and men viewed locations and types of conflict differently. Only a minority (33.3% women workers, 16.7% other women and 10% of the men) said that there were no conflicts in families in the neighbourhood, Alcoholism (66.7%, 83.3% and 90%) economic constraints (50.0%, 58.3% and 60%) and quarrels over property and money (25%, 50% and 80%) were identified as frequent causes of conflict (Table 7.49).

In their own homes, however only one woman in each group (8.3%) and no men admitted to conflict within their own families. Most (100%, 83.3% and 70%) said they had no experience of abuse in their families. A few women had been subjected to verbal abuse and threats which they said they tolerated in silence and made known to their families (Table 7.50 and 7.51). It is debatable whether these are under-statement to preserve family prestige.

Outside the domestic sphere, 83.3% of women and 80% of men said they had no experience of violence and the only conflicts reported by related to politics, reflecting perhaps the climate of violence that seems to be associated with political elections. One woman worker has been victim of

sexual harassment verbally but has not complained to the management (Table 7.52).

Conclusion

These women were victims of market liberalisation, confined to low income occupations as a consequence of the collapse and non recovery of local industries. Their employment was virtually a welfare project subsidised by the state and their problems were not exploitative employers but poor economic rewards and a bleak future caused by myopic socio-economic policies. Although their educational attainment was as high as that of any group of industrial workers, family disapproval in this rural environment largely prevented them from utilising employment opportunities such as factory and overseas domestic employment that were expanding in the economy.

In their own lives, women were not discriminated in education or health the girl child was not rejected and the income they generated was not handed over to spouses but was under their own control. But the family still exercised some influence on choice of employment, and the disposal of assets, the division of labour in the household was inequitable, and family control was visible in marriage practices such as choice of spouse, dowry and virginity test practices, in some aspects of decision making and in acceptance of infidelity and domestic violence.

Table 7.1
Earning Status of Household Members (10 years & over)

	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No	%
Earning regular income	11	50.0	14	45.2
Earning irregular income	1	4.5	4	12.9
Not earning	9	40.9	12	38.7
Not reported	1	4.5	1	3.2
Total No.	22	100.0	31	100.0

Table 7.2
Activity status of household members (5 years & over)

	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No	%
Self employed	4	20.0	1	3.1
Selected worker	5	20.0	1	3.1
Employer	1	4.0	-	-
Wage worker piece rate	1	4.0	12	37.5
Wage worker ad hoc			3	9.4
Unpaid family worker - agriculture	1	4.0	1	3.1
Unemployed - seeking work	1	4.0	5	15.6
Students	11	44.0	6	18.8
Elders			2	6.3
Not reported			1	3.1
Total No.	25	100.0	32	100.0

Table 7.3
Economic Activity - by sector

	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No	%

Agriculture	1	7.7	3	17.6
Small industries	3	23.1	13	76.5
Manufacturing	1	7.7		
Professional services	5	38.5	1	5.9
Other services	2	15.4		
Business	1	7.7	17	
Total	13	100.0	17	

Table 7.4
Total Monthly Average Earning of Household

Rs.	Male	
	No.	%
1000- < 2000	1	8.3
2000- < 3000	2	16.7
3000- < 5000	5	41.7
5000- < 7000	1	8.3
7000- < 8000	3	25.0
Total No.	12	100.0

Table 7.5
Ownership of land

Rs.	Male	
	No.	%
Lowland & Highland	6	50.0
Highland	5	41.7
Own no land	1	8.3
Total No	12	100.0

Table 7.6a
Housing

	House		Families in Home	
	No.	%	No	%
Good	1	8.3	1	8.3

Average	3	25.0	3	25.0
Poor	5	41.7	4	33.3
Very poor	3	25.0	4	33.3
Total No.	12	100.0	12	100.0

Table 7.6b
Ownership of Vehicles

	No.	%
No vehicles	5	41.7
Bicycles	4	33.3
Motor Bike	2	16.7
Not reported	1	8.3
Total No.	12	100.0

Table 7.7
Ownership of Other Assets

	No.	%
Bank deposit	10	83.3
Other savings	1	8.3
Insurance policy	2	16.7
Travelling	9	75.0
Total No	12	

Table 7.8
Age of Women respondents

	Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No	%
18-24			3	25.0
25-29	1	8.3	1	8.3
30-39	2	16.7	4	33/3
40-49	3	25.0		
50-59	6	50.0	1	8.3
60-69			1	8.3

70 and above			2	16.7
Total	12	100	12	100

Table 7.9
Material Status of Women

	Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No	%
Unmarried	3	25.0	3	25.0
Married - Registered	9	75.0	4	33.3
Widowed			5	41.7
Total	12	100	12	100

Table 7.10
Educational level of Women

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No Schooling - illiterate			1	8.3
No Schooling - literate			1	8.3
Grades 1-5	1	8.3	2	16.7
Grades 1-11	6	50.0	3	25.0
GCE OL	4	33.3	2	16.7
GCE AL	1	8.3	3	25.0
Total No.	12	100.0	12	100.0

Table 7.11
Government Economic Activity

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Farming			1	8.3
Weaving	12	100.0		
Making tea boxes			1	8.3
Not employed			10	8.3
Total No.	12		12	100.0

**Table 7.12
Employment Status**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Casual Worker	12	100.0		
Self Employment			2	100
Total No.	12		2	

**Table 7.13
Benefits enjoyed apart from salary**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
All public and Mercantile holidays	11	91.7		
EPF	12	100.0		
ETF	1	8.3		
No applicable			2	100.0
Total No.	12		2	

**Table 7.14
Consultancy/control over Seeking/Changing Employment**

Consultation With	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

No one	2	16.7	5	41.7
Household	9	75.0	4	33.3
Father			3	25.0
Mother	1	8.3	3	25.0
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.15
Barriers seeking/changing employment

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No barriers			1	8.3
Family members will not permit	4	33.3		
No alternatives	8	66.7	3	25.0
No education/skills/information	1	8.3		
No money	1	8.3		
No contacts/influence	5	41.7	2	16.7
No political support	1	8.3	1	8.3
Child care	1	8.3	5	41.7
Weak eye sight	1	8.3		
Old age	1	8.3	2	16.7
Not reported	1	8.3		
Total	12		12	

Table 7.16
Occupation

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

No occupation	6	50.0	4	33.3
Joins outside home	3	25.0	5	41.7
Joins with night shift	1	8.3	2	16.7
Factory work/FTZ	1	8.3	3	25.0
Housemaid	2	16.7		
Forces	1	8.3	1	8.3
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.17
Control of Income

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Contribution of earnings to households				
All	5	41.7	1	50.0
Keep	5	41.7		
Some	2	16.7	1	50.0
Control of salary				
Keep it	12	100.0	2	100.0
Own bank Accounts				
Alone - yes	8	66.7	1	50.0
NO	4	33.3	1	50.0
Other Savings				
None	12	100.0	12	100.0
Permission to withdraw money from own Account				
Not necessary	8	66.7	1	50.0
From Husband	1	8.3		
Not reported	3	25.0	1	50.0
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.18
Ownership of Assets

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Land	5	41.7	6	50.0
House/ Flat	2	16.7	2	16.7
Vehicles	1	8.3	1	8.3
Jewelry	7	58.3	7	58.3
Bank deposit	7	58.3	6	50.0
Other Savings	1	8.3	1	8.3
Life Insurance	-		-	
Consumer domestic				
- Radio	4	33.3	1	8.3
- Television	2	16.7	1	8.3
- Sewing machine	8	66.7	2	66.7
- None			8	66.7
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.19
Assets that could be dispersed of by women

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Nothing	4	33.3	6	50.0
Land	1	8.3	4	33.3
Home/			1	8.3
Bank deposit	4	33.3	1	8.3
Jewelry	3	25.0	2	16.7
Consumer domestic	1	8.3	1	8.3
Total No	12		12	
Permission necessary from				
No one	3	25.0	5	41.7
Husband	6	50.0	2	16.7
Father	3	25.0	3	25.0
Mother	1	8.3	4	53.3
Mother-in-law			1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	1	8.3
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.20
Assets that could be bought without permission

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Anything			3	25.0
Land			1	8.3
Jewelry	6	50.0	3	25.0
Furniture	6	50.0	3	25.0
Garments	5	41.7	6	50.0
Food	2	16.7	1	8.3
Electrical items	3	25.0		
Not reported	1	8.3		
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.21
Positive change when women work outside the home

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Strong personality e.g. Self confidence			1	8.3
More experience knowledge	5	41.7	11	91.7
More economic security	12	100.0	12	100.0
Enlarge social network	5	41.7	8	66.7
Improvement in family status	1	8.3	1	8.3
Self sufficient	2	16.7		
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.22
Negative change when women work outside home

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Conflict over domestic chores	9	75.0	8	66.7
Children neglected	8	66.7	10	83.3
Loss of family status			1	8.3
Increases workload of either women in the household	1 1	8.3 8.3	3 3	25.0 25.0
No negative change			2	16.7
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.23
Changes in life style when women start working

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Total workload increases - some	11 1	91.7 8.3	12	100.0
Mobility - increased	12	100. 0	12	100.0
Self esteem - increased	12	100. 0	12	100.0
Standing in the family - increased some	10 2	83.3 16.7	12	100.0
Household decision making - increased	12	100. 0	12	100.0
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.24
Education opportunities in families

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Similar education opportunities offered to boys and girls in their family	10	83.3	11	91.7
e.g. No discrimination in expenditure	4	33.3	7	58.3
Both can study up to any level	10	83.3	11	91.7
Release from housework - both			2	16.7
Both transport facilities	2	16.7	5	41.7
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.25
Level to which boys and girls should be educated

	Boys				Girls			
	Workers		Others		Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%
Higher possible level	3	25.0	1	8.3	4	33.3		
As the child wishes	1	8.3						
University degree	8	66.7	11	91.7	6	50.0	11	91.7

GCE AL					2	16.7	1	8.3
Total No.	12		12		12			

Table 7.26
Withdrawal from school if financial constraints

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No child	4	33.3	4	33.3
Child not doing well at school	5	41.7	4	33.3
Give child	3	25.0	4	33.3
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.27
Tasks assigned to boys and girls in school

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Different tasks	1	8.3	1	8.3
Some tasks	10	83.3	8	66.7
Not reported	1	8.3	3	25.0
Total No	12		12	
Boys - Farming	1	100.0		
Crafts			1	100.0
Carpentry	1	100.0	1	100.0
Total No	1			
Girls - Home Science			1	100.0
Sewing	1	100.0	1	100.0
Total No	1		1	

Table 7.28
Different level and expectations and observations

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Expectations of boys and girls				
No differences	2	16.7	1	8.3
Boys and girls sit separately	4	33.3	1	8.3
Girls are decent and obedient	2	16.7	1	8.3
Girls possessive unlike boys	1	8.3		
Girls are excitable	1	8.3		
Girls socialize	1	8.3		
Boys brighter than girls	3	25.0	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	2	16.7
Male and female teachers				
No difference	12	100.0	11	91.7
Not reported			1	8.3
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.29
Vocational Aspirations while at school

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Govt. jobs	1	8.3	1	8.3
Teacher	9	75.0	5	41.7
Clerk	3	25.0	2	16.7
Not suited to training			1	8.3
No aspirations	1	8.3	4	33.3
Total No	12		12	

**Table 7.30
Feed and Health**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Men and women eat together	8	66.7	5	41.7
Don't eat together	4	33.3	7	58.3
Reasons for not eating together:				
Different schedule	3	25.0	5	41.7
As tradition men eat first	1	8.3	1	8.3
Boys and girls eat together	7	58.3	7	58.3
Do not eat together	5	41.7	5	41.7
Reasons for not eating together				
Different schedule	3	25.0	1	8.3
Men/Women/boys/girls some health care	12	100.0	10	83.3
Boys more attention			1	8.3
Not reported			1	8.3
Total No	12		12	

**Table 7.31
Household tasks of employed women**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Cooking	Almost all	8	66.7	1	50.0
	Most	3	25.0	1	50.0
	Little	1	8.3		
Washing Cleaning Utensils					
	Almost all	7	58.3	1	50.0
	Most	3	25.0	1	50.0
	Some	2	16.7		
Child care	Almost all	6	50.0		
	Most	2	16.7		
	Little	1	8.3		
	None	2	16.7		
	Not reported	1	8.3		
Washing clothes					
	Almost all	9	75.0	1	50.0
	Most	3	25.0	1	50.0
Fetching water					
	Almost all	6	50.0	1	50.0
	Most	3	25.0	1	50.0
	Some	1	8.3		
	Little	1	8.3		
	Not reported				
Taking care of old and sick					
	Almost all	6	50.0	1	50.0
	Most	2	16.7	1	50.0
	None	2	16.7		
	Not reported	2	16.7		
Total No		12		2	

Table 7.32
Activities that men will never do

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Nothing	3	25.0	5	41.7
Cooking	5	41.7	5	41.7
Cleaning toilets			1	8.3
Shopping for household items			1	8.3
Cleaning babies	2	16.7		
Bathing babies	2	16.7		
Washing women's clothes	8	66.7	6	50.0
Washing babies clothes	1	8.3		
Washing utensils	3	25.0	5	41.7
Collecting water and fuel			4	33.3
Taking care of children	1	8.3		
Attending to the garden	1	8.3	2	16.7
Sweeping the house	1	8.3	2	16.7
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.33
Marriages

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Age of marriage of women				
18-25 yrs	7	77.8	6	66.7
> 25 years	2	22.2	3	33.3
Age of Husband at time of marriage				
18-25 yrs	4	44.4	5	55.6
> 25 years	5	55.6	4	44.4
Partner selected by women				
Yes	1	11.1	8	88.9
NO	8	88.9	1	11.1
Consent obtained				
Yes	8	88.9	8	88.9
No			1	11.1
Not reported	1	11.1		
Total No.	9		9	

Table 7.34
Dowry (i)

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Whether dowry given				
No	2	22.2	2	22.2
Yes - Rs,10,000-25,000/-	1	11.1		
Property	5	55.6	7	77.8
Furniture	4	44.4	5	55.6
Not reported	2	22.2		
In loans satisfied				
Yes	6	66.7	7	77.8
Not reported	3	33.3	2	22.2
Total	9		9	

Table 7.35
Dowry (ii)

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Intend to give dowry to daughter				
Yes	7	77.8	4	44.4
No	2	22.2	3	33.3
Not reported			2	22.2
Intend to give dowry to son				
Yes	3	33.3	3	33.3
No	6	66.7	5	55.6
Not reported			1	11.1
Desirable age of marriage of daughter				
18-25 yrs	8	88.9	3	33.3
>25 years			3	33.3
Not reported	1	11.1	3	33.3
Decsirable age of marriage of son				
18-25 yrs	1	11.1	1	11.1
>25 years	7	77.8	6	66.7
Not reported	1	11.1	2	22.2
Total No. of married women	9		9	

Table 7.35
Trends in Dowry demands

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Increases due to economic problems	2	16.7	5	41.7
Duty of parents	2	16.7	1	8.3
Unemployed men ask for dowry	1	8.3		
Employed women collect money for dowry	1	8.3	1	8.3
Not reported	5	41.7	5	41.7
Total	12		12	

Table 7.36
Virginity Test

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

No Test	1	11.1		
Test, but no problem	7	77.8	8	88.9
Not reported	1	11.1	1	11.1
Total No. of married women	9		9	
Views of virginity test				
Not necessary			1	8.3
Shame for women	2	16.7		
No scientific basis			1	8.3
Necessary	6	50.0	9	75.0
To know whether girls well behave	2	16.7		
Purity good for girls	2	16.7		
No views			1	8.3
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.37
Son Preference

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No, sons and daughters some	5	41.7	7	58.3
Yes son - looks after parents in old age	5	41.7	5	41.7
Women gets more respect			1	8.3
Necessary for family continuity			1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7		
Total	12		12	

Table 7.38
Use of Family Planning methods

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Used methods	4	44.4	3	33.3
Reasons for not using				
Not necessary	11	11.1	5	55.5
Not enough knowledge	3	33.3	1	11.1
Do not like	1	11.1		
Not reported	1	11.1		

Awareness of availability of Ultra scan facilities				
No	8	88.9	9	100.0
Not reported	11	11.1		
Use of facility to determine sex of child				
No	8	88.9	8	88.9
Not reported	1	11.1	1	11.1
Total No. of married women	9		9	

Table 7.39
Control of sexuality

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband	5	41.7	9	75.0
Very	7	58.3	3	25.0
Not reported				
Importance of sexual satisfaction for wife	3	25.0	5	41.7
Very	2	16.7	4	33.3
To some extent	7	58.3	3	25.0
Not reported				
Refuse to have sex with spouse	5	41.7	8	66.7
Do not refuse				
Reaction if refused:				
Understanding	1	8.3	1	8.3
Not reported	3	25.0		
Total	12		12	

Table 7.40
Ability to move out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Can move out	9	75.0	5	41.7
Cannot	3	25.0	7	58.3
Acceptable reasons for men to leave wife	4	33.3	2	16.7
Unfaithful wife	3	25.0	1	8.3
Fails virginity test	2	16.7		
Family has not fulfilled dowry agreement	3	25.0	4	33.3
No sexual satisfaction	7	58.3	3	25.0
Infertile	1	8.3		
Does not respect his or him or his family	1	8.3		
Husband has no right to leave his wife , should live together or separate	2		5	41.7
	1	8.3	1	8.3
A valuable reason for women to leave husband				
If he beats her	4	33.3	1	8.3
Unfaithful	4	33.3	2	16.7
Does not provide for family	4	33.3	1	8.3
Infertile	4	33.3	3	25.0
Impotent	2	16.7	2	16.7
Does not respect her or her family	1	8.8		
Do not agree in ideas			1	8.3
Should not leave	4	33.3	6	50.0
Or should separate			1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	1	8.3
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.41
Participation in decision making

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%

Participation before starting economic activity yes	12	100.0	12	100.0
Participation at present yes	12	100.0	10	83.3
Not reported			2	83.3
Total No	12		12	
Areas of Participation				
Providing daily family needs	12	100.0	9	90.0
Education of children	10	83.3	7	70.0
Marriage of children	3	25.0	1	10.0
Buying and selling assets	5	41.7	6	60.0
Buying and selling of jewelry	5	41.7	5	50.0
Health care of family members	5	41.7	6	60.0
Employment related issues	7	58.3	4	40.0
Disputes (neighbors)	1	8.3		
Major expenses	3	25.0	3	30.0
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.42
Authority in decision making

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Providing for daily family needs	10	83.3	9	90.0
Education of children	8	66.4	6	60.0
Manage of Children	3	25.0	1	10.0
Buying and selling of assets	3	25.0	4	40.0
Buying and selling of jewelry	3	25.0	4	40.0
Health care of family	1	8.3	4	40.0
Employment related issues	8	66.7	2	20.0
Major expenses	3	25.0	2	20.0
Total No.	12		10	

Table 7.43
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women

Areas of Authority	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Decision making in the family				
Should increase	11	91.7	11	91.7
Should not increase	1	8.3	1	8.3
Yes - reasons				
Women manage the household	9	75.0	10	83.3
Women yes can make good decisions	9	75.0	8	66.7
Women should have equal say	7	58.3	7	58.3
Women have jobs outside the home	2	16.7	1	8.3
Decision making in the Community				
Should increase	12	100.0	11	91.7
Should not increase			1	8.3
Reasons				
Women should have equal opportunities and rights	9		7	58.3
Women are more sincere, honest , responsible	12	75.0	8	66.7
Women understand better	6	100.0	5	41.7
		0		
		50.0		
Total	12		12	

Table 7.46
Reasons for Stresses experienced by women

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Economic problems	2	16.7	1	8.3
Jobless	1	8.3	1	8.3
Insecurity due to death/separation of husband/ Broken love affair	1	8.3	1	8.3
Children's problems	3	25.0	2	16.7
Heavy workload	3	25.0		
Negative social attitudes to unmarried women	1	8.3		
Not reported	1	8.3	8	66.7
Total No.	12		12	

**Table 7.47
Freedom of Movement**

Areas of Authority	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Women/girls less freedom than men/boys	12	100.0	10	83.3
Yes			2	16.7
No				
Reason if yes				
Not traditional	3	25.0	1	8.3
Fear of non acceptance by society			2	16.7
Fear of being harassed	12	100.0	10	83.3
Case of molestation in neighborhood	4	33.3	5	41.7
Kidnapping women	1	8.3		
General problems			1	8.3
Total No	12		12	

**Table 7.47
Physical Mobility**

Remark	Workers								Others							
	Yes		Alone		No Time Limit		Without Permission		Yes		Alone		No Time Limit		Without Permission	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Educational Institution	12	100.0	11	91.1	12	100.0	5	41.7	12	100.0	10	83.3	12	100.0	7	58.3
Work place	12	100.0	12	100.0	11	91.7	5	41.7	6	50.0	5	41.7	6	50.0	4	33.3
Banks	12	100.0	10	83.3	10	83.3	4	33.3	12	100.0	5	41.7	12	100.0	5	41.7
Temples	9	75.0	3	33.3	6	50.0	2	16.7	10	83.3	6	50.0	7	58.3	4	33.3
Cinemas	6	50.0	3		3	25.0	6	50.0	6	50.0	1	8.3	3	25.0	1	8.3
Restaurants	12	100.0	6	50.0	10	83.3	4	33.3	10	83.3	4	33.3	8	66.7	6	50.0

Parental home	11	91.7	10	83.3	11	91.7	3	25.0	9	75.0	7	58.3	9	75.0	5	41.7
Houses of relations	11	91.7	9	75.0	10	83.3	2	16.7	12	100.0	5	41.7	12	100.0	5	41.7
Friends of houses	12	100.0	10	83.0	10	83.3	2	16.7	12	100.0	10	83.3	12	100.0	5	41.7
Total No	12		12		12		12		12		12		12		12	

**Table 7.48
Gender Aspirations for Rebirth**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
Reborn as a Man	9	75.0	8	66.7
Men/women	1	8.3	1	8.3
Not reported	2	16.7	3	25.0
Total No	12		12	

**Table 7.49
Conflict issues in families in neighborhood**

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No conflict	4	33.3	2	16.7
Alcoholism	8	66.7	10	83.3
Fight over property/money	3	25.0	6	50.0
Fight with spouse & family	2	16.7	3	25
Disobedience to husband/elders	1	8.3	2	16.7
Extra marital affairs			1	8.3
Retorting			1	8.3
Economic constraints	6	50.0	7	58.3
Infidelity	2	16.7	2	16.7
Suspicion			2	16.7
Politics	1	8.3		
Total No	12		12	

Table 7.50
Conflict issues within the family

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No conflict	11	91.7	11	91.7
Economic problems			1	8.3
Interruption of education	1	8.3		
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.51
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No experience	12	100.0	10	83.3
Verbal abuse			2	16.7
Threats			1	8.3
Total No	12		12	
Response to abuse				
No abuse	12	100.0	10	100.0
Tolerate silently			1	8.3
Let others know about it in family			1	8.3
Total No.	12		12	

Table 7.52
Violence outside domestic sphere

	Workers		Others	
	No.	%	No	%
No experience	10	83.3	10	83.3
Political quarrels	1	8.3	1	8.3
Not reported	1	8.3	1	8.3
Total No.	12		12	

8. Retrenched Women Workers in the Textile Industry

The retrenched women workers in the survey are the victims of the privatisation or the closure of small powerloom textile centres under the second phase of the structural adjustment programme. The study was confined to workers in three districts – Anuradhapura, Galle and Matara in which there were large concentrations of such workers. These “reforms” began in 1990 in Anuradhapura district and were carried out in Galle and Matara districts in 1995.

As the findings of Phase 1 of the study indicated, these textile workers had been chiefly machine operators. Three women had been at the supervisory level and a university graduate had been an assistant manager. Almost all the women (95%) had been still in their productive years between 28 and 49 years and the majority were married. They received consolidated pensions as state employees and a compensation package which was utilised chiefly to settle loans, construct or repair houses and to meet family expenses. Only 5% had invested the money in economic activities. The only alternative employment had been in cultivation, low income self employment and casual labour. According to these workers, their pensions were inadequate to meet rising costs of living, their quality of life had deteriorated, they had suffered from emotional stress as a consequence of their loss of jobs and they faced uncertainty in the future in a country with a relatively high incidence of unemployment.

The Phase 2 Study was based on 24 of the 60 households in Phase 1. This sub-sample included the 24 former textile workers in these households; 18 other women drawn from 13 of the 24 households in which there were other women; and 18 men, as five households were

single parent families. Around 60% of the men and 11% of the women were economically active in these households. As households which had had dual earners for many years in the past, some owned one to two acres of land, around 40% had good or average housing and 79% had bicycles or bikes. Four percent of the households lived below and **37.5%** just above the poverty line (Tables 8.1 – 8.8). Fourteen of the household had nuclear families and ten had extended families.

Age wise 66.7% of the women workers were still between 30 and 49 years and 33.3% were between 50 and 59 years. Among the other women who were chiefly daughters in these households, 83.3% were between 18 and 39 years and 16.7% were parents or parents in law of the ex-textile workers and were over 50 years. Nearly three fourth of the men were over 40 years of age. The majority in both groups were married – 95.8% married women, widows and one woman who had separated among the workers, 61.1 married or widowed among the other women, and 88.9% married men. The educational levels of the women were relatively good as 41.7% of the workers and 33.3% of the other group had a complete secondary education and were higher than those of the men among whom nearly 80% were school dropouts (Tables 8.8a – 8.11a and 8.9b – 8.11b). A few women workers, one other women and 14 men were heads of households.

Economic Activities

All 24 former textile workers were pensioners, but it is significant that only four of them (16.7%) had been able to find alternative income earning appointments after “compulsory retirement” or retrenchment. The rest had been compelled to be economically inactive and were consequently frustrated. Two of the four engaged in economic activities had to fall back on surviving on cultivation, one had found employment as a weaver and the other was self-employed making joss sticks -

economic activities with poor economic rewards. Only five women in the group comprising members of their families were employed - one was a staff officer in a State establishment, one was a quality controller and two were machine operators in garment factories, and one was assisting in cultivation (Table 8.12a).

The former textile worker who was now a weaver had a permanent job with a monthly salary, worked 8 hours a day and received only a few benefits such as provident fund, paid holidays and tea and meals. The woman making joss sticks was a piece rate worker at the mercy of the market and middlemen without fixed terms of employment or payment. The two women engaged in farming received only seasonal incomes. Hence these women had been transformed from stable state sector employment as factory workers to low income earners in relatively makeshift work or were unemployed. Four of the women in the second group had permanent employment, three with standard contracts and one with a “ negotiable” or flexible contract. They worked officially eight hours a day but the two machine operators had night shifts and compulsory overtime as in other factories. Only the quality controller was allowed to go out during the breaks for lunch or tea. Factory workers complained of overwork and standing continuously and one worker said that she was denied her entitlements. One woman was involved in farming and had an unstable income. Thirteen were economically inactive, the majority involuntarily.

The major feature in the employment situation of men is that one third were not employed. The twelve who were employed included factory workers, mechanic, carpenter, painter, driver, postman, hotel worker, piece rate workers and labourers, that is, mostly engaged in low income economic activities. Over half had been employed for more than ten years. Employment status wise, one third were permanent, one third

temporary, 25% self employed and 8.3% casual workers. Half had contracts and monthly wages but no one received statutory benefits such as EPF and ETF, and only one or two had any amenities such as tea, meals, medical coverage or uniforms. Only two had fixed working hours. Three were members of trade unions.

Many of the men in these households did not have stable employment or adequate incomes. In this context the retrenchment of the women textile workers and lack of alternative employment opportunities have chiefly contributed to the poverty status of almost half the households.

