

Low Female Employment in a Period of High Growth: Insights from Primary Survey in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat



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**Team Leader
Santosh Mehrotra**

**Authors
Partha Saha, Ankita Gandhi, Kamala Devi and Sharmistha Sinha**

**Institute of Applied Manpower Research
Planning Commission, Government of India**

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Contents

	Page No.	
<i>Executive Summary</i>	<i>xiii</i>	
I.	Introduction	1
	1.1 Background	3
	1.2 Why is female employment declining: possible explanations provided by other studies	9
	1.3 Structure of the report	9
II.	Female Labour Force Participation – Analysis of Secondary Data	
	2.1 Introduction	11
	2.2 National Trends in Female LFPR and WFPR	11
	2.3: Trends in Female Employment across States	16
	2.4 Broad Conclusions	19
III	Objectives and Methodology of the Primary Survey	
	3.1 Objective	20
	3.2 Methodology	20
IV	Primary Survey: The Broad Setting and Research Questions	37
	4.1 The Setting	38
	4.2 Research Questions	39
	4.3 Necessity of primary survey	40
	4.4 Organization of Primary Survey Findings	40
V	Education and Major Activity of Females	41
	5.1 Introduction	41
	5.2 Educational attainment of adult females	41
	5.3 Major Activity of Adult Females by Educational Attainment	42
	5.4 Age Group Wise Classification of Females into Different Activities	45
	5.5 Summary	47

VI	Employment Opportunities	
	6.1 Introduction	49
	6.2 Employment Opportunities Across Social Groups	49
	6.3 Education and Employment Opportunities	51
	6.4: Days of Employment and Remuneration	60
	6.5 Summary	66
VII	Problems and Constraints Faced by Females	
	7.1 Introduction	68
	7.2 Difficulties Faced by Working Women at Home	68
	7.3 Challenges at Workplace	69
	7.4 Constraints that Non-working Females Encounter for Entering the Labour Market	72
	7.5 Impact of Marriage	74
	7.6 Skill Training: Inadequate and Ineffective	77
	7.7: Participation in Government Programmes	78
	7.8 Summary	80
VIII	Time Disposition of Females	81
	8.1 Introduction	81
	8.2 Time Use Study of Adult Working Females	81
	8.2 Time Use of Males in Household Activities	84
	8.3 Summary	84
IX	Conclusions and Policy Implications	86
	Bibliography	92

List of Tables

2.1	Status of Female Employment (in million), Rural India	14
2.2	Status of Female Employment (in million), Urban India	15
2.3	State-wise Change in Female Principal Employment, Rural	16
2.3A	State-wise Change in Female Employment, Rural	17
2.4	State-wise Change in Female Subsidiary Employment, Rural	18
2.5	Change in Female Employment (in million), Rural Uttar Pradesh between 2004-5 and 2009-10	18
2.6	Change in Female Employment (in million), Rural Gujarat between 2004-5 and 2009-10	19
3.1	Female LFPR and WFPR (UPSS), 2009-10	21
3.2	Selection of Districts for the Primary Survey in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh	31
3.3	Selection of Urban Location, Gujarat	31
3.4	Selection of Urban Location, Uttar Pradesh	33
3.5	Selection of Villages and Households, Rural Gujarat	34
3.6	Selection of Villages and Households, Rural UP	35
5.1	Proportion of Females (15 yrs and above) by Level of Education	41
5.2	Percentage Distribution of Females (15 yrs and above) by Education level, by Social Group (%)	42
5.3	Major Activity of Females (15 yrs and above) by Education Level, Uttar Pradesh Rural, 2012	43
5.4	Major Activity of Females (15 yrs and above) by Education Level, Uttar Pradesh Urban, 2012	43
5.5	Major Activity of Females (15 yrs and above) by Education Level, Gujarat Rural, 2012	44

5.6	Major Activity of Females (15 yrs and above) by Education Level, Gujarat Urban, 2012	44
5.7	Proportion of Females (15 yrs and above) Reporting as Unemployed and Primarily Involved in Household Chores in the study regions	45
5.8	Percentage Distribution of Females by Age and by Activity Status, Rural Uttar Pradesh	46
5.9	Percentage Distribution of Females by Age and by Activity Status, Urban Uttar Pradesh	46
5.10	Percentage Distribution of Females by Age and by Activity Status, Rural Gujarat	46
5.11	Percentage Distribution of Females by Age and by Activity Status, Urban Gujarat	47
6.1	Percentage Distribution of Females (15 yrs and above) by Occupation, by Social Group (%)	50
6.2	Percentage Distribution of Working Females (15 Yrs and above) by Work Status, by Social Group (%)	51
6.3	Main Occupation of working illiterates (Rural Uttar Pradesh)	51
6.4	Main Occupation of working illiterates (Urban Uttar Pradesh)	52
6.5	Main Occupation of working illiterates (Rural Gujarat)	53
6.6	Main Occupation of working illiterates (Urban Gujarat)	53
6.7	Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Rural Uttar Pradesh)	53
6.8	Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Urban Uttar Pradesh)	53
6.9	Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Rural Gujarat)	54
6.10	Main Occupation of literates up to Primary (Urban Gujarat)	54

6.11	Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Urban Uttar Pradesh)	55
6.12	Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Rural Uttar Pradesh)	55
6.13	Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Rural Gujarat)	56
6.14	Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Urban Gujarat)	56
6.15	Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Rural Uttar Pradesh)	56
6.16	Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Urban Uttar Pradesh)	57
6.17	Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Rural Gujarat)	57
6.18	Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Urban Gujarat)	57
6.19	Main Occupation of PG & above (Urban Uttar Pradesh)	58
6.20	Distribution of Females (15 yrs and above) by Level of Education for Different Occupation, Uttar Pradesh (%)	58
6.21	Distribution of Females (15 yrs and above) by Level of Education for Different Occupation, Gujarat (%)	59
6.22	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Agricultural Labourer	61
6.23	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Textile Factory Labourer	61
6.24	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Construction Labourer	62

6.25	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Trader	63
6.26	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Vendor	63
6.27	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Home Based Worker	65
6.28	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Service Sector Worker	65
6.29	Average Work Hours, Average Days of Employment, Average Earnings for Domestic Worker	66
6.30	Number of females (15 yrs and above) employed in wage employment and getting social security benefits	66
7.1	Problems faced by Working Females at Home	69
7.2	Problems faced by females working as agriculture labour	70
7.3	Problems faced by females working as construction labour	70
7.4	Problems faced by females working as textile factory labour	70
7.5	Mode of transport availed by working women (15 yrs and above) (%)	71
7.6	Proportion of Females (15 yrs & above) Usually Engaged in Domestic Duties (by UPA) Willing to Work within Household Premises, by Type of Work Acceptable	73
7.7	Proportion of Females (15 years and above) Reporting Domestic Duties as Usual Principal Activity, 2009-10	73
7.8	Proportion of Females for Whom Absence of any other Household Member was the Reason for Spending Most of the Time in Domestic Duties out of All Females who Reported Domestic Duties as Usual Principal Activity (15 years and above), 2009-10	74

7.9	Proportion of Females Who Worked Before Marriage	74
7.10	Proportion of Households where Females Take Decision (%)	76
7.11	Distribution of Households by the Individuals Involved in Decision Making about Various Activities of Females in the Household, UP (%)	77
7.12	Distribution of Households by the Individuals Involved in Decision Making about Various Activities of Females in the Household, Gujarat (%)	77
7.13	Proportion of households where at least one female member participated in skill training programme in the last 5 years	77
7.14	Proportion of Households being Aware of or Benefitted from Government Programmes	79
8.1	Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation: Occupation: Agricultural Labour (Hours)	82
8.2	Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation: Occupation - Construction Lab (Hours)	82
8.3	Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation: Occupation - Home Based Worker (Hours)	83
8.4	Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation: Occupation – Services (Hours)	83
8.5	Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation: Occupation - Farmer at Own Field (Hours)	84
8.6	Average Time (hours) Spent by Adult Males in Household Maintenance	84

List of Figures

2.1	Trends in Female Labour Force Participation Rates in Developing Countries	12
2.2	Female Labour Force Participation Rates	13
2.3	Female Work Force by Principal and Subsidiary Status	14
2.4	Percentage Contribution to Decline in Female Employment in Rural India between 2004-5 and 2009-10	15
3.1	Percentage of Population below Poverty Line in Uttar Pradesh as compared to National Average 2009-10	22
3.2	Labour Force Participation Rate for Total, Rural, Urban vis-à-vis India 2011-12 (persons per 1000 working-age population)	23
3.3	Population Size of SCs, STs for Rural, Urban Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011 (persons per 1000 working-age population)	24
3.4	Literacy rate Total, Rural+Urban, Rural, Urban Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011	25
3.5	Sex ratio (Females per 1000 males) In Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011	26
3.6	Percentage of Population below Poverty Line, 2009-10	26
3.7	Labour Force Participation Rate for Total, Rural, Urban Gujarat vis-à-vis India, 2011-12	27
3.8	Size of total population, SC population, ST population in Gujarat as compared to the National Average, 2011	28
3.9	Literacy rate (7+ years) Total, Rural+Urban, Rural, Urban Gujarat vis-à-vis India, 2011	29
3.10	Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 males in Gujarat as compared to National Average, 2011	30

Executive Summary

The Report *Low Female Employment in a Period of High Growth: Insights from a Primary Survey in Uttar Pradesh & Gujarat* has been prepared by The Institute of Applied Manpower Research, as a study commissioned by the International Labour Organization, warranted by the steep and continuous fall in female labour force participation rate in India since 2005. This study has been completed under the leadership of Dr Santosh Mehrotra, Director General, IAMR. The lead authors are Partha Saha, Ankita Gandhi, Kamala Devi and Sharmistha Sinha.

There was a sudden spurt in the number of women labourers in India during 1999-00 to 2004-05, with rural women showing a remarkable participation in paid work. Since then, however, there had been a drastic and persistent fall in female labour force at the time, particularly when the economy was experiencing unprecedented growth. Several studies have shown a U-shaped relationship between economic development and women's economic activity (Goldin, 1994; Tansel, 2002), hypothesizing that female labour force participation declines initially with economic development, plateaus and then rises again, a phenomenon reflective of structural shifts in the economy, changing influence of income and substitution effects, and an increase in education levels of women in the population (Goldin, 1994).

Creating productive non-farm jobs is crucial for any growth process to sustain. In India, even though the economy grew at a very high rate during second half of the 2000s, it was not translated to a concomitant increase in employment – a phenomenon described as jobless growth (Mehrotra et al., 2012). The problem of insufficient jobs was more pronounced in the case of females who experienced a sharp decline in employment during this period, more in the case of rural women.

The sharp decline in female employment has raised concerns among the policy makers regarding gender equality, women empowerment, and women livelihood strategies. Women's employment is a critical factor in their economic empowerment and their overall status in society. This study has been undertaken as a response to the growing concern over declining female employment in India, with the objective of understanding some of the reasons behind this phenomenon. The study revolves around determinants behind the declining female employment, and also focuses on problems and constraints, that females face related to their participation in the labour market.

Reproductive roles, household and care responsibilities, cultural sanctions, patriarchal hierarchies; and factors like continuing in education and migration after marriage can explain the withdrawal of females from the labour force. On the push side, female participation in work force is linked to the availability of opportunities, household income, migration, and distress in the economy.

It also needs to be understood whether this withdrawal is in the nature of discouraged worker phenomenon; that is, whether the decision to withdraw from the labour force was voluntary or a

forced one due to lack of suitable employment opportunities. This study was undertaken to explore some of the determinants of female participation in the labour market in selected locations in both rural and urban areas, and also to explore other possible reasons for the declining trend in female employment.

This study was conducted in **Gujarat** (a relatively better off state in terms of per capita income and other economic indicators), and in **Uttar Pradesh** (a state which lags in most socio-economic indicators vis-à-vis the national average). The selection of states was on the basis of work participation rate, socio-economic profile, incidence of poverty, and change in the absolute number of female employment between 2004-05 and 2009-10. Preliminary analysis of NSS data reveals that in 2009-10, Gujarat has a higher labour force participation rate (LFPR) of 25.6 percent and workforce participation rate WFPR of 25.3 percent for females than the national average of 23.3 percent and 22.8 percent respectively, while Uttar Pradesh has lower LFPR of 15.6 percent and WFPR of 15.5 percent as compared to the national average. Similar is the case even in 2011-12.

There are rural-urban differences in female employment. During 2004-5 to 2009-10 both these States have experienced decline in female workers. In rural Gujarat female LFPR declined from 43 percent to 32 percent during 2005 to 2010, falling further to 28 percent in 2011-12. Urban Gujarat witnessed a consistent decline, albeit marginal over the years. Uttar Pradesh also saw a decline in rural areas; however, in urban locale there are signals of revival with an increase from 8.3 percent to 10 percent. Female work participation – the incidence and the nature of job in which they are employed varies with social groups in India. About 6.3 million women (Census of India, 2011) belong to socially deprived groups among 30 million women in Gujarat, wherein most are scheduled tribes in rural areas. In Uttar Pradesh 21 out of 100 million women are socially deprived with majority being rural scheduled castes.

This study was based on a primary household survey, where the focus was not only on measurement of quantitative variables, but also on the interactions between various qualitative, socio-economic dimensions which have an implication on female participation in the labour market. Further, this study also analyses through a time-use survey of adult females whether burden of household responsibilities have any bearing on participation in labour market. In addition to household surveys, focused group discussions were held with various stake holders to get a larger picture of constraints, opportunities, and aspirations of females in selective study locations. The survey collected information on basic amenities, demographic particulars, occupational pattern of adult household members, problems and constraints faced by adult female members regarding participation in labour force, participation of females in various skill training programmes, participation of females in household decision making, and time-use of adult female members in both economic and non-economic activities, from 500 households in each State in both rural and urban areas.

The report starts with an analysis of employment and unemployment survey data (conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization), and the focus of this analysis is on change in female employment particularly during the period 2004-5 to 2009-10 and then in the next two years 2009-10 to 2011-12 (Chapter 2). The trend indicated by an analysis of secondary data was carried forward for further analysis through household survey in selective locations. The selection of the study locations along with a detailed methodology is discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 provides a broad macro setting for this study and presents the research questions which are addressed in the following four chapters. The dominant pull factor impacting female employment in the study locations (i.e., education) is analysed in Chapter 5. Employment opportunities in the study locations are discussed in Chapter 6. Problems faced by working women (both at work place and in household), and constraints faced by those non-working women in order to participate in the labour market are discussed in Chapter 7. The following chapter (Chapter 8) examines the time use of females and analyses time disposition of working females (in different occupations) in non-economic activities. The last chapter (Chapter 9) provides some broad conclusions and suggests some policy recommendations.

The National Sample Survey Data reveals that in India, there has been a consistent decline in female labour force participation rates both in rural and urban areas since the 1970s, with the period 1999-2000 to 2004-5 being the only exception. During 2005 to 2010, there had been a decline in female employment by 21.2 million (according to usual principal and subsidiary status). This decline is primarily attributed by the 19.8-million fall in female employment in rural India. Post 2010, employment opportunities for women in rural areas further declines by 2.7 million. In urban areas, however, there has been an increase in female employment of 4.5 million during 2010-2012. The decline in rural female labour force participation rate during 2005 to 2010 was much sharper in case of principal and subsidiary status taken together as compared to only principal status, thus implying that a larger share of fall could be attributed to decline in subsidiary status. In the next two years, female employment by subsidiary status increases by 6 million coupled with a continuing decline in principal status in rural areas. Focusing on rural India, the bulk of the decline in female employment was on account of fall in self-employment which is primarily attributed to decline in unpaid family work (Chapter 2).

A comparison across States indicates that Karnataka, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat experienced decline in female employment to a significant extent between 2004-5 and 2009-10 in both principal and subsidiary status. In order to understand the possible determinants of declining female employment, two among the four states had been chosen for the Study. Two districts from each State had been studied, based on the work participation rates for females, one above the State average and one lower. Along with the trend in declining female employment, national level surveys indicate an increase in real wages, and greater participation along with increasing continuation of females in education. Therefore, could it be the case that the positive income effect of higher real wages and positive outcomes of educational programmes are responsible for withdrawal of females from the labour market? Also there had been absolute

decline in the number of workers in agriculture, a phenomenon witnessed for the first time in the history of independent India, which reflects a shift out of low productivity jobs in agriculture. And since 80 percent of the women workers are in agriculture, an optimistic interpretation could be that with lowering of poverty, the excess workers who got absorbed into agriculture are now withdrawing. Given the wide range of information provided by these large scale national surveys, we can analyse broad patterns and trends of employment and unemployment across different States and regions of India. However, these trends and patterns are outcomes of fairly complex socio-economic relations which often work within the broad frame work of social hierarchies, traditional norms, and social, political and economic setting in the neighbourhood. The Survey, therefore, is intended to understand activity pattern of females along with their possible determinants, the nature of constraints and problems that females face.

The primary research attempts to capture some of these qualitative determinants that influence female participation in labour market:

- Work history of females to find out whether certain social phenomenon had any influence on their participation in labour market
- Kinds of support/disincentives that females received/encountered from their families and neighbours resulting in their participation/withdrawal from the labour market
- Difficulties and constraints faced by females in their pursuit of economic activities
- Extent to which females participate in household decision making
- Social norms and customs that go into decision making regarding female participation in the labour market
- Females own perception about improving their employability
- Daily time disposition of females in different activities which might have a bearing on their labour market participation

Key Findings

Major findings from the survey were as follows:

- The incidence of illiteracy was quite high among females both in rural and urban areas of both the states despite significant improvements in literacy rates in the last two decades. There was a gradual decline with age in the proportion of females educated at successively higher standards, the sharpest being from secondary to higher secondary level. Socially deprived groups fare extremely poorly in education, thus ending up doing low end marginal jobs.
- In urban UP, the relation between level of education and proportion of females working was U-shaped. Illiterates have to work for their survival, and with improvement in educational attainment females tend to continue in education provided there are opportunities around. Such opportunities exist in urban areas and those attaining slightly higher educational level continue to remain in education with the hope of getting a better

job. This is certainly a positive phenomenon as it could possibly ensure better quality jobs for the educated females in future. Also, females with post-graduate and above level of education have greater opportunities of work in the urban areas particularly in the service sector. The survey revealed that participation of poorly educated women in the labour force was driven by necessity, while employment opportunities determined the participation of highly educated females in the labour force. There is an inter play between social stigma (of participating in a low end job with relatively better education), and to some extent positive income effect (females who can attain more years of education generally belong to well-off families which are not in dire financial need of female members earning). On attaining higher level of education their participation in the work force increases in relatively well paying, decent, and service sector jobs (with some career goals in mind).

- The perception of work is different in the two States. In Gujarat, females not economically active identified themselves as unemployed (implying they were looking for work), while in Uttar Pradesh such females generally reported household chores as their primary responsibility (and hence did not see themselves even looking for work). This does not mean that women in Gujarat had less domestic responsibilities. It is how women identify themselves. Thus, the reporting about perceptions of employment status differs in two States.
- The study revealed that in Uttar Pradesh within the age-group of up to 14 years, a relatively higher share of children, were too young (and were yet to start going to school) as compared to that in Gujarat. For the next two age cohorts (15 to 29, and 30 to 59) the proportion of females who were working was much higher in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh (underlying higher female work participation in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh). In other words, higher proportion of working age females was gainfully employed in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh. In rural areas where the majority of population is still dependent on agriculture, higher agricultural growth in Gujarat provided more employment opportunities for the working age females. In the urban areas, growth of industries has ensured higher working age female participation in the workforce. In Gujarat, one-fifth of working age females reported to be unemployed implying improving work force participation rates for females would require greater creation of employment opportunities in the non-agricultural sector.
- In Uttar Pradesh (both rural and urban), the proportion of females in the age-group of 15 to 29 years who were in education was one-third, which was much higher than that in Gujarat (one-fifth). Therefore, the pull factor contributing towards low female WFPR was much stronger in Uttar Pradesh than in Gujarat. There exists segregation in the nature of employment based on social group, and to a large extent this segregation was guided by educational attainment. Further, an improvement is seen in the nature of employment (higher participation in the service sector) once females attained more years of schooling, at least to higher secondary level. Broadly speaking, attainment of higher

education was essential for getting better quality employment. However, benefits of education vary across regions and to a large extent were dependent on the local economy. However, one over-arching policy conclusion suggested by the survey could be extending financial support (scholarship) to female students at least up to the higher secondary level.