Control of economic resources

For a group of women who were state employees for many years, these women do not appear to be empowered, perhaps because their status as income earners has declined. The majority of unmarried workers had to seek or change employment in consultation with parents, and married workers, with the approval of husbands. Even some of the widowed had to consult children. There were no barriers to employment for 25% and 50% but 66.7% of the workers and 22.2% of the other women had to cope with family disapproval or domestic responsibilities. While 37.5% and 22.2% had the freedom to choose their occupations; 41.7% and 27.8% were not encouraged to take jobs outside the home. **Some families** specific objections to factory work, night shift, joining the forces and low esteem employment such as commercial sex work (Tables 8.13a – 8.15a) Gender inequality is reflected in the fact that in contrast 72.2% of the men made their own decisions regarding employment. Only a few needed to consult parents or wife (Table 8.13b).

Two thirds of the women workers, all receiving pensions, did not respond to the question on control of money. Those who did so said they made some contribution to the household income, kept their earnings

themselves and had their own bank accounts where the majority operated independently. Of the few workers in the other group, 60% made some contribution to the household and had control of their salaries, 80% had their own bank accounts, but half of them needed consultation with husbands to withdraw funds (Table 8.14). Men appeared to have less control of their salaries as 50% contributed their total salary to the household and handed over the money to their wives. Three fourth had their own bank accounts and operated them independently (Table 8.14 a).

Assets owned by the women were chiefly savings in banks and (**79.2%**, **88.9%**) jewellery (95.8% and 100%), while some women workers owned land (**50.0%**, **22.2%**), house and household electrical items. Less than half could dispose of their assets or acquire assets (Tables 8.17a - 8.19a). Overall a higher percentage of women workers than men owned land, houses, bank assets and consumer durables, an indication perhaps of their earlier advantages in stable employment. Men however appeared to have more authority to acquire assets (Table 8.17b - 8.19b).

Both women and men felt that work outside the home gave women economic security, knowledge and experience, increased mobility, self esteem, standing in the family, decision making powers and self confidence. At their occupational level evidently, no improvement was perceived in family status. (Tables 8.20a, 8.21a, 8.20b, 8.21b).

Allocation of resources

Access to education and health care are both basic needs and are avenues to achievement in Sri Lanka. In these households, 95.8% women workers 94.4% other women and all the men said that boys and girls should be given the same educational opportunities; and 91.7% women workers 94.4% other women and 77.8% men said, that boys and

girls in their own families had similar opportunities. Examples were opportunity for both to study to any level, non-discrimination in expenditure, provision of equal facilities, and in a few households, release from housework for both (Tables 8.22a and 8.22b).

Both women and men had high educational aspirations for both boys and girls. The women workers wanted both boys (87.5%) and girls (91.7%) to reach the highest possible levels they aspired to or at least a university degree while 8.3% and 4.2% suggested vocational qualifications. In the other group of women aspirations were similar, for boys (77.8%) and girls (88.8%) to the same high levels, 22.2% for vocational qualifications for boys and 11.1% for a complete secondary education for girls (Table 8.23a). Among the men high aspirations of at least a university degree were articulated by 83.3% for boys and 94.6% for girls (Table 8.23b). It has to be noted that educational aspirations were higher for girls among women and men. All women and virtually all men said that no child or only a child not doing well in school irrespective of sex, should be withdrawn from school in the event of a financial crisis (Table 8.24a and 8.24b).

However more than half the women (54.2% and 61.1%) and around 40% of the men agreed that different tasks tended to be assigned to boys and girls in school, such as farming, craft, carpentry and hard work to boys, and sewing, home science and sweeping the class room to girls. Behavioural expectations were not different for boys and girls for 62.5% of the women workers 33.3% of other women, and 77.8% men but others perceived boys to be playful, girls to be timid, passive and decent. While 83.3% of women workers, 61.1% other women and 94.4% men saw no difference in the behaviour of male and female teachers, a few discerned that women teachers were polite, friendly and courteous and male teachers tough and more responsible. Vocational aspirations while

at school had been influenced by gender role stereotypes - teacher, nurse, doctor, clerk, weaver in the case of women and technical job, mechanic, teacher, tailor by men (Table 8.25 a - 8.27 a, 8.25b - 8.27b).

Sharing food was not seen as a problem. Both women and men agreed that around 50% male and female members of the family ate separately but only different work patterns restricted them. One woman in the second group said traditionally men and boys eat first. Few believed that there was any difference in the access to health care by men and women, boys and girls (Table 8.28a and 8.28b).

Gender division of household labour

The traditional pattern of the unequal gender division of labour within the home was seen in these households too, to almost extreme limits. Women workers performed most of the work involved in domestic chores - in cooking, washing cooking utensils, washing clothes, fetching water and fuel and also care of children, the old and the sick. Men's participation in household tasks was very limited according to their own assessment except perhaps in fetching water and fuel. There was a feeling among the majority of women workers (**58.3%**, **88.9%**), endorsed by the men, (**72.8%**) that men would not undertake most of these tasks although 83.3% and 66.7% women and nearly all the men said that men would undertake them if the women fell ill (Tables 8.29a and 8.30a, 8.29a and 8.30b).

Domestic tasks were a matter of concern for both women and men, and the major negative consequences of women going to work as perceived by women workers, other women and men were conflict over domestic chores (87.5%, 94.4% and 94.4%), neglect of children (91.7%, 100% and 88.9%) and the increased work load of other women in the household (66.7%, 94.4% and 83.8%) (Table 8.31a and 8.31b).

Gender relations in the family - Marriage, Reproduction and Sexuality

Only two women had second marriages. The age of marriage of the women in the two groups ranged from 16 years to around 25 years - 4.3% and 27.3% at 16 to 18 years and 52.1% and 63.6% 18 at to 25 years, - and the age of their spouses - 30.4% and 63.6% 18 -25 years and 69.5% and 36.4% over were 25 years. The majority of men (62.5%) had been over 25 years at the time of their marriage and their wives had been 18 to 25 years (50%) and over 25 years (50%) (Table 8.32a and 8.32b). The age at which they hoped their daughters would marry was 18 - 25 years (78.3% and 63.6%) or over 25 years (4.3% and 9.1%). The women and men hoped their sons would marry between 18 and 25 years (13.0%, 18.2% 18.8%) or preferably over 25 years (65.2%, 54.5% and 56.3%) (Tables 8.35a and 8.35b). The majority had selected their own partners (69.5% women workers, 63.6% other women and 75% men). A minority of women have said they would not mind their sons or daughters to marry outside their caste (39.1% and 9.1%), religion (30.4% and 9.1%), and ethnic group (30.4% and 9.1%), but men found it more acceptable for their sons or daughters to marry outside their caste (50%), religion (43.8%) and ethnic group (37.5%) (Table 8.33a and 8.33b).

The dowry system does not seem to have been given priority in marriage since 60.9% and 63.7% of married women in the two groups and 62.5% of the men had not been given dowries. Dowries had taken the form of money, property, jewellery or furniture and there appears to have been general satisfaction among spouses' families (Table 8.34a and 8.34b). Over half (56.5% and 54.5%) of the women and 62.5% of the men intended to give dowries to their daughters but only 21.7% of the women workers, none of the other women and 12.5% of the men wanted to ask dowries for their sons (Table 8.35a and 8.35b). No increase in dowry

demand was perceived by 66.7% women workers, 38.9% of other women and 72.2% of men but the few who thought that there had been an increase attributed it to economic problems, the demand for dowries from men in arranged marriages and the increasing trend of employed women collecting their own dowries (Table 8.36a and 8.36b).

The virginity test was justified by only a minority of women. Around 40% had not experienced the test and felt that it was unnecessary, shameful and not appropriate for modern women. Some of those who had gone through it defended the practice as necessary to ensure good behaviour, purity and security among girls (Table 8.37a). Son preference was also not marked with 62.5% women workers, 55.6% other women and 72.2% men stating that sons and daughters were equally welcome. Those who preferred sons had the conventional reasons of more respect for mothers, supporting parents in old age, continuity of the family line. Only one woman said that not having a son could lead to harassment and desertion. (Tables 8.38a and 8.38b). Family planning methods were used only by a minority – 17.4% women workers, 36.4% in other women and 31.3% men. The majority were aware of the availability of scanning facilities. (60.9%, 72.7% and 72.2%) but very few (8.7%, 9.1% and 12.5%) had used this facility to ascertain the sex of the foetus (Tables 8.39a and 8.39b).

More women and men believed that sexual satisfaction was very important for husbands (47.8%, 72.7% and 68.8%) than for wives (43.5%, 45.5% and 43.8%), however these women appeared to have some control of their lives within the institution of marriage. 78.3% women workers, 90.9% other women and 62.8% men said that they could refuse to have sex with their spouses. While the majority of those who said they could refuse did not expect a strong negative reaction, around 18% women feared verbal and physical abuse (Tables 8.40a, 8.40b). The majority of

women felt too, that they could move out of an unsatisfactory marriage if they were economically independent (75% and 55.6%). But only 44.4% men felt they could do so. In the opinion of 70% to 80% women and men, the strongest reason for such a step on the part of either husband and wife was the infidelity of spouse. Wife beating was considered to be important only by 33.3% women workers, 50.0% other women and 44.4% men (Table 8.41a and 8.41b).

Household decision making

Both women workers and other women felt that their decision making powers had increased since they started economic activities while one man only perceived a decline in his powers. The areas in which all participated most was in providing daily needs (95.8%, 55.6% and 72.2%) and least was in disputes. Their level of authority was much lower than their participation in all areas and was minimal among women in employment related issues (Tables 8.42a, 8.42b, 8.43a, 8.43b). There was a desire for increase in decision making power of women in the family any women workers. (66.75), other women (61.1), and men (66.7%), and interestingly even more in the community (95.8%, 88.9 and 94.4%) because women were perceived to have the necessary attributes and should have equal rights in decision making (Table 8.44a and 8.44b).

Physical mobility was seen by women and men as a major problem to women as a consequence of fear of harassment and violence and also as a social norm of restricted mobility for women. In determining the degree of mobility to various institutions and locations it was seen that mobility was restricted to most public places (Tables 8.45a, 8.45b, 8.46a, and 8.46b).

As in other locations, women workers (83.3%), other women (88.9%) and men (83.3%) wanted to be reborn as a man or as man or woman (8.5%, 5.6% and 11%). Only one woman worker and no one else wished to be a woman (Table 8.47a – 8.47b).

Violence

Conflicts were reported in families in the neighbourhood of both women and men, chiefly as a result of alcoholism (91.7% women workers, all other women 100% and 88.9% men), quarrels over property and money (83.3% in **the women groups and 77.8% of men**) economic constraints (79.2%, 88.9% and 83.3%) and wives answering back in argument with husbands (62.5%, 72.2% and 77.9%) and wives' neglect of household duties (61.1% other women, and 66.7% men) and disobedience to husbands or elders (61.1% men) (Tables 8.48a, 8.48b). There was more reluctance to expose conflict in the domestic situation and 41.7% women workers, 61.1% other women and 33.3% men said that there was no conflict. Where there was conflict, major reasons were economic constraints (41.7% women workers and 27.8% other women) (Table 8.49a). While only one third of the men said there were no domestic conflicts, few gave reasons for conflict (Table 8.49b) similarly 54.2% women workers, 61.1% other women and 55.6% men said that there was no abuse in their families. Abuse was said to be confined to verbal abuse, threats, and throwing of objects rather than physical violence. The reactions of the women were generally passive – silent tolerance (81.8% and 42.9%), discussions with spouse (18.2% and 42.9%) and informing other members of the family (36.4% and 14.3%). But one woman went back to her parental home, another separated from her husband, one woman attempted to commit suicide and one man 'hit back' (Tables 8.50a, 8.50b.) Violence outside the home was not seen as a major problem by the majority (83.3%, 94.4% and 72.2%). But four women reported violence – rape, sexual harassment, political violence

and conflict over property and a few men reported fights over property, fights in the workplace, political violence and communal riots (Table 8.51a and 8.51b). No sexual harassment was reported in the workplace.

Conclusion

Retrenched women were rendered unemployed in the early 1990s by macro economic policies that favoured privatisation at the risk of increasing unemployment. The study shows that they have been unable to find alternative employment or have only low income jobs. Absence of adequate employment opportunities is also indicated by the limited economic participation of members of their families. Some of these women have found employment in garment factories, in small industries or in agriculture. The former share the same working conditions and employment related problems of EPZ workers. The weaver appears to be between the formal and informal sector. Women in the informal sector have no stability or economic rewards. The experiences of the men were hardly more positive as most of them were in low skill jobs or were self employed.

The retrenched workers were demoralised and had not given adequate information on their incomes. Overall control of income and assets seem to be shared by the workers and their families. Gender differentiation is absent from their thoughts and responses on educational opportunity, access to health care, and attitudes to the girl child from the foetal stage. But the gendered process of socialisation has conditioned the acceptance by both women and men of stereotypes, oppressive social practices such as dowry and virginity test and unequal division of household labour and domestic violence. Yet women wanted to increase their decision making powers and to opt out of marriages that deny them satisfaction and equality.

Elders			2	7.4	2	15.4	3	14.3					2	5.1	5	7.7
Not reported			3	11.1											3	4.6
Total	18	100	27	100	13	100	21	100	8	100	17	100	39	100	65	100

Table 8.3
Economic Activity by Sector

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	1	5.6	1	3.7					2	25.0	1	5.9	3	7.7	2	3.1
Manufacturing	2	11.1	4	14.8			5	23.8	3	37.5	3	17.6	5	12.8	12	18.5
Construction work	1	5.6											1	2.6		
Small Industries							3	14.3			2	11.8			5	7.7
Business					1	7.7							1	2.6		
Professional services	3	16.7			4	30.8			1	12.5			8	20.5		
Other services	1	5.6			2	15.4							3	7.7		
Hotel service					1	7.7							1	2.6		
Clerical services											1	5.9			1	1.5
Others			1	3.7												
Not reported	10	55.6	21	77.8	5	38.5	13	61.9	2	25.0	10	58.8	17	43.5	44	67.7
Total	18	100	27	100	13	100	21	100	8	100	17	100	39	100	65	100

Table 8.4
Total monthly wage earnings of households

Rupees	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rs. 2,800	1	10.0					1	4.2
Rs. 3,000 -< 4,000	2	20.0	1	12.5	1	16.7	4	16.7
Rs. 4,000 -< 5,000	1	10.0	1	12.5	3	50.0	5	20.8
Rs. 5,000 -< 7,000	2	20.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	5	20.8
Rs. 7,000 -< 10,000	3	30.0	2	25.0			5	20.8
Rs. 10,000 -< 15,000			2	25.0			2	8.3
Rs. 15,000 -< 20,000	1	10.0			1	16.7	2	8.3
Total	10	100	8	100	6	100	24	100

Table 8.5
Ownership of Land

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lowland, highland and homestead	1	10.0			1	16.7	2	8.3
Lowland and homestead	1	10.0					1	4.2
Highland and homestead	1	10.0			1	16.7	2	8.3
Only homestead	5	50.0	7	87.5	2	33.3	14	58.2
Only highland	2	20.0			2	33.3	4	16.7
Only state land			1	12.5			1	4.2
Total	10	100	8	100	6	100	24	100

Table 8.6
Housing

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
House Type								
Good	5	50.0	3	37.5	2	33.3	10	41.7
Average	3	30.0	4	50.0	1	16.7	8	33.3
Poor	2	20.0	1	12.5	2	33.3	5	20.8
Not reported					1	16.7	1	4.2
Facilities in Home								
Good	3	30.6	2	25.0	2	33.3	7	29.2
Average	5	50.0	5	62.5	2	33.3	12	50.0
Poor	1	10.0	1	12.5	1	16.7	3	12.5
Very poor					1	16.7	1	4.2
Not reported	1	10.0					1	4.2
Total	10		8		6		24	

Table 8.7
Ownership of Vehicles

	Anuradhapura N = 10		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 6		Total N = 24	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No vehicles	1	10.0	4	50.0			5	20.8
Bicycle	9	90.0	3	37.5	5	83.3	17	70.8
Motor bike	1	10.0	1	12.5			2	8.3
Bullock cart					1	16.7	1	4.2
Not reported					1	16.7	1	4.2

Table 8.8
Ownership of Assets

	Anuradhapura N = 10		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 6		Total N = 24	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bank Deposits	10	100	8	100	5	83.3	23	95.8
Other savings	5	50.0	3	37.5	4	66.7	12	50.0
Insurance Policy	5	50.0	5	62.5	4	66.7	14	58.3
Jewellery	9	90.0	8	100	5	83.3	22	91.7

Table 8.9a
Respondents by Age - Women

Age	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 - 24			8	80.0			2	33.3			1	50.0			11	61.1
25 - 29			1	10.0			1	16.7							2	11.1
30 - 39	2	20.0					1	16.7			1	50.0	2	8.3	2	11.1
40 - 49	4	40.0			6	75.0			4	66.7			14	58.3		
50 - 59	4	40.0			2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3			8	33.3	1	5.6
60 - 69							1	16.7							1	5.6
70 and above			1	10.0											1	5.6
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Table 8.10a
Marital Status - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried			5	50.0	1	12.5	1	16.7			1	50.0	1	4.2	7	38.9
Married-registered	6	60.0	3	30.0	6	75.0	4	66.7	1	16.7			13	54.2	7	38.9
Married-customary	1	10.0	1	10.0					4	66.7	1	50.0	5	20.8	2	11.1
Widowed	3	30.0	1	10.0			1	16.7	1	16.7			4	16.7	2	11.1
Separated					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Table 8.11a
Educational Level - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 1 - 5			1	10.0			2	33.3							3	16.7
Grades 6 - 11	6	60.0	7	70.0	5	62.5	2	33.3	3	50.0			14	58.3	9	50.0
Passed GCE O/level	4	40.0	2	20.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	3	50.0	1	50.0	10	41.7	4	22.2
Passed GCE A/level							1	16.7			1	50.0			2	11.1
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Table 8.12a
Current Economic Activity- Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not employed	9	90.0	8	80.0	7	87.5	4	66.7	4	66.7	1	50.0	20	83.3	13	86.7
Farming	1	10.0	1	10.0					1	16.7			2	8.3	1	5.6
Machine operator			1	10.0			1	16.7							2	11.1
Weaving					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Making Joss Sticks									1	16.7			1	4.2		
Quality Controller							1	16.7							1	5.6
Staff Officer											1	50.0			1	5.6
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Table 8.13a

Consultation regarding seeking / changing employment - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No one	4	40.0			1	12.5	2	33.3	3	50.0	1	50.0	8	33.3	3	16.7
Father			5	50.0	1	12.5	1	16.7			1	50.0	1	4.2	7	38.9
Mother	1	10.0	6	60.0			1	16.7			1	50.0	1	4.2	8	44.4
Husband	5	50.0	3	30.0	5	62.5	3	50.0	2	33.3			12	50.0	6	33.3
Son					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Daughter	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Sister					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Administrator			1	10.0											1	5.6
Not reported			2	20.0					1	16.7			1	4.2	2	11.1
Total	10				8		6		6				24		18	

Table 8.14a

Barriers to seeking / changing employment - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No barrier	2	20.0	4	40.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3	2	100	6	25.0	9	50.0
Cannot leave family occupation	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Family will not permit	1	10.0	2	20.0	2	25.0			1	16.7			4	16.7	2	11.1
Childcare responsibilities	4	40.0	1	10.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3			8	33.3	2	11.1
Care of sick mother					1	12.5							1	4.2		

Table 8.16a
Control of Income - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 2		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 1		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 5	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earning to household																
All					1	12.5			1	16.7			2	8.3		
Half					3	37.5							3	12.5		
Some	1	10.0	1	50.0	1	12.5	2	100	1	16.7			3	12.5	3	60.0
None											1	100			1	20.0
Not reported	9	90.0	1	50.0	3	37.5			4	66.7			16	66.7	1	20.0
Control of Salary																
Keep it	1	10.0			4	50.0	2	100	2	33.3	1	100	7	29.2	3	60.0
Hand over to husband					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Hand over to mother/mother-in-law			1	50.0											1	20.0
Not reported	9	90.0	1	50.0	3	37.5			4	66.7			16	66.7	1	20.0
Own Bank Account																
Yes, alone	1	10.0	2	100	5	62.5	1	50.0	2	33.6	1	100	8	33.3	4	80.0
Joint							1	50.0							1	20.0
Not reported	9	90.0			3	37.5			4	66.7			16	66.7		
Other Savings																
Till			1	50.0	1	12.5			1	16.7			2	8.3	1	20.0
Cheetu	1	10.0					1	50.0					1	4.2	1	20.0
None			1	50.0	4	50.0	1	50.0	1	16.7	1	100	5	20.8	2	40.0
Not reported	9	90.0	1	50.0	3	37.5			4	66.7			16	66.7	1	20.0
Permission/consultation to withdraw money from own account																
Not necessary	1	10.0			3	37.5	2	100	2	33.3	1	100	6	25.0	2	40.0
Husband			1	50.0	2	25.0							2	8.3	2	20.0
Not reported	9	90.0	1	50.0	3	37.5			4	66.7	1	100	16	66.7	1	20.0

Table 8.17a
Ownership of Assets - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	4	40.0	3	30.0	4	50.0	1	16.7	4	66.7			12	50.0	4	22.2
House/flat	2	20.0	1	10.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	4	66.7			11	45.8	2	11.1
Vehicle/Car	2	20.0	1	10.0									2	8.3	1	5.6
Bicycle	2	20.0	2	20.0					2	33.3	2	100	4	16.7	4	22.2
Motorbike	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Tractor									1	16.7			1	4.2		
Jewellery	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	23	95.8	18	100
Bank deposit	8	80.0	9	90.0	8	100	5	83.3	3	50.0	2	100	19	79.2	16	88.9
Other Savings	4	40.0	3	30.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			7	29.2	4	22.2
Life Insurance	3	30.0					2	33.3	1	16.7			4	16.7	2	11.1
Consumer durables																
Radio	5	50.0	1	10.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	4	66.7			13	54.2	3	16.7
Television	5	50.0			2	25.0	2	33.3	2	33.3	1	50.0	9	37.5	3	16.7
Refrigerator	3	30.0			1	12.5	1	16.7	1	16.7	1	50.0	5	20.8	2	11.1
Fan	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Sewing Machine	3	30.0	1	10.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	2	33.3	1	50.0	8	33.3	3	16.7

Table 8.18a

Assets that could be disposed of by women - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	1	10.0	1	10.0					2	33.3			3	12.5	1	5.6
House/flat	1	10.0							1	16.7			2	8.3		
Bank deposit	1	10.0	1	10.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			4	16.7	2	11.1
Jewellery	3	30.0	1	10.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	2	33.3	1	50.0	9	37.5	4	22.2
Insurance	3	30.0			5	62.5	1	16.7			1	50.0	8	33.3	2	11.1
Nothing	3	30.0	7	70.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3			7	29.2	10	55.6
Not reported	2	20.0	1	10.0			1	16.7	1	16.7	1	50.0	3	12.5	3	16.7

Table 8.19a

Assets that could be bought by women - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	7	70.0			4	50.0	1	16.7	2	33.3			13	54.2	1	5.6
Jewellery	1	10.0			1	12.5			1	16.7			3	12.5		
Garments	2	20.0	7	70.0	1	12.5	2	33.3			1	50.0	3	12.5	10	55.6
Consumer products			1	10.0	1	12.5			3	50.0	1	50.0	4	16.7	2	11.1
Nothing			2	20.0	1	12.5	3	50.0			1	50.0	1	4.2	4	22.2
Permission necessary from																
No one	6	60.0	2	20.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	3	50.0			13	54.2	4	22.2

Husband	3	30.0	3	30.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	3	50.0	1	50.0	10	41.7	7	38.9
Father			3	30.0			1	16.7			1	50.0			5	27.8
Mother			5	50.0			1	16.7			1	50.0			7	38.9
Children	2	20.0					1	16.7					2	8.3	1	5.6
Brother			1	10.0											1	5.6

Table 8.20a

Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside the home - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 10		N = 8		N = 6		N = 6		N = 2		N = 24		N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stronger personality Eg. self confidence, self esteem	7	70.0	6	60.0	4	50.0	5	83.3	2	33.3	2	100	13	54.2	13	72.2
More experience, knowledge	10	100	9	90.0	7	87.5	4	66.7	5	83.3	2	100	22	91.7	15	83.3
More economic security	9	90.0	8	80.0	6	75.0	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	20	83.3	16	88.9
Enlarged social network	4	40.0	6	60.0	6	75.0	3	50.0	2	33.3			12	50.0	9	50.0
Increased decision making power			1	10.0	1	12.5			1	16.7			2	8.3	1	5.6
Improvement in family status											1	50.0	1	4.2		

Table 8.22a
Educational opportunities in families - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was of the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	9	90.0	9	90.0	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	23	95.8	17	94.4
Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	9	90.0	9	90.0	8	100	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	22	91.7	17	94.4
No discrimination in expenditure	5	50.0	5	50.0	3	37.5	4	66.7			1	50.0	8	33.3	10	55.6
Both can study to any level	7	70.0	6	60.0	8	100	3	50.0	5	83.3	2	100	20	83.3	11	61.1
Both provided with facilities					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Both provided with transport facilities	1	10.0	3	30.0	3	37.5	2	33.3			1	50.0	4	16.7	6	33.3
Both not given other work at home	2	20.0	1	10.0									2	8.3	1	5.6

Table 8.23a

Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys																
Highest level possible			2	20.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			3	12.5	3	16.7
As the child wishes	1	10.0	3	30.0			1	16.7	1	16.7	2	100	2	8.3	6	33.3
University degree	9	90.0	5	50.0	5	62.5			2	33.3			16	66.7	5	27.8
Vocational qualifications					1	12.5	4	66.7	1	16.7			2	8.3	4	22.2
Not reported									1	16.7			1	4.2		
Girls																
Highest level possible			1	10.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			3	12.5	2	11.1
As the child wishes	1	10.0	3	30.0			3	50.0	2	33.3	2	100	3	12.5	8	44.4
University degree	9	90.0	6	60.0	5	62.5			2	33.3			16	66.7	6	33.3
Vocational qualifications					1	12.5							1	4.2		
GCE A/L							2	33.3							2	11.1
Not reported													1	4.2		

Table 8.24a**Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints - Women**

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	10	100	7	70.0	6	75.0	2	33.3	5	83.3			21	87.5	9	50.0
Child not doing well in school			3	30.0	2	25.0	4	66.7	1	16.7	2	100	3	12.5	9	50.0

Table 8.25a**Tasks assigned to boys and girls in school - Women**

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different tasks	4	40.0	7	70.0	4	50.0	4	66.7	5	83.3			13	54.2	11	61.1
Same tasks	5	50.0	3	30.0	2	25.0	2	33.3			1	50.0	7	29.2	6	33.3
Not reported	1	10.0			2	25.0			1	16.7	1	50.0	4	16.7	1	9.1
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100
Boys N=	4		7		4		4		5		0		13	100	11	100
'Hard' work					1	25.0			1	20.0			2	15.4	0	0.0
Farming	3	75.0	7	100	2	50.0	2	50.0	2	40.0			6	46.2	9	81.8
Crafts	1	25.0											1	7.7	0	0.0
Carpentry					1	12.5	1	12.5					1	7.7	1	9.1
Construction			1	14.3			1	12.5					0	0.0	2	18.2
Dig flower beds			1	14.3			1	12.5					0	0.0	2	18.2

Not reported			1	14.3	1	12.5	1	12.5	2	40.0			3	23.1	2	18.2
Girls N=	4		7		4		4		5		0		13	100	11	100
Home science	1	25.0	4	57.1	2	50.0	1	12.5	1	20.0			4	30.8	5	45.4
Sewing	3	75.0	1	14.3	2	50.0	1	12.5	4	80.0			9	69.2	2	18.2
Singing	1	25.0											1	7.7	0	0.0
Cleaning Classroom			4	57.1	1	12.5	3	75.0	2	40.0			3	23.1	7	63.6
Not reported			1	14.3									0	0.0	1	9.1

Table 8.26a
Behavioural Expectations of School Children- Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No difference	6	60.0	5	50.0	6	75.0	1	16.7	3	50.0			15	62.5	6	33.3
Boys active, playful	3	30.0	2	20.0			2	33.3					3	12.5	4	22.2
Girls not very active	1	10.0	3	30.0			2	33.3	1	16.7			2	8.3	5	27.8
Girls decent					1	12.5							1	4.2	2	11.1
Girls excitable and scared			1	10.0			2	33.3							3	16.7
Girls prefer to get friendly with boys					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Not reported							1	16.7	2	33.3	2	100	2	8.3	3	16.7
Total	10		10		8		6		6		2		24		18	

Table 8.28a
Food and Health - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Food																
Men and women do not eat together	6	60.0	6	60.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	4	66.7	2	100	14	58.3	11	61.1
Different schedules	5	50.0	4	40.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	3	50.0	2	100	12	50.0	9	50.0
Tradition that men eat first			1	10.0					1	16.7			1	4.2	1	5.6
Not reported/applicable	1	10.0	1	10.0									1	4.2	1	5.6
Boys and girls do not eat together	5	50.0	6	60.0	5	62.5	3	50.0	3	50.0	2	100	13	54.2	11	61.1
Different schedules	4	40.0	4	40.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	2	33.3	2	100	12	50.0	9	50.0
Tradition that boys eat first			1	10.0											1	5.6
Not reported/ applicable	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	12.5			1	16.7			3	12.5	1	5.6
II. Health																
Men/women and Boys/Girls have the same access to health care	10	100	7	70.0	8	100	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	23	95.8	15	83.3
Boys get more attention than girls when they get sick			2	20.0									1	4.2	2	11.1
Not reported			1	10.0					1	16.7					1	5.6

Table 8.29a (contd.)
Household tasks of employed women- Women

Fetching water																
Most	1	100	1	50.0			1	50.0	1	50.0			2	50.0	2	40.0
Some					1	100			1	50.0	1	100	2	50.0	1	20.0
Little							1	50.0							1	20.0
None			1	50.0											1	20.0
Taking care of old and sick																
Most			1	50.0	1	100	1	50.0	1	50.0			2	50.0	2	40.0
Some	1	100											1	25.0		
Little			1	50.0			1	50.0			1	100			3	60.0
None									1	50.0			1	25.0		

Table 8.30a
Activities that men will never do - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 10		N = 8		N = 6		N = 6		N = 2		N = 24		N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Will do any activity	3	30.0			3	37.5	1	16.7	4	66.7			10	41.7	2	11.1
II. Will not do																
Cooking	1	10.0	4	40.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	2	33.3	2	100	6	25.0	7	38.9
Cleaning toilets	2	20.0	2	20.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	1	16.7	2	100	6	25.0	5	27.8

Cleaning babies			1	10.0					1	16.7					1	5.6
Bathing babies			1	10.0	1	12.5			1	16.7	1	50.0	2	8.3	2	11.1
Washing women's clothes	1	10.0	3	30.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	1	50.0	5	20.8	5	27.8
Washing utensils	1	10.0	1	10.0			1	16.7	1	16.7			2	8.3	2	11.1
Collecting water and fuel	1	10.0	1	10.0									1	4.2	1	5.6
Washing men's clothes			1	10.0											1	5.6
Washing babies clothes									1	16.7	1	50.0	1	4.2	1	5.6
Taking care of children, the old and sick			1	10.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			3	12.5	2	11.1
Shopping for household items			1	10.0					1	16.7			1	4.2	1	5.6
Sweeping the house			1	10.0					1	16.7			1	4.2	1	5.6
Attending to the garden			1	10.0											1	5.6

Table 8.31a

Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home -Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	9	90.0	10	100	8	100	5	83.3	4	66.7	2	100	21	87.5	17	94.4
Neglect of children	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	4	66.7	2	100	22	91.7	18	100
Loss of family status	5	50.0	4	40.0			1	16.7					5	20.8	5	27.8

Age of marriage of women																	
16 - 18 years	2	20.0	1	20.0	1	11.3	2	40.0					3	4.3	3	27.3	
18 - 25 years	6	40.0	4	80.0	2	28.6	3	60.0	4	66.7			12	52.1	7	63.5	
> 25 years	2	20.0			4	57.2			2	33.3	1	100	8	34.8	1	9.1	
Age of Husband at time																	
18 - 25 years	4	40.0	3	60.0	2	28.6	4	80.0	1	16.7			7	30.4	7	63.6	
25 years	6	60.0	2	40.0	5	71.4	1	20.0	5	83.3	1	100	16	69.5	4	36.4	
Partner selected by women																	
Yes	7	70.0	5	100	4	57.1	1	20.0	5	83.3	1	100	16	69.5	7	63.6	
No	2	20.0			2	28.6	3	60.0	1	16.7			5	21.7	3	27.3	
Not reported	1	10.0			1	14.3	1	20.0					2	8.7	1	9.1	
Consent obtained																	
Yes	9	90.0	5	100	6	85.7	4	80.0	5	83.3	1	100	20	86.9	10	90.1	
No	1	10.0											1	4.3			
Not reported					1	14.3	1	20.0	1	16.7			2	8.7	1	9.1	

Table 8.33a

Marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic group - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for them N=	0		5		1		1		0		1		1		7	

Like to marry																
-outside caste			1	20.0	1	100	0			1	100	1	100	2	28.0	
-outside religion			1	20.0	1	100	0			0		1	100	1	14.3	
-outside ethnic group			1	20.0	1	100	0			0		1	100	1	14.3	
Married women's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son /daughter	N=	10		5		5		5		6		1		23		11
-outside caste		3	30.0	1	20.0	3	42.9	3	50.0				9	39.1	1	9.1
-outside religion		3	30.0	1	20.0	2	28.6	4	66.7				7	30.4	1	9.1
-outside ethnic group		2	20.0	1	20.0			4	66.7				7	30.4	1	9.1

Table 8.34a
Dowry practice in the Marriage of Women - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 5		N = 7		N = 5		N = 6		N = 1		N = 23		N = 11	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry given																
No	9	90.0	5	100	2	28.6	2	40.0	3	50.0			14	60.9	7	63.7
Rs. 5,000 - 10,000									1	16.7			1	4.3		
Rs. 10,000 - 25,000					1	14.3					1	100	1	4.3	1	9.1
Rs. 25,000 - 50,000							1	20.0							1	9.1
Property	1	10.0			3	42.8			1	16.7			5	21.7		
Furniture	1	10.0			5	70.4	3	60.0	3	50.0	1	100	9	39.1	4	36.4
Jewellery							1	20.0							1	9.1
Whether in-laws satisfied																
Yes	1	100			3	42.8	3	60.0	2	33.3	1	100	8	34.8	4	36.4
Some complaints									1	16.7			1	4.3		

Table 8.35a
Children's Marriages - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 5		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 5		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 1		Workers N = 23		Other women N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter																
Yes	3	30.0	1	20.0	5	71.4	4	80.0	5	83.3	1	100	13	56.5	6	54.5
No	5	50.0	2	40.0			1	20.0					5	21.7	3	27.3
Not reported	2	20.0	2	40.0	2	28.6			1	4.7			5	21.7	2	18.2
Intend to ask dowry for son																
Yes	1	10.0			2	28.6			2	33.3			5	21.7		
No	8	80.0	3	60.0	3	42.9	5	100	2	33.3			13	56.5	8	72.7
Not reported	1	10.0	2	40.0	2	28.6			2	33.3	1	60.0	5	21.7	3	27.3
Desirable age of marriage for daughter																
18 - 25 years	8	80.0	1	20.0	5	71.4	5	100	5	83.3	1	100	18	78.3	7	63.1
> 25 years	1	10.0	1	20.0									1	4.3	1	9.1
Not reported	1	10.0	3	60.0	2	28.6			1	16.7			4	36.4	3	27.3
Desirable age of marriage For son																
18 - 25 years	2	20.0	2	40.0					1	16.7			3	13.0	2	18.2
> 25 years	6	60.0			5	71.4	5	100	4	66.7	1	100	15	65.2	6	54.5
Not reported	2	20.0	3	30.0	2	28.6			1	16.7			5	21.7	3	27.3

Table 8.36a
Trends in dowry demands - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	8	80.0	3	30.0	5	62.5	3	50.0	3	50.0	1	50.0	16	66.7	7	38.9
Increase because economic problems	1	10.0	1	10.0			1	16.7			1	50.0	1	4.2	3	16.7
More women are employed, and collect money for dowry	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	12.5	1	16.7					2	8.3	2	11.1
More demand for arranged marriages									1	16.7			1	4.2		
The rich expect dowries			1	10.0											1	5.6
Not reported			4	40.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3			4	16.7	5	27.8

Table 8.37a
Virginity Test - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not tested	6	10.0	3	60.0	2	28.6	1	20.0	1	16.7			9	39.1	4	36.4
Tested but no problem	4	40.0	1	20.0	4	57.1	4	80.0	5	83.3	1	100	13	56.5	6	54.5
Not reported			1	20.0	1	14.7							1	4.3	1	9.1
Total No. of married women	10		5		7		5		6		1		23	100	11	100

Views on virginity test																	
Not necessary	4	40.0	4	40.0	2	25.0	2	33.3	4	66.7	1	50.0	10	41.7	7	28.9	
Necessary	2	20.0	2	20.0					1	16.7			3	12.5	2	11.1	
Needed for girl's security	1	10.0			2	25.0	2	33.3					3	12.5	2	11.1	
Know whether well behaved, purity	1	10.0					1	16.7					1	4.2	1	5.6	
Shame/no dignity	1	10.0			2	25.0	1	16.7			1	50.0	3	12.5	2	11.1	
Not suitable for modern society	1	10.0	2	20.0	1	12.5							2	8.3	2	11.1	
Not reported			2	20.0	1	12.5			1	16.7			2	8.3	2	11.1	
Total	10	100	5	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100	

Table 8.38a
Son preference- Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, sons and daughters same	6	60.0	5	50.0	6	75.0	3	50.0	3	50.0	2	100	15	62.5	10	55.6
Yes, son better																
- woman gets more respect	2	20.0	1	10.0			1	16.7	1	16.7			3	12.5	2	11.1
- sons look after parents in old age	1	10.0	1	10.0			1	16.7	1	16.7			2	8.3	2	11.1
- necessary for family continuity					2	25.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			3	12.5	1	5.6
- strength for family									1	16.7			1	4.2		
- security for girls from brothers									1	16.7			1	4.2		
Not reported	1	10.0	4	40.0			1	16.7					1	4.2	5	27.8

Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100
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Table 8.39a
Use of family planning methods - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 5		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 5		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 1		Workers N = 23		Other women N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods			3	60.0	2	28.6	1	20.0	2	33.3			4	17.4	4	36.4
Reasons for not using	5	50.0	1	20.0	1	14.3	2	40.0	2	33.3	1	100	8	34.8	4	36.4
Not necessary																
- husband does not agree	1	10.0			1	14.3	1	20.0					2	8.7	1	9.1
- use natural methods	1	100											1	4.3		
- inadequate information			1	20.0					1	16.7			1	4.3	1	9.1
- not easily available	1	10.0											1	4.3		
- children grown up					1	14.3							1	4.3		
- not relevant					1	14.3							1	4.3		
- Not reported	2	20.0			1	14.3	1	20.0	1	16.7			4	17.4	1	9.1
Awareness of ultra scan facility																
Yes	5	50.0	4	80.0	5	71.4	3	60.0	4	66.7	1	100	14	60.9	8	72.7
No	5	50.0	1	20.0	1	14.3	2	40.0	2	33.3			8	34.8	3	27.3
Not reported					1	14.3							1	4.3		
Use of ultra scan facility to ascertain sex of child																
Yes	1	10.0					1	20.0	1	16.7			2	8.7	1	9.1
No	8	80.0	5	100	6	85.7	4	80.0	5	83.3	1	100	19	82.6	10	90.9

Not reported	1	90.0			1	14.3							2	8.7		
Chose to terminate pregnancy of female foetus	5	50.0			7	100										

Table 8.40a
Control of sexuality -Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 5		Workers N = 7		Other women N = 5		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 1		Workers N = 23		Other women N = 11	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband Very	3	30.0	3	60.0	3	42.9	4	80.0	5	83.3	1	100	11	47.8	8	72.7
	5	50.0	1	20.0	3	42.9			1	16.7			9	39.1	1	9.1
	1	10.0			1	14.3							2	8.7		
	1	10.0	1	20.0			1	20.0					1	4.3	2	9.1
Not reported	1	10.0	2	40.0	4	57.1	3	60.0	5	83.3			10	43.5	5	45.5
	6	60.0	1	20.0	2	28.6	1	20.0	1	16.7	1	100	9	39.1	3	27.3
	2	20.0	1	20.0	1	14.7							3	13.0	1	9.1
	1	10.0	1	20.0			1	20.0					1	4.3	2	18.2
	2	20.0			2	28.6	1	20.0	1	16.7			5	21.7	1	9.1
	6	60.0	4	80.0	5	71.4	2	40.0	4	66.7	1	100	15	65.2	7	63.6
	2	20.0	1	20.0			2	40.0	1	16.7			3	13.0	3	27.3
	6		4		5		2		4		1		15		7	
	5	83.3	3	75.0	3	60.0	2	100	2	50.0	1	100	10	66.7	6	85.7
	1	16.7	1	25.0	1	20.0			2	50.0			5	33.3	1	14.3
			25.0											1	14.3	

Table 8.41a
Moving out of a marriage - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Opinion on woman moving out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent																
- Can move out	7	70.0	6	60.0	6	75.0	2	33.3	5	83.3	2	100	18	75.0	10	55.6
- Cannot move out	3	30.0	2	20.0	2	25.0	4	66.7	1	16.7			6	25.0	6	33.3
- Not reported			2	20.0											2	11.1
Acceptable reasons for man to leave wife																
With unfaithful	9	90.0	8	80.0	8	100	5	83.3	3	50.0	2	100	20	83.3	15	83.3
Fails virginity test	1	10.0	1	10.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	3	50.0			6	25.0	4	22.2
Family has not kept to dowry agreement					2	25.0							2	8.3		
No sexual satisfaction	1	10.0	1	10.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	4	66.7			9	37.5	3	16.7
Infertile			1	10.0	1	12.5	1	16.7	1	16.7			2	8.3	2	11.1
Cannot bear sons	1	10.0	2	20.0	1	12.5	1	16.7					2	8.3	3	16.7
Does not respect him/his family	2	20.0											2	8.3	2	11.1
Poor housekeeper/cook			3	30.0							1	50.0			4	22.2
Husband has no right to leave wife	1	10.0	1	10.0									1	4.2	1	5.6
Not reported			1	10.0					1	16.7			1	4.2	2	11.1

Table 8.41a (contd.)
Moving out of a marriage - Women

Acceptable reasons for woman to leave husband																
If he beats her	4	40.0	4	40.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3	2	100	8	33.3	9	50.0
Unfaithful	8	80.0	6	60.0	6	75.0	5	83.3	3	50.0	2	100	17	70.8	13	72.2
Does not provide for family	2	20.0	2	20.0	2	25.0			1	16.7			5	20.8	2	11.1
Infertile	1	10.0			2	25.0	1	16.7					3	12.5	1	5.6
Impotent	1	10.0	2	20.0	4	50.0	1	16.7	1	16.7			6	25.0	3	16.7
Does not respect her/his family			2	20.0	1	12.5							1	4.2	2	11.1
Differ in ideas					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Should not leave husband			1	10.0	1	12.5			2	33.3			3	12.5	1	5.6
Should try to solve problems					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Not reported	1	10.0	1	10.0	1	12.5							2	8.3	1	5.6

Table 8.42a
Participation in Decision Making - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Participation before economic activity																
Yes	10	100	5	50.0	7	87.5	5	83.3	5	83.3	2	100	22	91.7	12	66.7
No			5	50.0	1	12.5	1	16.7	1	16.7			2	8.3	6	33.3
Participation at present																
Yes	10	100	8	80.0	8	100	5	83.3	6	100	2	100	24	100	15	83.3
No			2	20.0			1	16.7							3	16.7

Areas of participation																
Providing daily family needs	9	90.0	4	40.0	8	100	4	66.7	6	100	2	100	23	95.8	10	55.6
Education of children	8	80.0	1	10.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	4	66.7	1	50.0	16	66.7	5	27.8
Marriage of children	5	50.0			2	25.0			4	66.7			11	45.8		
Buying and selling of assets	6	60.0	4	40.0	4	50.0			4	66.7	2	100	14	58.3	6	33.3
Buying and selling of jewellery	5	50.0	5	50.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	1	16.7			9	37.5	6	33.3
Health care of family	5	50.0	3	30.0	5	62.5	2	33.3	4	66.7			14	58.3	5	27.8
Employment related issues	5	50.0	2	20.0	3	37.5	2	33.3	3	50.0	2	100	11	45.8	6	33.3
Disputes (eg neighbours)	3	30.0	2	20.0	2	25.0	4	66.7	1	16.7			5	20.8	3	16.7
Major expenses	5	50.0			6	75.0			5	83.3	1	50.0	16	66.7	1	5.6
Construction of house					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Not reported	1	10.0	2	20.0			1	16.7							3	16.7
Total	10		10		8		6		6		2		24		18	

Table 8.43a
Final authority in decision making - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	8	80.0	3	30.6	5	62.5	1	16.7	6	100			19	99.2	4	22.2
Education of children	7	70.0	1	10.0	1	12.5	2	33.3	3	50.0	1	50.0	11	45.8	4	22.2
Marriage of children	5	50.0			1	12.5							6	25.0		
Buying and selling of assets	3	30.0	1	10.0	1	12.5			2	33.3	1	50.0	6	25.0	2	11.1
Buying and selling jewellery	2	20.0	1	10.0	1	12.5	1	16.7	1	16.7			4	16.7	2	11.1
Health care of family	1	10.0	2	20.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3			5	20.8	3	16.7
Employment related issues	1	10.0					1	16.7	1	16.7	1	50.0	2	8.3	3	16.7
Disputes eg neighbours	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Major expenses	4	40.0	1	10.0	6	75.0	1	16.7	3	50.0	1	50.0	13	54.2	4	22.2

Not reported			2	20.0										2	11.1
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Table 8.44a
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Decision making in family																
Should increase	7	70.0	8	80.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	5	83.3	1	50.0	16	66.7	11	61.1
Should not increase	3	30.0	2	20.0	4	50.0	4	66.7	1	16.7	1	50.0	8	33.3	7	38.9
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2		24	100	18	100
Reasons for increase																
Women manage the household	1		2		1				2				4	16.7	2	11.1
Women too make good decisions			2				1		1				1	4.2	3	16.7
Women should have equal say	5		4		3		1		1				9	37.5	5	27.8
Efficient					1						1		1	4.2	1	5.6
Came forward			2												2	11.1
Not reported	1								1				2	8.3		
Total	7	70.0	8	80.0	4	50.0	2	33.3	5	83.3	1	50.0	16	66.7	11	61.1
Decision making in the community																
Should increase	10	100	10	100	7	87.5	4	66.7	6	100	2	100	23	95.8	16	88.9
Should not increase					1	12.5	2	33.3					1	4.2	2	11.1
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Reasons for increase																
Women should have equal opportunities and rights	5	50.0	6	60.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	5	83.3			13		7	38.9
Women understand and think better									2	33.3			2	8.5		
Women are more sincere, honest and responsible	3	30.0	4	40.0	4	50.0	3	50.0	1	16.7	2	100	8	30.3	9	50.0
Not reported	2	20.0											2	8.5		
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24		18	

Table 8.45a
Freedom of movement of women and girls - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Relative freedom of women/girls compared to men/ boys																
Less	8	80.0	9	90.0	6	75.0	5	83.3	4	66.7	1	50.0	18	75.0	15	83.3
No difference	2	20.0	1	10.0	2	25.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	1	50.0	6	25.0	3	16.7
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	2	100	2	100	24	100	18	100
Reasons for less freedom																
Not traditional	2	25.0	1	11.1	1	16.7	4	80.0	2	50.0			5	27.8	5	33.3
Fear of non-acceptance by society	5	62.5	3	33.3	2	33.3			2	50.0			9	50.0	3	20.0
Fear of being harassed	5	62.5	7	77.8	4	66.7	3	60.0	1	25.0	1	100	10	55.6	11	73.3
Cases of molestation in neighbourhood	1	12.5			1	16.7					1	100	2	11.1	1	6.7

General problems in country	1	12.5	1	11.1	1	16.7					1	100	2	11.1	2	13.3
Fear of verbal abuse					1	16.7							1	5.6		
Lack of security									1	25.0			1	5.6		
Not reported			1	11.1											1	6.7
Total	8	100	9	100	6	100	5	100	4	100	1	100	18	100	15	100

Table 8.46.1a

Physical mobility of women - Women Workers

	Anuradhapura N = 10				Galle N = 8				Matara N = 6				Total N = 24							
	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without Permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Work place	9	5	9	5	6	5	6	1	4	2	4	2	19	79.2	13	54.2	19	79.2	8	33.3
Banks	10	6	10	5	8	8	8	0	5	4	4	2	23	95.8	18	75.0	22	91.7	7	29.2
Temples	10	5	10	4	8	6	8	0	5	3	4	2	23	95.8	14	58.3	22	91.7	6	25.0
Cinemas	7	3	7	5	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	2	11	45.8	3	12.5	11	45.8	9	37.5
Restaurants	10	4	5	4	4	2	4	2	2	0	2	2	16	66.7	6	25.0	11	45.8	8	33.3
Parental home	9	3	9	4	8	6	7	1	5	3	4	3	22	91.7	12	50.0	20	83.3	8	33.3
Homes of relations	10	5	2	4	8	5	8	3	5	3	4	3	23	95.8	13	54.2	14	58.3	10	41.7
Friends' houses	10	5	10	4	8	4	8	4	4	1	2	1	22	91.7	10	41.7	20	83.3	9	37.5

Table 8.46.2a

Physical mobility of women - Other Women

	Anuradhapura N = 10				Galle N = 8				Matara N = 6				Total N = 18							
	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without Permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	Without permission	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Work place	4	2	4	4	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	8	44.8	6	33.3	8	44.4	8	44.4
Banks	8	4	8	5	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1	14	77.8	7	38.9	14	77.8	7	38.9
Temples	9	1	9	7	6	1	6	2	2	0	2	1	17	94.4	2	11.1	17	94.4	10	55.6
Cinemas	5	0	5	4	2	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	8	44.4	0	0.0	8	44.4	7	38.9
Restaurants	8	0	8	5	5	1	5	2	1	0	1	0	14	77.8	1	5.6	14	77.8	7	38.9
Parental home	6	2	6	4	3	0	3	2	1	0	1	0	10	55.6	2	11.1	10	55.6	6	33.3
Homes of relations	9	0	9	7	5	0	5	2	2	1	2	1	16	88.9	1	5.6	16	88.9	10	55.6
Friends' houses	9	0	9	8	5	0	5	1	2	1	2	1	16	88.9	1	5.6	16	88.9	10	55.6

Table 8.47a
Gender aspirations of women - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn																
As a woman			1	10.0	1	12.5							1	4.3	1	5.6
As a man	9	90.0	9	90.0	7	87.5	5	83.3	4	66.7	2	100	20	83.3	16	88.9
As either man or woman							1	16.7	2	33.3			2	8.5	1	5.6
Not reported	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Total	10	100	10	100	8	100	6	100	6	100	2	100	24	100	18	100

Table 8.48a
Conflict issues in families in neighbourhood - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 10		N = 8		N = 6		N = 6		N = 2		N = 24		N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcoholism	9	90.0	10	100	8	100	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	22	91.7	18	100
Fight over property/money	8	80.0	7	70.0	7	87.5	6	100	5	83.3	2	100	20	83.3	15	83.3
Fight with spouse and family	6	60.0	3	30.0	5	62.5	4	66.7	3	50.0			14	58.3	7	38.9
Dowry demands	3	30.0	3	30.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3			7	29.2	6	33.3
Extra marital affairs	4	40.0	3	30.0	3	37.5	3	50.0	2	33.3			9	37.5	7	38.9

Neglect of household duties	4	40.0	4	40.0	4	50.0	5	83.3	3	50.0	2	100	11	45.8	11	61.1
Disobedience to husband/elders	5	50.0	5	50.0	2	25.0	4	66.7	2	33.3	1	50.0	9	37.5	10	55.6
Retorting	5	50.0	6	60.0	6	75.0	5	83.3	4	66.7	2	100	15	62.5	13	72.2
Economic constraints	6	60.0	8	80.0	7	87.5	6	100	6	100	2	100	4	79.2	16	88.9
Giving birth to girl child	3	30.0	3	30.0	1	12.5	1	16.7					4	16.7	4	22.2
Suspicion	5	50.0	4	40.0	5	62.5	4	66.7	2	33.3	1	50.0	12	50.0	9	50.0
Infidelity	3	30.0	4	40.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3			7	29.2	7	38.9
Childlessness	2	20.0	3	30.0	2	25.0	3	50.0	2	33.3			6	25.0	6	33.3
Demand for hot meals	2	20.0	3	30.0			3	50.0	2	33.3			4	16.7	6	33.3
Refusal to sex	1	10.0	2	20.0			1	16.7					1	4.2	3	16.7
Physical mobility	2	20.0	3	30.0			3	50.0	1	16.7			3	12.5	6	33.3
Betting					1	12.5	1	16.7					1	4.2	1	5.6
Children's problems									1	16.7			1	4.2		
Not reported	1	10.0											1	4.2		

Table 8.49a
Conflict issues within the family - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers N = 10		Other Women N = 10		Workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflict	4	40.6	7	70.0	3	37.5	3	50.0	3	50.0	1	50.0	10	41.7	11	61.1
Economic problems	5	50.0	1	10.0	1	50.0	3	50.0	1	16.7	1	50.0	10	41.7	5	27.8

Fight over property/money	1	10.0	1	10.0	3	37.5					1	50.0	4	16.7	2	11.1
Alcoholism problems	2	20.0	1	10.0			1	16.7					2	8.5	2	11.1
Household problems	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Wife not in house when husband returns					1	12.5			1	16.7			2	8.3		
Retorting							1	16.7							1	5.6
Husband's betting					1	12.5	1	16.7					1	4.2	1	5.6
Dowry demands	1	10.0													1	5.6
Extra marital affairs	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Neglect of household work					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Refusal to sex	1	10.0													1	5.6

Table 8.50a
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere - Women

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Women workers N = 10		Other women N = 10		Women workers N = 8		Other women N = 6		Women workers N = 6		Other women N = 2		Women workers N = 24		Other women N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience of abuse	6	60.0	8	80.0	4	50.0	3	60.0	3	50.0			13	54.2	11	61.1
Destroying household items					1	12.5							1	4.2	1	5.6
Verbal abuse	4	40.0	2	20.0	3	37.5			3	50.0			10	41.7	2	11.1
Threats	3	30.0	2	20.0			2	40.0	1	1.7	2	100	4	16.7	7	38.9
Sexual abuse	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Restricted from meeting neighbours, relatives	1	10.0	1	10.0									1	4.2		
Not given food			1	10.0											1	5.6
Beaten			1	10.0											1	5.6
Slapping, pulling, pushing	1	10.0			1	12.5							2	8.3		
Throwing of objects	2	20.0	2	20.0					1	16.7			3	12.5	2	11.1
Threatened to be sent to parent's home			1	10.0	1	12.5	1	20.0					1	4.2	2	11.1

Response to abuse	N = 4		N = 2		N = 4		N = 3		N = 3		N = 2		N = 11		N = 7	
Tolerate it silently	4	100	2	100	2	50.0	1	33.3	3	100			9	81.8	3	42.9
Keep it myself							1	33.3								
Let others know about in the family	2	50.0	1	50.0	2	50.0							4	36.4	1	14.3
Attempt suicide			1	50.0											1	5.6
Go back to maternal home					1	25.0							1	9.1		
Discuss with husband					2	50.0	1	33.3			2	100	2	18.2	3	42.9
Wait without retorting	1	25.0											1	9.1		
Separate from husband					1	25.0							1	9.1		