- The study further noted that workers with less education were more likely to experience a transition in the opposite direction – from non-farm work to agriculture. In order to ensure better employment for females it is necessary to increase their enrolment at college and university level. One way of achieving this is to establish more women colleges at the district level with special emphasis on technical and vocational education.
- The survey clearly indicates occupational segregation as well as gender based wage disparity in most of the occupations except in construction works in the selected study locations. In vast majority of cases, female workers did not have any social security benefits to fall back on. Household responsibilities, social obligations, and security concerns often forced females to accept rather unfavourable work conditions in terms of low wage and long working hours. Further, in many occupations their economic contribution was not even factored in despite putting no less effort as compared to males. This was particularly true in case of home-based work where men were also involved but the men dealt mainly with the traders.
- There is a complete lack, and often open violation, of decent work conditions, mainly in the unorganized sector of the economy, which is out of reach of any legal entity.
- Conveyance-related security problems seem to be an important hurdle to go to the work place for most of the women in both Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. This is coupled with long working hours which hinders women's active participation in the labour market. Household responsibility was considered to be a major hindrance in female work participation.
- Another important factor which dampens female employability was the lack of skill training. The record of formal skill training in India is such that NSS shows only 2-3 per cent of the workforce receive formal training. Female participation in skill training programmes in Uttar Pradesh was particularly low, and mostly not related to the demand from the market. On the other hand, participation was reasonably high in Gujarat, and almost half of the females participating in such programmes got some employment opportunities (either as piece-rate workers or as home based worker).
- The importance of the time-use analysis in the survey lies in the fact that it clearly brings out certain qualitative aspects about women work and time disposition and the hardship that they face in day-to-day life without much recognition in labour statistics or in the society. In India, goods produced and consumed by the households are not being covered in System of National Accounts (SNA). Women are generally involved in this. Time spent by males is higher in SNA activities in both rural and urban areas. The trend reverses with respect to Extended SNA and non SNA activities. Therefore, at one point,

women contribute indirectly to the income generating activities of males. Second, their participation in the labour market is greatly constrained by their responsibilities in households which also restrict them from looking for jobs in areas beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

- There is reasonably good awareness among the people in the study regions of both the States about various government programmes and schemes (with the exception of tribals in Gujarat who have been excluded from the main stream of the society for several centuries. Even if the tribals were aware of certain schemes, they were denied access at the local level through the practice of caste hierarchy. The real problem lies in programme implementation which often became complicated by the caste hierarchy at the local level. Among all government programmes, in both the States, benefits mainly accrue from nutrition programmes. In Uttar Pradesh, 64 percent and 26 percent of households report that they are aware of employment programmes and social security programmes respectively but not benefited from the government programmes for the same. The corresponding figures for Gujarat are 16 percent and 45 percent respectively.

In a nutshell, the most pressing problem that females faced were related to conditions of work (low wage, long work hours, physical exhaustion, and health hazards), and that of physical infrastructure (roads and conveyance). Household members are not averse to the idea of females participating in the workforce, even though this willingness in most of the time was distress driven. Apart from economic stability, an important indirect consequence of female work participation was their increasing involvement in household decision making, particularly regarding children's education and decisions related to household savings. The most fundamental problem that persists is the mentality of male supremacy at the work place, with females being treated as inferior beings. Social mobilization, creating awareness are some of the means of coming out of it. But one practical and visible solution lies in facilitating skill training programmes for females in a meaningful way substantiated with follow up actions. Skill training programmes particularly for women remains a major concern not only in the study locations, but throughout the country.

Work opportunities for females were indeed extremely limited particularly in rural areas with shrinking employment opportunities in agriculture and not enough employment opportunities being created in the non-farm sector. Due to various socio-economic and cultural factors along with security reasons females prefer to find employment opportunities in the vicinity. This only adds to the problem of female participation in the labour market. Creating employment opportunities in small towns that can be easily accessed by females staying in both rural and urban areas and improving employability of females should be the foremost agenda for the policy makers. Further, in order to protect the quality of employment in terms of decent work conditions, women's association and self-help groups should be promoted both in rural as well as in urban areas.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Background

One of the structural transformations that any developing economy desires to undergo is a declining share of agriculture in output and employment over time, and corresponding rise in share of industry and services. India, being a developing country has been experiencing this phenomenon, albeit partially. Even though the share of agriculture in gross value added (GVA) has declined to 13.7 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) during 2011-12, about half of the workforce (49 per cent) is still dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. The share of industry and services in output has increased sharply within the last 20 years but their share in employment still remained low, at 24.3 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively in 2011-12. The shift in workforce towards non-agricultural employment has been rather sluggish compared to the rising share of non-agricultural output in gross value added. Therefore, creating decent and productive employment outside agriculture is a major challenge before us and needs overarching priority for strong and sustainable economic growth.

The workforce increased by 60 million during the first half of the last decade (from 399 million in 1999-2000 to 459 million in 2004-5) but the second half of the decade (2004-5 to 2009-10) experienced only a marginal increase in workforce by 1.1 million. In other words, despite registering unprecedented economic growth, employment has not shown a concomitant increase during the second half of the decade (clearly indicating a phenomenon of jobless growth). Resurgence is observed in employment during the period 2010-2012 in which it increased by 14 million to reach the total of 474 million. The problem of insufficient jobs during 2005 to 2010 was more pronounced for females who experienced sharp decline in employment. Considerable decline in female employment resulted in a rather insignificant rise in overall employment during this phase. While male employment increased by 22.5 million during 2004-5 to 2009-10, female employment declined by 21.4 million, resulting in net overall increase of only 1.1 million work opportunities during 2005-10. Of this decline of 21 million, 90 per cent was accounted for by withdrawal of around 20 million rural females from the workforce. Post 2010, there is a further decline in female employment by 2.7 million in rural areas. In urban areas, however, there is an increase of 4.5 million female workers.

India's labour market is highly dualistic in nature, with a small minority of organized formal workers (7% of the total work force) (Mehrotra et al., 2013) and a vast majority in unorganized informal sector including those engaged in agriculture as low paying subsistence workers. Female workers largely belong to the latter group which is more susceptible to economic shocks. The decline in female employment in the second half of

the decade is a reflection of their declining numbers in agriculture, unorganized sector and those engaged as self-employed.

Out of 131 countries, India is placed 11th from the bottom in female labour force participation (ILO, 2012). The Global Gender Gap data on 135 countries shows that women's economic participation and opportunity is worse in India than in 95 per cent of all other countries studied. India is ranked below many sub-Saharan African countries in the UN Gender Inequality Index. Global Gender Gap Index¹ ranks India 105 out of 135 countries. India ranks 123 in gender gaps in economic participation and opportunity, and labour force participation rates for males and females, 121 in gender gaps in educational attainment, and the worst, rank 135, in differences between women's and men's health (WEF 2012). Clearly, India has a long way to go in order to enhance women empowerment, and achieve gender equality. Ensuring economic independence for women by creating decent and productive employment and entrepreneurship opportunities is needed for a larger and more meaningful role of women in the society.

The sharp decline in female employment in the last decade has baffled policy makers. Although the gradual decline in female labour force and work force participation rates has been an observable phenomenon for the last three decades, but the sharp decline in female employment in the second half of the last decade – a decade of rapid economic growth- has raised concerns among the policy makers regarding gender equality, women empowerment, and women livelihood strategies. It has also raised concerns about inclusion of women in the growth process. In his speech to the Indian Labour Conference on 14 February 2012, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated that: 'One of the most under-utilized resources in our country is our women. Female labour force participation rates are extremely low in our country and have remained more or less constant over the past decades. In order to bring more women into the work force, it is necessary to understand the constraints that they face in balancing their family and work responsibilities.'

This study has been undertaken as a response to the growing concern over declining female employment in India, with the objective of understanding some of the reasons behind this phenomenon. Further decline in female work force participation rate adds to this necessity. It might be mentioned at the outset that findings of this study cannot be generalized beyond specific study locations. However, the insights brought out by qualitative and quantitative analysis in this study are not exclusive to the study locations, and various shades and patterns of the phenomenon described in this study are likely to hold true in other similar locations.

¹The Global Gender Gap Index introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006, is a framework for capturing the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress. The Index benchmarks national gender gaps on economic, political, education- and health-based criteria, and provides country rankings that allow for effective comparisons across regions and income groups, and over time.

1.2 Why is female employment declining: possible explanations provided by literature

Literature on female employment looks at different factors from both demand and supply side, explaining women's participation in labour force. There are certain factors like participation in education, social norms and household responsibilities which pull back or deter female participation in the labour market. On the other hand, non-availability of appropriate employment opportunities pushes females out of the labour market. The net effect on female employment is determined by the relative magnitude of these factors. In addition to these, some authors have also pointed out measurement issues in capturing and estimating female employment. The following three subsections provide a snapshot of studies which have attempted to explain the phenomenon of declining female employment through the prisms of different factors, and measurement issues.

1.2.1 Determinants of female labour force participation

On one side, reproductive roles, household and care responsibilities, cultural sanctions, patriarchal hierarchies (Sudarshan and Bhattacharya, 2009); and factors like continuing into education and migration after marriage or family's transfer can explain the withdrawal of females from the labour force. On the other side, female participation in work force is linked to the availability of opportunities. While 80 per cent of men in the South Asia region are either employed or searching for a job, the proportion of women is a lot lower at 32 per cent. These low rates are suggested to be largely due to cultural attitudes and social norms about women in the workplace (ILO, 2013).

While labour force participation rate for males was 56 per cent, that for females had fallen from 29 per cent in 2004-05 to 23 per cent in 2009-10, and further to 22 per cent in 2011-12. Various studies have cited different reasons for the declining labour force participation of women. Rangarajan et al. (2012) using the NSS 66th round for 2009-10 estimate that about 707 million people did not offer themselves for work as against 625 million in the 61st round (2004-05). Of these, the largest share at 44 per cent was of people who opted out of the labour force to pursue education, 31 per cent opted out for attending to domestic activities, 15 per cent were in the 0-4 age group and the remaining categories (disabled, pensioners, etc) added up to a 10 per cent share. In 2009-10, about 137 million women opted out of the labour force to educate themselves as against 176 million men. The second largest category was of those who opted out of the labour force to attend to domestic duties including activities like weaving, tailoring and gathering firewood for free for the household. In 2004-05, this category constituted 170 million persons, which rose quite sharply to 220 million in 2009-10 growing at a CAGR of 5.3 per cent. These withdrawals were almost completely by the females, and in particular for rural females.

Increasing participation of females in education cannot fully explain the massive decline in labour force and workforce participation rates during the second half of the decade. Some economists have argued that a larger proportion of females are opting out of labour force to attend to ‘domestic duties only’ – a reflection of the greater pressure on females for household and caring responsibilities. Domestic duties and care work; ideology of the marital household and the environmental construct created in the household; and mobility and safety of women, govern their entry and withdrawal from the labour force (Sudarshan and Bhattacharya, 2009).

Social norms restrict women’s availability and location of work leading to lower labour force participation (NCEUS, 2007). This may be reflected in the clear U-shaped relationship between women’s education and labour force participation in India. Kingdon and Unni (2001) attribute the downward sloping part of this U-shaped relationship to the sociological process of Sanskritization: social restrictions on the lifestyles of women tend to become more rigid as households move up in the caste hierarchy (Chen and Drèze, 1992), which would be reinforced by the negative income effect of rising incomes of family members particularly of husbands (Klasen and Pieters, 2012).

Participation of women in the labour force is more often led by poverty concerns rather than by choice. They put in their labour or pull back depending upon various other socio-economic dynamics like family income, migration etc. Female work participation in the Indian context is clearly seen as responsiveness to economic stimuli, better described as the ‘income effect’. They move into the labour force during crisis or distress and withdraw when economic conditions of the household are better. Various studies have also shown that the females tend to cross their household boundary (they may earlier still be doing unpaid family work) and into the labour force if there is a perceived fall in the reservation income of households (Unni 1989; Srivastava and Srivastava, 2010). This is particularly true for the lower income households. This was tested by Mukhopadhyay and Tendulkar (2006) using NSS employment-unemployment data for 2004-05, they found a lower probability of the wife entering the labour force (6% in rural and 4 per cent in urban areas) if their husbands had a regular or salaried employment. They also found that *ceteris paribus*, the farther apart the husband and the wife are in terms of educational levels, the lower is the inclination of the wife to enter the labour force. Therefore, higher household incomes pull back females from participating in the labour market, and therefore, contribute to the trend of falling female employment.

Sudarshan and Bhattacharya (2008) argue that financial crisis was one of the factors slowing down employment growth in manufacturing and services, accompanied by decline in employment opportunities for women, as they faced increased competition from men for scarce jobs. As propounded by Goldin (1990), women’s workforce participation behavior over a period of time is expected to reflect the impact of industrial and economic growth. As the economy grows, people shift from low productive agricultural economy to an

industrial and service based economy; and as women are more involved in agriculture it is likely that female labour force participation is expected to fall. But with structural changes, rising education levels, decline in fertility rates, female economic activity is expected to increase with development (Gaddis and Klasen, 2012). Analyzing employment pattern in the United States, Goldin (1990) suggested that there is a long run 'U-Shaped' pattern of female work force participation majorly due to urbanization. However, female participation is affected by other factors as well. For instance, male out migration can affect female employment in two ways, females staying back might enter agricultural work and take care of family farm activities and women who migrate with their husbands might withdraw from the labour force.

However, Gaddis and Klasen (2012) have demonstrated with the help of econometric modeling that feminization 'U' is not a robust finding. Female labour force participation is determined by differential dynamics generated in different sectors like agriculture, manufacturing and services. Therefore, depending on the relative shifts in these sectors, countries might or might not end up tracing a U-shaped relationship between economic development and female labour force participation.

Analyzing the factors determining the female labour force participation in urban India for the time period 1987 to 2004, Klasen and Pieters, 2012, found that at lower levels of education, female labour force participation is driven by necessity rather than economic opportunities. Using NSS unit level data estimation, they confirmed that participation of poorly educated women was mainly determined by economic push factors and social status effects. It was only at the highest education levels that the results show an evidence of pull factors drawing women into the labour force at attractive employment and pay conditions.

The 2.8 per cent growth of employment between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 was largely due to increase in self-employment, especially in case of females in agriculture, due to rural distress. Maximum increase during 2004-5 was in the self employed category of workers (82 percent -49 million of the 60 million) More than 90 per cent of the incremental workforce in the case of rural females was employed in self-employment in agriculture. As noted by Himanshu (2011), female labour supply, particularly for the bottom 40 per cent of females in rural and urban areas is largely driven by the compelling need to augment low levels of income. While females account for over 60 per cent of the total increase in self-employed in agriculture, males account for almost 75 per cent of the entire increase in those engaged as self-employed in non-agricultural sectors.

Not only were females trapped in low productivity agriculture, even their non-agricultural sources of income were characterized by high degree of informality. Raveendran (2010) estimated the contribution of women to the gross domestic product (GDP) of India. The contribution to GDP is imputed by compiling categories between informal and formal sectors using the estimates of labour inputs and productivity differentials of the respective

categories, and then between male and female workers by using their proportions in each category and sector. Women constituted 32.2 per cent of the total workforce in 2004-05 and among them 72.8 per cent were employed in agriculture as against 48.8 per cent men. With a share of about 91.2 per cent, women workers were mainly in the informal sector. Women contributed 23.4 per cent of the GDP in the informal sector and 16.2 per cent in the formal sector during 2004-05. It was estimated that the overall contribution of women to GDP was about 19.8 per cent. It is often argued that women are twice as disadvantaged by virtue of being engaged in traditional sectors or the lower end of the value chain where productivity is low and informality is high. Therefore, lack of alternative non-agricultural employment opportunities deters female participation in the labour market.

Analyzing the urban employment trends in India, Chen and Raveendran (2012) found that compared to men informal workers, the percentage of women informal workers was twice as higher in waste picking and 1.6 times higher in domestic work. A higher percentage of men (75%) than women (59%) were employed in informal enterprises; but a far lower percentage of men (1%) than women (9%) were hired as domestic workers by households. The percentage of men informal workers who were unpaid contributing family workers (9%) was less than half that of women (20%). The last one has implications for estimating contribution of women in labour force as well as GDP.

1.2.2 Measurement issues

Many economists have argued that a large part of the missing labour (especially female workers) is missing only from the NSSO data estimation but is very much part of the labour force. It appears 'missing' because of the inability of the NSSO surveys to capture it adequately. As Hirway (2012) highlighted that with the incidence of poverty as high as 40 per cent, it is not feasible that 85 per cent of rural women and 89 per cent of urban women are not engaged in economic activities. There are two ways in which labour force surveys are likely to underestimate or underreport the workforce in a developing country: first, they are not able to estimate the total System of National Accounts (SNA) work, particularly informal and subsistence work, as they are not designed to collect certain activities covered under the production boundary of the UN-SNA. Second, they are not equipped to capture some important characteristics of the workforce.

According to the NSS Employment-Unemployment Survey, those outside the labour force are classified under categories 91 (attended educational institutes); 92 (attended domestic duties only); 93 (attended domestic duties and were also engaged in (a) free collection of goods such as vegetables, roots, firewood, cattle feed, etc., and (b) sewing, tailoring, weaving, etc.; 94 (rentiers, pensioners, remittances recipients, etc); 95 (not being able to work because of disability); 97 others (beggars, prostitutes); 98 (did not work due to sickness); and 99 (children under 4 years of age). Categories 92 and 93 are specifically relevant for women. While NSS considers those engaged in category 93 as non-workers

(asked to only those reporting as being out of labour force), the UN- System of National Accounts (UN- SNA) considers them as engaged in economic activities under the production boundary. As Mukhopadhyay and Tendulkar (2006) state that seeking information on Code 93 from only the 'Out-of-the-labour Force' women suggests the survey assumes that female labour force participants do not engage in Code 93 activities. This, they argue is a patently wrong assumption, given that a large percentage of 'working women' belong to very poor households. This bifurcation of data precludes the analysis over various issues related to women employment like –multiple and simultaneous work, whether low participation of women in labour force is due to demand or supply side factors, differences in characteristics between those women in labour force and those who choose to be out of labour force. Thus, canvassing the question for Code 93 to all women can solve some part of the problem of inadequate estimates of female work participation.

Comparing the results from the Indian Time-use survey of 1998-99, Hirway (2012) showed that 6.5 per cent of men and 24.2 per cent of women participate in only one of the unpaid SNA activities, namely, collection of free goods such as fetching water, collection of fruits, vegetables, fuel wood/twigs, collection of raw material for crafts, collection of fodder, collection of minor forest produce like bamboo, leaves, etc. Further, it was found that workforce participation rates for both men and women in rural as well as urban areas are higher under the time use survey compared to NSS employment-unemployment surveys. Also, gender gaps in WPR were much less under the time use survey, so are the interstate variations in women WPR.