Table 8.51a
Violence outside the domestic sphere - Woman

	Anuradhapura				Galle				Matara				Total			
	Workers		Other Women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women		Workers		Other women	
	N = 10		N = 10		N = 8		N = 6		N = 6		N = 2		N = 24		N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experience	7	70.0	10	100	7	87.5	5	83.3	6	100	2	100	20	83.3	17	94.4
Rape	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Sexual harassment					1	12.5							1	4.2		
Fight over property							1	16.7							1	5.6
Political violence	1	10.0											1	4.2		
Not reported	1	10.0											1	4.2		

Table 8.9b
Respondents by Age - Men

Age group	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18-24	2	40.0					2	11.1
25-29			1	12.5			1	5.6
30-39	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	11.1
40-49	1	20.0	3	37.5	2	40.0	6	33.3
50-59	1	20.0	3	37.5	1	20.0	5	27.8
60-65					1	20.0	1	5.6
70 and above			1	12.5			1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.10b
Marital status - Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried	2	40.0					2	11.1
Married-customary	1	20.0			4	80.0	5	27.8
Married-registered	2	40.0	8	100	1	20.0	11	61.1
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.11b
Educational Level - Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 1-5	1	20.0					1	5.6
Grade 6-11	2	40.0	6	75.0	5	100	13	72.2
GCE OL	1	20.0	2	25.0			3	16.7
GCE AL	1	20.0					1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.12 b
Current Economic Activity- Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not Employed	3	60.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	6	33.3
Supervisor			1	12.5			1	5.6
Motor Mechanic			1	12.5			1	5.6
Carpenter			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Painter			1	12.5			1	5.6
Making joss sticks					1	20.0	1	5.6
Driver			1	12.5			1	5.6
Postman					1	20.0	1	5.6
Hotel worker	1	20.0					1	5.6
Labourer	1	20.0	1	12.5			2	11.1
Cultivator & labourer					1	20.0	1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.13b

Consultation regarding seeking/changing employment - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No One	3	60.0	7	87.5	3	60.0	13	72.2
Father	1	20.0					1	5.6
Mother	2	40.0					2	11.1
Husband/Wife					1	20.0	1	5.6
Not Reported			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Total	5		8		5		18	

Table 8.16b

Control of Income - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contribution of earnings to household								
All	1	50.0	3	50.0	2	50.0	6	50.0
Half			1	16.7	1	25.0	2	16.7
Some	1	50.0	2	33.3	1	25.0	4	33.3
Control of Salary								
Keep it	1	50.0	2	33.3	2	50.0	5	41.7
Hand over to wife	1	50.0	4	66.7	1	25.0	6	50.0
Not reported					1	25.0	1	8.3
Own Bank Account								
Yes	1	50.0	6	100	3	75.0	9	75.0
No	1	50.0			1	25.0	3	25.0

Other Savings								
No savings	1	50.0	5	83.3	3	75.0	9	75.0
Cheettu					1	25.0	1	8.3
Insurance			1	16.7			1	8.3
Welfare society deposit	1	50.0					1	8.3
Permission to withdraw money								
Not necessary	2	100	6	100	4	100	12	100

Table 8.17b
Ownership of Assets - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land	1	20.0	2	25.0	3	60.0	6	33.3
House/Flat	1	20.0	2	25.0	4	80.0	7	38.9
Vehicle	3	60.0	3	37.5	4	80.0	10	55.6
Jewellery	2	20.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	5	27.8
Bank deposit	4	80.0	4	50.0	4	80.0	12	66.7
Other savings			1	12.5	2	40.0	3	16.7
Life insurance	1	20.0			2	40.0	3	16.7
Consumer durables								
Radio					3	60.0	3	16.7
Television					2	40.0	2	11.1
Refrigerator			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Sewing machine					1	20.0	1	5.6

Table 8.18b
Assets that could be disposed - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nothing	1	20.0	4	50.0			5	27.8
Land			1	12.5	4	80.0	5	27.8
House/Flat			1	12.5	2	40.0	3	16.7
Vehicle	1	20.0	2	25.0	2	40.0	5	27.8
Bank Deposit	3	60.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	5	27.8
Consumer durables	2	40.0	3	37.5			5	27.8

Table 8.19b
Assets that could be bought - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anything	4	80.0	6	75.0	3	60.0	13	72.2
Land	1	20.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	16.7
Electronic items			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Nothing			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Permission Needed from								
No one	3	60.0	5	62.5	3	60.0	11	61.1
Wife			1	12.5			1	5.6
Father	1	20.0					1	5.6
Mother	1	20.0					1	5.6
Reasons not reported					2	40.0	2	11.1
Not Reported			2	25.0			2	11.1

Table 8.20b
Perceptions of positive changes when women work outside home - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strong Personality (Self confidence, self esteem , able to assert positively)	3	60.0	6	75.0	1	20.0	10	55.6
More experience, knowledge	4	80.0	8	100	5	100	17	94.4
More economic security	4	80.0	8	100	5	100	17	94.4
Enlarged social network	4	80.0	2	25.0	3	60.0	9	50.0

Table 8.21b
Perceptions of changes in lifestyles when women start working - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total work load								
- increased	5	100	6	75.0	4	80.0	15	83.3
- decreased					1	20.0	1	5.6
- same			2	25.0			2	11.1
Mobility								
- increased	5	100	7	87.5	3	60.0	15	83.3
- decreased					2	40.0	2	11.1
- same			1	12.5			1	5.6
Self esteem								
- increased	5	100	5	62.5	5	100	15	83.3
- same			3	37.5			3	16.7

Standing in the family								
- increased	5	100	4	50.0	2	40.0	11	61.1
- same			4	50.0	3	60.0	7	38.9
Household decision making								
- increased	3	60.0	8	100	5	100	16	88.9
- same	2	40.0					2	11.1

Table 8.22b
Educational opportunities in families - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Was at the opinion that boys and girls should have similar educational opportunities	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100
Had provided similar education facilities to both boys and girls in the family	4	80.0	7	87.5	3	60.0	14	77.8
Not appropriate	1	20.0					1	5.6
Not reported			1	12.5	2	40.0	3	16.7
No discrimination in expenditure	4	80.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	8	44.4
Both can study to any level	3	60.0	5	100	3	60.0	11	61.1
Both provided with all facilities	2	40.0	4	80.0	1	20.0	7	38.9
Both not given other work at home	2	40.0					2	11.1

Table 8.23b**Level to which boys and girls should be educated - Men**

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys								
Highest Level possible			3	37.5	1	20.0	4	22.2
As child wishes			2	25.0			2	11.1
University degree	4	80.0	2	25.0	3	60.0	9	50.0
GCE OL	1	20.0					1	5.6
To get suitable job			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Girls								
Highest possible level			4	50.0			4	22.2
As child wishes			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
University degree	5	100	2	25.0	3	60.0	10	55.6
Not reported					1	20.9	1	5.6

Table 8.24b**Withdrawal from school in the event of financial or other constraints - Men**

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No child	5	100	5	62.5	2	40.0	12	66.7
Child not doing well in school			3	37.5	1	20.0	4	22.2
Child's decision					1	20.0	1	5.6
Not reported					1	20.0	1	5.6

Table 8.25b

Tasks assigned to boys and girls - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Different Tasks	2	40.0	2	25.0	3	60.0	7	38.9
Same tasks	3	60.0	4	50.0	1	20.0	8	44.4
Not Reported			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100
Boys N=	2		2		3		7	
Farming	2	100	2	100	1	33.3	5	71.4
Carpentry					1	33.3	1	14.3
Cleaning					1	33.3	1	14.3
Sweeping			1	50.0			1	14.3
Hard work					1	33.3	1	14.3
Girls N=	2		2		3		7	
Home science	1	50.0						
Sewing			2	100	1	33.3	3	42.9
Sweeping	1	50.0	2	100	2	66.7	5	71.4

Table 8.26 b

Behavioural expectations of school children. - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No difference	5	100	7	87.5	2	40.0	14	77.8
Boys active					1	20.0	1	5.6
Girls timid					1	20.0	1	5.6

Not reported			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
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Table 8.27 b

Vocational Aspirations while at school- Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government job	1	20.0			2	40.0	3	16.7
Teacher			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Nurse			1	12.5			1	5.6
Trainer job			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Clerk	1	20.0					1	5.6
Mechanic			1	12.5			1	5.6
Tailor			1	12.5			1	5.6
Singer	1	20.0					1	5.6
No specific aspirations	2	40.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	4	22.2

Table 8.28 b

Food and Health - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Food								
Men & women do not eat together								
Different schedules	3	60.0	3	37.5	3	60.0	9	50.0
Boys & girls do not eat together								
Different schedules	3	60.0	4	50.0	3	60.0	10	55.6
Not reported					1	10.0	1	5.6
II. Health								

Men/women and boys/girls same health care	5	100	8	100	4	80.0	17	94.5
Not reported					1	20.0	1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.29 b
Household tasks of men – Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cooking								
Almost all			1	12.5			1	5.6
Most	1	20.0	2	25.0			3	16.7
Some	1	20.0	3	37.5			4	22.2
Little			1	12.5	2	40.0	3	16.7
None			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Not Reported	3	60.0			2	40.0	5	27.8
Washing cooking utensils								
Almost all			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Most	1	20.0	2	25.0			3	16.7
Some	1	20.0	1	12.5			2	11.1
Little			3	37.5	1	20.0	4	22.2
None			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Not reported	3	60.0			2	40.0	5	27.8
Child care								
Almost all			2	25.0			2	11.1
Most			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7

Some	1	20.0					1	5.6
Little			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
None	1	20.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	4	22.2
Not reported	3	60.0			2	40.0	5	27.8

Table 8.29 b
Household tasks of men - Men (Contd.)

Washing clothes								
Almost all			2	25.0			2	11.1
Most	1	20.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	4	22.2
Some	1	20.0					1	5.6
Little	1	20.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	4	22.2
None			2	25.0			2	11.1
Not Reported	2	40.0			3	60.0	5	27.8
Almost all			2	25.0			2	11.1
Most	1	20.0	2	25.0	2	40.0	5	27.8
Some	1	20.0					1	5.6
Little	1	20.0	4	50.0	1	20.0	6	33.3
Not reported	2	40.0			2	40.0	4	22.2
Taking care of old & sick								
Almost all			1	12.5			1	5.6
Most	1	20.0	2	25.0			3	16.7
Little			4		2	40.0	6	33.3
None	1	20.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	16.7
Not reported	3	60.0			2	40.0	5	27.8

Table 8.30b
Household activities that men will never do - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I. Does all the work	2	40.0			3	60.0	5	27.8
II. Will not do								
Cooking	1	20.0	3	37.5			4	22.2
Cleaning toilet			5	62.5	1	20.0	6	33.3
Cleaning babies	2	40.0	2	25.0			4	22.2
Bathing babies	2	40.0	2	25.0			4	22.2
Washing women's clothes	1	20.0	4	50.0			5	27.8
Washing men's clothes					1	20.0	1	5.6
Washing babies clothes			2	25.0			2	11.1
Washing utensils	1	20.0	1	12.5			2	11.1
Collecting wood and fuel			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Taking care of child, old and sick			1	12.5			1	5.6
Shopping for household items			1	12.5			1	5.6
Attending to the garden			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Sweeping the house			1	12.5			1	5.6
Anything			1	12.5			1	5.6

Table 8.31b

Perceptions of negative changes when women work outside the home

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict over domestic chores	4	80.0	8	100	5	100	17	94.4
Neglected children	5	100	7	87.5	4	80.0	16	88.9
Loss of family status	2	40.0	1	12.5			3	16.7
Conflict over distribution/control over earnings	3	60.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	5	27.8
Increased work load of other women in household	4	80.0	8	100	3	60.0	15	83.3
Threat to family	2	40.0	4	50.0	2	40.0	8	44.4

Table 8.32 b

Marriage - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 3		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age of marriage of men								
18 - 25 years	1	33.3	4	50.0	1	20.0	6	37.5
Above 25 years	2	66.7	4	50.0	4	80.0	10	62.5
Age of wife at marriage								
18 - 25 years	1	33.3	6	75.0	1	20.0	8	50.0
Above 25 years	2	66.7	2	25.0	4	80.0	8	50.0
Partner selected by men								
Yes	1	33.3	6	75.0	5	100	12	75.0
No	2	66.7	2	25.0			4	25.0
Consent obtained								

Yes	1	33.3	7	87.5	5	100	13	81.3
No	2	66.7					2	12.5
Not reported			1	12.5			1	6.3

Table 8.33 b
Marriage outside caste, religion, ethnic group

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unmarried men's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for them N=								
Like to marry	3		8		5		16	
-outside caste	2	66.7	4	50.0	2	40.0	8	50.0
-outside religion	2	66.7	4	50.0	1	20.0	7	43.8
-outside ethnic group	2	66.7	3	37.5	1	20.0	6	37.5
Married men's acceptance of the idea of mixed marriages for son/daughter N=								
Like to marry	3		8		5		16	
-outside caste	2	66.7	4	50.0	2	40.0	8	50.0
-outside religion	2	66.7	4	50.0	1	20.0	7	43.8
-outside ethnic group	2	66.7	3	37.5	1	20.0	6	37.5

Table 8.34 b
Dowry practice in the marriage of men - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 3		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whether dowry taken								
No	1	33.3	5	62.5	4	80.0	10	62.5
Rs. 5,000 - 10,000					1	20.0	1	6.3
Rs. 10,000 - 25,000	1	33.3					1	6.3
Property	2	66.7	3	37.5	1	20.0	6	37.5
Furniture	2	66.7	3	37.5	1	20.0	6	37.5
Not reported								
Whether family satisfied								
Yes	2	66.7	3	37.5	2	40.0	7	43.8
No	1	33.3	5	62.5	3	60.0	9	56.3

Table 8.35 b
Children's Marriage - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 3		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intend to give dowry to daughter								
Yes	1	33.3	5	62.5	4	80.0	10	62.5
No	2	66.7	3	37.5			5	31.3
Not reported					1	20.0	1	6.3
Intend to ask dowry for son								
Yes			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	12.5
No	1	33.3	5	62.5	3	60.0	9	56.3
Not Reported	2	66.7	2	25.0	1	20.0	5	31.3

Desired age of marriage for daughter								
18 - 25 years			6	75.0	3	60.0	12	75.0
Over 25 years	3	100	1	25.0	1	20.0	3	18.8
Not reported			2		1	20.0	1	6.3
Desired age of marriage for son								
18 - 25 years	1	33.3	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	18.8
Over 25 years	1	33.3	4	50.0	4	80.0	9	56.3
Not reported	1	33.3	3	37.5			4	25.0

Table 8.36 b
Trends in dowry demand - Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No increase	4	80.0	6	75.0	3	60.0	13	72.2
Increase because of economic problems					1	20.0	1	5.6
Men expect dowry for proposed marriage			1	12.5			1	5.6
Employed women collect money for dowries			1	12.5			1	5.6
Not reported	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	11.1
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.38 b
Son Preference - Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No - sons and Daughters same	3	60.0	7	87.5	3	60.0	13	72.2
Yes - sons better								
Yes, women get more respect	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	11.1
Sons look after parents in old age					1	20.0	1	5.6
Necessary to family continuity			1	12.5			1	5.6
Not reported	1	20.0					1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.39b
Use of Family Planning Methods - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 3		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Used Methods	2	66.7	2	25.0	1	20.0	5	31.3

Reasons for not using								
- Not necessary	1	33.3	2	25.0	2	40.0	5	31.3
- Not easily available			1	12.5			1	5.6
- Not enough information					1	20.0	1	5.6
- Wife Pregnant			1	12.5			1	5.6
- Not reported			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	31.3
Aware of ultra scan facilities								
Yes	2	66.7	7	87.5	4	80.0	13	72.2
No	1	33.3	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	18.8
Use of ultra scan facilities to ascertain sex of child								
Yes	1	33.3	8	100	1	20.0	2	12.5
No	2	66.7	8	100	4	80.0	14	87.5
Total	3	100	8	100	5	100	16	100

Table 8.40b
Control of Sexuality - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 3		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 16	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband								
Very	2	66.7	6	75.0	3	60.0	11	68.8
To some extent	1	33.3	1	12.5	2	40.0	4	25.0
Not Reported			1	12.5			1	6.3

Importance of sexual satisfaction for husband								
Very	1	33.3	6	75.0			7	43.8
To some extent	2	66.7	1	12.5	5	100	8	50.0
Not Reported			1	12.5			1	6.3
Refusal to have sex with husband								
Cannot refuse			4	50.0	1	20.0	5	31.3
Can refuse	3	100	4	50.0	4	80.0	11	61.1
Not reported								
If refused reaction of wife								
N=	3		4		4		11	
Understanding	3	100	3	75.0	1	25.0	7	63.6
Not reported			1	25.0	3	75.0	4	36.7

Table 8.41b
Moving out of a marriage - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No	%.	No.	%	No.	%
Opinion on woman moving out of an unhappy marriage if economically independent								
- Can move out	3	60.0	3	37.5	2	40.0	8	44.4
- Cannot move out	1	20.0	5	62.5	2	40.0	8	44.4
- Not reported	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	22.2

Yes No	3 2	60.0 40.0	8	100	5	100	16 2	88.9 11.1
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Participation at present								
Yes	3	60.0	7	87.5	5	100	15	83.3
No	2	40.0					2	11.1
Not reported			1	12.5			1	5.6
Areas of participation								
Providing daily family needs	3	60.0	7	87.5	3	60.0	13	72.2
Education of children	3	60.0	3	37.5	2	40.0	8	44.4
Marriage of children	1	20.0	3	37.5	2	40.0	6	33.3
Buying and selling of assets	2	40.0	6	75.0	1	20.0	9	50.0
Buying and selling of jewellery	1	20.0	2	25.0	1	20.0	4	22.2
Health care of family	2	40.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	4	22.2
Employment related issues	2	40.0	4	5.0			6	33.3
Disputes (eg neighbours)	1	20.0					1	5.6
Major expenses	2	40.0	7	87.5	3	60.0	12	66.7
Total	5		8		5		18	

Table 8.43b
Final authority in Decision Making - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Providing daily family needs	3	60.0	6	75.0	2	40.0	11	61.1
Education of children	1	20.0	2	25.0	3	60.0	6	33.3
Marriage of children	1	20.0	1	12.5	2	40.0	11	22.2
Buying and selling assets	1	20.0	1	12.5	3	60.0	5	27.8
Buying and selling jewellery			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Healthcare of family	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	11.1

members								
Employment related issues	1	20.0	1	12.5	2	40.0	4	22.2
Disputes eg. neighbours	1	20.0			1	20.0	2	11.1
Major expenses	2	40.0	5	62.5	2	40.0	9	50.8

Table 8.44b
Perceptions of increasing decision making powers of women - Men

	Anuradhapura		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%.	No.	%	No.	%
Decision making in family								
Should increase	4	80.0	5	62.5	4	80.0	13	72.2
Should not increase	1	20.0	3	37.5	1	20.0	5	27.8
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Relative freedom of women /girls compared to men/boys									
Less									
No difference	4	80.0	7	87.5	4	80.0	15	83.3	
Total	1	20.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	3	16.7	
	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100	
Reasons for less freedom									
Not traditional	1	25.0	1	14.3	1	25.0	3	20.0	
Fear of social disapproval	3	75.0			1	25.0	4	26.7	
Fear of harassment	2	50.0	5	71.4	1	25.0	8	53.3	
Cases of molestation in neighbourhood					1	25.0	1	6.7	
General problems in country			2	28.6			2	13.3	
Not reported					1	25.0	1	6.7	
Total	4	100	7	100	4	100	15	100	

Table 8.46b
Physical mobility of women - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5				Galle N = 8				Matara N = 5				Total N = 18							
	Yes	Alone	No time limit	With-out permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	With-out Permission	Yes	Alone	No time limit	With-out permission	Yes		Alone		No time limit		Without permission	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Work place	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	0	4	4	4	0	14	77.8	14	77.8	14	77.8	1	5.6
Banks	5	5	5	1	8	7	8	0	4	4	4	0	17	94.4	16	94.1	17	94.4	1	5.6
Temples	5	5	5	1	8	5	8	0	4	3	4	0	17	94.4	13	72.2	17	94.4	1	5.6

Restaura nt	5	4	5	2	8	6	8	0	4	4	4	1	17	94. 4	14	77. 8	17	94. 4	3	16. 7
Cinema	5	4	5	2	7	4	7	2	3	3	3	1	15	83. 3	11	61. 1	15	83. 3	5	27. 8
Parental home	5	4	5	1	8	4	8	1	4	3	4	1	17	94. 4	11	61. 7	17	94. 4	3	16. 7
Homes of relations	5	4	4	1	8	4	8	0	4	2	3	1	17	94. 4	10	55. 6	15	83. 3	2	11. 1
Friends' houses	4	3	4	1	8	6	8	0	4	3	4	0	16	88. 9	12	66. 7	16	88. 9	1	5.6

Table 8.47b
Gender aspirations of rebirth - Men

	Anuradhapu ra		Galle		Matara		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To be reborn as a man	4	80.0	7	87.5	4	80.0	15	83.3
To be reborn as a man or woman			1	12.5	1	20.0	2	11.1
Not reported	1	20.0					1	5.6
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Table 8.48b
Conflict Issues in Neighbourhood - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alcoholism	5	100	6	75.0	5	100	16	88.9
Fight over property/money	5	100	6	75.0	3	60.0	14	77.8
Fight with spouse and family	3	60.0	3	37.5	3	60.0	9	50.0
Dowry demands	2	40.0	4	50.0	1	20.0	7	38.9
Extra marital affairs	2	40.0	3	37.5	1	20.0	6	33.3
Neglect of household duties	4	80.0	6	75.0	2	40.0	12	66.7
Disobedience to husband/elders	4	80.0	6	75.0	1	20.0	11	61.1
Giving answers back	4	80.0	6	75.0	4	80.0	14	77.8
Economic constraints	4	80.0	7	87.5	4	80.0	12	83.3
Giving birth to girl child			2	25.0	1	20.0	3	16.7
Suspicion	2	40.0	5	62.5	2	40.0	9	50.0
Infidelity	3	60.0	4	50.0	2	40.0	9	50.0
Childlessness	1	20.0	4	50.0	1	20.0	6	33.3
Demand for hot meals	1	20.0	4	50.0	1	20.0	6	33.3
Physical mobility			1	12.5			1	5.6
Refuse sex			2	25.0			2	11.1
Children's problems					1	20.0	1	5.6
Not reported			1	12.5			1	5.6

Table 8.49b
Conflict Issues within the Family - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No conflicts	3	60.0	3	37.5			6	33.3
Fight over property/money	1	20.0			2	40.0	3	16.7
Extra marital affairs			1	12.5			1	5.6
Economic problems			1	12.5			1	5.6
Household problems			1	12.5			1	5.6
Fight with husband					1	20.0	1	5.6
Alcoholic husband			1	12.5			1	5.6
Refuse to sex			1	12.5			1	5.6
Dowry demand			1	12.5			1	5.6
Heavy workload in home					1	20.0	1	5.6
Spends more time in parents home and neglects household work					1	20.0	1	5.6
Alcoholic father	1	20.0					1	5.6
Not reported					1	20.0	1	5.6

Table 8.50b
Experience of abuse in domestic sphere -Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No experiences	4	80.0	6	75.0			10	55.6
Verbal abuse	1	20.0	1	12.5	2	40.0	4	22.2
Abuse not specified					1	20.0	1	5.6
Not reported			1	12.5	2	40.0	3	16.7
Total	5	100	8	100	5	100	18	100

Response to Abuse	N= 1		1		3		5	
Tolerate silently	1	100	1	100	1	33.3	3	60.0
Let others know in family					2	66.7	2	40.0
No meals			1	100			1	20.0
Hit back					1	33.3	1	20.0

Table 8.51b
Violence outside the domestic sphere - Men

	Anuradhapura N = 5		Galle N = 8		Matara N = 5		Total N = 18	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No violence	4	80.0	6	75.0	3	60.0	13	72.2
Fight over property	1	20.0	1	12.5			2	11.1
Conflict in workplace	1	20.0	1	12.5			2	11.1
Sexual harassment at workplace					1	20.0	1	5.6
Political violence			1	12.5			1	5.6
Caste/communal riots			1	12.5			1	5.6
Not reported					1	20.0	1	5.6

9. Mental Health

9.1 Health status of a community needs to be measured in terms of physical health as well as mental health levels.

Mental distress and sense of well-being can be caused or influenced by work related or household related activities and problems arising from intra household relationships and these manifestations in turn have an impact on work, intra household relationships, and development of the members of the household.

9.2 Mental Distress and Well-being

Two standard measure of mental health and well-being were used in this study.

1. Goldberg's General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and
2. The Subjective Well-being Inventory (SUBI), the WHO Instrument developed by Helm and Nagpal,
were administered to all the women and men covered in the samples of the Phase II study.

The questionnaires which are standard instruments in the measurement of mental health and well-being were introduced to the survey by the ISST.

The measure of mental distress was effected through a 12 item version of the GHQ. Each of the 12 questions has four options and scoring is on a bimodal scale for each question, yielding scores of 0, 0, 1, 1 based on the options. Hence the total scores which is the sum of the scores of the 12 questions range from 0 to 12 for each

respondent. Scores of two and above are considered to be suggestive of mental distress.

The subjective well being inventory comprise 9 questions, being divided into three groups of three questions each, the group scores being measures of three factors

- (i) General well being (positive effects)
- (ii) Expectations - Achievements, Congruence and
- (iii) Confidence in coping

Scoring is on a three point scale of one, two, three for each question, lower scores being indicative of greater well-being.

The total scores for each group of three questions will range from three to nine, and the total score for the 9 questions will range from nine to twenty seven.

A total score of 16 and above is considered to indicate a status of low well-being.

The persons interviewed in the Phase II study were sub-samples of women workers in the Phase I study chosen in selected locations from each of six categories of the textile industry, and a maximum of two other women and one man each from the household of the women textile workers' households.

Though all the women and men were administered the two questionnaires, all had not responded to every question in both questionnaires. Hence only those who had provided answers to the complete sets of questions in both questionnaires have been considered for this analysis. The distribution of such persons to shown in Table 9.1

The women workers in the textile industry have been classified according to their current economic activity status and consequently, the retrenched handloom workers as a group, and a few workers who had moved out of the textile industry have been included under women engaged in economic activity outside the textile industry or not engaged in any economic activity.

The percentage distribution of the responses to each of the questions in the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), by the options offered for each questions are set out in Tables 9.2 (a) – 9.2(f) providing information separately in respect of women and men classified by the work status.

Similar information in respect of the questions in the Subjective Well -being Inventory (SUBI) are given in Table 9.3(a) – 9.3 (f)

It is observed that generally the majority of women and men in all groups had for most of the questions recorded the options in the middle of the range; 2nd or 3rd options in the GHQ and option 2 in the SUBI. A notable exception, however, was in response to the question, 'thinking of yourself as a worthless person' in the GHQ where the highest percentage in almost all subgroups were recorded as option 1, 'not at all' . The pattern of responses to individual questions did not lend itself to draw any definite conclusion regarding the influence of each question on the composite measures through the GHQ and SUBI.

Mental Distress

Based on the total scores of the individual in the GHQ an indicator of prevalence of mental distress among subgroups were computed.

The indicator was defined as the percentage of respondents with total score of two and above.

The prevalence of mental distress among sub-groups of men and women in each group classified by their work status is given in Table 9.4. The retrenched workers in all three locations have been treated as one group for this purpose.

The prevalence rates indicate that

- Around half (46.9%) of the population studied had indication of mental distress.
- Generally women had a higher level of mental distress (50.8%) than men (37.4%). This situation was also reflected in 6 of the 10 locations/groups studied.
- Persons who were not employed were more prone (63.6%) to mental distress than those who were employed (38.8%).

In all except two locations of the groups of households studied, the level of mental distress among those not employed was higher than the employed.

- Among women, those who were not employed experienced a higher level of mental distress (63.4%) than those who were employed (43.0%).
- Among men too, the not employed experienced higher levels of mental distress compared to the employed (65% vs 31%).

It may be mentioned that the population of the sub classes varied widely and hence variations between sub groups may not be very representative.

The X^2 tests of independence of sex/work status and mental distress indicated that

- ◆ Mental Distress differentiated by sex was significant ($p < 5\%$)
- ◆ Mental Distress differentiated by work status was significant ($p < 1\%$)
- ◆ Mental Distress differentiated by work status among women was significant ($p < 1\%$)
- ◆ Mental Distress differentiated by work status among men was significant ($p < 1\%$)
- ◆ Mental Distress differentiated by Textile Industry workers and other workers among women was not significant.

Mental Well-being

The total score of each respondent will vary from 9 to 27. Based on a cut off point of 16, an indicator of low well being in a person is defined as the percentage of persons with score of 16 and above, in the group. The indicators of 'low well being' among sub-groups is given in Table 9.5. The measures indicated a poor level of well-being among the respondents, perhaps a reflection of the poverty and low levels of living of the workers' households.

- Around 88% of all respondents indicated low levels of well-being.
- There was hardly any difference among women and men reporting low levels of mental well-being; 88.6% and 86.9% respectively.
- Among the women as well as the men the not employed had lower levels of well-being than the employed. 91.1%, 87.1% respectively among women and 95% and 85.1% respectively among men

None of the X^2 tests of independence of Mental Well-being on Sex and work status were found to be significant.

Multivariate Analysis of Mental Distress and Subjective Well-being Inventory

Regressions of GHQ and the SUBI were run on 5 variables; Sex, Marital Status, Education Status, Working Status and Age. (all personal characteristics)

The acceptance of the suggested household characteristics as explanatory variables in the regression in the context of our study was debated. Data available on these factors were found to be inadequate and not meaningful in our context.

Almost all textile workers in the Free Trade Zone and in some factories, not in the Free Trade Zone were young unmarried females who had migrated from their homes in the rural areas to live and work in the area in which the factories were located. They did not participate in the household work or in decision making, or share the income of their household in their villages and therefore not subject to the same stimuli for stress or low sense of mental well-being as the other members of their households who were interviewed in the study. They contributed a share of their income to their own households in the village and were living in a completely different environment subject to a different set of conditions that could contribute to 'stress' or a sense of 'Well-being'.

All other categories lived in their home in the traditional villages and were part and parcel of their households settled in the area over generations.

In this context it was decided to exclude the household characteristics.

Our study included only persons who were aged 18 years and above.

The results of the regression are given in Table 9.6

The findings are as follow

- Women have a significantly high level of mental distress than men; also women have a lower level of well-being than men.
- As age increases the level of mental distress increases significantly, and the level of well-being is reduced though not significantly.
- Marriage reduces mental distress levels and also significantly increases the level of well-being.
- Education above the secondary level significantly reduces mental distress and also increases sense of well-being.
- Persons who are not working have significantly higher levels of stress and they also have significant lower sense of well-being.

These findings are in agreement with the results of the X^2 test of independence done with mental distress/well-being and sex/work status that have been reported earlier.

Table 9.1
Distribution of Respondents to complete sets of questions in both GHQ and SUBI Questionnaires by Current Economic Status

	Women				Men		
	Textile Workers	Other Workers	Not Employed	Total	Employed	Not Employed	Total
FTZ -							
Katunayake	16	13	14	43	11	4	15
Biyagama	13	14	12	39	11	3	14
Koggala	8	7	5	20	6	2	8
Rural Factory -							
Kurunegala	8	5	6	19	2		2
Kalutara	10	7	10	27	9	2	11
Malwatte	9	3	5	17	9	1	10
Home based workers -							
Maharagama	11	6	1	18	10	1	11
Textile Factory -							
Kabool Lanka	10	2	9	21	10	1	11
Handloom Centre -							
Kurunegala	11	2	10	23	9	1	10
Retrenched workers -							
Anuradhapura		3	15	18	1	2	3
Galle		2	3	5	4	1	5
Matara		3	11	14	5	2	7
Total	96	67	101	264	87	20	107

Table 9.2a (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	FTZ - Katunayake					FTZ - Biyagama					FTZ - Koggala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N=16	N=13	N=14	N=11	N=4	N=13	N=14	N=12	N=11	N=3	N=8	N=7	N=5	N=6	N=2
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities															
- more so than usual	6.3	7.7	7.1	18.2		7.7			36.4						
- same as usual	43.8	53.8	42.9	52.5	25.0	76.9	42.9	33.3	27.3		87.5	71.4	80.0	66.7	100
- less able than usual	43.8	23.1	42.9	27.3	75.0	15.4	57.1	66.7	36.4	100	12.5	28.6	20.0	33.3	
- much less than usual	6.3	15.4	7.1												
Been unable to face up to your problems															
- more so than usual				9.1		7.7			9.1					33.3	
- same as usual	68.8	76.9	64.3	72.7	50.0	92.3	85.7	66.7	72.7	66.7	87.5	85.7	100	50.0	100
- less able than usual	25.0	15.4	21.4	18.2	50.0		14.3	33.3	88.2	33.3	12.5	14.3		66.7	
- much less able	6.3	7.7	14.3												
Been feeling unhappy and depressed															
- not at all		7.7		9.1		15.4		8.3	18.2				20.0	16.7	
- no more than usual	50.0	46.2	50.0	72.7		69.2	42.9	58.3	54.5	33.3	75.0	71.4	60.0	50.0	100
- rather more than usual	31.3	38.5	42.9	18.2	100	15.4	50.0	33.3	18.2	66.7	25.0	28.6	20.0	33.3	
- much more than usual	18.8	7.7	7.1				7.1		9.1						

Table 9.2b
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing														
- better than usual			33.3	50.0	10.0					100	100	60.0	66.7	
- same as usual	62.5	60.0	50.0	50.0	80.0	57.1	40.0	88.9	50.0			20.0	33.3	
- less than usual	37.5	40.0	16.7		10.0	42.9	40.0	11.1	50.0			20.0		100
- much less than usual							20.0							
Lost much sleep over worry														
- not at all					10.0	14.3			50.0	11.1			11.1	
- no more than usual	50.0	40.0	100	100	80.0	57.1	40.0	66.7		88.9	100	80.0	88.9	100
- rather more than usual	50.0	60.0				28.6	40.0	22.2	50.0			20.0		
- much more than usual					10.0		20.0	11.1						
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things														
- more than usual	37.5	20.0	16.7	50.0	10.0					88.9	100	60.0	88.9	
- same as usual	37.5	60.0	83.3	50.0	80.0	85.7	40.0	77.8	50.0	11.1		20.0	11.1	100
- less useful than usual	25.0	20.0			10.0	14.3	50.0	22.2	50.0			20.0		
- much less than useful							10.0							

Table 9.2b (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Felt capable about making decisions about things														
- more than usual	62.5	60.0	16.7	50.0						100	100	60.0	100	
- same as usual	37.5	40.0	83.3	50.0	90.0	85.7	80.0	100	50.0			40.0		100
- less capable than usual					10.0	14.3	20.0		50.0					
Felt constantly under strain														
- not at all			16.7							22.2		20.0	22.2	
- no more than usual	50.0	40.0	50.0	100	70.0	85.7	40.0	100	50.0	55.6	33.3		66.7	
- rather more than usual	37.5	60.0	33.3		10.0	14.3	40.0			22.2	66.7	80.0		100
- much more than usual	12.5				20.0		20.0		50.0				11.1	
Felt that you could not overcome your difficulties														
- not at all	37.5	60.0	33.3	50.0	10.0			11.1		55.6	66.7	40.0	55.6	
- no more than usual	25.0		66.7	50.0	70.0	71.4	30.0	88.9		33.3	33.3	20.0	22.2	100
- rather more than usual	37.5	40.0			20.0	28.6	40.0		100	11.1		40.0	22.2	
- much more than usual							30.0							

Table 9.2b (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities														
- more so than usual	25.0	20.0	33.3	50.0				22.2		22.2	66.7	20.0	22.2	
- same as usual	37.5	40.0	16.7	50.0	80.0	85.7	20.0	77.8	50.0	55.6		20.0	66.7	100
- less so than usual	25.0	40.0	50.0		20.0	14.3	60.0		50.0	22.2	33.3	60.0	11.1	
- much less than usual	12.5						20.0							
Been unable to face up to your problems														
- more so than usual	37.5		33.3	50.0						55.6	66.7	40.0	22.2	
- same as usual	37.5	60.0	50.0	50.0	90.0	85.7	20.0	100	50.0	44.4	33.3	60.0	77.8	100
- less able than usual	12.5	40.0	16.7		10.0	14.3	60.0		50.0					
- much less able	12.5						20.0							
Been feeling unhappy and depressed														
- not at all								11.1						11.1
- no more than usual	62.5	60.0	66.7	100	70.0	71.4	20.0	77.8	50.0	100	66.7	80.0	77.8	
- rather more than usual	25.0	20.0	33.3		30.0	14.3	60.0	11.1	50.0		33.3	20.0	11.1	100
- much more than usual	12.5	20.0				14.3	20.0							

Table 9.2b (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Been losing confidence in yourself														
- not at all					20.0	14.3		11.1		55.6	66.7	20.0	44.4	
- no more than usual	75.0	80.0	100	100	70.0	71.4	20.0	66.7	50.0	44.4	33.3	60.0	55.6	100
- rather more than usual	12.5	20.0			10.0	14.3	60.0	22.2	50.0			20.0		
- much more than usual	12.5						20.0							
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person														
- not at all	75.0	100	83.3	100	40.0	28.6	30.0	22.2		22.2	33.3	60.0	33.3	
- no more than usual	25.0		16.7		50.0	57.1	30.0	66.7	50.0	66.7	66.7	40.0	55.6	100
- rather more than usual					10.0	14.3	20.0	11.1	50.0	11.1			11.1	
- much more than usual							20.0							
Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered														
- more so than usual	25.0		16.7	50.0				11.1		11.1	33.3	20.0	22.2	
- same as usual	37.5	60.0	66.7	50.0	80.0	85.7	20.0	77.8	50.0	66.7	66.7	60.0	66.7	100
- less so than usual	37.5	20.0	16.7		20.0	14.3	60.0	11.1	50.0	11.1		20.0	11.1	
- much less than usual		20.0					20.0			11.1				

Table 9.2 c
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Home based workers - Maharagama				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 6	N = 1	N = 10	N = 1
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing					
- better than usual	9.1				
- same as usual	81.8	100		100	
- less than usual					100
- much less than usual	9.1		100		
Lost much sleep over worry					
- no more than usual	100	83.3	100	90.0	
- rather more than usual		16.7		10.0	100
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things					
- more than usual	9.1				
- same as usual	72.7	100		90.0	
- less useful than usual	18.2			10.0	100
- much less useful			100		
Felt capable about making decisions about things					
- more than usual				10.0	
- same as usual	100	100		90.0	
- less capable than usual			100		100
Felt constantly under strain					
- not at all	27.3	33.3		30.0	
- no more than usual	54.5	16.7	100	60.0	
- rather more than usual	18.2	50.0		10.0	100
Felt that you could not overcome your difficulties					
- not at all	45.5	50.0	100	70.0	
- no more than usual	45.5	50.0		20.0	
- rather more than usual	9.1			10.0	100
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities					
- more so than usual				10.0	
- same as usual	45.5	50.0	100	80.0	
- less able than usual	54.5	50.0		10.0	100
Been unable to face up to your problems					
- more so than usual	9.1			20.0	
- same as usual	90.9	83.3	100	80.0	100
- much less able		16.7			
Been feeling unhappy and depressed					
- not at all	18.2	16.7		50.0	
- no more than usual	45.5	33.3	100	40.0	100
- rather more than usual	36.4	33.3		10.0	
- much more than usual		16.7			

Table 9.2 c (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Home based workers - Maharagama				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 6	N = 1	N = 10	N = 1
Been losing confidence in yourself					
- not at all	18.2	16.7	100	40.0	
- no more than usual	72.7	66.7		50.0	100
- rather more than usual	9.1	16.7		10.0	
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person					
- not at all	63.6	83.3	100	80.0	
- no more than usual	27.3	16.7		20.0	
- rather more than usual	9.1				100
Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered					
- more so than usual	9.1	16.7			
- same as usual	54.5	50.0	100	90.0	
- less so than usual	27.3	33.3		10.0	100
- much less than usual	9.1				

Table 9.2 d
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Textile Factory - Kabool Lanka				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 10	N = 2	N = 9	N = 10	N = 1
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing - better than usual - same as usual - less than usual	30.0 70.0	100	11.1 66.7 22.2	20.0 80.0	100
Lost much sleep over worry - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	20.0 80.0	100	77.8 22.2	70.0 30.0	100
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things - more than usual - same as usual - less useful than usual - much less useful	40.0 60.0	100	11.1 44.4 44.4	40.0 40.0 20.0	100
Felt capable about making decisions about things - more than usual - same as usual - less capable than usual	40.0 60.0	100	100	50.0 50.0	100
Felt constantly under strain - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual - much more than usual	20.0 50.0 30.0	100	33.3 55.6 11.1	90.0 10.0	100
Felt that you could not overcome your difficulties - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	50.0 40.0 10.0	50.0 50.0	66.7 11.1 22.2	50.0 50.0	100
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities - more so than usual - same as usual - less so than usual - much less than usual	10.0 60.0 30.0	50.0 50.0	44.4 55.6	30.0 60.0 10.0	100
Been unable to face up to your problems - more so than usual - same as usual - less able than usual	30.0 70.0	100	88.9 11.1	20.0 60.0 20.0	100

Table 9.2 d (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Textile Factory - Kabool Lanka				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 10	N = 2	N = 9	N = 10	N = 1
Been feeling unhappy and depressed					
- not at all	10.0				
- no more than usual	70.0	50.0	44.4	70.0	
- rather more than usual	20.0	50.0	55.6	30.0	
- much more than usual					100
Been losing confidence in yourself					
- not at all	50.0	50.0	66.7	60.0	
- no more than usual	40.0	50.0	11.1	30.0	
- rather more than usual	10.0		22.2	10.0	100
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person					
- not at all	90.0		77.8	80.0	100
- no more than usual	10.0	100	22.2	20.0	
Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered					
- more so than usual	20.0		11.1	20.0	
- same as usual	70.0	100	55.6	60.0	100
- less so than usual	10.0		33.3	20.0	

Table 9.2 e
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Handloom Centre - Kurunegala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 2	N = 10	N = 9	N = 1
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing - better than usual - same as usual - less than usual - much less than usual	36.4 54.5 9.1	50.0 50.0	40.0 50.0 10.0	66.7 33.3	100
Lost much sleep over worry - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	100	100	10.0 70.0 20.0	11.1 88.9	100
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things - more than usual - same as usual - less useful than usual - much less useful	63.6 27.3 9.1	50.0 50.0	20.0 50.0 30.0	66.7 33.3	100
Felt capable about making decisions about things - more than usual - same as usual - less capable than usual	45.5 45.5 9.1	50.0 50.0	40.0 40.0 20.0	66.7 33.3	100
Felt constantly under strain - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual - much more than usual	18.2 72.7 9.1	100	30.0 60.0 10.0	11.1 88.9	100
Felt that you could not overcome your difficulties - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	72.7 27.3	50.0 50.0	80.0 10.0 10.0	88.9 11.1	100
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities - more so than usual - same as usual - less so than usual - much less than usual	9.1 72.7 18.2	100	70.0 20.0 10.0	11.1 88.9	100
Been unable to face up to your problems - more so than usual - same as usual - much less able	36.4 63.6	100	90.0 10.0	33.3 66.7	100

Table 9.2 e (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Handloom Centre - Kurunegala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 2	N = 10	N = 9	N = 1
Been feeling unhappy and depressed - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	90.9 9.1	100	10.0 80.0 10.0	11.1 88.9	100
Been losing confidence in yourself - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	9.1 27.3 63.6	50.0 50.0	30.0 40.0 30.0	66.7 33.3	100
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	63.6 27.3 9.1	100	70.0 30.0	100	100
Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered - more so than usual - same as usual - less so than usual - much less than usual	9.1 81.8 9.1	100	20.0 60.0 10.0 10.0	11.1 88.9	100

Table 9.2 f
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Retrenched workers - Anuradhapura				Retrenched workers - Galle				Retrenched workers - Matara			
	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 3	N = 15	N = 1	N = 2	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 1	N = 3	N = 11	N = 5	N = 2
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing												
- better than usual	33.3	26.7		50.0						9.1		
- same as usual	33.3	46.7	100		100	66.7	75.0	100	66.7	72.7	100	100
- less than usual	33.3	20.0		50.0		33.3	25.0		33.3			
- much less than usual		6.7								18.2		
Lost much sleep over worry												
- not at all	33.3	26.7		50.0			25.0				20.0	
- no more than usual	66.7	33.3	100	50.0	100	100	75.0	100	100	72.7	40.0	50.0
- rather more than usual		40.0								18.2	40.0	
- much more than usual										9.1		50.0
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things												
- more than usual	33.3	13.3					25.0					
- same as usual	66.7	60.0	100	50.0	100	100	75.0	100	100	72.7	60.0	50.0
- less useful than usual		26.7		50.0						27.3	20.0	50.0
- much less usual											20.0	
Felt capable about making decisions about things												
- more than usual		13.3		50.0			25.0			9.1		
- same as usual	100	73.3	100	50.0	100	100	75.0	100	100	81.8	60.0	100
- less capable than usual		13.3								9.1	40.0	
Felt constantly under strain												
- not at all	33.3	26.7		50.0							20.0	
- no more than usual	66.7	33.3	100	50.0	100	100	50.0	100	66.7	63.6	20.0	
- rather more than usual		33.3					50.0		33.3	27.3	40.0	100
- much more than usual		6.7								9.1	20.0	

Table 9.2 f (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Retrenched workers - Anuradhapura				Retrenched workers - Galle				Retrenched workers - Matara			
	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 3	N = 15	N = 1	N = 2	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 1	N = 3	N = 11	N = 5	N = 2
Felt that you could not overcome your difficulties												
- not at all	66.7	33.3		50.0		33.3	25.0		33.3	18.2		
- no more than usual		40.0	100	50.0	100	33.3	50.0	100	66.7	72.7	60.0	100
- rather more than usual	33.3	20.0				33.3					20.0	
- much more than usual		6.7					25.0			9.1	20.0	
Been unable to enjoy normal day to day activities												
- more so than usual	33.3	13.3		50.0			25.0					
- same as usual	66.7	33.3	100	50.0	100	100	50.0	100	66.7	54.5	40.0	50.0
- less so than usual		40.0		50.0			50.0		33.3	36.4	40.0	50.0
- much less than usual		13.3					25.0			9.1	20.0	
Been unable to face up to your problems												
- more so than usual		6.7		50.0								
- same as usual	66.7	60.0	100	50.0	50.0	100	75.0	100	100	80.0	80.0	50.0
- less able than usual	33.3	33.3			50.0					10.0	20.0	50.0
- much less able							25.0			10.0		
Been feeling unhappy and depressed												
- not at all	66.7	13.3			50.0	33.3						
- no more than usual	33.3	33.3	100	100	50.0	33.3	50.0	100	66.7	54.5	40.0	
- rather more than usual		46.7				33.3	25.0		33.3	45.5	60.0	100
- much more than usual		6.7					25.0					

Table 9.2 f (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the GHQ
(% distribution by responses)

	Retrenched workers - Anuradhapura				Retrenched workers - Galle				Retrenched workers - Matara			
	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 3	N = 15	N = 1	N = 2	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 1	N = 3	N = 11	N = 5	N = 2
Been losing confidence in yourself - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual - much more than usual	66.7 33.3	13.3 26.7 53.3 6.7	100	50.0 50.0	100	33.3 66.7	25.0 75.0	100	100	54.5 36.4 9.1	60.0 40.0	50.0 50.0
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person - not at all - no more than usual - rather more than usual	100	60.0 20.0 20.0	100	50.0 50.0	50.0 50.0	33.3 33.3 33.3	50.0 25.0 25.0	100	66.7 33.3	27.3 54.5 18.2	40.0 20.0 40.0	50.0 50.0 50.0
Been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered - more so than usual - same as usual - less so than usual - much less than usual	33.3 66.7	13.3 53.3 20.0 13.3	100	100	100	66.7 33.3	75.0 25.0	100	66.7 33.3	63.6 36.4	40.0 60.0	50.0 50.0

Table 9.3a
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	FTZ - Katunayake					FTZ - Biyagama					FTZ - Koggala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 16	N = 13	N = 14	N = 11	N = 4	N = 13	N = 14	N = 12	N = 11	N = 3	N = 8	N = 7	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2
Do you feel your life is interesting?															
- To some extent	81.3	84.6	92.9	100	100	76.9	50.0	25.0	72.7	66.7	87.5	85.7	100	83.3	100
- Not so much	18.8	15.4	7.1			23.1	50.0	75.0	27.3	33.3	12.5	14.3		16.7	
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is:															
- Very happy	6.3	7.7									12.5				
- Quite happy	25.0	53.8	50.0	36.4	50.0	61.5	42.9	41.7	63.6	66.7	75.0	85.7	80.0	66.7	100
- Not so happy	68.8	38.5	50.0	63.6	50.0	38.5	57.1	58.3	36.4	33.3	12.5	14.3	20.0	33.3	
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years?															
- Very happy		7.7									12.5			16.7	
- Quite happy	43.8	46.2	50.0	45.5	50.0	53.8	35.7	33.3	66.6	66.7	75.0	71.4	60.0		100
- Not so happy	56.3	46.2	50.0	54.5	50.0	46.2	64.3	66.7	36.4	33.3	12.5	28.6	40.0	83.3	

Table 9.3a (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	FTZ - Katunayake					FTZ - Biyagama					FTZ - Koggala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N =16	N =13	N =14	N =11	N =4	N =13	N =14	N =12	N =11	N =3	N =8	N =7	N =5	N =6	N =2
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected?															
- Very much											12.5				
- To some extent	56.3	61.5	42.9	72.7	75.0	69.2	35.7	50.0	72.7	66.7	12.5	42.9	40.0	83.3	
- Not so much	43.8	38.5	57.1	27.3	25.0	30.8	64.3	50.0	27.3	33.3	75.0	57.1	60.0	16.7	100
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead?															
- Quite good	75.0	76.9	57.1	72.7	25.0	76.9	50.0	58.3	63.6	66.7	25.0	42.9	60.0	66.7	50.0
- Not so good	25.0	23.1	42.9	27.3	75.0	23.1	50.0	41.7	36.4	33.3	75.0	57.1	40.0	33.3	50.0
Do you normally accomplish what you want to?															
- Most of the time			7.1											16.7	
- Sometimes	50.0	53.8	42.9	72.7	50.0	53.8	35.7	41.7	54.5	66.7	25.0	42.9	20.0	66.7	50.0
- Hardly ever	50.0	46.2	50.0	27.3	50.0	46.2	64.3	58.3	45.5	33.3	75.0	57.1	80.0	66.7	50.0

Table 9.3a (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	FTZ - Katunayake					FTZ - Biyagama					FTZ - Koggala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N =16	N =13	N =14	N =11	N =4	N =13	N =14	N =12	N =11	N =3	N =8	N =7	N =5	N =6	N =2
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected?															
- Most of the time	25.0	15.4	28.6	27.3	25.0	15.4									
- Sometimes	75.0	84.6	42.9	72.7	75.0	84.6	85.7	75.0	81.8	100	87.5	85.7	100	83.3	100
- Hardly ever			28.6				14.3	25.0	18.2		12.5	14.3		16.7	
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?															
- Very much	12.5		7.1	9.1		15.4									
- To some extent	87.5	100	85.7	81.8	100	84.6	92.9	83.3	100	100	87.5	85.7	100	83.3	100
- Not so much			7.1	9.1			7.1	16.7			12.5	14.3		16.7	
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future?															
- Very much	18.8		7.1	18.2	25.0						12.5	14.3			
- To some extent	68.8	92.3	78.6	81.8	75.0	76.9	50.0	58.3	63.6	66.7	75.0	71.4	100	83.3	100
- Not so much	12.5	7.7	14.3			23.1	50.0	41.7	36.4	33.3	12.5	14.3		16.7	

Table 9.3b
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Do you feel your life is interesting?														
- Very much	12.5				40.0			22.2						
- To some extent	37.5	40.0	83.3	100	60.0	85.7	70.0	77.8	50.0	88.9	66.7	60.0	100	100
- Not so much	50.0	60.0	16.7			14.3	30.0		50.0	11.1	33.3	40.0		
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is:														
- Very happy	12.5		16.7		20.0			11.1	50.0	33.3	33.3	20.0	55.6	100
- Quite happy	50.0	60.0	66.7	100	80.0	85.7	70.0	88.9		33.3	33.3	20.0	11.1	
- Not so happy	37.5	40.0	16.7			14.3	30.0		50.0	33.3	33.3	60.0	33.3	
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years?														
- Very happy								11.1	50.0	44.4	33.3		66.7	100
- Quite happy	50.0	40.0	66.7	100	100	85.7	70.0	88.9		22.2	33.3	20.0	11.1	
- Not so happy	50.0	60.0	33.3			14.3	30.0		50.0	33.3	33.3	80.0	22.2	

Table 9.3b (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected?														
- Very much	12.5				10.0			22.2		11.1			11.1	
- To some extent	25.0	40.0	83.3		90.0	85.7	80.0	77.8	50.0	55.6	100	60.0	88.9	100
- Not so much	62.5	60.0	16.7	100		14.3	20.0		50.0	33.3		40.0		
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead?														
- Very good	12.5				10.0			22.2		11.1			11.1	
- Quite good	25.0	20.0	66.7		80.0	85.7	80.0	77.8	100	55.6	66.7	60.0	77.8	100
- Not so good	62.5	80.0	33.3	100	10.0	14.3	20.0			33.3	33.3	40.0	11.1	
Do you normally accomplish what you want to?														
- Most of the time	12.5				10.0			11.1		11.1			22.2	
- Sometimes					50.0	71.4	50.0	88.9	50.0	66.7	100	60.0	66.7	100
- Hardly ever	87.5	100	100	100	40.0	28.6	50.0		50.0	22.2		40.0	11.1	

Table 9.3b (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Rural Factory - Kurunegala				Rural Factory - Kalutara					Rural Factory - Malwatte				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 8	N = 5	N = 6	N = 2	N = 10	N = 7	N = 10	N = 9	N = 2	N = 9	N = 3	N = 5	N = 9	N = 1
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected?														
- Most of the time	37.5		16.7		10.0			33.3		33.3	66.7	20.0	66.7	
- Sometimes	62.5	100	83.3	100	90.0	100	80.0	66.7	100	66.7	33.3	60.0	33.3	100
- Hardly ever							20.0					20.0		
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?														
- Very much	12.5							22.2		22.2	33.3		55.6	
- To some extent	87.5	80.0	100	100	100	100	70.0	77.8	100	77.8	66.7	100	44.4	100
- Not so much		20.0					30.0							
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future?														
- Very much	25.0		50.0	50.0	20.0		10.0	22.2		44.4	66.7		44.4	
- To some extent	50.0	60.0	16.7	50.0	80.0	100	70.0	77.8	100	55.6	33.3	100	55.6	100
- Not so much	25.0	40.0	33.3				20.0							

Table 9.3c
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Home based workers - Maharagama				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 6	N = 1	N = 10	N = 1
Do you feel your life is interesting? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	9.1 54.5 36.4	16.7 33.3 50.0	100	90.0 10.0	100
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is: - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	9.1 45.5 45.5	66.7 33.3	100	70.0 30.0	100
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years? - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	9.1 36.4 54.5	50.0 50.0	100	10.0 70.0 20.0	100
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	9.1 45.5 45.5	83.3 16.7	100	70.0 30.0	100
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead? - Very good - Quite good - Not so good	9.1 45.5 45.5	83.3 16.7	100	80.0 20.0	100
Do you normally accomplish what you want to? - Most of the time - Sometimes - Hardly ever	18.2 45.5 36.4	33.3 33.3 33.3	100	80.0 20.0	100
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected? - Most of the time - Sometimes	63.6 36.4	83.3 16.7	100	40.0 60.0	100
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? - very much - to some extent	36.4 63.6	33.3 66.7	100	20.0 80.0	100
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	36.4 36.4 27.3	33.3 66.7	100	20.0 80.0	100