Chen (2004) describes the heterogeneity of informal work as a pyramid, where the top tier of workers –namely employers and micro-entrepreneurs– is overrepresented by men, and the bottom tier – which includes industrial outworkers and subcontracted home workers – is overrepresented by women. Informal employment therefore is sometimes scattered and intermittent, temporary, or short-term; and is home-based. This way it frequently gets captured with unpaid household work. It is therefore necessary to include all of these activities within labour force data systems. But the major problem in measuring informal employment is that it is not always easy to distinguish between informal and household work at a conceptual level (for example, cooking for hired farm workers and cooking for the family are not easy to separate from each other, though the former is informal work and the latter is domestic unpaid work), with the result that women's production activities are frequently hidden behind their household work.

Another issue is that informal workers perform multiple tasks/jobs spread over an irregular manner, and sometimes simultaneously. Without much probing, the surveys might only capture the main activity of the worker. This is a much critical aspect in case of women. For instance, a rural female worker may collect water from the village or outside well; clean the animal shed, milk the animal, and feed it; and work at her own farm as a helper or go to an outside farm as a hired worker. Also, she may be involved in two economic

(captured under SNA) activities such as animal grazing and collecting fuel wood, or economic and non-SNA activities simultaneously, such as animal grazing and cooking for the household. Labour force surveys are likely to net the main job (sometimes there are no main jobs, as there are many small jobs), and one or two secondary jobs. But it is not likely to net the small multiple and simultaneous jobs carried out for short durations as a hired worker, own-account worker, or family worker (Hirway and Jose, 2011).

Due to such inadequacy in the usual labour force surveys, time-use surveys are advocated for the correct estimation of labour force participation. Therefore adopting time use surveys, and asking more follow up and probing questions to those engaged in these activities can give better estimation of their work participation in economic activities. Also, there is a need to re-look at the definition of the production boundary in line with the broader definitions as under the UN-SNA.

Misperception about women's work by both investigator and respondent also results in underestimation of women's work and their participation in workforce. Most females, especially in rural areas, work on their own farmland or in household business on short-term/part-time basis, and do not recognize it as an economic activity, but consider it to be a part of their household responsibility. Unless asked some probing questions over their participation in these activities their contribution to that work cannot be imputed. Thus, there is a need to sensitize both the women and the statistical agencies and investigators about women's work. SEWA's intervention in this regard in the 1990s, where they demonstrated through a video on how one should answer such questionnaires proved to be successful. It was noted that the Census estimates reported a 67 per cent increase in women participation in Gujarat post this intervention.

Sudarshan and Bhattacharya (2009) in their analysis based on primary survey of urban women in Delhi found that the female work force and labour force participation rates are registered at 21 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. The corresponding estimates for men are 84 per cent and 87 per cent. These numbers are considerably higher than the NSSO estimates for Delhi. The main reason for this difference is attributed to extensive probing, use of female investigators, and the inclusion of all paid economic activities as "work" in their primary survey. Another aspect which they think is critical is the inclusion and extensive focus on home-based, piece rate work and discussions with investigators on the varied forms of work in which women participate. They found that familial objection and pre-existing household workload are key constraints for women in joining the workforce. Mobility and safety concerns were the next frequently cited hurdles for working women in their sample. The authors highlighted that in terms of perception, neglecting children and conflict over domestic chores emerge as the two most negative aspects attributed to joining the workforce for both working and non-working women in their survey. Issues relating to masculinity and women's work, have an integral role to play in the reporting and repercussions of women's work.

In a nutshell, possible determinants for the decline in female employment as pointed out in the literature include different factors along with possible measurement errors (or misclassification) of women's work. Determinants mentioned in the literature are the following:

- Education
- Social / cultural norm
- Household responsibilities
- Household income
- Access to suitable jobs

Thus, from 2005-04 to 2009-10, the actual reasons for the withdrawal of around 21 million women in India from the labour force are yet to be explored because there are both supply as well as demand side factors that can explain the withdrawal. The role of discouraged worker phenomenon also needs to be understood in withdrawal of female workers from the labour force. That is, whether the decision to withdraw from the labour force was voluntary or a forced one due to lack of suitable employment opportunities. This study has been undertaken to explore some of the determinants of female participation in the labour market in selected study locations in both rural and urban areas, and also to explore other possible reasons for the declining trend in female employment.

To investigate the different dimensions highlighted above, this study was conducted in Gujarat (a relatively better off State in terms of per capita income and other economic indicators), and in Uttar Pradesh (a State which lags behind in most of the socio-economic indicators vis-à-vis the national average). The study was based on primary household survey, where the focus was not only on measurement of quantitative variables, but also on the interactions between various qualitative socio-economic dimensions which have an implication for female participation in the labour market. Further, this study also analyses through a time-use survey of adult females whether the burden of household responsibilities has any bearing on participation in labour market. In addition to household surveys, focus group discussions were held with various stakeholders to get a larger picture of constraints, opportunities, and aspirations of females in selective study locations.

1.3 Structure of the report

The report starts with an analysis of employment and unemployment survey data (conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization), and the focus of this analysis is on change in female employment particularly during the period 2004-5 to 2009-10 (Chapter 2). The trend indicated by an analysis of secondary data was carried forward for further analysis through household survey in selective locations. The selection of the study locations along with a detailed methodology is discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 provides a broad macro setting of this study and charts out the research questions which are addressed in the following four chapters. The dominant pull factor

impacting female employment in the study locations (i.e., education) is analysed in Chapter 5. Employment opportunities in the study locations are discussed in Chapter 6. Problems faced by working women (both at work place and in household), and constraints that non-working females face in order to participate in the labour market are discussed in Chapter 7. These problems and constraints cut across different determinants. The following chapter (Chapter 8) looks into aspect of time disposition of females and analyses time disposition of working females (in different occupations) into economic and non-economic activities. The last chapter (Chapter 9) provides some broad conclusions and suggests some policy recommendations based on this study.

CHAPTER II

Female Labour Force Participation – Analysis of Secondary Data

2.1 Introduction

The quinquennial rounds of the Employment and Unemployment Surveys conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) is the most comprehensive and reliable database on the labour market situation in India. This fairly large sample survey of households and individuals within the households was initiated during the year 1972-73, and since then this large sample survey has been conducted once in every five years in both rural and urban areas. The genesis of this study can be attributed to the declining trend of female labour force participation rate (LFPR), and work force participation rate (WFPR) as indicated by NSSO data. Even though the employment and unemployment surveys suggest very little as to the causality of such outcomes, they do play an important role in planning and policy making by indicating patterns and trends in employment and unemployment situation at the national level and state level which can be taken up for further enquiry and policy making exercise by the researchers as well as policy makers. Without such broad patterns and trends it is almost impossible to arrive at any starting point in policy making.

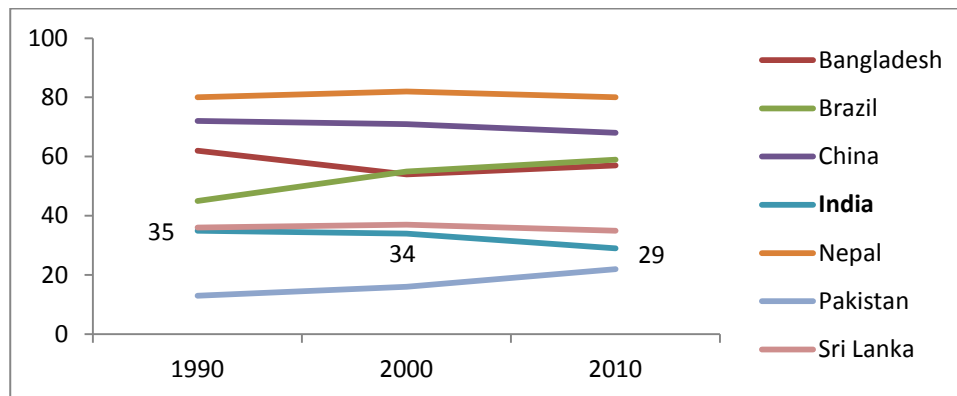
Hence, this chapter focuses on a detailed analysis of unit level records of employment and unemployment surveys conducted by NSSO for the years 2004-5 and 2009-10. The sharpest decline in female LFPR and WFPR was observed during this period, and therefore, focus of this analysis will be on trends and patterns as observed during 2004-5 and 2009-10. The labour force data for 2011-12 released by the NSSO reinforces our need for the study. Rural LFPR continues to decline further, however, there are signs of resurgence in urban India. Section 2.2 looks into trends and patterns of female LFPR and WFPR at the national level, along with international comparison. Section 2.3 extends the national level analysis to the States, and tries to capture variations in trends and patterns across States. Section 2.4 provides some broad conclusions.

2.2 National Trends in Female LFPR and WFPR

Higher participation of females in labour force has been cited in literature as an important factor for higher output and economic growth. Most often it is the nature of gender relations in the society and gender discrimination that constrain women's participation in labour force. Women account for 40 per cent of the world's labour force. Female participation rates have been lower in South Asia (with the exception of Nepal). In South Asia, women account for 27 per cent of the labour force. Figure 2.1 shows the trends in female labour force participation, defined as proportion of the population aged 15 years

and above who are available for work, i.e. all those who supply labour for the production of goods and services during a specified period, in developing countries using ILO's database on key indicators of the labour market. The graph shows that the participation rates for women have been declining except for Brazil and Pakistan. The fall in female LFPRs seems most dramatic in case of India. It is surprising to note that LFPRs for women in Nepal are as high as 80 per cent compared to 16 per cent for Afghanistan among the South Asian countries. Analysis of female LFPR among South Asian countries along with Brazil and China revealed that not only was India's female LFPR declining rapidly, it has been one of the lowest consistently for the last two decades. But of course, more than the low and declining female LFPR in India, what is more worrisome is the pace of decline during the second half of the last decade.

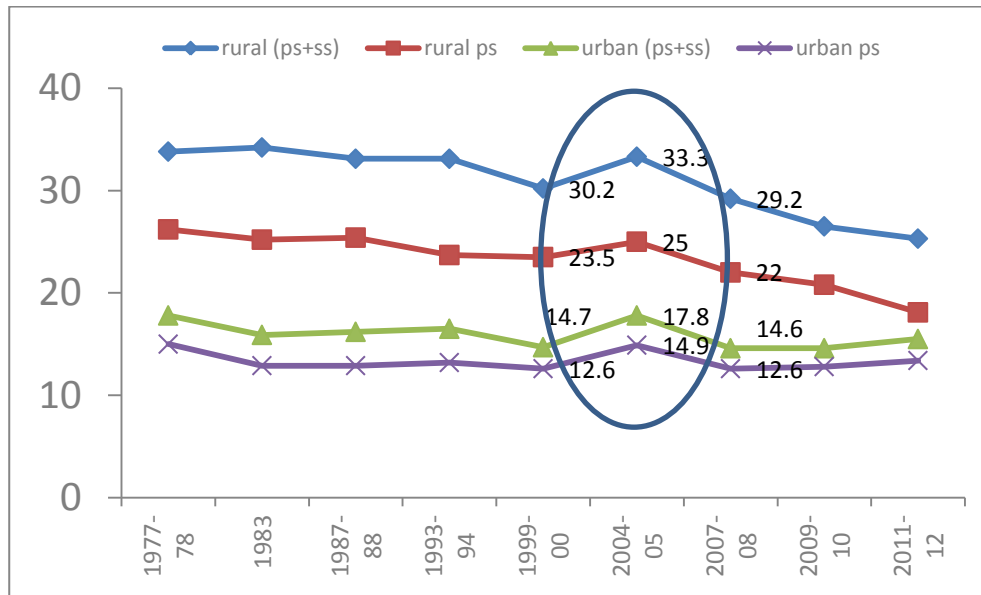
Figure 2.1: Trends in Female Labour Force Participation Rates in Developing Countries



Source: International Labour Organization; Key Indicators of the Labour Market database

In India, there has been a consistent decline in female labour force participation rates both in rural and urban areas since the 1970s; 1999-2000 to 2004-05 being the only exception (Figure 2.2). Decline in labour force participation rate was however more pronounced in case of rural females. Also, the decline in rural female labour force participation rate was much sharper in case of principal and subsidiary status taken together as compared to only principal status, thus implying that a larger share of decline could be attributed to decline in subsidiary status.

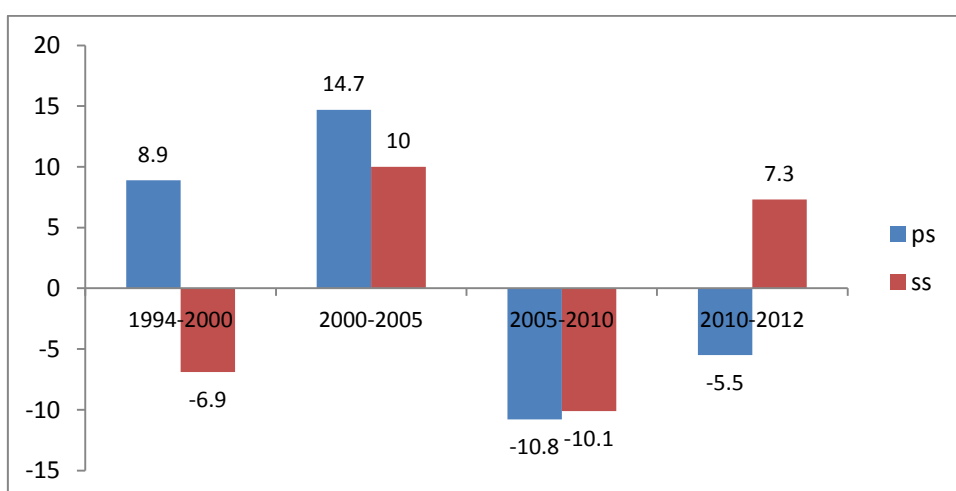
Figure 2.2: Female Labour Force Participation Rates



Note: PS= Principal Status; PS+SS= Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status
 Source: NSS various rounds

In terms of workforce participation, during the second half of the 2000-10, there has been an increase of 13 million in principal status employment while subsidiary status employment declined by about 11.9 million, as a result of which the absolute increase in employment as per usual principal and subsidiary status has been a mere 1.1 million (between 2004-05 and 2009-10). The decline in subsidiary status employment is sometimes considered to be a positive development because people, especially females, resort to subsidiary employment as additional source of household income. But what is a matter of concern is that in case of females, the decline has been both in principal as well as subsidiary status employment (Figure 2.3). The decline in female work force participation rate is a phenomenon which the country has witnessed since the late 1970s. Increasing participation in education to some extent has contributed to declining female workforce participation rate (Mazumdar and Neetha, 2011; Rangarajan et al., 2011). Based on various rounds of employment and unemployment survey there is evidence of growing absence of those under 25 from the workforce, and it is possible that increasing school enrolment might provide an explanation to this phenomenon. Further, enactment of Right to Education for 6-14 years old provides some explanation to this phenomenon of declining female work force participation rate.

Figure 2.3: Female Work Force by Principal and Subsidiary Status



Note: ps: principal status; ss: subsidiary status

Source: NSS various rounds

If we disaggregate female employment into rural and urban sectors, we observe that decline in principal and subsidiary status employment occurred in both rural and urban India, even though the magnitude of decline was much greater in rural India (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). In rural India, the decline in principal status employment was 12 per cent between 2004-5 and 2009-10, while that in subsidiary status employment was as much as 25 per cent over the same period. In urban India, the respective declines in principal and subsidiary status employment were 1.4 per cent and 31 per cent respectively. Therefore, even though in absolute numbers, the decline was much sharper in rural India for principal employment, while urban female subsidiary workers lessened at a faster rate.

Table 2.1: Status of Female Employment (in million), Rural India

Status	Principal status		Subsidiary status	
	2004-5	2009-10	2004-5	2009-10
Own account worker	12.6	11.3	6.3	5.2
Employer	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2
Unpaid family worker	38.2	29.3	20.8	12.3
Regular/salaried wage employee	4.3	4.4	0.2	0.1
Casual wage labour in public works	0.1	0.7	0.1	1.7
Casual wage labour in other types of works	35.0	33.9	4.8	4.2
All female workers	90.7	80.1	32.4	23.7

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

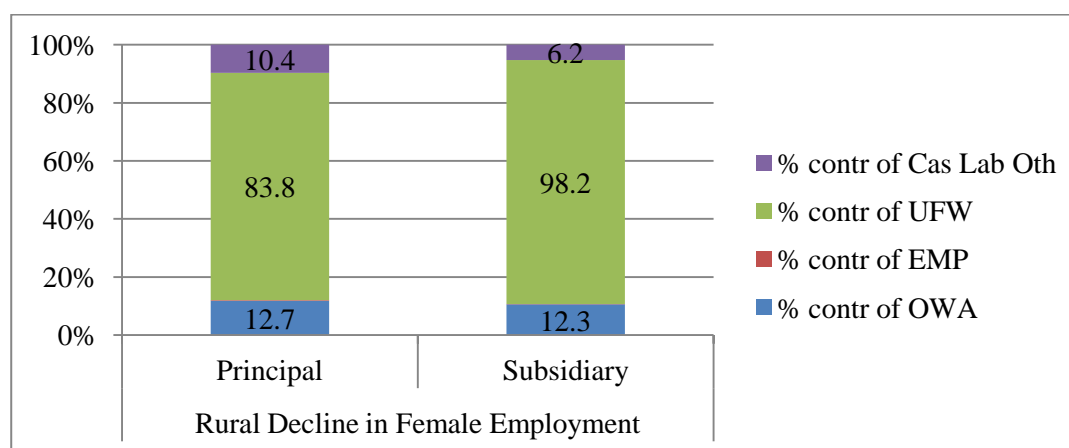
Table 2.2: Status of Female Employment (in million), Urban India

Status	Principal status		Subsidiary status	
	2004-	2009-10	2004-	2009-10
	5	2009-10	5	2009-10
Own account worker	3.9	4.2	1.9	1.4
Employer	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Unpaid family worker	4.0	2.7	1.7	1.0
Regular/salaried wage employee	8.6	9.0	0.3	0.2
Casual wage labour in public works	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Casual wage labour in other types of works	3.5	3.8	0.6	0.4
All female workers	20.2	19.9	4.5	3.1

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

This bulk decline in both principal and subsidiary status female employment in rural India was on account of decline in employment opportunities in unpaid family work. In terms of decline in principal status employment, unpaid family work contributed to 84 per cent of the decline between 2004-05 and 2009-10, while in the case of subsidiary status employment, decline in employment opportunities in unpaid family work contributed to 98 per cent of the decline (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Percentage Contribution to Decline in Female Employment in Rural India between 2004-05 and 2009-10



Note: Cas Lab Oth = Casual wage labour in other types of works, UFW = Unpaid family work, EMP = Employer, OWA = Own account worker

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

The only silver lining in female employment seems to be the casual wage employment in public works where employment opportunities increased not only in subsidiary form, but also in principal status. Employment programmes like MGNREGA might have played an important role in boosting female employment in rural areas, and this clearly underlines

the importance of public works programmes in ensuring decent livelihood for the rural population.