Table 9.3d
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Textile Factory - Kabool Lanka				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 10	N = 2	N = 9	N = 10	N = 1
Do you feel your life is interesting? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	90.0 10.0	50.0 50.0	77.8 22.2	10.0 70.0 20.0	100
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is: - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	70.0 30.0	100	44.4 55.6	10.0 40.0 50.0	100
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years? - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	10.0 70.0 20.0	50.0 50.0	33.3 66.7	60.0 40.0	100
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	20.0 40.0 40.0	100	66.7 33.3	10.0 70.0 20.0	100
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead? - Very good - Quite good - Not so good	70.0 30.0	50.0 50.0	11.1 77.8 11.1	10.0 50.0 40.0	100
Do you normally accomplish what you want to? - Most of the time - Sometimes - Hardly ever	20.0 30.0 50.0	100	77.8 22.2	10.0 70.0 20.0	100
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected? - Most of the time - Sometimes - Hardly ever	40.0 60.0	50.0 50.0	88.9 11.1	30.0 70.0	100
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? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	40.0 60.0	100	88.9 11.1	40.0 50.0 10.0	100
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	40.0 60.0	100	100	40.0 40.0 20.0	100

Table 9.3 e
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Handloom Centre - Kurunegala				
	Women Textile Workers	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 11	N = 2	N = 10	N = 9	N = 1
Do you feel your life is interesting? - Very much - To some extent	45.5 54.5	100	10.0 90.0	11.1 88.9	100
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is: - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	27.3 63.6 9.1	50.0 50.0	20.0 60.0 20.0	100	100
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years? - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	18.2 63.6 18.2	50.0 50.0	10.0 50.0 40.0	100	100
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	9.1 81.8 9.1	100	10.0 70.0 20.0	77.8 22.2	100
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead? - Very good - Quite good - Not so good	9.1 81.8 9.1	100	10.0 60.0 30.0	77.8 22.2	100
Do you normally accomplish what you want to? - Most of the time - Sometimes	45.5 54.5	100	40.0 60.0	66.7 33.3	100
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected? - Most of the time - Sometimes	81.8 18.2	100	60.0 40.0	100	100
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? - Very much - To some extent	27.3 72.7	100	50.0 50.0	44.4 55.6	100
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	27.3 72.7	100	40.0 40.0 20.0	33.3 66.7	100

Table 9.3 f
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Retrenched workers - Anuradhapura				Retrenched workers - Galle				Retrenched workers - Matara			
	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N =3	N =15	N =1	N =2	N =2	N =3	N =4	N =1	N =3	N =11	N =5	N =2
Do you feel your life is interesting? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	33.3 33.3 33.3	6.7 66.7 26.7	100	50.0 50.0	100	33.3 66.7	25.0 75.0	100	66.7 33.3	27.3 36.4 36.4	80.0 20.0	50.0 50.0
Compared with the past, do you feel your present life is: - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	66.7 33.3	6.7 53.3 40.0	100	50.0 50.0	100	66.7 33.3	100	100	66.7 33.3	54.5 45.5	60.0 40.0	50.0 50.0
On the whole, how happy are you with the kind of things you have been doing in recent years? - Very happy - Quite happy - Not so happy	100	13.3 46.7 40.0	100	50.0 50.0	50.0 50.0	66.7 33.3	75.0 25.0	100	66.7 33.3	54.5 45.5	60.0 40.0	100
Do you think you have achieved the standard of living and the social status that you had expected? - Very much - To some extent - Not so much	100	26.7 40.0 33.3	100	100	100	33.3 66.7	25.0 75.0	100	100	9.1 54.5 36.4	60.0 40.0	100
How do you feel about the extent to which you have achieved success and are getting ahead? - Very good - Quite good - Not so good	100	13.3 40.0 46.7	100	50.0 50.0	100	66.7 33.3	25.0 75.0	100	66.7 33.3	72.7 27.3	60.0 40.0	50.0 50.0

Table 9.3 f (Contd.)
Responses to questions in the SUBI
(% distribution by responses)

	Retrenched workers - Anuradhapura				Retrenched workers - Galle				Retrenched workers - Matara			
	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed	Women Other Workers	Women Not Employed	Men Employed	Men Not Employed
	N = 3	N = 15	N = 1	N = 2	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 1	N = 3	N = 11	N = 5	N = 2
Do you normally accomplish what you want to?												
- Most of the time	33.3	13.3			50.0							
- Sometimes	66.7	46.7			50.0	66.7	50.0			63.6	40.0	100
- Hardly ever		40.0	100	100		33.3	50.0	100	100	36.4	60.0	
Do you feel you can manage situations even when they do not turn out as expected?												
- Most of the time	33.3	46.7			50.0		25.0			9.1		
- Sometimes	33.3	46.7	100	100	50.0	100	50.0	100	100	81.8	100	100
- Hardly ever	33.3	6.7					25.0			9.1		
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?												
- Very much		26.7									20.0	
- To some extent	100	66.7	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	80.0	100
- Not so much		6.7										
The way things are going now, do you feel confident in coping with the future?												
- Very much	33.3	46.7			50.0		25.0		33.3		20.0	50.0
- To some extent	66.7	33.3	100	50.0	50.0	100	25.0	100	33.3	72.7	80.0	50.0
- Not so much		20.0		50.0			50.0		33.3	27.3		

Table 9.4
Prevalence of Stress
 (% of persons with GHQ scores of 2 and above)

Category and location	Women			Men			Men and Women		
	Employed	Not Employed	Total	Employed	Not employed	Total	Employed	Not Employed	Total
FTZ - Katunayake	55.2 N = 29	71.4 N = 14	60.5 N = 43	36.4 N = 11	75.0 N = 4	46.7 N = 15	50.0 N = 40	72.2 N = 18	56.9 N = 58
Biyagama	48.2 N = 27	75.0 N = 12	56.4 N = 39	54.5 N = 11	100 N = 3	64.3 N = 14	50.0 N = 38	80.0 N = 15	58.5 N = 53
Koggala	20.0 N = 15	40.0 N = 5	25.0 N = 20	50.0 N = 6	0 N = 2	37.5 N = 8	40.0 N = 21	28.6 N = 7	28.6 N = 28
Rural Factory - Kurunegala	53.8 N = 13	33.3 N = 6	47.4 N = 19	0 N = 2	N = 0	0 N = 2	46.7 N = 15	33.3 N = 6	42.9 N = 21
Kalutara	35.3 N = 17	80.0 N = 10	51.8 N = 27	22.2 N = 9	50.0 N = 2	27.3 N = 11	30.8 N = 26	75.0 N = 12	44.7 N = 38
Malwatte	25.0 N = 12	80.0 N = 5	41.2 N = 17	11.1 N = 9	100 N = 1	20.0 N = 10	19.1 N = 21	83.3 N = 6	33.3 N = 27
Home based workers- Maharagama	58.8 N = 17	100 N = 1	61.1 N = 18	10.0 N = 10	100 N = 1	18.2 N = 11	48.1 N = 27	100 N = 2	44.8 N = 29
Textile Factory - Kabool Lanka	33.3 N = 12	88.9 N = 9	42.9 N = 21	40.0 N = 10	100 N = 1	45.5 N = 11	36.4 N = 32	90.0 N = 10	53.1 N = 32
Handloom Centre - Kurunegala	38.5 N = 13	30.0 N = 10	34.8 N = 23	0 N = 9	0 N = 1	0 N = 10	22.7 N = 22	27.3 N = 11	24.2 N = 33
Retrenched workers	37.5 N = 8	58.6 N = 29	54.1 N = 37	60.0 N = 10	60.0 N = 5	60.0 N = 15	50.0 N = 18	58.8 N = 34	55.8 N = 52
Total	43.0 N = 163	63.4 N = 101	50.8 N = 264	31.0 N = 87	65.0 N = 20	37.4 N = 107	38.8 N = 250	63.6 N = 121	46.9 N = 371

Table 9.5
Indication of Mental Well-Being
(% of persons with low level of well-being - scores >= 16)

Category and location	Women			Men			Men and Women		
	Employed	Not Employed	Total	Employed	Not employed	Total	Employed	Not Employed	Total
FTZ - Katunayake	96.6 N = 29	100 N = 14	97.7 N = 43	100 N = 11	100 N = 4	100 N = 15	97.5 N = 40	100 N = 18	98.3 N = 58
Biyagama	100 N = 27	100 N = 12	100 N = 39	100 N = 11	100 N = 3	100 N = 14	100 N = 38	100 N = 15	100 N = 53
Koggala	93.3 N = 15	100 N = 5	95.0 N = 20	83.3 N = 6	100 N = 2	87.5 N = 8	95.2 N = 21	100 N = 7	96.4 N = 28
Rural Factory - Kurunegala	92.3 N = 13	100 N = 6	94.7 N = 19	100 N = 2	100 N = 0	100 N = 2	93.3 N = 15	100 N = 6	95.2 N = 21
Kalutara	94.1 N = 17	100 N = 10	96.2 N = 27	77.8 N = 9	100 N = 2	81.8 N = 11	88.5 N = 26	100 N = 12	92.1 N = 38
Malwatte	66.7 N = 12	100 N = 5	76.5 N = 17	44.4 N = 9	100 N = 1	50.0 N = 10	57.1 N = 21	100 N = 6	66.7 N = 27
Home based workers- Maharagama	70.6 N = 17	100 N = 1	72.2 N = 18	90.0 N = 10	100 N = 1	90.9 N = 11	77.8 N = 27	100 N = 2	79.3 N = 29
Textile Factory – Kabool Lanka	75.0 N = 12	100 N = 9	85.6 N = 21	80.0 N = 10	100 N = 1	81.8 N = 11	77.3 N = 32	100 N = 10	84.4 N = 32
Handloom Centre – Kurunegala	69.2 N = 13	60.0 N = 10	65.2 N = 23	66.7 N = 9	100 N = 1	70.0 N = 10	68.2 N = 22	63.6 N = 11	63.6 N = 33
Retrenched workers	87.5 N = 8	82.6 N = 29	83.8 N = 37	100 N = 10	80.0 N = 5	93.3 N = 15	94.4 N = 18	82.4 N = 34	86.5 N = 52
Total	87.1 N = 163	91.1 N = 101	88.6 N = 264	85.1 N = 87	95.0 N = 20	86.9 N = 107	86.4 N = 250	91.7 N = 121	88.1 N = 371

Table 9.6
OLS Regression of Mental Distress (GHQ) and
Subjective Mental Well-Being Inventory (SUBI)

Explanatory Variables	GHQ	SUBI
Constant	-0.355 (-0.648)	18.903 (30.501)
Sex Status (Female = 1, Male = 0)	0.716** (2.032)	0.556 (1.393)
Marital Status (Ever Married = 1, Unmarried = 0)	-0.471 (-1.143)	-0.879* (-1.882)
Work Status (Not working = 1, Working = 0)	1.420*** (4.122)	0.833** (2.134)
Educational Status (GCE O/L & above = 1, Less than GCE O/L = 0)	-0.841** (-2.335)	-0.541 (-1.327)
Age of Respondent	0.06533*** (4.873)	0.01254 (0.826)
Total number of cases	371	371
Adjusted R ²	0.155	0.022
Standard Error	2.9624	3.3563
F Statistics	14.542***	2.650**

The coefficient values are given.

One, two or three asterisks against the figure indicate significance at 10%, 5% and 1% respectively.

t - statistics are given in parenthesis.

10. Case Studies

Synthesis of Case Studies

The nine case studies presented are a component of Phase 2 of the study.

The women interviewed were

- i) a woman garment worker in each of the three Export Processing Zones
- ii) a woman garment worker in each of two rural garment factories
- iii) a woman home-based worker in the garment industry in the informal sector
- iv) a woman worker in a large privatised textile powerloom factory
- v) a village based woman handloom worker
- vi) a retrenched woman textile worker

They were drawn from the sub-samples in Phase 2 of the household study.

These women represent the different sub sectors of the garment and textile industries that were affected by macro economic reforms introduced in the last two decades.

It is clear from the life stories recounted by these women that seven of them came from poverty groups of farming and fishing families and two from families with moderate resources. Those from very poor families had faced multiple hardships as they grew up. Two of them lacked adequate access to food and had only one school uniform. Despite poverty parents had been motivated to send their children to school. While many children in these families have dropped out as a consequence of lack of resources for books, clothes, footwear and transport, six of these women have succeeded in obtaining the GCE Ordinary Level certificate after ten years of education. They have been unable to proceed further as they had to obtain employment

to contribute to family survival. As seen in other studies, poverty rather than gender has limited their educational opportunities.

Economic pressures have compelled these women to seek employment as early as possible. Six of them were in fact single parents or single earners. The three workers in Export Processing Zones had sought to generate income through economic activities in the informal sector such as keeping cows and poultry, quarrying, coir work, tapping rubber, beedi wrapping and casual labour that brought them miniscule incomes without any economic stability until they had been able to obtain employment in the garment factories in the Zones as unskilled labour, helpers or machine operators. Two women had had relatively easy access to employment with the opening of 'rural garment factories' in their neighbourhood. One woman had found employment in a local textile factory. Factory employment presaged a regular income to these workers and financial stability for families as long as they were able to keep their jobs.

Their experiences indicate that whether they were employed within the Zones or outside, their labour was exploited for the profits of entrepreneurs and dispensed with arbitrarily to suit the needs of the employer. The worker in the Katunayake EPZ had started employment in a factory at the commencement of its activities. But 15 years later, some short comings in her performance led to harassment and summary dismissal, presumably as youth replaced the older labour force. According to her, other workers too had the same experience. "Employers get the maximum from employees, but for the slightest mistake they are thrown out like cattle to the butcher". The Biyagama EPZ worker found that the dust in the air in the factories brought on asthma to an extent that it incapacitated her. One of the two rural garment workers has had positive experiences and has risen from the position of helper to machine operator and then Supervisor, and aspires to

be the Production Manager in the factory. Nevertheless she points out that her salary has not increased from that of helper, another aspect of labour exploitation. The second rural garment worker has had job instability from the beginning and has been dismissed from two factories for largely unacceptable reasons. Factory workers have had clearly to cope with job insecurity, inhuman treatment, difficult targets and working conditions, minimal facilities, occupational health hazards, and in the case of the workers in Zones, poor accommodation – all aspects of employer – employee relationships in export oriented factories.

The home based worker in the cut piece sewing industry has moved after her husband's death from weaving to this industry which had flourished in this area. She has used her entrepreneurial skills to expand her business, to support her seven children, and to organise a family business venture with the collaboration with her children. She has faced the uncertainties of the market for these products with initiative and courage.

The powerloom textile worker was associated with the textile mill since its inception immediately after market liberalisation at the end of the 1970s. The privatisation of the management of the textile mill has however “demoted” her from foreman to machine operator, with its attendant work load, working conditions such as night shifts, poor economic rewards and occupational health problems.

The handloom worker in the village in the North Western Province had applied for a job in the public sector as nurse or teacher on the basis of her secondary education. But the high incidence of unemployment and in her own perceptions, the influence of an extraneous factor such as politics has frustrated her untiring efforts. She had, therefore to settle for the weaving industry which was popular in the rural sector, and after training has been

employed in the centres of the Department of Textiles and the Textile Co-operative Society in her village or in contiguous villages. All weavers were casual workers and she has therefore had no access to the benefits given to the industrial workers. Lack of demand for handloom products of village centres has reduced her income. Between weaving jobs she has been compelled to fall back on making reed tea boxes.

Perhaps the most unfortunate is the retrenched women textile worker whose job had sustained her family of five children for many years in the face of an unemployed and alcoholic husband. Her sudden loss of job as a consequence of policies to privatise or to restrict the state sector by closing down local textile factories had reduced the family to poverty and total dependence on the assistance of her in-laws. She attempts to eke out a livelihood tending her little homestead garden and awaits hopefully and naively for the re-opening of the textile factories.

None of these workers have thrived in the open economy but there is no doubt that their economic activities have contributed to family survival and maintenance.

Family, work and violence

Combining work and family has been difficult for factory workers. Home-based workers and village based weavers have had less difficulty as adjustments are relatively easy. Some of the workers have married late and one has never married.

What is significant, however, is the level of domestic violence seen in the families of six of the eight married workers culminating in the breakdown of the marriages in three of the families. While the handloom weaver appears to have experienced domestic harmony after a late marriage, and the home-

based worker has become a single parent only after the death of her spouse, tensions have prevailed in other households. Alcoholism has led to the separation of the powerloom textile worker from her husband. The Koggala EPZ worker the Kalutara rural garment worker and the retrenched textile worker have been confronted continually with alcoholism, conflict and battering but appear to have accepted such violence within their marriages. Infidelity on the part of the spouse drove the Biyagama EPZ worker to seek separation without acrimony. The rural garment worker in the North Western Province has been exposed to severe problems - to domestic violence in her parental home since her childhood leading to the separation of parents and disenchantment with her own marriage to a physically handicapped and less educated spouse foisted on her by an unscrupulous marriage broker. Moreover her spouse resented her superior educational and social status, opposed her employment in the garment factory and indulged in harassment and abuse that finally compelled her to return with her child to her parental home.

These women appear to have been empowered by their independent access to economic resources. The three women who separated from their spouses have taken firm and quick decisions to do so. Even the Koggala EPZ worker who is a victim of violence has been the primary income earner, constructing a house, expanding her activities such as taking boarders, and taking the lead in the improvement of the living standards of the family. The widowed home-based worker has displayed leadership in both economic and family activities. Even the handloom weaver, perceives herself as the leader in the family to whom both spouse and daughters look up to and respect. The retrenched textile worker was the income earner and was able to initiate a role reversal by which her spouse took over the household and child care responsibilities.

These women are at the bottom of the occupational ladder in the country and perceive that they are looked down by society but in the context of the poverty of resources in their families, their contribution to household income strengthens their positions in their families and enables them to control their own lives and to sustain that of their children. There is no indication, however, that the gender division of labour within the household has changed in many instances. Whether single, married or separated it appears to have increased and to have resulted in an extended day of multiple tasks and responsibilities.

Case Studies

Katunayake EPZ

Jane's father is a fish vendor and her mother is not employed. She has an elder sister and a brother and also two younger brothers. Her father's earnings were not sufficient for the family. Hence she has experienced hardships from her childhood. She stopped her studies after sitting for the GCE (O/L) examination. After leaving school, she with her mother started rearing a few cows and keeping a poultry yard. The venture was successful. They could earn a fair amount to support the family. Jane saved some money with the greatest difficulty. With this money she started lending money on interest. She managed to earn about Rs.10,000/-. Then she faced a tremendous set back to her work. One day she found her cattle was stolen. She lost the main source of income. Also some of those who had taken money from her had not repaid. She had to give-up her hopes of starting ventures of her own. Then she looked for a job. She was 29 years of age when she got a job in a private company. She was taken as a casual labourer and was paid Rs.2,800/- per month. She supported her family with her earnings. She worked for four and half years and then the company was closed down suddenly as it was experiencing heavy losses. The workers were

given three months pay and were asked to leave. So far she had had no training and so found it difficult to get employment. She gave up hopes of getting married as she was now unemployed and without an income and was 35 years old.

By 1986, many factories were opened in the Katunayake FTZ and a family friend found her a job in one of the newly opened factories, as an unskilled labourer. From her childhood she has been interested in sewing and sewn her own clothes. Her mother was not educated and all she could do was to kneel down and pray when a problem cropped up. Jane wanted to develop her skills. She got a training in Juki-machine operation. With this training she was able to get a post of machine operator on a permanent basis. Now she got a higher pay and she worked so well that she received a bonus of Rs.100/- every month.

In 1998 one of her younger brothers died suddenly. She could bear up the loss as her workplace was good and her co-workers so helpful. She enjoyed working there. In February 2000 all of a sudden something went wrong with a pair of gloves she was making. There was a defect in the gloves. Immediately she was summoned before the Production Manager and reprimanded. She came back to the machine and resumed sewing. Then a Supervisor walked up and he too was harsh with her. After that she could not do her work well. The following day she made more mistakes. The management stopped her work for three days. She spent those three days in utter despair. When she reported for work on the fourth day she was asked to join the workers undergoing training. The leader of that group made sarcastic remarks to her. The following day she found a new machine to work on. Everyday she had to work on a new machine. It was rather difficult. Her products were not up to the mark. Then she was transferred to the section where unskilled workers cut the thread from the sewn products.

She was moved from one section to another. Jane suffered due to this treatment. She felt sorry for the way the management dealt with a worker who had been there from the beginning. She thought of committing suicide, but the thought of her brother who was an epileptic held her back. Finally she left in February 2000. She stated that there were others who had received similar treatment. The employers get the maximum from the employees, but for the slightest mistake they are thrown out “like cattle sold to the butcher”.

Jane is 50 years old now and still a spinster. There is no one to look after her. The only one who is with her is her brother. He earns a little money doing odd jobs and this keeps them going. He suffers from epileptic fits often. They live in a small dwelling she got from her parents. With her ETF she has bought some chicks and wants to start a poultry yard. She has hopes of adding a room or two to the house, so that she could keep a few boarders.

She feels that she is now too old to be hunting for jobs. She had informed the Joint Council about the events that led to her giving up the job. But it was of no use. Jane says that other workers too might find themselves in similar circumstances so that there should be a way of justice being meted out to them.

Biyagama EPZ

Soma lives in Kirindiwala. She is 39 years old. She was born in a village in Banagala - Kosgama area. There are two roads leading to the village from the Banagala junction. There is a river to be crossed. After heavy rains, when the river is in spate, there is no other way to go to the village. Soma's father died 12 years ago. Her mother who is 75 years old and is ailing, lives with her sister who is married and has a child. She has two sisters and a brother. All of them studied up to GCE (O/L). They are married except Soma and live separately.

Her parents had earned their livelihood from farming and tapping rubber. It had been a hard life with economic difficulties. Yet they had sent the four children to school till they passed the GCE (O/L). All the children had attended a Maha Vidyalaya in Kosgama. Whenever they had some spare time, the children helped the parents in their work, collecting "Gotukola" and removing rubber "ottupal". She recollected the days when she and her siblings did not get the bare 3 - meals and did not have a decent dress to wear to school.

After passing GCE (O/L) she was keen on getting into some type of employment as the family was undergoing, severe hardships. She applied for several jobs and in the meantime engaged herself in some activity like tapping rubber and wrapping beedi that brought some money. During this time she met a young man who was working as a mechanic in a garment factory. Her father was against her getting involved in a love affair with him. But she had her own way and got married in 1985. It was only for a short time that she lived with him happily. There were conflicts between them. She came to know that he was having an affair with a woman working in the same garment factory. After one year Soma and her husband separated,

with mutual consent. She says that she cannot trust any male after the bitter experience she had.

Soma had lived in her parental house even after marriage. But after separation from her husband she could not continue to live in the same village. So she had decided to live with her sister in Kirindiwala. While at her sister's place she attended classes in Juki machine operation and later found a job in a garment factory. Then she lived in the boarding run for female workers of the factory. After some time she was given a machine operator's job and she worked in that capacity from 1992 to 1995. At the workplace, the air they breathed was full of dust. Soma developed a dry cough which later turned to asthma. She lost weight and became sickly. She felt exhausted after standing for hours. Going to work was also difficult as there were no transport facilities. Due to all these reasons, she left the workplace in 1995.

Once again she faced financial problems. She wanted to find another job as soon as possible. In 1996 she was able to get another job. This was also a garment factory. Here too there was dust and particles of cotton floating in the air. But the workers were given better facilities. They were supplied with protective facial covers. The salary was reasonable. Unlike in most other factories, the workers were not penalised for coming a few minutes late nor deductions made from the pay. She found the two shifts, one from 6 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. and the other for 2.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m convenient as there was no difficulty in getting transport. But the festival allowance was too low and also medical facilities were hardly adequate.

With the meagre earnings, she looks after her mother, spending on her medicine. She keeps a small amount for herself. She goes to see her mother, living in her parental home. She feels that working for long periods in

factories could affect one's health, both physically and mentally. Inhaling the dust and industrial waste could lead to illnesses especially of the respiratory tract, as well as the loud sounds coming from the machines could affect one's hearing. Also, working for hours either standing or seated without relaxation could lead to many complications. She cited examples from her workplace. Such conditions of work could have negative effects on one's married life too she added. Some female workers postpone getting married and some leave their jobs after marriage. She feels that being employed in a garment factory for a short period is alright, but working a long period is not advisable.

Soma said only a few workers could survive for long in these workplaces. Though there are trade unions and other types of organisations the will of the employers prevails. The employees' welfare is not taken into account. One of the main problems facing the workers is finding a place to stay. Most of the factory owners do not provide any residential facilities for the workers, especially the female workers. The private boarding houses lack even the basic facilities like water, toilets and decent sleeping arrangements. A small room is given to 15 - 20 boarders. They are not even secure places for young females. The other pressing problem is lack of transport facilities. The workers have to undergo great hardships as there are no facilities for them to travel to and from work. Soma added that the workers should be happy and contented if production is to be of high standard. Most of the workers are from rural areas who have come in search of employment. So it is the duty of the employers to provide them with facilities.

She spoke about the way garment workers are treated in society. They are looked down upon. A sense of dignity of labour should be inculcated in society. Some girls do not even mention to people, especially their husbands, that they had been working in a garment factory.

Medical facilities are lacking in most of the workplaces, she said. They have a Health Care Unit but no qualified staff is found. The only drug available is panadol. Even if a worker falls ill, it is only on rare occasions that he/she is taken to a doctor.

The management of these factories should see that the workers are safeguarded against risks to their health and lives. The workers should also be supplied with uniforms. Only a few workplaces do so now.

Soma described the targets set by the management. Sometimes the targets are unattainable and the workers find it impossible to work to achieve those targets. If they do not achieve the targets set before them, the outcome would be very unpleasant. The workers are punished in many ways. So they work, day and night without a rest. This leads to stress and its consequences.

The workers should be provided with a better system of leave. Soma said workers cannot take leave even for an emergency like a family illness or funerals. If they do so, they are not taken back for work. There should be a uniform system of granting leave in all workplaces.

Another obligation on the part of the management is having an insurance coverage for workers. The workers should be protected from hazards at the work place. There have been many instances, where workers had been exposed to electric shocks but no compensation was given to them.

She had been working as a machine operator for a number of years, but she has not received any other benefit apart from her salary. She feels that a system should be introduced whereby a worker is appreciated and duly

rewarded. She feels that continuing to work under these conditions cannot be done. Her marriage had also failed. But her mother, sisters and brothers request her to get married again. She wants to look after her mother and lead a quiet life with the EPF and ETF. She hopes to start a self-employment project.

Koggala EPZ

Karuna was born in Tissamaharama in the Hambantota District. Her father was a fisherman and her mother used to do odd jobs to earn some money. She is the eldest in the family and has two sisters and two brothers. Her parents were not educated. They had a life of poverty. They lived in a wattle and daub hut in Mirissa. Her father was addicted to liquor and her mother was illiterate and could not do any job. Karuna and her brother and sisters attended school. But they did not realize the value of education and there was no one to make them understand. No one in her family studied, even up to GCE (O/L).

All her relatives were engaged in making coir, even young children. Karuna and her siblings too started doing it. The coconut husks were submerged in water and after several days they were taken out and crushed. Karuna recollected that Rs.60/- was paid for 100 husks, at the time. In addition, her mother worked in houses in the neighbourhood and earned to keep the home fires burning. Her father who went to sea in the morning came back home drunk, and often beat her mother. They lived in fear. When she was 15 years of age, and even earlier she earned from whatever she could do to feed her sisters and brother.

When she was 17 years of age, a man who came to the village for palm reading brought a proposal for Karuna. She and her parents expressed their

willingness and so she was married. The groom happened to be the palm-reader's brother.

After marriage they went to Koggala. Her husband had built a hut encroaching on a block of land belonging to the state. He too was a fisherman and he too used to take alcohol. He went to sea often in the night. Karuna experienced economic hardships in her new life too. What her husband earned was meagre so she turned to the work she had been doing before marriage. She went in search of pits of coconut husk. Here there was a machine to separate the coir from the outer covering. She worked in a place where many people were employed. She did the household work in the evening. She continued with this work until her son was born.

The place where she worked was in the midst of the site chosen for the Koggala FTZ. So the work had to be stopped. She lost her job. She had to do some work and earn for now she had a child to look after. While looking for some type of work, she came across a limestone quarry. The second child was born. But Karuna had to earn somehow. She left the elder child with a relative and went to work, carrying the second one. When the children grew up she put them to a Pre-school and did her work, which was mostly at coir-making centres and limestone quarries. When she got some money she contributed to a "Cheettu" and managed to improve the hut in which they lived. She got on well with her neighbours.

With the opening of the Koggala FTZ a new era dawned in the life of this courageous woman. She got a job in one of the garment factories. Then her two children were attending school.

When the children grew up, she found employment for them too in the Zone, Karuna added several small rooms to the house Now they had a permanent

dwelling. She gave out the rooms to ten boarders. They all work in the FTZ. Her life was not so hard as her husband contributed a little to household expenses.

Her daughter got married. It was a proposed marriage, and she lives now in Mirissa. Karuna's house is now part of the Fishing Village of "Singha". Karuna goes to work in the FTZ, Now her job is sweeping the premises of the factory and preparing tea for the workers. She gets on well with all the employers. She has now cemented the floor of her house and tiled the roof. She hopes to add two more rooms and keep a few more boarders. Her son is employed and helps the mother financially. Karuna has managed to overcome most of the difficulties she faced when she was young and when she started raising a family.

Rural Garment Factory – Western Province

Rani was born in a village six miles away from Kalutara. Her father had been a farmer. Her mother gave him a helping hand in farm work and keeping a few cattle. Her father had attended school upto grade eight and mother upto grade 9.

Rani is 21 years old. She has a sister younger to her who is 16 years old and still attending school. Rani too attended the same school, the Junior School at Gamagoda and studied up to GCE (O/L). She sat for the examination, but could not pass. Disappointed with her results, she left school. Then she helped her father in his work, taking the cattle to graze in the fields. She says this gave her the ability to do manual work. After some time she thought of doing a job. Through a person known to her mother, she got a job in a garment factory. She did not have any training and so was taken in as a casual hand. She worked there for two years. Once Rani and her co-workers were asked to speed up the work to achieve a target. At the time

there were frequent electricity failures. The workers were allowed to go home when there was no electricity and then asked to come back and finish the work. One day Rani and a group of friends did not go back to work as expected. The following day, when they reported for work, they were asked to go to the Production Manager. He found fault with them and asked them not to come for work from the following day. The girls replied in a way that surprised the Production Manager. They said that they were not at all interested in coming back to work in that factory and walked out.

Rani was again out of work. Again the family friend found her a job in another garment factory. She went to work as a casual labourer. That was in 1999. After six months she was made permanent. At this time Rani met a young man who was a carpenter at a Technical Institute. She fell in love with him and got married with the consent of her parents. The couple lived with the wife's parents.

Once she suffered from a severe attack of influenza and could not go for work for three days. A close relative also died at that time. She informed the workplace about her illness. After a week, she went back to work. She was told that a medical certificate from a private doctor is not accepted. She could not get a medical certificate from a government doctor as she had taken treatment from a private doctor. When she told them about it she was asked to sign a letter stating that she was leaving the workplace for reasons of her own. She got another letter stating that she was leaving on medical grounds. According to Rani, this letter is an obstacle preventing her getting into a new place.

When she was working, she used to spend on household expenditure. After losing her job she could not do so. Her husband changed. He came home drunk one day and gave her several blows. Her mother intervened and

objected to such a treatment to her daughter. Her husband was annoyed. A week later, he put up a wattle and daub hut on the small block of land given to Rani by her parents and moved into it.

There was more freedom for the two of them now than when they were with her parents. But there are no facilities whatsoever. Her husband continues to drink and abuse her. She had plans of building a decent house. She had collected some material too for this purpose. But now she is unable to go ahead with her plans. She likes to get a job once again. She had gone to the two places where she worked before. But they had refused her. Even so, Rani is determined to find a job again and rebuild her life.

Rural Garment Factory – North Western Province

Sitha is a 29 year old married woman with a 5 year old child. Her mother is a government clerk and her father works in a paddy mill. Her younger sister is a machine operator in a garment factory and her brother is a bus conductor.

Sitha is the only one married in this family. There is no contact between the parents.. The father works in a paddy mill owned by a relative of her mother. He comes to the house very rarely and even on such occasions he is under the influence of liquor and leaves the housing after fighting with the mother. He is an alcoholic and from the time Sitha can remember, the parents had been quarreling. They live in a house which was constructed by her mother on a plot of land she had purchased. The house has a tiled roof, brick wall, electricity and a well. But the interior of the house has yet to be completed.

Her mother has a paddy field in her village, but it is not being cultivated. Initially all the members of her family had been living in the native village of her parents. In 1980, when Sitha was 12 years, they had to move to

Kekirawa as her mother, a clerk, had been transferred from Deniyaya. They had lived at Kekirawa for 11 years. When her mother was transferred to Anuradhapura in 1991 she had purchased the land at Karandagolla, built a temporary dwelling, shifted her family there and proceeded to Anuradhapura.

The parents had not had an amicable relationship for a long time. Currently, they are separated and it is only rarely that the father comes home. He takes excessive quantities of alcohol.

As far as she can recall the first disagreement between their parents dates back to the time when she attained puberty. On that occasion her mother had purchased a pair of gold earrings for her without her father's knowledge. The quarrel that started that day, Sitha said continues to this day. Her mother contends that if she had divulged the fact that she had money to purchase the earrings, her father would have taken that money for his drinks. It was for this reason that she had bought the jewellery without informing her father.

In addition, her mother was more educated than her father. The jobs too were not on par. Therefore her father had been suspicious of her mother. Her didn't like her going to work and strongly objected to her friendships with her office colleagues.

There were also sexual problems between the two, which gave rise to problems. Her mother had said that her father wanted to have sexual relationships after taking liquor. However, she said that their house was small and that they had to be discreet as there were small children around. When she refused his demands inevitably there were quarrels.. Sitha says that as they are separated these disagreements and quarrels do not occur.

The children said that' it is during this time that we were able to lead a peaceful life. Otherwise in this house, there were constant shouting, assaults and verbal abuse. Now that brother has grown up, father is a little cautious."

Sitha, is currently employed in a garment factory. She married a person who is working in the cutting section of the same factory. He had studied up to grade 8 but did not have much understanding. She referred to him as 'stupid.'

Her marriage came about through a proposal. The marriage has broken down and a case is pending in courts, which will be heard soon.

There were many reasons for the break down of the marriage. The main reason is that the person who brought the proposal had cheated them. The broker had said that the spouse's family was wealthy, socially acceptable, educated and good. Her spouse is deaf. She and her family knew of this fact after marriage. Her marriage took place within three months of the proposal. Whenever he visited her another person had accompanied him. The spouse had not spoken very much during these visits. The conversations were mainly with the other person and they had attempted to conceal the fact that he was deaf. Her spouse's neighbour was known to them But they had prevented them from visiting them on the grounds that they were not on good terms.

They had borrowed furniture from the neighbours to show their wealth. Such items of furniture were returned soon after the wedding. The land, and paddy fields that were shown to be theirs actually did not belong to them. Sitha had become aware of all these after marriage.

Her spouse does not smoke or drink. Her mother-in-law had been creating problems for her right from the beginning. The food given to her had been restricted. Her spouse has four brothers and one elder sister. During an argument that ensued in the family, the sister had divulged all facts to Sitha. Her marriage too had broken down and consequently she had returned home. All these had made her disenchanted with her marriage.

However, her parents had attempted to smoothen the problems and create harmony within her family. Therefore her mother had purchased a plot of land at Karandagolla to build a house. But the spouse had not been willing to reside there. Frequent quarrels were reported.

After marriage she had found employment at another factory belonging to the same company-. But she had worked in that factory only for 1 1/2 years. After that she had returned to her parental home with her four month old infant in 1995. Prior to this she had returned home due to the abuse and assaults she received at the hand of her spouse. But in December 1995 she came with all her belongings and with the intention of not returning. He had tried to prevent her from going to work and this had led to arguments. Finally she could not find any one to look after the child when she went to work. This was also a reason that made her leave her spouse.

She had stopped her studies after she completed her O Level examination. Although her mother had persuaded upon her to continue her studies she had not done so. Subsequently she had joined a factory at Kurunegala and received a six-month training in industrial sewing (jukie machine). This is the only training she had received.

Her first appointment was as 'Helper' at a factory in 1992. Her basic salary was Rs. 2000. She obtained a transfer to another factory after her marriage

and worked there for 1 1/2 years. She went back to her former factory in January 1996 and is currently employed there.

She was selected by the factory due to her educational qualifications. She states that it is not possible to aspire to better employment with only the O Level qualifications. Further, the circumstances at home also led her to find employment rather than continue with her studies. She also felt the imperative of being independent and not being a 'burden' on her mother.

In addition to the O Level qualification the training in industrial sewing she received had helped her to obtain this job. She has gradually risen from the rank of 'helper' to Assistant Supervisor and now functions as a Supervisor. Having worked for about 8 years, she is an experienced worker.

She is in charge of a section. The main work of this section is to collect all the fabric cut by different sections and finish the garment. If there is any mistake made in this section the order can be rejected. She said that the income of the enterprise is dependent on the work of this section. She said that up to now she has been able to fulfill her duties very successfully and that she works with a sense of responsibility. The fact that she worked in the other sections has given her the necessary experience to understand the problems that arise in the course of the work.

Work in a garment factory is a suitable occupation for those who have not attained higher levels of education. Such persons as well as those with economic problems find employment in the garment factory very useful. This position is important economically. This is especially so, in a rural areas, which have a large number of unemployed youth (both sexes). These youth have no opportunity to continue with higher studies due to economic problems and their parents too cannot assist them economically.

It is difficult to go to work in a garment factory away from their village due to the cost of accommodation, and food due to the low salaries that are being paid in these factories. However the establishment of such factories in rural areas eases such problems to a great extent and helps workers to develop economically.

Further, medical facilities and credit facilities give them added benefits. As they can commute to work from their own homes, the necessity to spend additional amounts on food, accommodation, transport is not there. If you look at it from a social point of view it has enabled young men and women to move into society, and associate with people from different areas and backgrounds. This has led to marriages with people from different areas and different backgrounds.

However, she said that there are economic as well as social problems within this sector. The main problem is the exploitation of labour. She said that the factory owners are always wealthy, but the workers do not receive a salary that is commensurate with their labour. The current salary of a helper is about Rs 4000. She is a supervisor. She had been in this position for a long time. But she does not receive the salary that is payable to a supervisor. She still receives the salary of a helper. She is reluctant to take legal action due to fear of losing her job. The authorities have informed her that she would be paid Rs. 6000 from next January.

On the whole they have to face many problems. They are entitled to 14 days leave only and that too after completing one year of service. Although they are entitled to medical benefits these are not provided systematically. Labour exploitation is acute. Excessive work prevent them from attending to the needs of children and other household responsibilities.

However, her financial stability is dependent on her employment. She spends 2000 of the 4000 rupees she receives on household expenses. This money is necessary to purchase essential food items such as rice, vegetables etc. The balance money is used to pay an insurance premium of Rs. 220 on a policy she has taken for her child. She has two insurance policies for which she pays Rs. 1400. She has to pay Rs. 850 per month to the pre-school. Deficits are met by her mother. She stated that if she did not even have this job, she would have had to depend on her mother for all expenses. Further the job has given her strength and that even her mother and family have not rejected her.

She has no intention of changing jobs. She aspires to be the Production manager within this organisation. However, she states that however much the factory earns it is an exploitative system. Although the benefits accrue to the owners, the workers are unable to improve their situation. The perceptions of others regarding the garment industry are also the same. However she feels that it is not possible to change this situation, which also affects marriage adversely.

She felt that it is most important to provide a wage that is commensurate with labour. The authorities should attend to this urgently. The salary paid to a supervisor is Rs. 3500, a helper get 3000. But this salary is not sufficient in the context of the country's cost of living. The government should consider the granting of scholarships to poor children. There should also be day care centres for pre-school age children. For school going children, they should be allowed to remain in school till their mothers pick them up after work.

She expects to rise in her job. As her marriage has broken down she wants to look after her son and educate him so that he can come to a higher position in life. She has no intention of reconciling with her spouse.

However the mother says that her daughter is still young and that if she can find a man who is suitable and will look after the child like his own, she will try to arrange such a marriage. The mother hopes that her daughter's ideas will change.

Home-based Garment Workers

Prema lives in a village close to Maharagama. It is about 16 Kilometers away from Colombo. It is a scenic village with paddy fields all around. People belonging to various professions have settled down here. The village has all the facilities.

The town, Maharagama has become a collecting and distributing centre of cutpieces of textiles. Prema engages in this business. She is 60 years old. After her husband's sudden death, she had to look after the children alone. She was born and bred in the village. Her father had some business here. Prema had helped her father to run his tea Kiosk. Her mother had been selling vegetables, mostly leafy vegetables, going from house to house with the basket on her head. When she did not have school, Prema too accompanied her mother. Her mother had gone to school up to Grade 3 and her father up to Grade 5. Yet, the parents had wanted to give their children a better education. Prema has three brothers and two sisters. All of them attended a Maha Vidyalaya in Maharagama. The eldest sister went up to Grade 7, the younger sister upto Grade 8. The two elder brothers had studied upto Grade 9 and 6 respectively. Her younger brother had gone upto GCE O/L and he found a job at Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation. The two elder brothers and sisters are all doing business in Maharagama and

Pamunuwa. They are all married and settled down in Maharagama, Kottawa or Pamunuwa. Though living separately, they get together in times of need.

Prema attended school only upto Grade 8. She left as her parents found it difficult to spend on their education. She left amidst the protests of her teachers. Thereafter, she helped her mother and father in their business activities. Also she went for training at a textiles weaving centre in a neighbouring village. After the course she bought a weaving machine and started weaving clothes. She got married to a person living at Polgasowita. She was 28 years old and her husband 31. He had passed the GCE O/L and so was employed at the SLBC on a temporary basis apart from doing business. She had seven children, six girls and boy. The eldest is now 33 years old and the youngest 21. They were leading a contented life, till her husband fell ill with a blood clot in the brain. He did not live for long. Prema was left alone with 7 children. Her eldest daughter had just got through the GCE O/L examination and the youngest was only 7 years old. There was a tremendous task before her, bringing up and educating her 7 children. Her experiences in childhood, when she had faced financial difficulties and worked hard with her parents stood in good stead at this critical moment.

Four of her children have been educated upto GCE O/L and 3 upto GCE A/L's. In addition, they have done courses in shorthand, typing, folk art and textile weaving. She did not discriminate between a son or a daughter if they wanted to study. They attended large schools in the locality. Then her eldest daughter got a job as an acting stenographer at the SLBC. She was paid Rs. 72/= only for the days she attended the workplace. She was made permanent after some time. Three other children found employment after they left school. Four of the children are married. There is a married daughter and other unmarried children living with her. The married children are either at Polgasowita, Boralsgamuwa or Padukka. She spoke proudly

about her children and the way she brought them up, instructing them how to tide over difficulties and how important getting a job as well as getting married at the correct time is. She could achieve all this because of her business, she said.

At the time her husband died she had just started business in cut pieces in addition to weaving. After his death, she stopped weaving of textiles, but started sewing clothes out of cut pieces. The cut pieces had to be collected from garment factories in Katubadda and Ratmalana. Sometime she collected about 20 - 25 pounds of material and carried them home. The children helped her in these activities. They knew about the hard work involved.

The industry started from sewing a dress out of cut pieces. Gradually there was a decline in this activity. Instead they went to some shops in Pettah and bought entire rolls of material and started turning out various types of dresses. She got the material from Pamunuwa which was now a hub of activity. The cutting and sewing of dresses were done by her children. She paid them for the work and they in turn started to save. The business which was started in 1985 continues to this day as a family venture.

She described how selling is carried on. She sells the ready made dresses at whole sale prices to the traders who come to the house or to the sales point she has in town. She also sells the product retail to the buyers who come to her in town. The family members who do the cutting and sewing of dresses continue with the work till 11.00pm. They take the dresses to the town by 10.30 a.m. Some of her children do the household chores in the morning and then get the cloth ready to sew housecoats, nighties, pillowcases and women's underwear. She says that the united effort of the whole family has got the business going successfully.

She was happy about the fact that she had looked after the children well, educated them, found them means of livelihood, got them married in time and seen them settled down. She did not let the children feel the loss of their father. As she had made all arrangements for her marriage, her daughters too did likewise. She has taught her children to respect elders, to lead honest lives and help the neighbours and relatives as much as they could. Prema is an epitome of courage, determination and will to succeed.

She is well known in the market for ready made and cut pieces. There were several set backs in the business yet Prema managed to overcome them. When the demand for clothes made out of cut pieces fell, she started buying rolls of cloth. The prices of cloth as well as the price of thread, buttons, elastic and ribbon have gone up. Then the sale prices of the readymade clothes have to be increased. When it is done, less clothes get sold. As theirs was a family business they could meet the demands of the market without getting bankrupt. Unlike a few years ago, the numbers engaging in their business has increased. There is a glut in the market. Yet, their products move because they keep only a narrow margin of profit.

Though there are a number of family members doing the cutting and sewing, she is the only one who goes to the market to sell goods. During the festival seasons goods move fast, but she has to keep an eye on people who try to lift goods.

Prema has developed a business of her own without getting help from any outside institutions. She enjoys going out to her place in town and doing business. Her children want her to live a relaxed life. She too is happy to do that after handing over the business to her children. Twice or thrice a year she goes on pilgrimage with her children and grandchildren. She enjoys

these trips immensely. She hopes to go on pilgrimage to North India to see places that are sacred to Buddhists.

Powerloom Textile Worker

Sirima was born in a village in Warakapola in the Kegalle district. Her parents had been farmers. She is the eldest in a family of four. There are three brothers younger to her. Her father, although a farmer had been an Aurvedic doctor (a wedamahathya). His speciality had been the treatment of snake bites.

Sirima attended a Maha Vidyalaya for her primary education. She passed the grade V scholarship exam and was admitted to a Madhya Maha Vidyalaya. She did sports and played netball. She was also the monitor of her class. She got through the G.C.E O/L exam with 6 credits and two passes. She was selected for the G.C.E A/L Art stream according to her results. She says that when she was in the A/L class, she lost interest in her studies. As a result she did not continue in school. Her younger brothers were good in their studies. Being the eldest in the family and also not having anyone to advise her, she gave up studying and stayed back. The family was one of the respected families in the village. The children led quite comfortable lives. One of her brothers served as an army officer and is now retired. The second brother had been a principal, but is now retired. The third brother had been a Store-Keeper. Living a life of ease and comfort she did not consider education as a prime necessity in one's life.

But the future did not turn out to be as rosy as she expected. She had not got married even when she turned out to be forty. Her mother said that she was not interested in getting married. She got married recently and is now forty eight years old. It was a proposed marriage.

After her father's death, she had experienced hardships. Her mother was not employed and the four children had to be look after. The three sons did higher studies, found employment, and got married. Sirima found herself alone with her mother. It was then that she realised she should do a job. She found employment in a textile factory associated enterprise in 1979 and travelled daily by bus to work.

The workplace was located at the court premises. Here thread was made into skeins and Sirima was one of the 106 workers who joined the company at its inauguration. The skeins of thread done here were purchased by the Textile mills. She found employment through the Sri Lanka society, functioning in her village. In 1982, the management of the Textile mills was taken over by an Indian Bombay Company. Sirima purchased thread for the work place and continued to be employed. But the number of workers were decreasing as the workers found places with better remuneration. She did not leave. With the remaining 26 workers, she carried on the work. As one of the workers who had been there from the beginning , she was given more responsibilities. She brought the skeins to the Textile mills and found thread to make skeins. The scheme which prevailed earlier ended. But Sirima and the 26 females now working under her continued with the making of skeins. She made a profit of about Rs. 2500/- per month. The other workers too got a small profit.

In 1990, the Textile mills came under the management of another company. She says she was demoted under the new management. From the post of foreman, she was given the post of machine operator. She has been working in that capacity now for several years. She speaks in a bitter tone about work on a shift basis. Some times the shift is in the night and for a week she has to do the night shift. Working for years on a machine operator and often

the whole night, she has fallen ill, with asthma. Though she has served the company to the best of her ability, there has been no reward.

Sirima, while experiencing life's hardships and getting exposed to the outside world, thought of marriage and the security it could bring. So she got married at the age of forty. It was a proposed marriage. She was expecting a baby four years after marriage, but she said that she had a miscarriage and was very ill. Her husband worked in the Department of Railways and has now retired. After marriage, Sirima settled down near the factory. She bought a few perches and put up a house. She lives here. She keeps her house well. There is another female worker of the same company staying with her. She has been there for several years, Sirima said.

Sirima's husband has become an alcoholic. She did not approve it. So he lives elsewhere and visits her occasionally. He does not seem to help her in any way. So Sirima has to lead a lonely life. The only companion she has in the other girl who stays with her. She too is married. Her husband comes to see her about once a week. Even they do not seem to have a close relationship.

Sirima's health has deteriorated. But she does not get any compensation from the company. The only consolation is that she has her own house.

Handloom Worker

Menike is a 58 year old woman. She lives in a village situated in Matiyagane in the Narammala AGA Division of the Kurunegala district. Her parents are not living. Uduwela is Menike's mother's native village and she along with her siblings have inherited their parents' property where they all live now.

Her mother and father were cultivators. She has elder and younger brothers and sisters. Her elder brother lives in the same village with his spouse and children. He is also a farmer. Her sister who had studied up to grade 5 is also married. Her younger brother had an education up to grade 8, and was also engaged in agricultural activities. He is also married and lives with his family in the same village. Each had inherited 1/2 acre of coconut land on which they had built their houses.

Menike has had a difficult life from her childhood. Her parents had been very poor and had brought up their children by earning a living by farming. Her mother, Menike said, had property but the income from that was insufficient to maintain her family. Her parents had with great difficulty earned an income to ensure that they received an education. Despite their efforts only Menike had been able to reach an educational standard of GCE O Level. Economic difficulties had impacted adversely on the education of her siblings. Although her parents had been insisting on their schooling, family problems had made them drop out of school almost automatically.

Menike had attended the local school, amidst much difficulty. Unlike her brothers and sisters, she had a desire to educate herself. Her determination had enabled her to be successful at the GCE O level examination. However, although she had qualified to enter the AL class she had given up the idea of proceeding with her studies and instead searched for employment to meet the financial needs of her family. She said that she had a special place in the family as she had studied further than the others. She said that she had only one dress when she went to school. Her parents could not afford to buy her shoes or even a pair of slippers. She had to seek the assistance of relatives and neighbours for such additional requirements. Her teachers who had spotted her keenness and ability assisted her by supplying her books, which she had returned after she completed a class. She had also engaged in

casual work to find money for her education; She had been good in sewing from her childhood. She had developed that skill to earn money by sewing. She had also worked in the fields at harvesting time. This money she had used to buy books. She said that it was her determination and patience along with the help she received from others that enabled her to complete her O Levels. Throughout her school career she had been either first or second in class.

She had also been active in extra curricula activities in school. She had been an office bearer in school societies such as arts, literature and in student bodies. She had also won prizes for sports events. She had been particularly good in the 100, 200 meters, long jump events and in netball. She had participated in sports meets at school and zonal levels and won prizes.

Menike had been waiting for a considerable time to obtain employment, but had been unsuccessful in joining the public sector. She had remained unmarried till 35 as she was searching for employment. She had agreed to a marriage proposal brought by her parents. He had studied up to grade 6. He was a farmer and his age was 62. He had no assets -land or paddy fields. His income was reported to be around Rs.2000. He had built a house on Menike's land and entered into a binna marriage.

As they had no children, they had adopted the daughter of a close relative. They had educated and given her in marriage to a driver in the Police. She was around 29 years now. They have a 5 year old son. Although she acutely felt the lack of a child, she had not been ridiculed either in the family or in the community as a barren woman.

Menike said that they had led a very happy and contented married life. She said that they had never fought with each other and that they had been able

to resolve family problems amicably. They had built their house with their earnings. The house was tiled and colour washed in the inside, but the exterior had to be completed. There were not many items of furniture. Their earlier coconut thatched dwelling had not been pulled down.

Although she had been successful at the GCE OL exam, she had not been able to secure the type of employment she wanted. At the time she passed the exam, O Level was a very high qualification to obtain a job. However she is of the opinion that she was unable to obtain a job due to political reasons. She and the members of her family had been members of the SLFP. Her main ambition was to be a nurse but as that was not possible, she had applied for a teacher's post. In 1970 the SLFP came into power with a coalition but even during that period she was not fortunate enough to get a job.

She was searching for employment with the main objective of assisting her family and securing her future. Although her siblings had dropped out of school she had proceeded with her own studies amidst difficulties to find a job and uplift her family. She said she had tried to come out of poverty but it had not been successful.

Ultimately she had given up her dream of finding government employment and found work in the weaving school that was opened in the village. She was 26 years of age then. She had been taken on a six month training period during which time she was paid a stipend of Rs. 75 pm. On completion of the training period she had earned Rs. 250,300 and 400 per month. With this salary she had been able to meet the consumption needs of her family. In addition she had been able to purchase dresses etc. whenever she had a little extra money. However she could not continue as the weaving centre closed down. She also earned money from sewing. She had engaged in such

self employment activities as weaving boxes for packeting tea. This was an additional source of income.

Subsequently she had found employment in a weaving centre run by the government. After working in that centre for sometime she had purchased 5 machines and started a weaving centre at her own house and employed 5 other persons. She had started this enterprise in the 1980s and continued it for about 4-5 years. However, the lack of demand for handloom products had compelled her to close down her business. She had been able to earn a considerable amount of money by weaving sarees, sarongs, towels, bed sheets. She said that she had been able to earn a profit and with this surplus had been able to uplift her family. She had opened a bank account and started saving. After the closure of the weaving business she had reverted to weaving tea boxes, sewing etc.

Menike who had been trained in weaving at the age of 26 years had served as an instructress at private weaving centres. She had come back to a weaving centre in the village, but worked as a casual employee. As her eyesight is weak now she has been assigned such work as winding thread. Her salary is a low Rs. 1000 and she stated that in some months it drops to as low as 500. She is paid Rs. 11 for winding 1k. of thread and Rs. 45 for weft.

Although she had not been able to obtain a government job, she had specific ideas about her current job. She likes to engage in work that makes it possible to use her hands. She said that she likes to sew. She says that with the money she earns she was able to live without being dependent on any one. The ability to work from home, which enabled her to look after her child and avoid unnecessary family problems was something she appreciated and which she said was especially suitable for women.

She still regrets not being able to obtain employment in the public sector. She also says that the income she earned was not commensurate with the effort she had to put in. As the Department of Textiles had engaged women on a casual basis for a long period of time they had not been entitled to any benefits.

She was of the opinion that being engaged in such activities as weaving, winding thread etc, leads to illnesses such as asthma, arthritis and joint pains and other sicknesses.