2.3 Trends in Female Employment across States

An all India level analysis gives evidence of a decline in female employment primarily in rural India, while in urban India the magnitude of decline was not that significant. More than 90 per cent of decline in female employment (principal and subsidiary status together) between 2004-5 and 2009-10 happened in rural India. In 2011-12, female labour force participation in rural areas continued to decline (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 State-wise female LFPR (usual principal and subsidiary status)

State	Rural			Urban		
	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Andhra Pradesh	48.5	44.7	44.8	23.2	18.6	18
Arunachal Pradesh	41.3	29.5	28.2	15.1	15.3	13.9
Assam	21.6	16.8	12.9	12	10.7	9.7
Bihar	13.8	6.6	5.8	6.8	5.6	5.4
Chhattisgarh	45.5	37.2	41.6	18.5	14.3	25.2
Delhi	4.7	2.8	14.6	9.4	6	10.9
Goa	22.2	14.1	21.2	21.4	10.8	17.4
Gujarat	42.8	32.2	27.9	15.5	14.8	13.5
Haryana	32.1	25.2	16.4	14.3	13.5	10.2
Himachal Pradesh	51.6	47.4	52.9	26.8	17.8	23.6
Jammu & Kashmir	27.1	30.3	26.3	12.6	15.5	14.5
Jharkhand	31.3	16.1	20.4	13.7	9.7	7.3
Karnataka	46.2	37.2	28.9	19.2	17.7	17.1
Kerala	32.1	26	25.8	30.1	23.3	22.2
Madhya Pradesh	36.6	28.4	23.9	15.6	13.6	11.9
Maharashtra	47.5	39.7	38.9	19.8	16.7	17.2
Manipur	35.4	22.1	27	23.6	15.2	20.4
Meghalaya	48	37.3	39.2	31.4	23.5	21
Mizoram	44.1	41	40.5	28.8	29.8	26.7
Nagaland	51.1	36.2	37.1	27.7	16.4	22.4
Odisha	35.1	24.9	25.1	20.2	12.6	15.8
Punjab	33.8	24.6	23.7	15.5	13.2	14.1
Rajasthan	40.7	35.7	34.9	18.8	12.6	14.4
Sikkim	32.3	32	49.2	17.7	15	27.4
Tamil Nadu	46.7	41.1	38.6	25.3	20.2	21.1
Tripura	12.5	23.5	28.7	23	18.6	26
Uttarakhand	42.9	39.9	31.5	14.2	11.6	10.8

Uttar Pradesh	24.1	17.5	17.8	12	8.3	10.6
West Bengal	18.4	15.6	19.4	16.9	15.1	18.6
A & N Islands	27.7	24.5	30	18.8	24	24.8
Chandigarh	5.6	18.8	4.7	15.4	14.3	13.5
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	49.5	4.2	16.1	21.4	1.7	11.5
Daman & Diu	16.8	20.2	3.4	23.3	8.6	15.2
Lakshadweep	11.4	32.6	17.7	23	27.6	17.8
Puducherry	33.4	35.4	22.3	19.1	21.6	15.3
India	33.3	26.5	25.3	17.8	14.6	15.5

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st, 66th and 68th Rounds

Across States, it was observed that the majority of the States experienced decline in principal status employment as indicated at the national level. The few exceptions were Assam, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh which experienced minor increase in female principal status employment (Table 2.3A). Among the States experiencing a decline in female principal status employment, the magnitude of decline was the highest in Bihar, followed by Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu.

Table 2.3A: State-wise Change in Female Principal Employment, Rural

States experiencing <u>rise</u> between 2004-5 and 2009-10	States experiencing <u>fall</u> between 2004-5 and 2009-10
Himachal Pradesh (0.1 mn)	Uttar Pradesh (0.4 mn)
Haryana (0.2 mn)	Rajasthan (0.7 mn)
Assam (0.2 mn)	Orissa (0.7 mn)
	Karnataka (0.8 mn)
	Gujarat (0.9 mn)
	Jharkhand (1.2 mn)
	Tamil Nadu (1.2 mn)
	Bihar (1.7 mn)

Note: Figures in brackets imply change in employment in million Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

In female subsidiary status employment, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat experienced the maximum decline during the second half of the decade (Table 2.4). Rajasthan and Tripura on the other hand experienced minor increase in female subsidiary status employment.

Table 2.4: State-wise Change in Female Subsidiary Employment, Rural

States experiencing <u>rise</u> between 2004-5 and 2009-10	States experiencing <u>fall</u> between 2004-5 and 2009-10
Rajasthan (0.3 mn)	Karnataka (0.5 mn)
Tripura (0.1 mn)	Punjab (0.6 mn)
	Haryana (0.6 mn)
	Assam (0.7 mn)
	Bihar (0.7 mn)
	Uttar Pradesh (0.9)
	Gujarat (1.0)

Note: Figures in brackets imply change in employment in million

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

A comparison across States indicate that Karnataka, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat experienced decline in female employment to a significant extent between 2004-5 and 2009-10 in both principal and subsidiary status. From among these four States, we selected Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat for the purpose of this study, and a primary household based survey was conducted to analyse factors determining female work participation. As was observed in case of rural India as a whole, in rural Uttar Pradesh too, the major component of decline in female employment was the decline in unpaid family worker in both principal as well as subsidiary status (Table 2.5). In Gujarat, even though the major component of decline in female subsidiary employment was the fall in employment opportunities in unpaid family work, the decline in principal status employment was primarily due to fall in employment opportunities in casual works other than public works (Table 2.6).

Table 2.5: Change in Female Employment (in million), Rural Uttar Pradesh between 2004-5 and 2009-10

Status	Principal Status	Subsidiary Status
Own account worker	-0.03	-0.38
Employer	-0.01	0.03
Unpaid family worker	-0.83	-0.96
Regular/salaried wage employee	0.12	-0.01
Casual wage labour in public works	0.02	0.01
Casual wage labour in other types of works	0.34	0.43
All female workers	-0.39	-0.89

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

Table 2.6: Change in Female Employment (in million), Rural Gujarat between 2004-5 and 2009-10

Status	Principal status	Subsidiary status
Own account worker	-0.15	0.00
Employer	-0.02	0.03
Unpaid family worker	-0.09	-0.91
Regular/salaried wage employee	-0.08	0.01
Casual wage labour in public works	0.04	0.00
Casual wage labour in other types of works	-0.60	-0.13
All female workers	-0.90	-1.00

Source: Calculated from NSS Database, Employment and Unemployment Surveys, 61st and 66th Rounds

2.4 Broad Conclusions

Low female labour force participation is a common phenomenon in most South Asian countries, though participation of women has increased in Bangladesh and to a lesser extent in Pakistan. In India, there has been a consistent decline in female labour force participation rate and work force participation rate both in rural and urban areas since 1970s (with the period between 1999-2000 and 2004-5 being the only exception). This decline in female WFPR was much sharper in rural India as compared to urban India, and was principally driven by fall in employment opportunities in unpaid family works. Among the major states, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, along with Bihar and Karnataka experienced significant decline in female employment in both principal as well as subsidiary status. In order to understand the possible determinants of declining female employment, a primary household-based survey was conducted in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat in both rural and urban areas. The following chapter discusses the methodological issues in connection with the primary survey conducted in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat.

CHAPTER III

Objective and Methodology

3.1 Objective

The analysis of employment and unemployment surveys conducted by NSSO indicate a significant decline in female employment during the second half of the last decade. This decline was common across states with few exceptions and also across rural and urban India, in both usual principal and usual subsidiary status. Possible explanations for this phenomenon are increasing female participation in education, effect of rising household income – as pull factors; and constraints and non-availability of adequate jobs – as push factor. In other words, increasing female enrolment in education and increasing family income although leading to decline in female employment should be considered positive parameters because they reflect overall socio-economic development. However, declining work participation due to increasing school attendance has a flip side too. On completion of education, the educated females will join/re-join the labour force (in another 5 – 10 years) and therefore providing decent and productive employment to higher educated females must be a major policy issue. Therefore, not giving due attention to declining female work participation considering it to be a positive outcome might soon run out of steam and pose a demographic nightmare to the policy makers in the near future. On the negative side, non-availability of suitable employment opportunities might be responsible for declining female employment. It is impossible to capture all the pull and push factors determining female employment across different States because of India's vast size and regional variations. The broad over-arching objective of this study is to get insights as to what determines female work participation (push and pull factors) in rural and urban areas of the study locations. The sub-components of this broad over-arching objective are:

- To map the major occupational activities of females having different levels of education in the locations under study.
- To analyze female work opportunities and conditions of work in the locations under study.
- To analyze the constraints that deter female participation in the workforce
- To reflect upon the problems that women encounter as a result of their participation in the workforce and
- To explore the daily time schedule of females and its possible implication for their participation in paid employment

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Selection of State

As mentioned in Chapter 2, States of Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, along with Bihar and Karnataka experienced significant decline in female employment in both principal as well

as subsidiary status. In the present context two broad classification of States have been used viz., States with low poverty and above average work participation rate (in short well off States), and States with high poverty and below average work participation rate (in short economically backward States). For this study, **Gujarat** has been selected as the well-off State and **Uttar Pradesh** has been selected as the economically backward State. Analysis of NSS data (2009-10 as compared to 2004-05) on female workers has already pointed out significant decline in their numbers in both these States as per usual principal activity status as well as usual subsidiary activity status. It may be noted that Gujarat has a higher labour force participation rate (LFPR) and workforce participation rate (WFPR) for females than the national average, while Uttar Pradesh has lower LFPR and WFPR as compared to the national average (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Female LFPR and WFPR (UPSS), 2009-10

Female LFPR/WFPR	Gujarat	All India	Uttar Pradesh
LFPR (15-59 Years) (%)	37.1	34.5	24.4
WFPR (15-59 Years) (%)	36.5	33.6	24.3
LFPR (All Ages) (%)	25.6	23.3	15.6
WFPR (All Ages) (%)	25.3	22.8	15.5

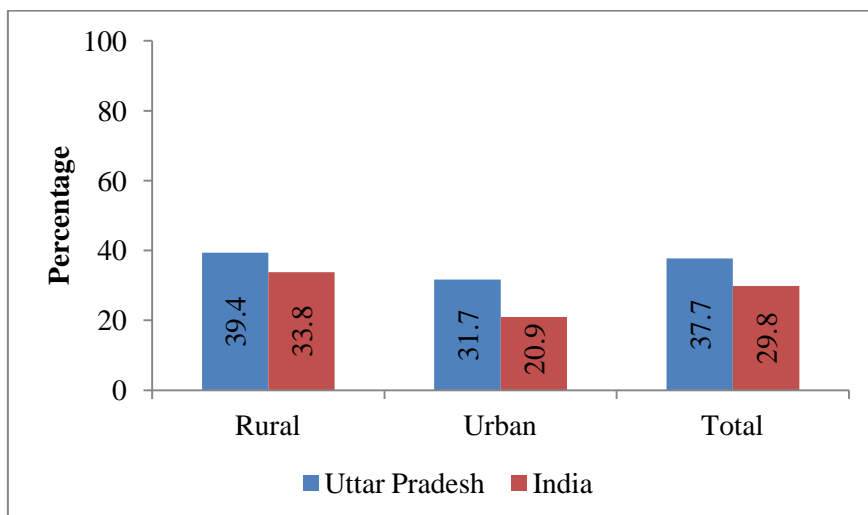
Source: NSS, 66th Round, Employment & Unemployment Survey

Analysing the causes of decline in female work participation in these two States is expected to provide some important insights as to why female work participation is declining in both well off and economically backward States.

3.2.2 Socio-economic profile of the two states

Uttar Pradesh (UP) is the most populous state of India and has an economy that is primarily agriculture based. More than 60% of its population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. It is one of the fastest developing states in India and has shown a healthy growth path during the last decade (PHD Research Bureau 2011). However, the percentage of population below poverty line in UP remains greater than the all India average for both rural and urban areas (Planning Commission, 2013). The percentage of population below poverty line in the state in comparison with that of India is illustrated in the charts below.

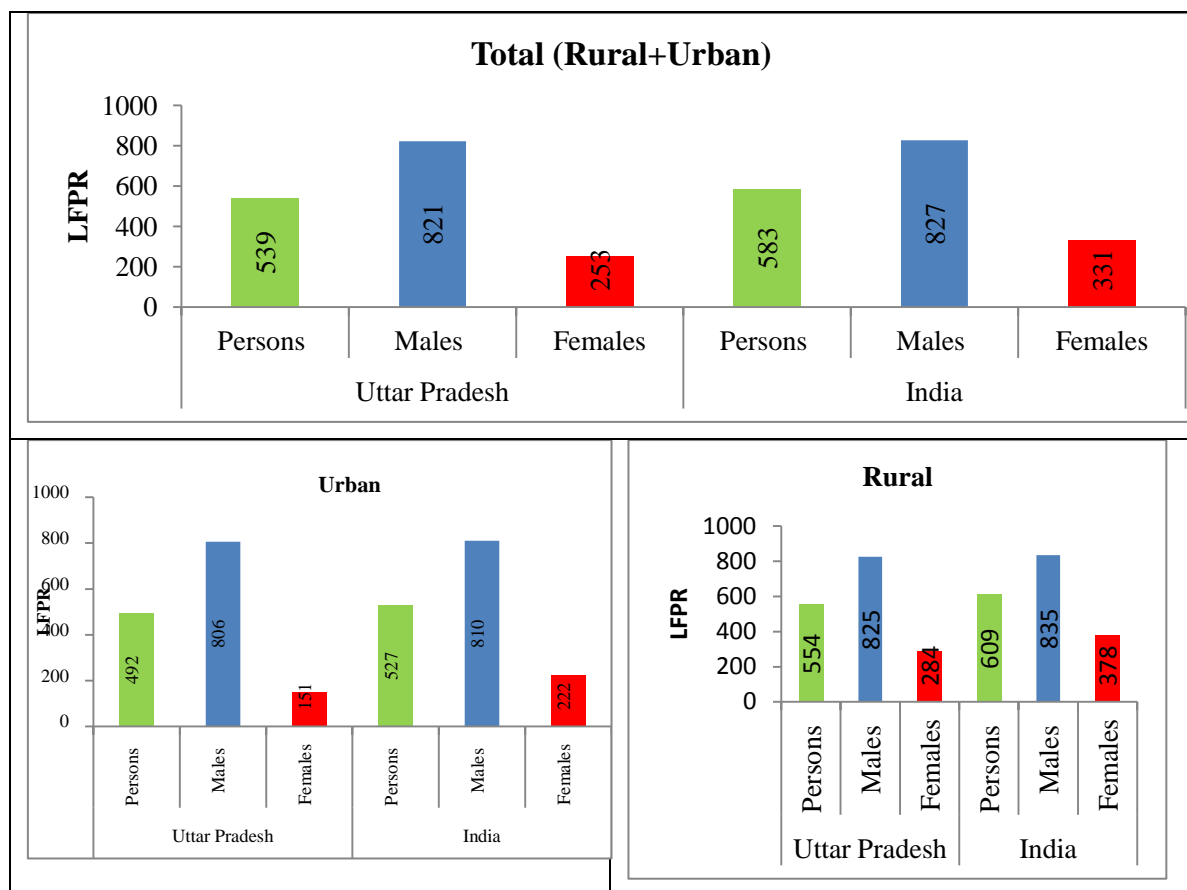
Figure 3.1: Percentage of Population below Poverty Line in Uttar Pradesh as compared to National Average, 2009-10



Source: Computed from NSS 68th Round, 2011-12

Furthermore, the labour force participation rate (LFPR) and the worker population ratio (WPR) are lower for UP than the national average. Here both usual principal and subsidiary economic activity are considered.

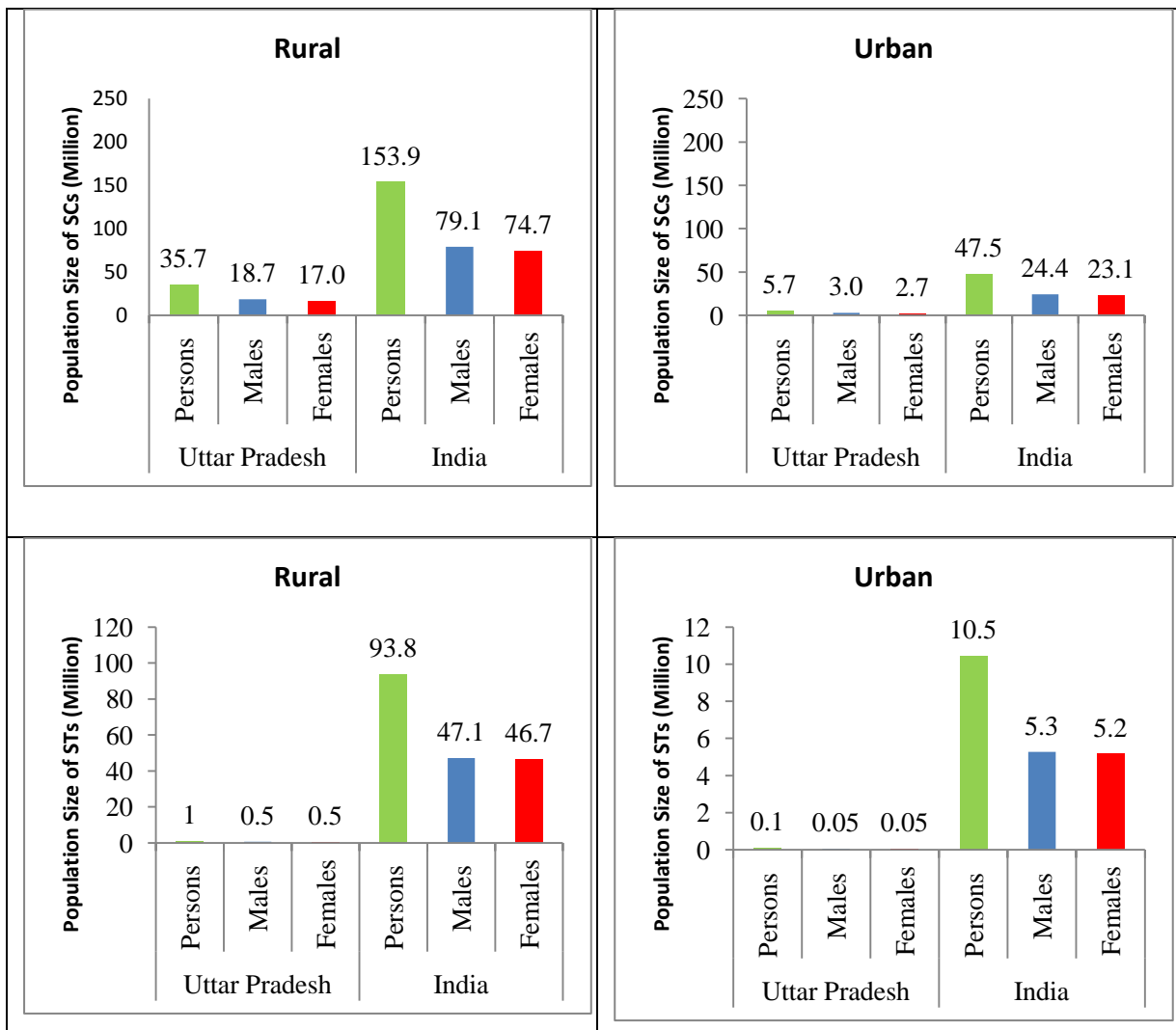
Figure 3.2: Labour Force Participation Rate for Total, Rural, Urban Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011-12 (persons per 1000 working-age population)



Source: NSS 68th round, 2011-12

The female worker participation ratio, the number of workers and the nature of job varies with social groups. In Uttar Pradesh, 21 out of 100 million women are socially deprived with majority being rural scheduled castes (Census, 2011).

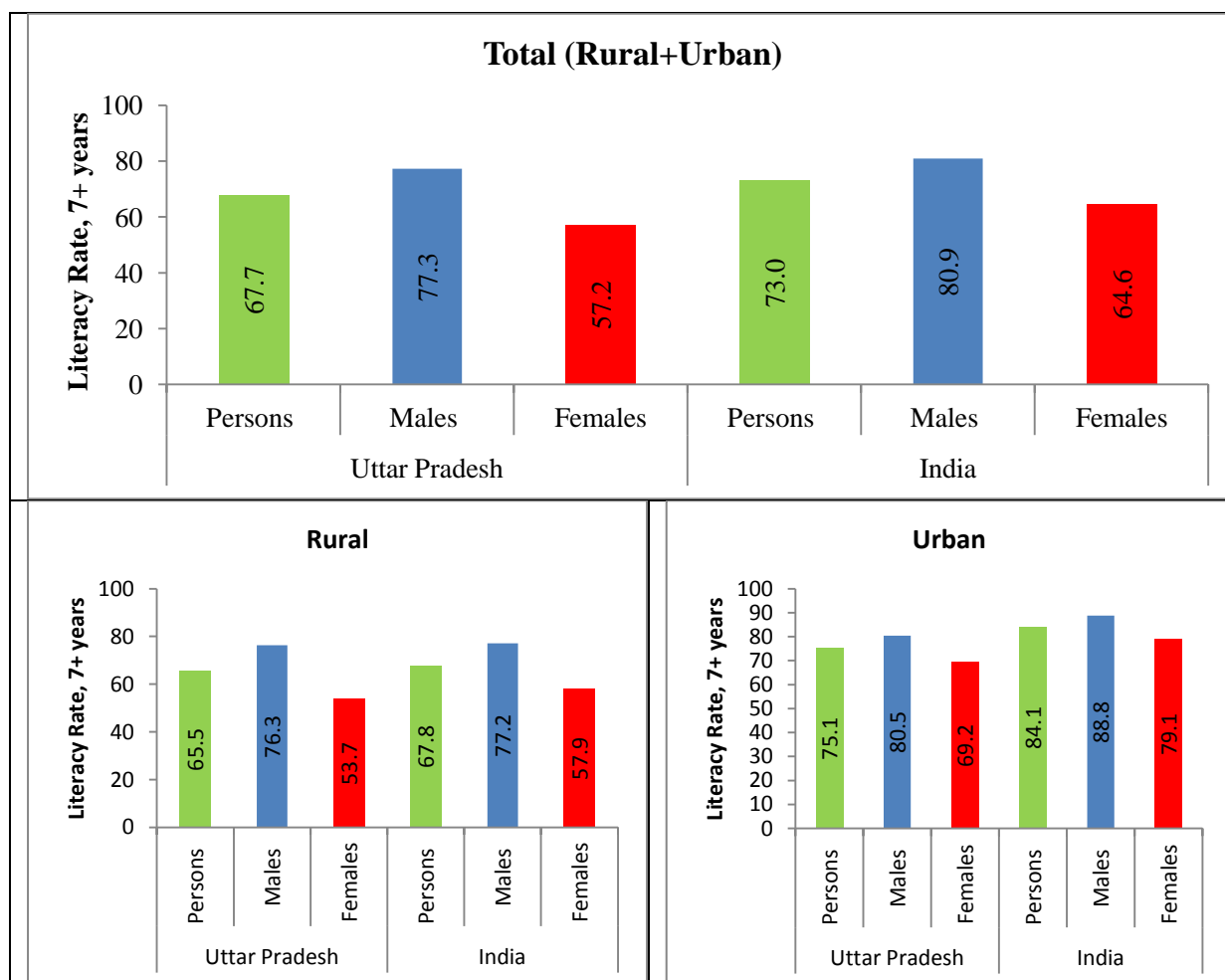
**Figure 3.3: Population Size of SCs, STs for Rural, Urban Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011
(persons per 1000 working-age population)**



Source: Census of India, 2011

Further, it can be seen from the charts below that the percentage of literates is lower in UP than the national averages for both rural and urban areas and across gender.

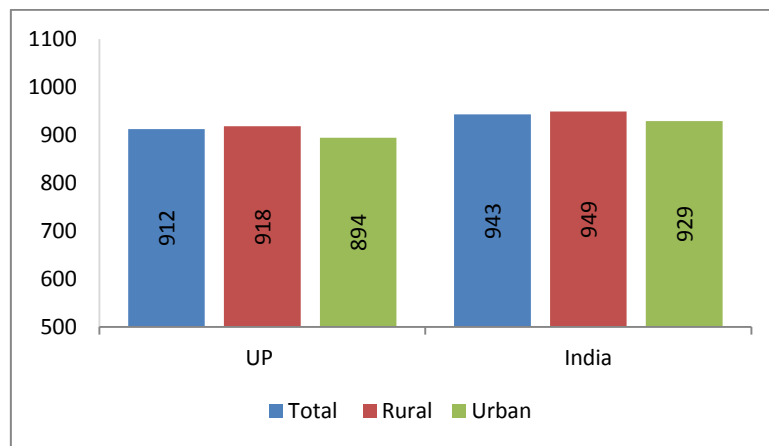
Figure 3.4: Literacy rate Total (Rural+Urban), Rural, Urban Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011



Source: Census of India 2011

The below-given chart presents sex ratio in UP. The sex-ratio is indicative of the composition of the population and is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males. It can be seen that in UP the sex ratio is lower than the national average. However, the rural areas have a better sex ratio than the urban areas.

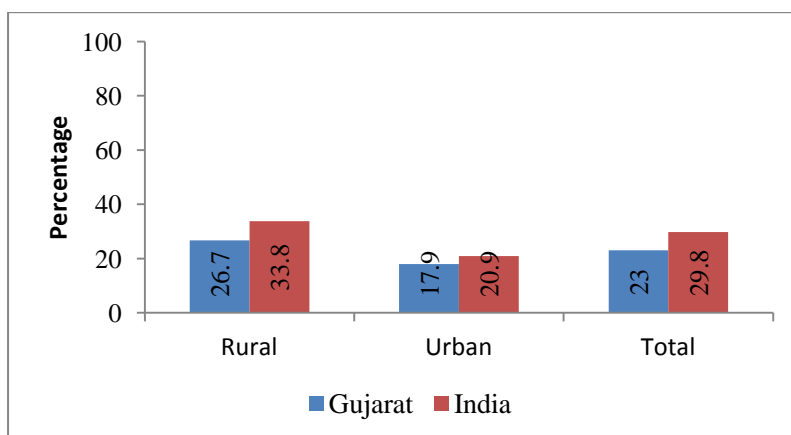
Figure 3.5: Sex ratio (Females per 1000 males) In Uttar Pradesh vis-à-vis India, 2011



Source: Census of India 2011

Gujarat is a state whose economy has always performed better than the national average (Government of Gujarat, 2013). During last 52 years ((1960-2012) economy of Gujarat has grown almost 17 times.. During the ten-year period between 2001-12, the gross domestic product of the state at 2004-05 prices increased at an annual average rate of more than 10 per cent per year. This massive expansion of the economy has largely been a result of the growth in the output of the service and manufacturing sectors of the economy which has increased around 28 times over the period 1960-12 at 2004-05 prices (Government of Gujarat 2013). It can be seen from the chart below that the percentage of population below poverty line in Gujarat is lower than the national average.

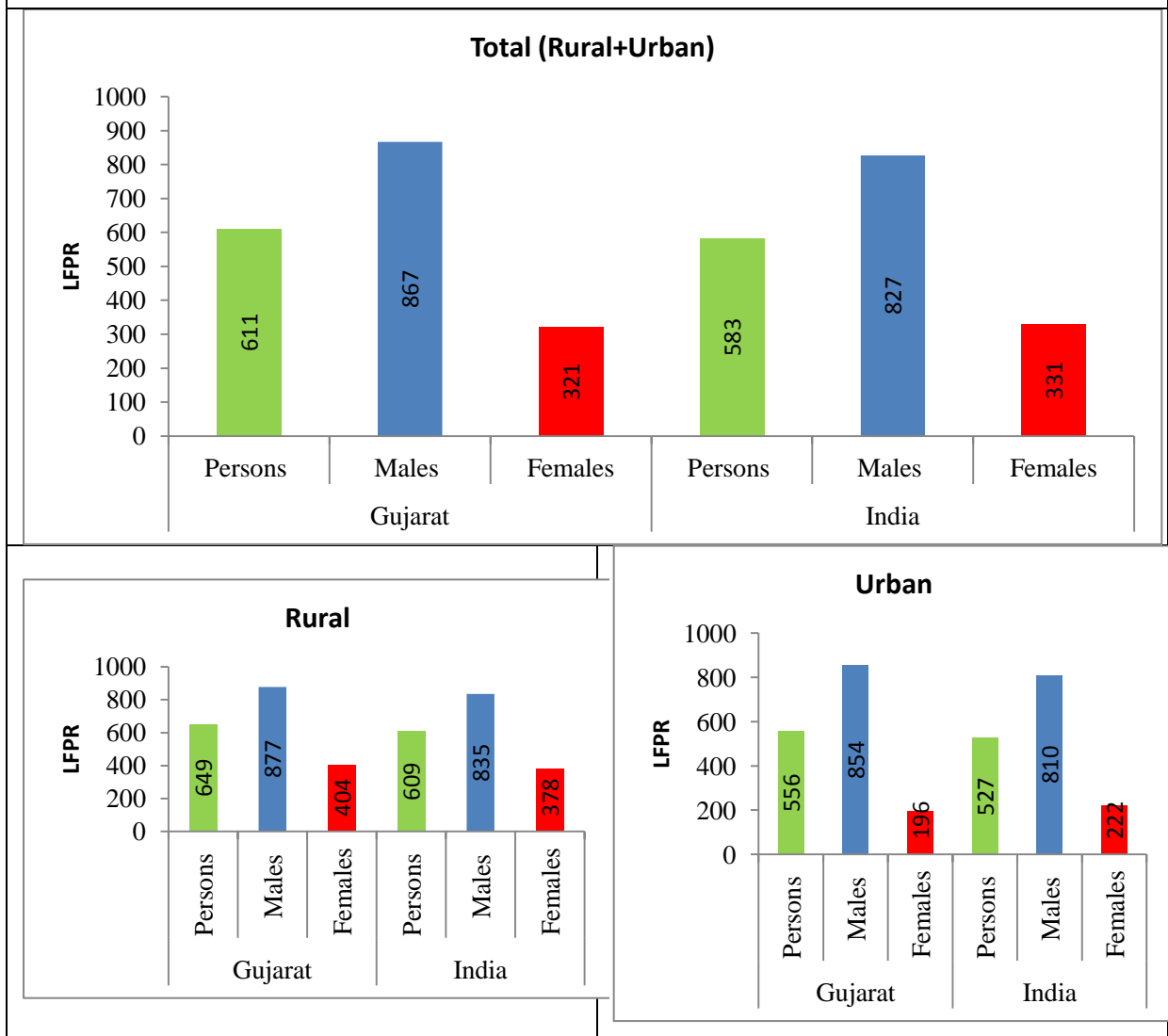
Figure 3.6: Percentage of Population below Poverty Line, 2009-10



Source: Computed from NSS 66th Round 2009-10

Furthermore, it can be seen from the charts below that both the Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) and the Worker Population Ratio (WPR) are higher for Gujarat than the national average.

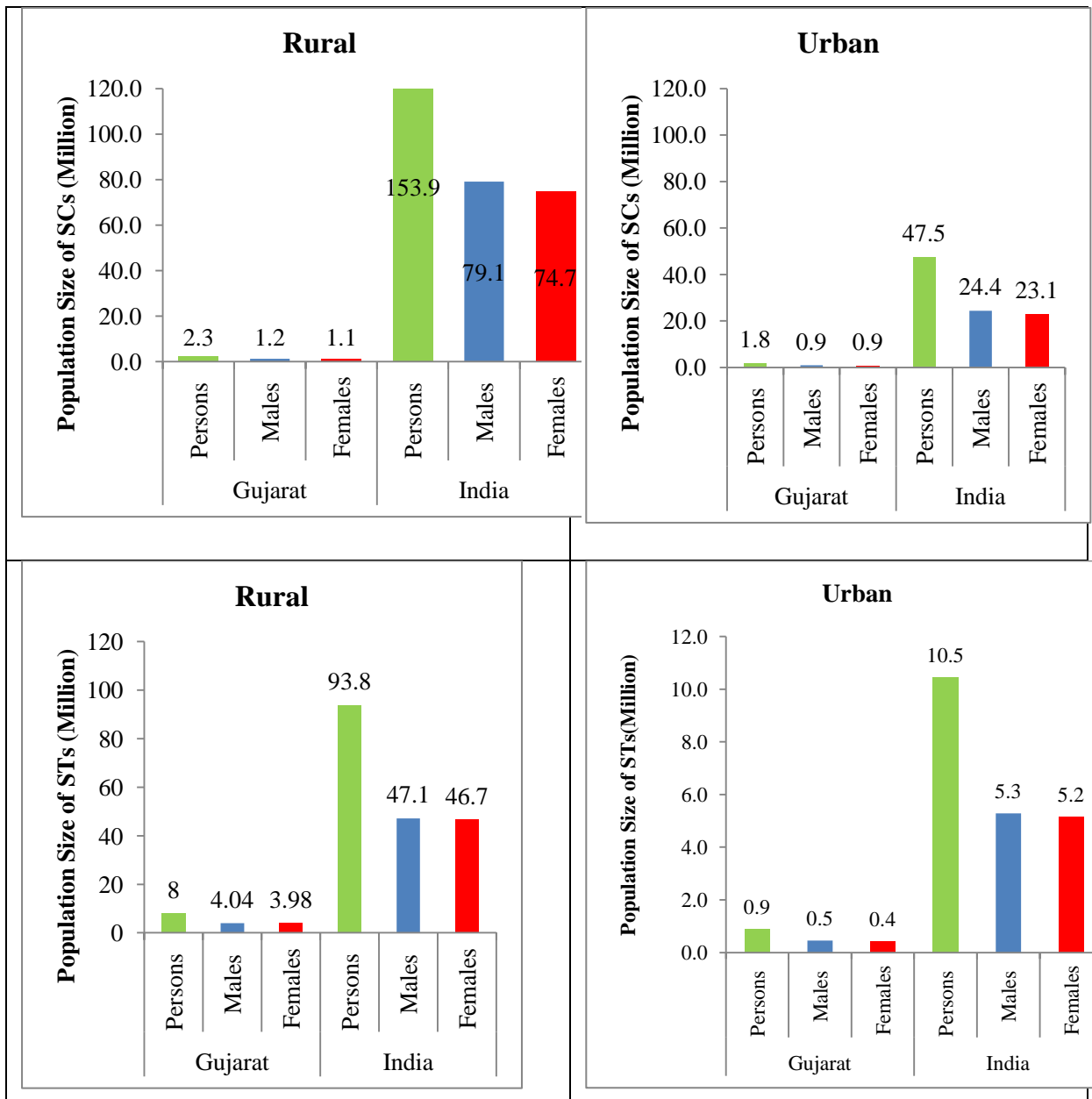
Figure 3.7 Labour Force Participation Rate for Total, Rural, Urban Gujarat vis-à-vis India, 2011-12



Source: NSS 68th Round, 2011-12

The population size of state, population sizes of SC, STs, literacy rate and sex ratio versus all India are illustrated below (Census of India, 2011). Gujarat accounts for 4.99 percent of India's population according to 2011 population census whereas the geographical area of Gujarat is 5.96 percent of the geographical area of India. Gujarat ranks 10th amongst the states and union territories of the country with regards to population size (Government of Gujarat, 2013).

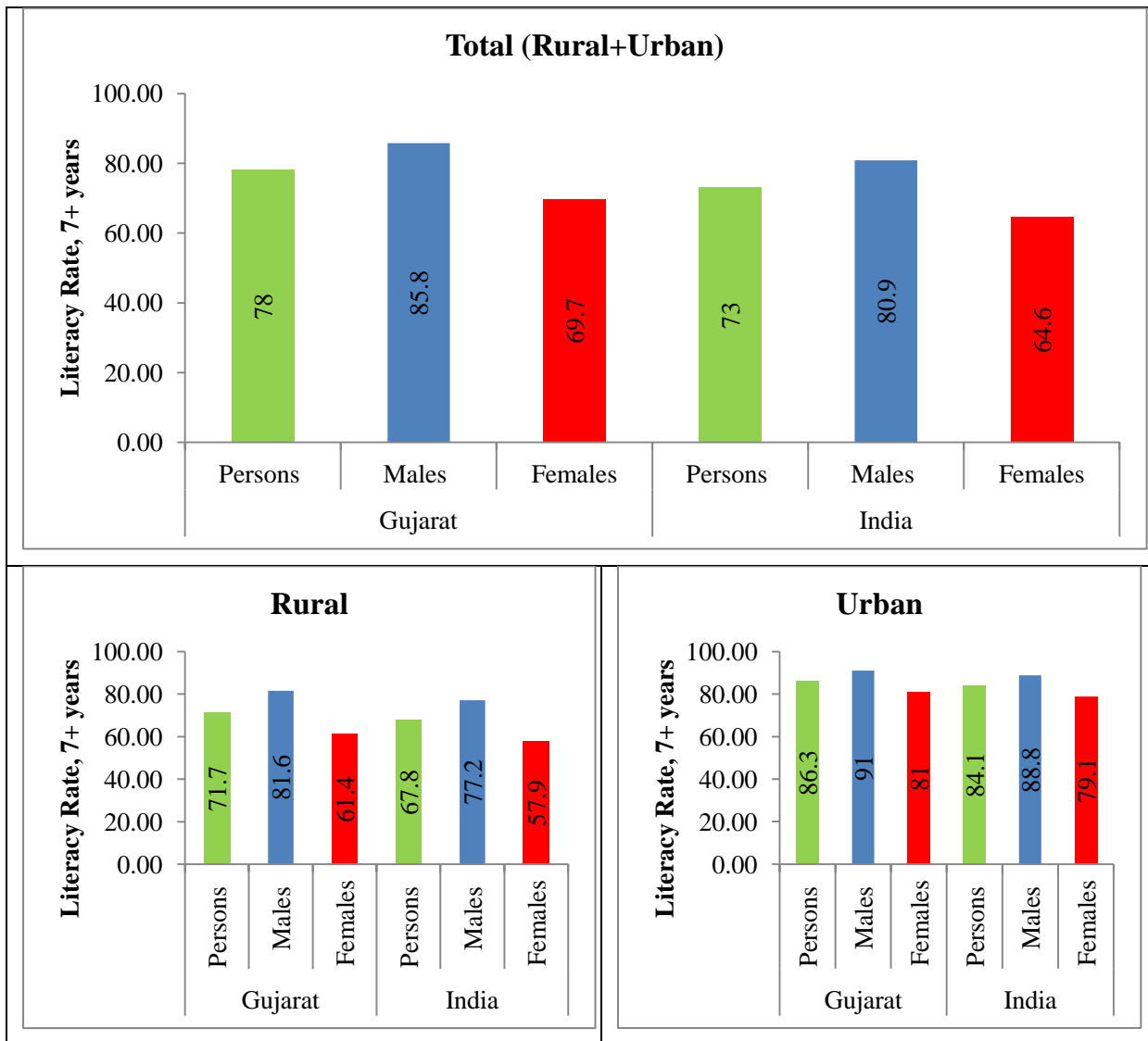
Figure 3.8: Size of SC population, ST population in Gujarat as compared to the National Average, 2011



Source: Census of India, 2011

Further, it can be seen from the charts below that the proportion of literates is higher in Gujarat than the national averages for both rural and urban areas and across gender.