She enumerated the advantages of her job -

- As it is possible to go to work from home it is possible to reduce the problems that working women face. Eg. attend to household work, childcare
- Reduce transport, meal costs
- Ability to obtain curtains, bed sheets required for the house
- Ability to meet household expenses
- Ability to educate the children
- Ability to construct a house
- Able to participate in religious activities, give alms, go on pilgrimages, buy clothes etc. without being dependent on others
- Able to save to improve family economy
- Able to purchase gold jewellery

As Menike had aged she did not have suggestions in this regard. She said that she goes to work as she can not stay at home and as she wants to earn some money to participate in religious activities, to give alms, without having to depend on children. However, she made the following suggestions to improve the working conditions of others :-

- To confirm casual workers as permanent employees
- Increase salaries
- Provide marketing channels - either through the government or the private sector

Menike, who has been working for almost 35 years within the textile sector has no long term plans. Her main objective now is to spend the rest of her life engaged in meritorious deeds. For this reason she is still willing to go to weaving centres to do such work as fixing of bobbin, winding thread. She wants to be independent and not depend on her spouse or children.

It can be concluded that she is a very determined, efficient woman. It was seen that she heads the family. It appeared that the spouse and her daughter listened to her. Her efforts had made it possible for the family to come out of extreme poverty to that of an ordinary farmer family managing their own affairs.

Retrenched Woman Textile Worker

Rupa lives in a village in the Matara district. Her house is about two kilometres off the main road. The area is a cinnamon – growing area. A section of her house is made of wattle and daub. This section is smeared with cow-dung while the other section has a cement floor. Roofing also shows a difference, with asbestos in one section and a thatched roof in the other. The house as well as the garden around it have a clean appearance.

Rupa was born in a village about five miles away from the place where she lives now. Her father is dead. Her ailing mother is staying with her. Her father had been a farmer cultivating cinnamon, tea and paddy, with the

help of her mother who gave a hand in transplanting paddy, plucking tea and peeling cinnamon.

Rupa had continued her studies upto GCE (O/L) but could not proceed further as her parents could not afford it and also because she and her siblings had to help in eking out a living. In addition to the economic hardships, their father spent the little money he earned on alcohol. So she looked for employment as soon as she left school. She did several odd jobs and earned some money.

In 1979, she found employment as a textile factory worker. It was a newly opened factory. She underwent training for five months during which time she was paid an allowance. The factory specialised in the manufacture of bed sheets, towels and sarongs. After the training period she was paid Rs.800 /- per month. At the time, there were advisers of the main office visiting the factory. Rupa seized this opportunity to get to know more about the work she was doing. As a result she performed her duties well and she supported the family with the salary. She had to wake up early, prepare lunch and set off with two neighbours who were also working in the factory. She returned home late. She used to walk to and from the factory in order to save even the bus fare. She was 26 years when she joined the textile factory.

She had been working for about two years when she had a love affair with a person employed at the local post office. He was a postman. When her parents got to know about the affair, they were vehemently against it. They said that he was a person addicted to liquor and was known to get involved in conflict. She decided to get married without informing her parents. Her parents, brothers and sisters gave the couple their blessings, which was a consolation for her.

Rupa said that she found her husband constantly having arguments and conflicts with the Post Master too. As a result, he was dismissed from the job. Having lost the job, he turned to farming and doing whatever he could lay his hands on. She continued to work in the factory. The children were looked after by her husband while she was away. She could continue being employed because of his support. He did the housework, prepared the meals and accompanied her to the workplace and back, when she worked on late night shifts. Even when he worked as a postman he did this work, and after losing the job he did the work better. Throughout this period he took liquor and spent money on it. His brothers and sisters helped in the education of their three daughters and two sons. The house in which they live was also given by his father, but, she says that her husband quarrels with his family. He is addicted to liquor too. his temper is short-lived, she added.

Rupa said that her job helped to sustain the family to a great extent and also helped her to maintain social status among relations and neighbours. Also it gave her some solace from the domestic problems created by her husband's drunkenness and bad temper. She said that when she went to work, she could take her mind off the state of affairs at home, talk with her colleagues and enjoy a joke. Having a job was so fortunate, she said.

Then a time came when textile factories were being closed down. Factories in Galle, Anuradhapura, Kalutara, Medawachchiya and Matara, including the factory in which she was employed suffered this fate. When they closed down, workers, mostly young women were forcibly made to retire. She too lost her job. Now she had no money to spend on the children, as both of them were unemployed. Their lives were at once turned into a nightmare. They had to seek financial assistance from her husband's family. There was a long delay in getting the EPF (Employees' Provident Fund) and the ETF

(Employers' Trust Fund). Lack of money led to more conflicts between the husband and wife.

Rupa spoke of the necessity of opening the textile factories under skilful management. She spoke of training of workers of all levels and utilising machinery and technology so that competition from other sectors could be met with and she also mentioned that a substantial salary should be paid to the workers. Re - opening the textile factories will provide employment to the young men and women living in a rural areas.

She is determined to educate her children and get them jobs in the government sector. Though her husband wants the eldest daughter to get a job in a garment factory she is opposed to this. Her husband is suffering from a heart ailment and has reduced the intake of liquor. She expects to improve her husbands' plot of land now under cinnamon and pepper with the money she would get as compensation. She also has hope of getting a job once again, if the textile factories reopen.

11. Continuity or Change?

Macro economic reforms introduced in Sri Lanka at the end of the 1970s had positive and negative implications for women, men and their families. In particular, market liberalisation, export oriented industrialisation and privatisation as part of a structural adjustment programme changed the employment scenario substantially. This study was concerned with six groups of women affected by these changes – garment workers in Export Processing Zones and in rural factories outside the zones, self employed garment workers in the informal sector, textile workers in a privatised factory, handloom workers and retrenched textile workers.

Phase 1 of the study examined chiefly the employment experiences of 370 women and 70 men in these occupations. The study found that employment opportunities for chiefly young women between 18 and 30 years that expanded exponentially in export – oriented garment industries within and outside the three Export Processing Zones, and in large textile factories had increased their economic resources and independence but that the quality of employment offered to them in terms of job security, working conditions and opportunities of occupational mobility were not in consonance with the economic rights embodied as human rights in CEDAW and in the Women's Charter of Sri Lanka.

Women workers in the informal sector who have utilised the space created by the export oriented garment industry for home-based economic activities were outside the ambit of labour legislation and at the mercy of intermediaries. Women handloom weavers in villages were found to be engaged in a survival strategy in the context of macro economic policies that had led to the collapse of this rural industry and that continued to be biased against small scale local industries. Retrenched textile workers who were

victims of the wave of privatisation or closure of state centres in the 1990s in the second phase of structural adjustment had been unsuccessful largely in finding alternative employment opportunities and faced deterioration in their quality of life.

Phase 2 of the study examined “non-conventional” indicators of the situation of women workers and members of their families in forty percent of the households in Phase 1 of the study, comprising 140 women workers, 150 other women and 118 men in their families. The study was concerned with exploring changes in gender roles such as productive and reproductive roles and the nexus between them and some facets of gender relations within the family. While it is not possible in a study of this type to establish a clear association between changes in employment and the less tangible changes in gender roles and relations, the study documents facets of change and resistance that take place in the context macro economic policies and the social construction of gender.

The socio-economic context

These families were clearly non-affluent, with 40% to 66.7% of them living below or just above the ‘poverty line’, with the exception of the families of the rural garment factory workers who had more resources. The majority of the families of garment factory workers and home-based garment workers were landless and housing facilities were relatively good only among the textile workers, the home-based garment workers and the retrenched workers who had built up these assets over many years. Men in some households had regular employment in the formal sector but the majority were self employed in agriculture and in artisan occupations, and their unemployment rates were high among families of EPZ and rural garment workers. With the exception of the families of home-based garment workers among whom the majority of women other than the workers in the sample

were engaged in economic activities, the proportion of “non working” women were relatively high, ranging from 46.2% among families of EPZ workers to 83.3% among these of handloom weavers. It was seen too that seven of the nine case study participants were from poverty groups. Some of them lacking access to even regular food and adequate clothing.

Women factory workers tended to be young with 75.1% EPZ workers, 71.9% rural garment workers and 58.4% textile workers belonging to the 18 - 29 age group. likewise 66.7%, 50%, 50% respectively were single. Most home-based garment workers, handloom weavers and retrenched workers were older and were married. Most other women in their families belonged to the older age group and were married but many women workers in the families of home-based workers and retrenched workers were young ‘second generation’ women. The majority of men were over 30 years of age and were married.

A substantial proportion of women textile workers, handloom workers and retrenched workers and women in the families of home-based workers and retrenched workers had had a ten year complete secondary education while the rest were secondary school ‘drop outs’. The educational attainments of men on average were lower than that of women. There were one male and one female university graduate in the sample from the families of textile workers. It is a matter of concern that educational levels were relatively higher among those most adversely affected by macro economic reforms the handloom workers - and retrenched workers and that both groups of women did not have access to alternative sustainable occupations.

In the current situation in Sri Lanka, secondary education has ceased to be a major agent of upward occupational mobility for low income families.

Gender roles

The demand for low cost labour in the international labour market has clearly expanded the employment opportunities of women in garment and textile factories and among home-based garment workers in the informal sector. Women's economic roles have extended, and particularly in the context of male unemployment or under employment and the high proportion of women who are economically inactive in their families, these women make a crucial contribution to family income and to the economic stability of families. Even the handloom workers persist in their unrewarding economic activities for family survival and maintenance. The contraction of employment opportunities of some groups of women workers is seen in the situation of handloom workers and in the plight of the retrenched workers of whom only 16.7% have been able to find new employment avenues, which again bring minimal economic rewards. Four of the groups of women workers – the EPZ workers, the rural garment workers, the textile factory workers and the home-based garment workers- have “gained” from the macro economic reforms and two groups, the handloom workers and the retrenched workers have lost out.

As pointed out however, by Elson and Pearson (1981) and others, these “gains” in employment have extended the economic roles of women and increased the access to economic resources but have concomitantly made women workers vulnerable to new forms of gender subordination. The women factory workers were chiefly assembly line machine operators and only two women workers in the textile factory had reached positions of Quality Controller and Trainer. The majority had been less than five years in employment and were a part of the flexible labour reserve of young women who moved in and out or were moved out after a period of employment. They had ostensibly “permanent” jobs but around half did not have a formal contract and could be fired at will. Some of them did not receive the benefits

they were entitled to, some women worked beyond the statutory eight hours in early morning or night shifts on compulsory overtime. They were not permitted to leave their workplace during the tea or lunch break, except the few employed at a higher level such as Quality Controller. Half these establishments had some form of workers' organisations (not Trade Unions) but these women were not members. The harassment they described in their workplace included an excessive work load, continuous standing, arbitrary change of tasks, overtime without payment. The travails of these women workers which includes arbitrary dismissal are documented in the case studies of factory workers. These women were helpless cogs in mechanisms that violated labour legislation and operated on the principle of "flexibilisation" of labour.

It was noted that the few other women in their families who were employed in similar occupations had the same working conditions. The men in these families in permanent jobs appeared to have more stable jobs but as most men were also in low skill employment they too were subjected to similar processes of labour control. The fact that there had been a drop out rate of 14.6% among EPZ women workers and 12.5% among rural garment women workers since Phase 1, within a year, is indicative of the extent of job insecurity. The home-based garment women workers whether self employed or engaged in piece rate work were at the mercy of traders or 'middlemen'. The handloom women workers were all casual workers without benefits or job security, virtually subsidised in a context of low market demand for their products. Only one of the few retrenched workers had a permanent job as a 'weaver' and the rest were engaged in unviable self employment.

Nevertheless all these women workers and other economically active women in their families worked long hours, as much as the men to provide for their

families. It did not appear however, that the extension of their economic roles had reduced their household labour significantly.

Six tasks were identified for analysis of the gender division of labour – cooking, washing cooking utensils, washing clothes, child care, fetching water and care of the old and sick. In the six groups studied, 50 to 100 of the women workers and other women in their families responded that ‘almost all’ or ‘most’ of these tasks were performed by them and only a few women participated minimally. On the other hand, 50% to 70% of the men said that they had little or no involvement in these tasks and only between 2% and 33% claimed that they were responsible for much of these domestic tasks. The study confirmed the findings of most studies that the gender division of labour continues to be inequitable despite the increasing responsibilities of women as income earners. Although it was conceded that men may undertake household tasks if women fall ill, women felt that men would not voluntarily undertake many of these tasks.

There were instances of ‘role-conflict’ in women’s efforts to combine economic and domestic roles. Most women and men admitted to conflict over domestic areas and the increasing workload was passed on to other women in the family without adjustments in the ascribed gender roles of men, as only providers in families. There were complaints of neglect of children, and women elsewhere had feelings of guilt and ambivalence regarding combining economic and material roles.

Gender Relations

Gender relations within the family were explored in its different manifestations – allocation of resources, control of income and assets, decision making, physical mobility, marriage, reproduction and sexuality and gender based violence.

Allocation of resources

Gender differences in the allocation of resources were examined in access of education, health, food and employment. The national policy of free education in all state or state assisted educational institutions since 1945 eliminated gender differences in access to education by the 1960s. The social philosophy of equity in education had clearly seeped into public consciousness so that there appears to be hardly any overt gender discrimination in access to education in these families. In most families, (91%) boys and girls had had similar education opportunities and family support. A few said boys had more opportunities, because they could travel easily to distant schools. Almost all women and men (98%) believed that girls and boys should have the same opportunities and aspirations for higher education tended to be slightly higher for girls than for boys. It was clearly expressed that in the event of a financial crisis, no child or only children not doing well in school, irrespective of their sex, should be withdrawn from school (92.9%).

Of the few who dissented, the preference for withdrawing the girl child was stated by only 2% of EPZ women workers and 6% of women in the families of garment workers. The preference for withdrawing the boy child was stated by 2% of EPZ women workers, 2% men in their families, and 6% of other women and 3% of men in the families of rural garment workers. The influence of gender role stereotypes was seen, however, in the identification by a minority, of different tasks assigned to boys and girls in schools and different behavioural expectations of boys and girls in schools, and more visibly in the fact that their own vocational aspirations have been influenced by gender role assumptions.

The strong focus in national policy on maternal and child health perhaps created a tradition of gender equality as 91% of women and 90% of men said that there was no gender difference in access to health care. The majority of

women and men except in the families of handloom workers agreed that men and women and even girls and boys do not eat together. But very few, from 2.% to 8% in the different groups, subscribed to the view that this was normative behaviour or a manifestation of gender inequality in access to food. Most women and men attributed this pattern to the difficult time 'schedules' of members of the family which made eating together difficult. This perception is perhaps an indication of the changing life styles in families with both women and men employed outside the house.

Economic pressures have pushed most women into the labour market. While women said that they had made the decision to seek employment themselves, around two thirds of all the women had been subject to family influence or control regarding the type of employment favoured. There was opposition in some families to jobs outside the house and to specific occupations such as factory jobs, domestic service overseas and service in the army. Since these are the areas in which new employment opportunities have been created for women in recent years, such restrictions have implications for choice as well as for employment perse It is difficult however to determine whether the constraints of other women in the families were due to family opposition or to lack of employment opportunities. Certainly the majority of men have made their independent decisions.

Control of assets and income

Around half to two thirds of the men in these families owned land, houses or vehicles, but very few women except among home based garment workers, village handloom workers and retrenched workers had assets such as land or houses. The majority could not dispose of assets independently but men appeared to have greater authority to acquire assets.

What is interesting however is that 93% of women workers and 72% of other women in their families who were engaged in economic activities had control of their salaries on wages and a minuscule proportion (3%) handed over their income to their spouses. The situation was different in the case of men, as except in the families of garment workers, 44% of men handed over their salaries to their spouses and claimed to have little or no control of it. The majority of women and men workers (86%, 69%, 57%) had their own bank accounts, but more women than men had both formal and informal savings such as cheetu and jewellery. It appears therefore that while men tend to own traditional assets such as land and housing, women workers have had access to independent incomes and savings through employment, which they firmly controlled.

In this context it could be said that increasing access to employment in recent decades has enabled women to have more control of economic resources and thereby resulted in more equitable gender relations in the family.

Decision making in the household

The perceptions of the women and men regarding increase in decision making power with employment are not consistent. While most stated that their decision making powers within the household had increased, they also stated that they had almost the same decision making powers before employment. It is likely that the joint decision making pattern found in other studies of Sri Lanka prevailed also in these families. In practice independent decision making is limited to providing daily needs and other routine activities and there is no limit of male dominance in decision making.

An interesting difference is seen in the perception of those desiring and increase in decision making in the family and in the community Around 65%

of women workers, 58% of other women and 50% of men desired an increase in women's decision making powers in the family but a greater percentage, 90% of women workers, 86% of other women and 84% of men, urged an increase in decision making power in the community. Fear of the consequences of more power sharing on the part of women and resistance to power sharing by men within the intimate family nexus, rather than in the less personalised community, appear to be reflected in these responses.

There was agreement among most women (96%) and men (92%) that women had less physical mobility than men, particularly in the public sphere to restaurants and cinemas. Less than one third women or men (excepting 40% in the families of rural garment factory workers) saw this as an assertion of patriarchal authority embedded in tradition. Two thirds of women and men were of the view that limits were imposed by the climate of violence in the country that exposed women to sexual violence.

The positive perceptions of women workers and other women and the men in their families regarding the changes in the personalities and life styles of women employed outside the house are an index to the impact of economic participation on women. Around 70% to 100% of women and men noted that these women had increased economic security and had acquired knowledge and experience. They had consequently greater mobility, improved self esteem, and to a slightly lesser extent, self confidence and increased standing in the family. Hardly anybody felt that there had been improvement in the status of the families in view of the status of these occupations. Women were seen to have gained in stature as individuals, gains which could modify gender relations in the family.

Marriage, reproduction and sexuality

Gender issues in marital relations were complex, with no evidence of a classic patriarchal model. Family control in the selection of a spouse was seen only in the families of the village based handloom workers. In other groups, around 68% of women workers, 60% of other women and 72% of the men in the families had selected their own spouses. There was only one instance of child marriage, a women in the family of an EPZ worker who had married at 12 years, and a minority of women and even men had been married at 16 to 18 years. The majority of women had been 18 to 25 years and the majority of men had been over 25 years when they were married. The majority also had similar plans for their off springs, daughters to be married at 18 to 25 years and sons when they were over 25 years.

The traditional restrictions regarding marriage outside caste, religion and ethnic groups appear to have been modified among women who were employed in factories and in home based garment production, but the women and men in the families of the handloom workers appeared to be rigid and conservative as no one approved of marriage outside caste, religion or ethnic group. Men in the families of garment workers appear to be more liberal than women, but men were conservative in other groups.

A significant number of women workers (67%) and other women (58%) have been sufficiently empowered to state that they can move out of an unhappy marriage if financial resources were available. Only half the numbers of men said they could do so. But patriarchal nuances were seen in the 'double standards' reflected in the fact that a women's infidelity was considered to be more important reason than a man's infidelity for dissolution of a marriage. Wife battering was considered an important reason for separation only by women and men in the families of textile workers.

Despite this appearance of relatively egalitarian relationships in at least half the families, women and men appear to have internationalised gendered norms that buttress oppressive social practices that reinforce unequal gender relations in families. Giving dowries to women in marriage had not been a uniform practice in these families, and less than half had received dowries, in the context perhaps of their economic constraints. The majority of women and men hope to give their daughter a dowry, but very few, around 10%, intended to ask dowries for their sons. This apparent distinction between providing economic security for their daughters and not demanding a dowry for their sons is in contrast to the commercial bargaining that takes place in more affluent families. Also, only around half of both women and men have observed any increase in dowry demand.

On the other hand, the virginity test on marriage appears to be widely accepted as a “sound” tradition. Around 70% women workers and 60% other women in their families have submitted to this test. Many of them defend its value as a mechanism to ensure the ‘purity’ of a woman before marriage. Very few question its unscientific assumptions, its relevance, its ideology of double standards and its violation of the rights of women.

Another facet of gender discrimination, son preference, is inbuilt in the ideology of around 70% of the women and half the men. The reasons for this preference are in consonance with gendered norms of sons as the only providers and protectors of the family – a situation that no longer prevails in the country – and as the transmitters of the family line. This son preference, however is limited to an aspiration, and while some women and men are aware of the availability of ultra scan facilities, very few use it and no family has used it to abort a girl child.

A minority of women and men have used family planning methods, largely through a preference for 'the natural method' or through lack of information. Sexual satisfaction was considered to be more important for husbands than for wives. Male control of sexuality did not, however, emerge as a major problem in marital relations as, 78% of women workers, and 72% of other women and a lesser proportion of men (56%) said they could refuse sex with spouse.

Women in these families are therefore not all subservient in marital relations and in their reproductive role but they have yet to challenge obscurantist-social norms and practices that perpetuate gender inequality. The girl child, does not appear to be disadvantaged in the process but the personhood and worth of a woman are eroded by these practices. There appears, however, to be very little awareness of these aspects of gender subordination.

Gender based violence

Questions regarding domestic violence in families in the neighbourhood elicited information that domestic violence was pervasive in most households. There was considerable reluctance on the other hand to provide information regarding domestic violence within one's own family, as the practice of drawing a veil over such violence to safeguard family prestige and privacy still prevails in families. Nevertheless only around half the women and men or less said there was no conflict and abuse in their families. It was only in the families of handloom workers that there was denial of domestic violence by 70% to 90% of the women and men.

Factors that contribute to domestic violence are identified by women and men in their information on such violence in families in the neighbourhood. There was near consensus (95%) that alcohol addiction was perhaps the most importance predisposing factor according to their perceptions.

Economic constraints that created stresses and tensions were considered the next important factor, by around 75% of women and men. Interestingly, the third factor was the challenge offered by women to patriarchal power relations in the family – presumed neglect of household work by women, (61% of women and 61% of men) “talking back” to husband, (63% women and 73% of men) and disobedience to husbands and elders. (61% women and 60% men) . Women believed that such challenges were resisted by men, a view confirmed by the endorsement by the majority of men. Extra marital affairs were also causes of disharmony but other factors such as dowry demands, birth of girl children and childlessness were not considered to be sufficiently important to provoke domestic violence.

According to the responses of the women and men, domestic violence is confined largely to verbal abuse and threats and reaction to domestic violence is considerably muted. The main response appears to have been tolerance of abuse with some seeking family support. Very few women have had recourse to action such as suicide, going back to their parental home, separation from their spouses or going to the police. A few men have admitted “hitting back”.

The case studies document some of the experiences of six of the eight married women – the three women who have taken action to move out of their marriage and the three women who live with domestic violence.

Few women or men have spoken of violence in the public sphere. The few reports on sexual harassment in the work place refer only to teasing and verbal abuse. There have been, however, some cases of rape among EPZ and rural garment factory workers and retrenched workers. In view of the under reporting of such violence these cases appear to be the “tip of the iceberg.”

Gender specific aspirations

The most telling evidence of gender inequality is the rejection by men and around 90% women of rebirth as a woman. It was found that 73% of women workers, 78% of other women and 90% of men aspired to be reborn as men. Further, 8% of men and 15% of women had no particular preference to be a man or a woman. Only 10% of women workers and 6% of other women continued to be reborn as women. The complex issues underlying such an aspiration cannot be explored here but these aspirations are symptomatic of the slow and uneven pace of social change and continuing gender inequalities.

Mental Health

With regard to mental health, women seem to be highly stressed and having a low sense of well-being than men, and working persons among both women and men had a better health status than non working persons. Education and Marriage improved the mental health status. As a person become older both mental distress and sense of well-being are affected adversely.

Continuity or Change

Gender roles have been extended in many of these low income families in which economic pressures have driven young women to respond to the demand for low cost labour in factories and older women to utilise the spin off from the garment industry. Despite the extension of women's economic role it was seen that their ascribed role as 'home-makers' has not been modified significantly and that the gender division of household labour continues to be inequitable. Role conflicts - real or imagined - have surfaced with conflict over domestic chores and child care responsibilities and women's own ambivalence and 'guilt' regarding the just operation of their

maternal and economic roles. These developments are symptoms of a transition that is taking place more rapidly in a context of globalisation.

The situation regarding changing gender relations is less clear. In Sri Lanka social policies over six decades have assured girls and boys, women and men, equal access to education and health services. The perceptions of both women and men of gender equality in these areas is inevitable in this context. It is totally unrelated to economic developments. However, gender role stereotypes which have not been countered by education are seen to influence vocational aspirations and to underpin family control of women's employment opportunities in some families. On the other hand, changing life styles in families as a consequence of the economic participation of women and men have weakened traditional norms that created gender inequality in access to food within families.

The study found that women, employed or not employed, were not subservient in terms of decision making in the family or marital relations. While men appeared to have control of traditional assets such as land, houses and vehicles, women were in control of the resources they generated through their economic activities and of the formal and informal savings they accumulated. This was true of all women, those in new employment avenues, the economically depressed handloom workers and retrenched workers. In view of the fact that a substantial number of men said that they handed over their salaries to spouses as the 'keepers of the purse', this control of income is a manifestation of an egalitarian ethos that was already in existence. Access to new and enlarged resources has made this power sharing more visible.

While there was a perception that decision making powers had increased, in actual fact women already shared in decision making in consonance with a

pattern of joint decision making rather than male dominance. It is however clear too that women employed outside the house had acquired stronger personality characteristics and social acceptance that enhanced their decision-making role. There were nuances of anticipated conflict reflected in the fact that both women and men envisaged more decision making powers in the community than in the family. Women's physical mobility was seen to be restricted by an unsafe environment rather than by normative behavioural expectations, again not surprising in a society in which women in low income families have moved freely in search of employment from the rural sector to the urban environment and overseas in distant lands.

Gender relations in marriage and reproduction too did not differ in the families of employed or "not working" women. A substantial proportion of women had the capacity to select their own spouse, to agree to or to refuse sex and to move out of an unsatisfactory job if their financial circumstances permitted such a step. At the same time they were socialised by gendered norms that influenced their behaviour in different ways - in a dowry system which in their socio-economic group is relatively flexible, a virginity test that empowerment through education or control of economic resources has not been challenged, and on preference but without a threat to the life of the girl child. Social practices and attitudes such as dowry, arranged marriages, family planning and son preference have been always less rigid in Sri Lanka than in neighbouring countries. The origins of the virginity test are unknown but it appears to be accepted as a social practice that requires conformity.

Patriarchal relations were seen most vividly in the sphere of violence. The reluctance to speak of domestic violence within the family and the low key response to it by the majority and the failure to use legal processes by victims point to the powerlessness of these women. Alcoholism that facilitated exercise of male power and perceptions of non-conformity and

threat to male authority by wives exercising a degree of autonomy were seen to accelerate domestic violence. Sexual harassment in the work place appeared to be under played but the cases of rape of women workers indicate that women continue to be vulnerable to male control of the female body in any context.

Women workers had more access than 'non working' women to resources which gave them an advantage in negotiating power sharing. But the fact that the perceptions of power sharing by women workers and men workers did not differ markedly indicates that the gender ethos in the family provided leeway for change. Both women workers and non workers in families of handloom workers were more conservative in their attitudes to marriage and marital relations because they were in an environment in which economic changes had by passed them, but they were no less in control of their incomes, and as the case study subject said, were leaders in decision making in the family. The men in the study seemed as much or more disadvantaged than the women in terms of unemployment. They tended however to have more traditional assets, physical mobility and more freedom from family control. There was no overt evidence of extreme male dominance in family relations but the incidence of domestic violence points to continuing unequal gender relations.

In Sri Lanka economic policies have brought some women into the labour market and empowered them with economic resources while depriving others of a sustainable livelihood. Social policies have given women and men equal access to education and health. Patriarchal relations have been less oppressive than in some societies and these egalitarian aspects are seen to have been reinforced by access to employment and income as seen also in Wolf! Study (1977) of Indonesian women factory workers. Gendered norms reflected in some oppressive social practices however were also observed to

obstruct progress towards equality in gender roles and relations in the family. Domestic violence was seen to be exacerbated by women's resistance to patriarchal relations in the family and men's hostile reaction to such resistance. There is still a long way to go in the transformative process to a 'sex role transcendent' family as envisaged by Szinovacz (1984).