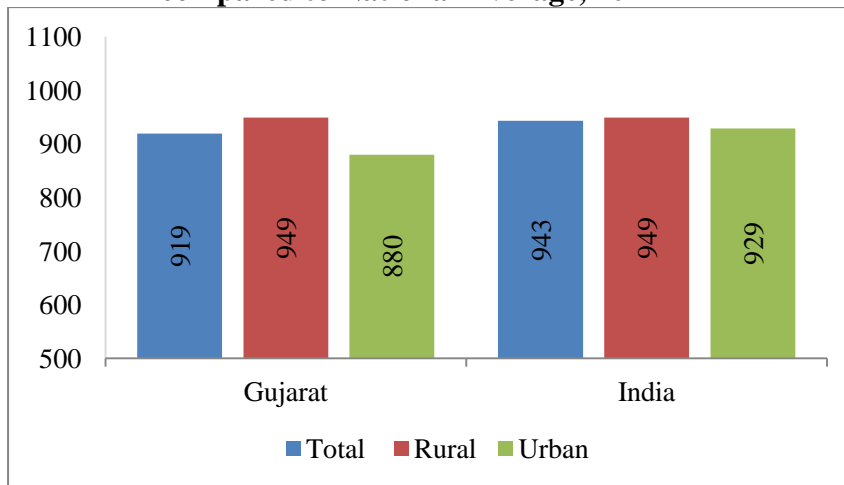
Figure 3.9 Literacy rate (7+ years) Total, Rural+Urban, Rural, Urban Gujarat vis-à-vis India, 2011



Source: Census of India 2011

From the below given chart one can see that in Gujarat the sex ratio is lower than the national average. However, the rural areas have a better sex ratio than the urban areas.

Figure 3.10: Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 males in Gujarat as compared to National Average, 2011



Source: Census of India, 2011

3.2.2 Selection of Districts

On the basis of time-line and availability of resources it was decided that the study would be undertaken in two Districts from each State. The districts were selected on the basis of female work participation rate (Census 2001). In each District, work participation rates for females have been calculated separately for rural and urban areas. One of the Districts chosen had higher work participation while the other had lower work participation rate for females in both rural and urban areas as compared to State average. Another criterion kept in mind while selecting the Districts was that the selected Districts should not be too rural. Further, the Districts were chosen from different agro-climatic regions so as to capture regional variations across households. The two districts chosen from the each of the two States are mentioned in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Selection of Districts for the Primary Survey in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh

State	District	Agro-Climatic Region	Female Work Participation Rate (Urban) (%)	Female Work Participation Rate (Rural) (%)	Degree of Urbanization (%)	Share of district in state's total population (%)
Gujarat			9	39	37	100
	Surat (higher)	South - Eastern	9	43	60	10
	Bhavnagar (lower)	Saurashtra	8	30	38	5
Uttar Pradesh			7	19	21	100
	Varanasi (higher)	Eastern UP	10	21	40	2
	Lucknow (lower)	Central UP	7	16	64	2

Source: Calculated from Census, 2001

3.2.3 Selection of Urban Locations/Villages

In each District, urban locations were selected based on population (Census, 2001). In each District, two towns were selected – one relatively small with population less than 100,000, and the other with population greater than 100,000. The following is the list of towns selected in Gujarat (Roughly 10 – 15 households in each location were surveyed).

Table 3.3: Selection of Urban Location, Gujarat

District	Urban Centre	Location
Bhavnagar (lower FWPR)	Bhavnagar Municipal Corp. (more than 100,000 population)	Masat Nagar (slum)
		Bharat Nagar (poor but not slum)
		Radheshyam Society (middle class, service)
		Shivnagar (middle class, service + business)
		Kalanala (Muslim area)
	Sihore City (less than 100,000 population)	Ram Nagar (poor but not slum)
		Balaji Nagar (middle class, service + business)
		Rajiv Nagar (large locality, middle class business+ slums)
		Leela Tir (Muslim)

Surat (higher FWPR)	Surat Municipal Corp. (more than 100,000 population)	Shivaji Park Society (middle class, service + business)
		Shivaji Nagar (middle class but migrant from other States)
		Bhatar (Muslim)
		Deen Dayal Nagar (lower middle class, mostly factory workers)
		Jada Bava Natekro (slum)
	Olpad Block Town (less than 100,000 population)	Wahiabad (middle class + slum)
		Kota Nagre (middle class + slum)
		Desai Sew (middle class + slum)
		Kasba (Muslim)
		Karsanpura (middle class)
		Motaharpatibas (slum)

The details of urban locations surveyed in Uttar Pradesh are as follows (Roughly 10 – 15 households in each location were surveyed).

Table 3.4: Selection of Urban Location, Uttar Pradesh

District	Urban Centre	Location
Lucknow	Lucknow Municipal Area (more than 100,000 population)	Daliganj (middle class, mostly into business)
		Aliganj (middle class, mostly into service)
		Vinayak Puram (slum)
		Kashmiri Mohallah (Middle and upper middle class, lot of home based workers)
	Kakori (less than 100,000 population)	Pathan gari (middle class, mostly into service)
		Takia (poor but not slum)
		Durgaganj (middle class, mostly into self employment)
		Bhattatola (slum)
Varanasi	Municipal Corporation	Godalia ((middle class, mostly into service)
		Lallapur (poor but not slum)
		Parde Kothi (middle class, mostly into self employment)
		Anapurna Colony (middle class and upper middle class)
		Baldia (slum)
	Ramnagar	

In each District, for survey of rural households, villages were selected based on number of households (Census, 2001). In each District, two categories of villages were selected – villages with number of households in the range of 500 – 600 (smaller village), and villages with number of households in the range of 1000 - 2000 (larger village). From each village 75 households were surveyed belonging to different social groups. The number of households surveyed from each social group was in proportion to the overall distribution of households

belonging to different social groups in the village. Details of households surveyed in both the states along with their social group are as follows:

Table 3.5: Selection of Villages and Households, Rural Gujarat

District	Name of Village	Social Group	No. of households surveyed
Bhavnagar	Mota Khokhara (less than 500 - 600 households)	Muslim	1
		SC	9
		OBC	57
		Others	18
<i>Total</i>			75
	Sanarasa (number of households 1000 - 2000)	Muslim	3
		SC	4
		OBC	31
		Others	37
<i>Total</i>			75
Surat	Manekpor (less than 500 - 600 households)	ST	36
		SC	8
		OBC	5
		Others	26
<i>Total</i>			75
	Kim (number of households in the range of 1000 - 2000)	Muslim	17
		ST	9
		SC	6
		OBC	22
		Others	38
<i>Total</i>			75

Source: Survey Data

Details of villages and households surveyed in rural Uttar Pradesh are as follows:

Table 3.6: Selection of Villages and Households, Rural Uttar Pradesh

District	Name of Village	Social Group	No. of households surveyed
Lucknow	Basaha (less than 500 - 600 households)	Muslim	2
		SC	29
		OBC	38
		Others	6
		<i>Total</i>	75
	Khushalganj (number of households in the range of 1000 - 2000)	Muslim	20
		SC	25
		OBC	17
		Others	13
		<i>Total</i>	75
Varanasi	Rohania (less than 500 - 600 households)	Muslim	17
		SC	30
		OBC	20
		Others	8
		<i>Total</i>	75
	Sharnath (number of households in the range of 1000 - 2000)	Muslim	13
		SC	15
		OBC	30
		Others	17
		<i>Total</i>	75

Source: Census of India, 2001

The total sample size for the primary survey was 1000 households – 500 households from each State. Out of 500 households, 300 households were from rural areas and 200 from urban locations (given that two-third of population resides in rural areas). In each State, four villages were surveyed, implying a sample size of 75 from each village. These 75 households belonged to different social groups, and were selected in the same proportion as their distribution in the village households.

Primary household survey was conducted in selected rural and urban locations of both states.. Household level questionnaire collected information on basic amenities, demographic particulars, occupational pattern of adult household members, problems and constraints faced by adult female members regarding participation in labour market, participation of females in various skill training programmes, participation of females in household decision making,

and time-use of adult female members in both economic and non-economic activities. A conscious effort was made to ensure that the primary respondent was an adult female member of the household who was willing to share information. Even though basic information (demographic particulars, occupational pattern) was collected for all members of the household, the focus of the questionnaire was on adult female members for whom additional information was collected related to problems and constraints faced by them regarding participation in labour market, participation in various skill training programmes, participation in household decision making, and their time allocation into different activities (economic and non-economic).

CHAPTER IV

Primary Survey: The Broad Setting and Research Questions

4.1 The Setting

Female employment has a positive effect not only on quality of life of women but it also significantly improves the living standard of the entire household (Subbarao & Rainey, 1993; Dreze and Sen, 1989). Further, drawing women into the labour force by imparting necessary skill training is important for the country as a whole in order to reap the benefits of demographic dividend. Increasing participation of females in the labour force and workforce can be considered as a signal of rising women empowerment. or an outcome of adverse economic shock.

Female employment in India has been declining since the mid-eighties and this process has fastened in the second half of the last decade. This in a sense was unusual because this was the period of unprecedented economic growth. The various reasons for this phenomenon as enumerated by various experts/authors have been discussed in chapter 1 In a vast country like India with considerable regional variations, there are likely to be multitude of factors determining outcomes in the labour market. The primary survey was conducted to unearth some of the factors determining female participation in the labour market in the selected regions.

Apprehensions have been raised by some policy makers regarding the validity of NSS employment and unemployment survey results. The intention of this work is not to deal with measurement issues or any other technical aspect of the NSS employment and unemployment survey, rather this work is intended to understand activity pattern of females along with their possible determinants, the nature of constraints and problems that females face, and what can be the policy measures for improving female employment. In order to find plausible explanations to the above mentioned questions, primary surveys were undertaken in certain specific locations (detailed methodology already discussed in Chapter 3). One important thing to note here is that this study is by no means a nationally representative study. The findings that emerge from this study are specific to the locations where the primary surveys have been conducted.

As already pointed out, one of the primary motivations behind this study is the evidence thrown out by national level sample studies (NFHS, NSSO) indicating a decline in female employment over the years, and more so in the second half of the first decade. This finding is clearly contrary to the persistence of high incidence of poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. Though the incidence of poverty has come down (with 22 per cent of the population living below the poverty line according to the NSS 68th Round data on Consumption Expenditure), in terms of absolute number almost 270 million people are living below the poverty line. The incidence of poverty was considerably high in Uttar Pradesh with 60 million people living below the poverty line (which accounted for 30 per cent of the population in the State), while it was lower than the national average in Gujarat (17 per cent of the population in Gujarat

resided below the poverty line). It must be pointed out here that poverty estimates are subject to a lot of criticism on methodological grounds, and it is argued that actual estimates of poverty are much higher than what is reported on the basis of the poverty line. In fact, it is argued that the poverty line itself is a flawed one.

As per the Global Hunger Index (GHI), India's rank was 65 out of the 79 countries for which this index was calculated (IFPRI, 2012). This was a marginal improvement over the 66th position which it held in 2008. Across States in terms of hunger index, Uttar Pradesh ranked 9 and Gujarat ranked 13 out of 17 States for which this index was calculated (IFPRI, 2009). This result is clearly surprising for a State like Gujarat which is industrially one of the most advanced States in the country and is often depicted as a model state in the media.

From the analysis of secondary data what comes out is that in Gujarat, growth has not resulted in more employment opportunities for females, while in Uttar Pradesh, lack of employment opportunities for females can be attributed to general backwardness of the state. Further, there seems to be a contradiction between poverty and other measures like living standard, implying that a considerable section of above poverty line population might have a poor overall standard of living as indicated by various indices of livelihood (including GHI, HDI).

The immediate question that comes to our mind is “why women withdraw from the workforce despite such economic hardships”?

4.2 Research Questions

Along with the trend in declining female employment, the same NSSO surveys and other national level surveys indicate an increase in real wages, and greater participation along with increasing continuation of females in education. Therefore, could it be the case that the positive income effects of higher real wages and positive outcomes of educational programmes (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in particular) are responsible for withdrawal of females from the labour market? This leads to a hypothesis that there are enough work opportunities for females and they enter the labour market only at times of economic distress, and choose not to work under the influence of positive socio-economic effect. This broad hypothesis leads to a series of questions which motivated this work. Some of the research questions investigated are:

- What are the major activities of females with different levels of education?
- Does attainment of education ensure better work opportunities for females?
- If working, what are the occupations in which they are employed?
- Do women get adequate remuneration in the occupations in which they are employed?
- What problems do women encounter as a result of their participation in the labour market?
- Does household responsibility deter female participation in the workforce?

Understanding the types of work women are involved in, problems they face in the labour market, factors constraining their participation in the labour market are important to analyse and diagnose the factors leading to poverty and inequality. Also, such an understanding would help policy makers in promoting policies aimed at improving the living standards. The primary household survey was designed to find a possible explanation to the above mentioned questions.

The following section tries to explain why such kind of study could not have been possible purely based on large scale dataset which primarily captures quantitative variables.

4.3 Necessity of primary survey

In addition to the demographic characteristics of the individuals, employment and unemployment surveys conducted by the NSSO provide information on employment status, occupational characteristics, wages and salaries, participation in any association or union. Given the wide range of information provided by these large scale national surveys, we can analyse broad patterns and trends of employment and unemployment across different States and regions of India. However, these trends and patterns are outcomes of fairly complex socio-economic relations which often work within the broad frame work of social hierarchies, traditional norms, and social, political and economic setting in the neighbourhood. For instance, whether a female will remain in the workforce will not only depend on her educational status and skill training, but will also be influenced by her household responsibility, traditional customs and norms, hierarchies prevalent in her society, availability and work opportunities in suitable jobs (as approved in the larger social context) and a host of qualitative dimensions which have both socio-economic setting as well as a historical precedence. The objective of undertaking this primary research was to capture some of these qualitative determinants (in addition to the quantitative measures) that influence female participation in labour market.

In this study, in addition to the quantitative dimensions of employment, we analysed certain qualitative factors as well:

- Work history of females to find out whether certain social phenomenon had any influence on their participation in labour market;
- Kinds of support/disincentives that females received/encountered from their families and neighbours resulting in their participation/withdrawal from the labour market;
- Difficulties and constraints faced by females in their pursuit of economic activities;
- Extent to which females participate in household decision making;
- Social norms and customs, and other socio-economic considerations that goes into decision making regarding female participation in the labour market;
- Females own perception about improving their employability;
- Daily time disposition of females into different activities which might have a bearing on their labour market participation.

In a nutshell, a detailed understanding of both qualitative and quantitative information is necessary to understand outcomes that are indicated by large scale surveys. Large scale surveys by various government agencies can, at best, provide estimates of certain well defined quantitative variables. However, these are, typically, inadequate to capture the interactions, particularly between qualitative variables. One of the primary objectives of this field-based study, therefore, was to capture the interactions between the qualitative variables that influence female participation in the labour market.

4.4 Organization of Primary Survey Findings

The findings of the primary survey are presented in the following four chapters. Chapter 5 analyses major activity of adult female members based on their level of education. The motive here is to see if there is any pattern to female participation in the workforce depending on their level of education. The following chapter (Chapter 6) analyses employment opportunities and conditions of work in the study locations. The objective here is to see if attaining certain level of education helps in getting better quality jobs. Chapter 6 also analyses remunerations that females in different occupations received. Women are often burdened with multiple responsibilities, and therefore, Chapter 7 discusses the problems that women encounter at work place and at home regarding their participation in the labour market. Next chapter (Chapter 8) looks into the aspect of time disposition of females, and analyses time-use of working females (in different occupations) into economic and non-economic activities. The last chapter (Chapter 9) provides concluding remarks along with policy recommendations.

CHAPTER V

Education and Major Activity of Females

5.1 Introduction

Education, identified in the literature as one of the important pull factors restricting female employment, is the subject of analysis in this chapter. As Rangarajan et al. (2011) observed that of the total decline in workforce between 2004-05 and 2009-10, 44 per cent was on account of people who opted out of the labour force to pursue education. In this chapter, we will analyse educational attainment of females belonging to different social groups in the study locations (Section 5.2), followed by an analysis of major economic activities of females with different educational levels belonging to different social groups (Section 5.3). The next section analyses age group wise classification of females into different occupations (Section 5.4). The last section summarises some broad findings of the analysis presented in this chapter.

5.2 Educational attainment of adult females

The incidence of illiteracy was still quite high among females both in rural and urban areas despite significant improvements in literacy rates in the last two decades. There was a gradual decline in the proportion of females educated at successively higher standards. This decline was however the sharpest from secondary to higher secondary level (Table 5.1). Informal discussion with the villagers revealed that attaining secondary education was an important factor for girls in getting married. It is a kind of invisible benchmark loaded with social value, even though there was not much of an economic gain in terms of better quality employment (as will be seen later) that can be expected out of it.

With better educational facilities in the urban areas, as can be expected, the proportion of females with higher educational attainment was greater in the urban locations of both the States.

Table 5.1: Proportion of Females (15 yrs and above) by Level of Education

Education	Rural UP	Rural Guj	Urban UP	Urban Guj
Illiterate	38.6	36.8	33.2	28.6
Literate up to Primary level	23.3	12.5	23.4	13.0
Secondary	21.5	34.9	19.5	36.9
H. Secondary	10.1	8.0	16.5	10.6
Graduate and above	6.4	7.8	7.4	10.9
All	100	100	100	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Across social groups, as can be expected, incidence of illiteracy was much higher in case of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) females and it was comparatively higher in rural as compared to urban areas (Table 5.2). Studies have demonstrated that literate women

generally have better understanding of nutrition and health care practices, and therefore, contribute significantly towards a healthy society. Mother's literacy was crucially linked to child's health. The correlation between female illiteracy and incidence of poverty was quite strong both in economic sense as well as broader sense of deprivation (UNESCO, 2006).²

On the other extreme, proportion of females with higher educational attainment was higher in case of Other (General category) females. The sharp decline in proportion of females with higher-secondary education relative to those with secondary education was a common phenomenon across all social groups (more pronounced in case of SCs and STs) and as mentioned earlier it has more to do with the psychological and social norm of improving chances of marriage for a girl.

Table 5.2: Percentage Distribution of Females (14 and above) by Education level, by Social Group (%)

Social Group	Level of Education	Rural UP	Urban UP	Rural Guj	Urban Guj
Scheduled Caste					
	Illiterate	53.3	45.3	25.8	43.5
	Primary or below	22.2	17.0	6.5	11.6
	Up to Secondary	17.8	22.6	38.7	31.9
	H. Secondary	2.2	3.8	12.9	4.3
	Graduate & above	4.4	11.3	16.1	8.7
Other Backward Classes					
	Illiterate	39.4	32.5	43.3	27.5
	Primary or below	23.0	24.8	13.1	12.3
	Up to Secondary	25.3	22.2	31.8	38.2
	H. Secondary	4.5	7.7	7.0	11.8
	Graduate & above	7.8	12.8	4.8	10.3
Others (Gen)					
	Illiterate	31.1	26.3	18.0	13.3
	Primary or below	22.0	25.7	13.2	16.8
	Up to Secondary	19.5	17.3	42.3	40.7
	H. Secondary	10.4	8.9	11.6	14.2
	Graduate & above	17.1	21.8	14.8	15.0
Scheduled Tribe (ST)					
	Illiterate	26.3	40	56.7	54.1
	Primary or below	47.4	46.7	11.1	8.1
	Up to Secondary	5.3	13.3	28.9	27.0
	H. Secondary	21.1*	0.0	2.2	5.4
	Graduate & above	0.0	0.0	1.1	5.4

Note: There are very few STs in UP

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

5.3 Major Activity of Adult Females by Educational Attainment

Poor living conditions implied that females had to seek employment, and wide spread illiteracy particularly among SCs and STs implied that a higher proportion of females particularly belonging to these two social groups ended up doing low end jobs. Therefore, the

² UNESCO (2006), "Literacy for Life", EFA Global Monitoring Report, Paris

proportion of illiterate females working was much higher as compared to females attaining relatively more education in the study regions of both the States. It might be noted here that the proportion of females working was much higher than what NSS data show (although there are some differences in definition). However, there was some difference regarding recall period between NSSO surveys and the primary survey that was conducted for this study. NSS definition is based on major time criteria for the last one year (and also 30 days in the reference year for subsidiary employment), while the definition in the study uses major time criteria for the last one month from the date of survey. The obvious advantage of shorter recall period is better response.

In UP, as per NSS 2009-10, Female LFPR (15-59) was 28.2 in rural area and 11.8 in urban area. Following tables give major activity of females (14 years and above) according to their level of education in the surveyed regions. Overall, 47 per cent of females were working in the surveyed villages in UP (Table 5.3), and 48 per cent in urban locations (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3: Major Activity of Females (15 Yrs and above) by Education Level, Rural UP, 2012

Education	% working	% hh chores	% edu.
Illiterate	55.8	24.1	
Primary & below	49.8	19.6	13.7
Middle	42.6	16.8	26.3
Secondary	28.1	12.5	43.8
H. Secondary	41.4	17.1	37.1
Graduate	39.1	17.2	34.4
Post Graduate & above	32.7	16.4	30.9
Total	47.3	19.8	16.5

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 5.4: Major Activity of Females (15 Yrs and above) by Education Level, Urban UP, 2012

Education	% working	% hh chores	% edu.
Illiterate	53.7	22.7	
Primary & below	51.0	19.2	19.9
Middle	46.8	11.9	33.9
Secondary	33.9	13.6	39.0
H. Secondary	39.2	12.2	39.2
Graduate	41.9	20.9	22.1
Post Graduate & above	65.1	14.0	14.0
Total	48.4	17.9	19.5

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In urban area of UP, the relation between level of education and proportion of females working was U-shaped. Illiterates have to work for their survival, and with improvement in educational attainment females tend to continue in education provided there are opportunities around. As such opportunities exist in urban areas those attaining slightly higher educational level continue to remain in education with the hope of getting a better job. Therefore, lower

participation of females at higher levels of education is a positive phenomenon as it could possibly ensure better quality jobs for the educated females in future. Also, females with post-graduate and above level of education have greater opportunities of work in the urban areas particularly in the service sector. Analysing long-term trend of female employment in urban India, Klasen and Pieters (2012) observed that participation of poorly educated women in the labour force was driven by necessity, while employment opportunities determined the participation of highly educated females into the labour force. In other words, higher wages acted as a pull factor for a minority of well-educated females into the labour force.

Gujarat has a higher LFPR and WFPR as compared to the national average, and this is also reflected in our study which reveals that 2/3 of females in the age of 15 years and above were in the workforce (Tables 5.5 and 5.6).

Table 5.5: Major Activity of Females (15 Yrs and above) by Education Level, Rural Gujarat, 2012

Education	% working	% hh chores	% edu	% Unemp.
Illiterate	74.6	0.9		17
Primary & below	80.7	0.0	1.1	17
Middle	75.7	0.5	6.5	19
Secondary	60.5	0.4	21.5	32
H. Secondary	45.6	0.0	35.0	26
Graduate	38.8	0.0	53.8	17
Post Graduate & above	44.9	0.0	34.7	30
Total	66.8	0.4	13.6	19

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 5.6: Major Activity of Females (14 Yrs and above) by Education Level, Urban Gujarat, 2012

Education	% working	% hh chores	% edu	% Unemp.
Illiterate	70.2	0.6		19
Primary & below	76.0	0.0	0.0	20
Middle	73.6	0.6	8.6	16
Secondary	61.2	2.4	21.4	14
H. Secondary	65.0	0.0	25.0	8
Graduate	62.3	0.0	31.1	7
Post Graduate & above	53.3	0.0	26.7	15
Total	67.5	0.8	13.3	17.4

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

A crucial difference is observed between the two States regarding activity status reported by women. It is to be noted here that the proportion of females who reported domestic responsibilities as their major activity was quite low in Gujarat. However, one cannot infer from this that women in Gujarat had less domestic responsibilities but may signify an important characteristic about how women identify themselves. Women in the study regions of Gujarat considered themselves to be a part of the labour force and hence identified themselves as unemployed even if they were doing only household activities. Household chores were the major activity of such unemployed females. It was primarily due to non-

availability of suitable job opportunities or the burden of household responsibilities which kept them out of the workforce. This was in sharp contrast to females in UP who reported household chores as their major activity, and identified themselves not as unemployed but as house-wives whose principal responsibility lies within the threshold of domestic boundary.

Effectively, for both sets of females (those reported to be unemployed and those reported to be primarily involved in household chores) the activity status is the same. They were unemployed with household chores as their principal activity. The two separate categories helped us in our understanding of women’s own perception about their own activity status. In a way, the category unemployed with household chores as the principal activity is a summation of the two categories (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Proportion of Females (15 years and above) Reporting as Unemployed and Primarily Involved in Household Chores in the study regions

State	Reporting Unemployed (%)	Reporting Household chores (%)	Unemployed with Household Chores as the Principal Activity (%)
Uttar Pradesh	1.3	27	28.3
Gujarat	17	1.2	18.2

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

5.4 Age Group Wise Classification of Females into Different Activities

If we consider distribution of females by different activity in specific age-groups we observe that majority of children up to 14 years of age were into school, or were too young to go to school. The proportion of children up to 14 years of age into education was higher in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh (Tables 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11). The difference between the two States was largely accounted for by age group wise distribution of females – in Uttar Pradesh within the age-group of up to 14 years, a relatively higher share of children were too young (and were yet to start going to school) as compared to that in Gujarat. For the next two age groups (15 to 29, and 30 to 59) the proportion of females who were working was much higher in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh (underlying higher female work participation in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh). In other words, higher proportion of working age females was gainfully employed in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh. In rural areas where majority of population was still dependent on agriculture, higher agricultural growth in Gujarat provided more employment opportunities for the working age females. In the urban areas, growth of industries has ensured higher working age female participation of females in the workforce. However, in Gujarat, one-fifth of working age females reported to be unemployed implying improving work force participation rates for females would require greater creation of employment opportunities in the non-agricultural sector.

Also, in Uttar Pradesh (both rural and urban), only one-third of females in the age-group of 15 to 29 years were in education as compared to one-fifth in Gujarat. Therefore, the role of education as a factor for low female WFPR was much stronger in Uttar Pradesh than in

Gujarat. In Gujarat, continuing education does not seem to be a significant deterrent in work force participation. Hence, the declining trend in female employment observed in Gujarat (from the national level sample data as discussed in Chapter 2) does not seem to be influenced much by increasing participation of females in education.

Further it might be noted from Tables 5.8 to 5.11, proportion of females under the category “others” for age groups less than 14 years, and 60 years and above was quite high. For the age group less than 14 years “others” included those who were yet to join school. For the age group 60 years and above “others” included those who were inactive due to illness or old age.

Age Group	Working for pay/profit/household gain	Household chores	Education	Others	All
Less than 14 yrs	1.6	2.9	63.5	32.0	100.0
15 to 29 yrs	21.8	40.0	32.4	5.8	100.0
30 to 59 yrs	39.0	49.5	0.9	10.6	100.0
60 yrs & above	20.0	42.9	0.0	37.1	100.0
All age groups	20.1	30.5	31.9	17.6	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Age Group	Working for pay/profit/household gain	Household chores	Education	Others	All
Less than 14 yrs	1.4	2.7	63.9	32.0	100.0
15 to 29 yrs	35.8	21.9	38.4	4.0	100.0
30 to 59 yrs	40.4	53.6	0.7	5.3	100.0
60 yrs & above	15.2	33.3	3.0	48.5	100.0
All age groups	25.3	26.8	32.0	16.0	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Age Group	Working for pay/profit/household gain	Unemployed	Education	Others	All
14 yrs & below	4.6	4.1	71.1	20.3	100.0
15 to 29 yrs	55.2	21.5	21.1	2.3	100.0
30 to 59 yrs	77.1	20.3	0.4	2.3	100.0
60 yrs & above	23.9	19.7	1.4	54.9	100.0
All age groups	47.2	16.6	24.8	11.4	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Age Group	Working for pay/profit/household gain	Unemployed	Education	Others	All
14 yrs & below	1.7	5.1	76.9	16.2	100.0
15 to 29 yrs	56.9	21.3	19.1	2.7	100.0
30 to 59 yrs	74.7	20.3	0.0	4.9	100.0
60 yrs & above	32.4	17.6	0.0	50.0	100.0
All age groups	49.1	17.1	24.2	9.6	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

5.5 Summary

By and large, despite centrally sponsored schemes like Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan by the Central government, and scholarship for girls implemented by certain state governments, incidence of illiteracy among females was still quite high and greater proportion of less educated females was in the workforce, both in rural and urban areas. This is clearly distress driven with the objective of adding on to the family income. The proportion of females working was higher on the other extreme in case of females with post-graduate qualification, clearly with an objective of career progression in the service sector. Urban UP seems to be replicating the U-shaped hypothesis – at lower end of educational ladder high female participation in the workforce seems to be driven by distress, at relatively higher level of education females withdraw from the labour force (or do not enter) implying an inter-play between social stigma (of participating in a low end job with relatively higher education), cultural obligation and to some extent positive income effect (females who can attain higher education generally belong to well-off families which are not in dire financial need of female members earning), and on attaining even higher level of education their participation in the work force increases in relatively well paying, decent, and service sector jobs (with some career goals in mind). The determinants of female participation in the labour force vary across different sections of the population. Generally, participation of females from poorer households with low education level and older women in the labour force was distress driven, while more educated and younger women have discouraged worker effect at times of economic distress (Sabarwal et al., 2011). Therefore, at times of economic slowdown or adverse economic shocks, increasing participation of poor and less educated women and withdrawal (forced or voluntary) of well educated women happen simultaneously. The net effect is usually context specific and very difficult to generalize in a vast country like India. Between the two States, even though Gujarat had higher female work participation rate, creation of employment opportunities outside agriculture was of vital importance in Gujarat (as in case of Uttar Pradesh) in order to address the issue of youth unemployment.

Among the economically active population, proportion of females who were working was much higher in Gujarat, indicating greater employment opportunities in both rural and urban areas as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh. However, the fact that close to one-fifth of adult females identified themselves as unemployed makes the case for creating more employment

opportunities which can provide decent and productive employment particularly for those who attained higher education.

An interesting finding of this survey was the difference in the manner in which females in the two States identified themselves. In Gujarat, females identified themselves as unemployed, while in Uttar Pradesh it was more of an implicit form and they generally reported household chores to be their primary responsibility. In other words, females in Gujarat had a greater stake in identifying themselves to be a part of the labour force rather than being responsible only for household chores. Females in the study locations in Uttar Pradesh had a much more conservative outlook in considering themselves to be a part of the labour force.

CHAPTER VI

Employment Opportunities

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the types of employment which adult female members are engaged in the study locations. This chapter provides an analysis of the push factor explaining declining female participation in the labour market.

Even though the connection between choice of occupation and one's own social group has become blurred over the years with increasing pace of urbanization and spread of education, some patterns of occupational choice among social groups could be discernible (Section 6.2). With the spread of education, and people moving out of agriculture, educational attainment is increasingly becoming an important determinant of employment. The analysis of educational attainment and choice of occupation is the subject matter of Section 6.3. Section 6.4 looks into remunerations from different occupations and analyses the variation across gender, and rural vis-à-vis urban areas. The last section (Section 6.5) summarizes some major observations of this chapter.

6.2 Employment Opportunities across Social Groups

Educational attainment had an impact on occupational pattern across all social groups. SCs and STs were characterized by low educational attainment, and therefore majority of working females in these two social groups were employed as daily wage labourer in agriculture, construction and textile factory (Table 6.1). The only exception was in rural Gujarat where majority of SC females reported to be unemployed.

Females belonging to "Other" social group (General category) had relatively higher level of educational attainment and therefore they were generally not into daily wage labour in agriculture or construction. In rural areas of Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, majority of females belonging to Other social group were primarily working on their own field. Agricultural operations were mainly taken care of by females as male members had to travel outside the village and were employed in various non-agricultural occupations mostly in the urban centres. Also in many cases even though there was not enough land females were barred from working outside on account of family/caste obligations. In urban areas, females belonging to Other social groups worked as vendors, traders, home based work where they mostly worked along with other household members. In urban areas, STs mostly worked as domestic workers (one-fourth of ST females in urban Gujarat were working as domestic workers).

Clearly, there was social group-wise segregation of occupation guided by educational attainment and to some extent social customs. SCs and STs were deprived in terms of material well-being which got manifested into lower human development achievements. Because of economic distress females in these social groups had to enter the labour force

quite early and as a result they were trapped into physically exhausting and low paying jobs. In other words, in most cases, the occupational choice for females belonging to SC and ST social groups were restricted to manual wage labour. In case of other social groups, females were either into non-manual wage employment, or working on their own land (in rural areas), or were barred from working outside due to social customs.

Region	Social Group Occupation	SC	OBC	Other	ST
Rural UP					
	Agriculture Labour	59.4	41.1	3.2	-
	Construction Labour	0.0	6.2	5.1	-
	Home based work	13.0	30.2	24.8	-
	Education sector	19.4	17.0	23.5	-
	Unpaid family work	0.0	5.5	43.4	-
	Others	8.2	0.0	0.0	-
Urban UP					
	Construction Labour	0.0	0.9	0.6	-
	Domestic Worker	43.6	41.9	0.6	-
	Education sector	22.2	29.1	19.3	-
	Home based worker	30.2	21.0	56.6	-
	Others	4.0	0.0	20.0	-
Rural Gujarat					
	Agriculture Labour	16.1	22.6	2.1	61.1
	Diamond Factory Labour	3.2	43.3	50.8	0.0
	Textile Factory Labour	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Education sector	21.0	11.0	18.0	3.6
	Farmer at own field	50.0	21.0	28.3	29.6
	Others	6.5	2.1	0.8	5.7
Urban Gujarat					
	Construction Labour	33.3	12.7	0.0	27.0
	Textile Factory Labour	30.4	2.7	38.9	13.5
	Home based work	7.2	56.4	24.8	0.0
	Diamond Factory Labour	23.0	5.4	25.0	0.0
	Others _x	6.0	35.2	11.3	59.5

_x Others include street vendor, trader

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Majority of females (15 years and above) belonging to SC and ST social groups were into casual wage employment in both rural and urban areas (Table 6.2). Among Other social group (general castes) majority were into self-employment except in urban Gujarat where diamond factory, textile factory and the service sector provided employment opportunities for urban females.

Table 6.2: Percentage Distribution of Working Females (15 Yrs and above) by Work Status, by Social Group (%)

	Work Status	SC	OBC	Other	ST
Rural UP	Self employed	14.3	38.9	52.2	-
	Regular salary employment	0.0	8.3	13.0	-
	Casual wage labour	66.7	25.0	8.7	-
	Others	19.0	27.8	26.1	-
	<i>All</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	-
Urban UP	Self employed	14.3	41.9	53.4	-
	Regular salary employment	14.3	3.2	3.4	-
	Casual wage labour	71.4	54.8	8.6	-
	Others	0.0	0.0	34.5	-
	<i>All</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	-
Rural Gujarat	Self employed	31.3	34.0	54.8	8.5
	Regular salary employment	6.3	6.8	6.5	0.0
	Casual wage labour	56.3	48.7	26.9	87.3
	Others	6.3	10.5	11.8	4.2
	<i>All</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Urban Gujarat	Self employed	12.8	31.3	30.3	-
	Regular salary employment	8.5	9.6	19.7	-
	Casual wage labour	68.1	46.1	30.3	-
	Others	10.6	13.0	19.7	-
	<i>All</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	-

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

6.3 Education and Employment Opportunities

We now look into the occupations in which women with different levels of education were engaged in the study locations. Vast majority of working illiterates in both rural and urban areas were working as casual wage labour (Table 6.3 and 6.4). Small proportion of them was home-based workers (both earning as well as working as helpers to other members of the family without any wage payment). Among the occupational category, "Others", most of them were either street vendor or engaged in unpaid family work.

Table 6.3: Main Occupation of working illiterate women (Rural UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Unpaid family work in own farm	20.1
Agricultural Labour	23.6
Construction Labour	14.9
Other Labour	12.5
Home-based Worker	6.3
Street vendor	2.6
Trader	1.1
Others	8.7.7

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 6.4: Main Occupation of working illiterates (Urban UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Construction Labour	28.4
Textile Factory Labour	21.6
Home-based Work	8.6
Domestic Worker	10.3
Others	31.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Among the illiterates in Gujarat, 75 per cent were working in rural areas and 70 per cent in urban areas. As in the case of Uttar Pradesh, casual wage employment was the dominant form of employment for the illiterates in both rural and urban areas (Tables 6.5 and 6.6). Gujarat is one of the very few States in India which has demonstrated significantly high rate of agricultural growth in the last decade, and so higher employment in agriculture (male or female) in Gujarat should not come as a big surprise. This, along with considerable boom in construction sector was where most of the female illiterate workers got employment in Gujarat.

Table 6.5: Main Occupation of working illiterates (Rural Guj.)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	27.6
Agricultural Labour	54.8
Others	17.6

Table 6.6: Main Occupation of working illiterates (Urban Guj.)	
Occupation	% of workers
Construction Labour	39.8
Textile Factory Labour	10.2
Home-based Work	10.2
Domestic Worker	10.2
Others	29.7

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

As the level of education improves, the proportion of casual wage labourers decline – in rural areas the proportion of home based workers increases, while in urban areas, some primary educated females were self-employed as traders/vendors (Tables 6.7 and 6.8). Among the occupation category ‘others’, most of them were into unpaid family work, and some were vendors (in rural areas).

Table 6.7: Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Rural UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	12.4
Agricultural Labour	18.6
Construction Labour	9.7
Other Labour	9.7
Home-based Worker	14.5
Others	35.2

Table 6.8: Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Urban UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Construction Labour	13.0
Textile Factory Labour	40.3
Trader / Vendor	15.6
Domestic Worker	3.9
Others	27.3

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Females with primary education in rural Gujarat, in addition to own farm work and agricultural labour, were also employed in diamond polishing work within the village itself. Among the occupation category ‘others’, most of them were into unpaid family work, and other labour (in rural areas).

Table 6.9: Main Occupation of literates up to primary (Rural Guj.)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	30.5
Agricultural Labour	29.8
Home based (Diamond Polishing Work)	15.9
Others	39.7

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In urban areas, with primary education, very few females were domestic workers and hence they were clubbed together as others (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Main Occupation of literates up to Primary (Urban Guj.)	
Occupation	% of workers
Construction Labour	26.0
Textile Factory Labour	24.7
Home-based Work	17.8
Others	31.5

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Historically, diamond cutting and polishing work in Surat can be traced back to the 1950s, when there were around 100 workshops employing about 500 workers.³ Persistent drought during the mid-sixties led to large scale in-migration of workers in the Surat city from Saurashtra region and in particular from the District of Bhavnagar (coincidentally both Bhavnagar and Surat Districts were the study locations in Gujarat, though we were unaware of this fact). Since then, diamond cutting and polishing industry expanded phenomenally and during the mid-eighties the number of units reached 9000 employing around 60000 workers. Some of the migrants returned to Bhavnagar (though the proportion is not known) and established their own workshops in villages and towns from where they migrated. Setting up a workshop did not require much capital; rather the most important thing was good relation with traders. So, diamond cutting and polishing work provided employment opportunities for considerable proportion of female workers in the Study locations in Gujarat. Females who were surveyed were involved in diamond polishing work only, which was more of a kind of unskilled work. Diamond cutting required some degree of skills. Females who were surveyed were not into diamond cutting activity at all. It may be noted here that even though we classified diamond polishing work as a part of home based work, in some cases women went

³Breman (1996), “Footloose Labour”, Cambridge University Press, UK

to small workshops (which was a part of some household) within the village and in such workshops not more than 5-6 women worked together.

This trend continues for those with middle and secondary education. In urban UP, the proportion of females employed in other activities increases – and a large chunk of it is continuing in education who also start taking care of household chores (Tables 6.11 and 6.12). They are the ones located at the downward bending zone of the U-shaped curve mentioned in Chapter 5. Their non-participation in the workforce was due to their continuation in education (in rural areas of UP, work opportunities for post-graduates were extremely limited and so the U-shaped curve does not exist). Among the occupation category others, most of them were into education and unpaid family work.

Table 6.11: Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Urban UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Textile Factory Labour	23.9
Trader / Vendor	21.1
Construction Labour	7.0
Others	47.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 6.12: Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Rural UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	18.2
Agricultural Labour	10.1
Construction Labour	13.1
Textile Factory Labour	12.1
Vendor / Trader	10.1
Others	36.4

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

With higher level of education, lower proportion of females were working as agricultural labour and those working in diamond polishing work, increased (Table 6.13). As discussed earlier, diamond polishing work is manual labour and does not require any educational qualification. Their shift in favour of diamond polishing work might be out of self-dignity without much change in earning. In urban areas, with secondary education, females got employment in clerical work, and few of them were also self-employed. Clearly, there was upward mobility in occupation with higher educational level.

Table 6.13: Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Rural Guj.)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	20.8
Agricultural Labour	15.5
Diamond Polishing Work	24.6
Others	39.1

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 6.14: Main Occupation of literates with middle and secondary education (Urban Guj)	
Occupation	% of workers
Diamond Factory Labour	12.2
Textile Factory Labour	10.2
Home-based Work	19.1
Clerical Work	6.1
Trader / Vendor	4.5
Others	48.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Females with education beyond secondary level were no longer working as wage labour in agriculture or construction sectors. Some of them were working as casual wage labour in textile factories (Table 6.15). In textile factories, there are different stages of production and it is important to see at which part of the value chain they are employed in. The task involved in each occupation was not really captured in this survey, and so we cannot make any statement with certainty. Among the occupation category others, most of them were into unpaid family work, and continuing with education.

Table 6.15: Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Rural UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	9.3
Vendor / Trader	18.5
Clerical Work	16.7
Textile Factory Labour	9.3
Others	46.3

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 6.16: Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Urban UP)	
Occupation	% of workers
Clerical Work	13.8
Trader / Vendor	12.3
Textile Factory Labour	20.0
Home-based worker	9.2
Others	44.6

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

With higher secondary and college education, some females in rural Gujarat got employment as Asha Worker or Anganwadi worker, or some clerical position in the local panchayat office (Table 6.17). Some of them also got employment as para-teachers in the elementary schools. Therefore, a relatively active and well-functioning public delivery system can actually generate employment at the local level. In urban areas, females with college or higher secondary education were employed in home based work – zari work and other decorative items (Table 29). This work was available on piece-rate basis, and though was not much remunerative, but it gave them an opportunity to get involved in activities other than household chores.

Table 6.17: Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Rural Guj)	
Occupation	% of workers
Own farm work	25.6
Clerical Work	7.7
Diamond Factory Labour	7.7
Textile Factory Labour	9.0
Vendor / Trader	5.1
Others	44.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 6.18: Main Occupation of literates with HS and College education (Urban Guj)	
Occupation	% of workers
Textile Factory work	10.4
Diamond Factory Labour	16.5
Home-based Work	31.2
Clerical Work	9.9
Others	32.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Females with post-graduate degree and above are mostly occupied with household responsibilities in rural UP. In urban areas, on the other hand, due to more employment opportunities they were employed in the service sectors including education (as para-teachers). Among others, some were continuing with their academic pursuit while the rest were occupied with household responsibilities. Among the occupational category ‘others’, most of them were into unpaid family work and household chores.

Occupation	% of workers
Clerical Work	25.0
Education	17.9
Others	57.1

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Females with post-graduate degree and above were primarily engaged in domestic responsibilities in rural Gujarat, and in urban areas, they were employed in service sector and also some home-based work.

In rural Gujarat, majority of females primarily involved in household chores were educated below elementary level. It is interesting to note that in urban areas, one-fourth of females primarily with household responsibilities were educated at least up to graduate level. Greater household responsibility in nuclear families in the urban areas might have kept them out of the work force. As mentioned earlier, even though females out of the work force reported domestic responsibilities as their principal occupation, they considered themselves to be a part of the labour force, and therefore, identified themselves as unemployed.

If we consider educational qualification of females (15 years and above) employed in different occupations then we notice that except for regular salary employment, majority of females were educated up to elementary level (Tables 6.20 and 6.21). Most of the females irregular salary employment had a university degree.

Occupation	Illiterate	Elementary	Secondary	H. Sec	Graduate & above	All
Own farm worker	54.7	25.0	9.4	1.6	9.4	100
Trader / Vendor	25.0	53.6	3.6	10.7	7.1	100
Home-based Worker	45.6	36.8	2.1	4.7	10.9	100
Casual wage worker	60.8	38.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	100
Domestic worker	62.5	31.3	6.3	0.0	0.0	100
Regular salary employment	0.0	37.0	3.7	14.8	44.4	100
Others	44.4	30.9	9.9	2.5	12.3	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Occupation	Illiterate	Elementary	Secondary	H. Sec	Graduate & above	All
Own farm worker	41.5	30.2	17.0	8.5	2.8	100
Trader / Vendor	40.0	26.7	26.7	0.0	6.7	100
Home-based Worker	14.7	40.0	21.3	16.0	8.0	100
Casual wage worker	54.1	34.7	7.4	2.1	1.7	100
Domestic worker	43.8	31.3	18.8	0.0	6.3	100
Regular salary employment	0.0	5.9	17.6	17.6	58.8	100
Others	20.1	36.6	21.6	10.4	11.2	100

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

From the above analysis we note that majority of females belonging to SC and ST social groups were into manual wage casual labour and this was primarily due to their lower educational attainment. Females belonging to “Other” social group were mostly into self-employment. Therefore, there existed segregation in nature of employment based on social group, and to a large extent this segregation was guided by educational attainment. Further, we could clearly see an improvement in nature of employment (more participation in service sector) once females attained at least higher secondary level. Broadly speaking, attainment of higher education was essential for getting better quality employment. In terms of quality of employment, the above analysis pointed out that qualitative improvement in education was related to attainment of higher levels of education. However, this process was not continuous and attainment of certain minimum threshold standard of education was necessary. In urban Gujarat, there was shift from manual labour (at least in some cases) with the attainment of secondary education, while in UP and also in rural Gujarat this threshold level was at Higher Secondary level. Therefore, benefits of education vary across regions and to a large extent were dependent on the local economy. However, one over-arching policy recommendation could be extending financial support (scholarship) to female students at least up to the higher secondary level. The close linkage between education and better job opportunities was highlighted by the World Bank study on employment in South Asia (World Bank, 2012). The study noted that in rural India, transition to better jobs was more likely to come with attainment of upper/higher secondary education. The study further noted that “workers with less education were more likely to experience a transition in the opposite direction – from non-farm work to agriculture”. The present study points towards obtaining a university degree as a necessity in getting decent regular employment. In order to ensure better employment for females it is necessary to increase their enrolment at college and university level- one way of achieving this is to establish more women colleges at the district level with special emphasis on technical and vocational education.

Section 6.4: Days of Employment and Remuneration

We have observed in Section 6.2 the segregation of occupation on the basis of educational attainment and social group. SCs and STs with low level of educational attainment were mostly employed as daily wage labour in agriculture, construction and textile factory. Females belonging to 'other' social group (General category) had relatively higher level of educational attainment and therefore they were generally not into daily wage labour in agriculture or construction. In rural areas of Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, majority of females belonging to "Other" social group were primarily working on their own field. In the occupational hierarchy -agriculture labour, construction labour, textile factory labour were located at the bottom of the pyramid. The next layer consists of home-based worker, and trader/vendor. In urban localities, domestic workers were placed somewhere in between these two groups. On the top of the pyramid were females working in service sector where conditions of employment and wages were comparatively better. In the following section we will analyse the days of employment and remuneration in each of these sectors.

Though there were variations in terms of work hours, days of employment, and earnings across occupational categories, there were certain common traits that could be observed across all occupations (Tables 6.22 to 6.29). First, average wages for males were higher than that of females. Second, on an average, wages in urban areas were higher than that in rural areas. Third, except in agriculture labour and construction labour occupations in rural Uttar Pradesh, there was hardly any difference in days of employment between males and females in other occupations, considered here.

The lower wages received by female workers was based on the common mis-conception (without any evidence) of lower productivity. Also, they have lower bargaining power due to their compulsion to find employment in the vicinity so that they can also fulfill their domestic duties as well. Females do not prefer travelling far for work also due to security reasons. Lower days of employment for females in agriculture and construction labour in rural Uttar Pradesh was due to shrinking employment opportunities in agriculture and non-development of the rural non-farm sector. Locals in the village in Lucknow District where the FGD was held pointed out to declining agricultural employment over the years primarily due to change in land use. Because of its proximity to urban centres, land value appreciated significantly (Rs. 500, 0000 and above per acre) for which large landowners started selling out their land to the developers (expectedly for housing units). Therefore, agricultural employment opportunities had declined. But there has not been a concomitant increase in non-agricultural employment for the villagers. The developers mostly work through contractors who have their own team of workers. Moreover, many construction works were yet to start, even though land transfer had already taken place. Therefore, there had been a decline in employment opportunities particularly for females in the village.

The decline in agricultural employment opportunities had affected female employment more than male employment. One reason for this was the proximity of the village under study to urban centres, the - males from the village could get employment in urban centres (like construction works, driving, vendors etc), while females were left with very little work other

than few days of employment during transplanting and harvesting seasons in the village. Females in this village preferred not to go out of the village for work. This is primarily driven by concerns of household responsibilities and partly by security concerns.

Days of employment and average wages in agriculture for females was higher in rural Gujarat, which should not come as a surprise given Gujarat's significant agricultural growth during the past decade (Table 6.22). But despite significant agricultural growth, gender differential in wages remained which drives home the point that growth does not always mean equality. Another important sector which performed well in Gujarat was the textile sector which was evident from the high wages that workers (both male and female) received as compared to their counterparts in Uttar Pradesh (Table 6.23).

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	7.7	20.0	110.0
		Female	7.6	11.0	65.0
	Urban	Male			
		Female			
Gujarat	Rural	Male	8.5	20.0	125.0
		Female	8.5	16.0	80.0
	Urban	Male			
		Female			

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	6.2	17.4	93.7
		Female	5.1	22.9	60.5
	Urban	Male	7.3	22.1	94.8
		Female	4.7	22.1	81.4
Gujarat	Rural	Male	10.0	24.8	357.3
		Female	8.0	26.0	115.4
	Urban	Male	9.1	24.9	160.2
		Female	6.9	25.0	94.6

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Gender disparity in terms of wage was very less in case of construction work. Also, wage differential between rural and urban areas does not seem to exist. This in a way points towards boom in the construction sector both in rural and urban areas where there is a constant demand for construction workers.

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)	
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	7.7	22.6	188.4	
		Female	6.3	16.0	152.5	
	Urban	Male	8.2	20.0	160.0	
		Female	5.7	26.0	155.0	
	Gujarat	Rural	Male	7.5	24.7	302.6
			Female			
Urban		Male	8.7	20.0	184.5	
		Female	8.4	15.7	171.4	

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Trading was a much more profitable venture for males in urban locations which mostly took the form of small petty shops where females also participated. But since the business was in the name of the husband, the contribution of females was in the nature of un-paid family labour. Also, the distance which males could cover on their bicycles was much higher than what females could cover, thereby increasing the probability of more business and thereby higher incomes (Table 6.25). Among the traders there was wide diversity in terms of capital investment and net returns. In urban Gujarat, average earning of male traders was more than thrice as compared to his rural counterparts.

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	8.8	24.6	254
		Female	7.7	25.2	80
	Urban	Male	7.4	25	391
		Female	7.2	25.3	153
Gujarat	Rural	Male	9.8	29.1	304
		Female	7.8	30	138
	Urban	Male	10	26.8	1090
		Female	8	30	215

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Average earning of vendors was relatively lower than the traders and was comparable to daily wage workers. The physical strain in this occupation was somewhat less than manual workers although earnings were similar. In case of vendors, significant differences in earnings between male and female as well as between rural and urban areas could be observed (Table 6.26).

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	7.7	21.6	149
		Female	7.6	26.8	49
	Urban	Male	8.2	24.1	277.5
		Female	7.7	27.3	83.3
Gujarat	Rural	Male	6.2	29	154
		Female			
	Urban	Male	7.6	27.3	206
		Female	30	8.3	94

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Home-based work for females was quite common in both Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. It was done by the household members on a piece-rate basis where the trader supplied raw materials and design (chikan work in UP, zari and zardosi work in Gujarat) and it involved almost all

the members of the household. In cases where males were also involved in the work, it was but natural that they would do all the financial dealings with the traders, implying that even though females contributed substantially in terms of time and energy, the economic return accruing to the females was practically zero. In many cases however, male members of the households were not involved in the work at all (and were working in the urban and peri-urban centres) implying that females had to deal with the traders themselves. Traders on their part took full advantage of women's time compulsion and compulsion to earn a source of living in the household itself by degrading the quality of their work and paying them less.

In the village where we conducted FGD in Lucknow District of Uttar Pradesh, an important source of employment for females in the village was the chikan work (a kind of embroidery work). This is a kind of traditional activity, famous all over the country, but it has survived without any formal training. It was characterised by inter-generational transfer of skill in an informal way. Chikan work was carried out on a piece-rate basis where suppliers / traders supply raw material and designs to the households. The work is extremely strenuous and puts lot of pressure on the eye-sight. This was one of the reasons why this work was carried out by young women. But the piece-rate wage was so low that in a day (6 – 8 hours of work) could fetch a woman only Rs. 20 to 25 (stitching a design of area 1 sq foot of cloth). In fact the wage rate for this work has not changed during the last 10 years.

In recent years, the problems of chikan workers aggravated due to the threat of import of designs in blocks from China which has the potential to render the traditional skills in this profession totally inconsequential. Now a days, machine made chikan work has been replacing the hand stitched traditional work, and the design blocks are manufactured in China, thus reducing the demand for chikan workers. Therefore, the possibility of wage increase in chikan work was rather bleak. Another important point about chikan work is that due to low wage men are not participating in it implying that because of lack of employment opportunities females are forced to work in low wage employment. Men on the other hand could move into better paying jobs. Clearly, there was a stark difference between males and females in terms of accessibility of jobs.

In Gujarat, zardosi and zari works were taken up by females at home. However, compared to females in Uttar Pradesh, female home-based workers in Gujarat were relatively less exploited in terms of better pay and less work hours per day. In Bhavnagar District of Gujarat, water crisis was a major issue, and females had to spent a considerable time of their daily schedule (2-3 hours) in fetching water, which naturally reduced the time that women could possibly spent in economic activities. Also, in Bhavnagar and in Surat, small diamond polishing workshops (employing 5-6 workers) were set up in the houses of relatively well-off traders. These were extremely small household enterprises within the village and this provided employment opportunities to the local women. The female members in the household were equally involved in this work.

State	Rural/ Urban	Sex	Avg. Work Hours Per Day	Avg. Days of Employment Per Month	Avg. Earnings Per Day (Rs.)	
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	6.4	27.0	92.0	
		Female	6.2	27.5	36.0	
	Urban	Male	7.0	29.4	122.2	
		Female	6.9	28.8	68.0	
	Gujarat	Rural	Male	8.0	25.0	200.0
			Female	5.3	19.6	65.0
Urban		Male	7.6	28.0	210.0	
		Female	4.2	20.9	66.8	

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Service sector employment had better work conditions and higher remuneration as compared to agricultural and industrial sectors, and more importantly, male-female and rural-urban wage differential was not too glaring. In rural areas, health workers, Anganwadi workers, para-teachers, clerks in panchayat and block offices were the ones absorbing the service sector female workers. In urban areas, it was basically constituted of para-teachers in schools and colleges, and workers employed in small private sector offices and shops. It may be noted here that average male wage was higher in rural areas than in urban areas in Gujarat. This was due to the fact that the workers were residing in rural areas, while they were working in urban areas where they received higher payments. This underlines the importance of place of work.

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)	
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	7.4	27.6	346.8	
		Female	7.0	27.5	230.0	
	Urban	Male	8.4	27.0	369.2	
		Female	9.3	28.3	328.9	
	Gujarat	Rural	Male	8.8	26.8	386.4
			Female	8.0	27.5	221.7
Urban		Male	8.8	26.4	234.2	
		Female	7.0	25.0	100.0	

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Among all the occupations considered in this study, average earning of domestic workers was the lowest. Even though the domestic workers work for fewer hours in a day as compared to wage labour in other occupations, on an average their hourly wage rate comes around Rs. 12, which is extremely low compared to any international standard (Table 6.29).

State	Rural / Urban	Sex	Avg Work Hours Per Day	Avg Days of Employment Per Month	Avg Earnings Per Day (Rs.)
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	Male	-	-	-
		Female	6.3	27.0	72.0
	Urban	Male	-	-	-
		Female	4.5	28.5	45.0
Gujarat	Rural	Male	-	-	-
		Female	4.3	28.1	46.0
	Urban	Male	-	-	-
		Female	5.8	27.4	96.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Since most of the wage employment was in the informal sector, there was hardly any social security coverage for the workers (Table 6.30).

State / Location	Working	Getting social security benefits			
		Paid leave	Medical leave	PF	All three
Uttar Pradesh	269	15	10	21	6
Gujarat	452	87	55	38	26

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

6.5 Summary

Clearly, there was social group-wise segregation of occupation guided by educational attainment and to some extent social customs. SCs and STs were deprived in terms of material well-being which got manifested into lower human development achievements. Because of economic distress females in these social groups had to enter the labour force quite early and as a result they were trapped into physically exhausting and low paying jobs. In other words, in most cases, the occupational choice for females belonging to SC and ST social groups were restricted to manual wage labour. In case of other social groups, females were either into non-manual wage employment, or working on their own land (in rural areas), or were barred from working outside due to social customs.

In terms of quality of employment, the analysis pointed out that qualitative improvement in education was related to attainment of higher levels of education. However, this process was not continuous and attainment of certain minimum threshold standard of education was necessary. In urban Gujarat, shift from manual labour occurred (at least in some cases) due to attainment of secondary education, while in UP and also in rural Gujarat this threshold level was at Higher Secondary level. Therefore, benefits of education vary across regions and to a large extent were dependent on the local economy.

Despite attaining certain level of education, females were mostly employed in low paying jobs which was a clear indication of lack of suitable employment opportunities in the vicinity (even within the District). This itself was a big dis-incentive for females towards attaining higher education. Therefore, in the areas under study in both the States, low female employment was to a large extent driven by non-availability of employment opportunities or the push factor.

In the job market, females were hard pressed both in terms of quantity of jobs as well as quality of jobs. Differences in wage rates could be observed between males and females in most of the occupations except in construction works in the selected study locations. In vast majority of cases, female workers did not have any social security benefits to fall back on. Household responsibilities, social obligations, and security concerns often forced females to accept rather unfavourable work conditions in terms of low wage and long work hours. Further, in many occasions their economic contribution was not even factored in despite putting no less effort as compared to males. This was particularly true in case of home-based works where men were also involved and dealt directly with the traders. Analysing long-term trend of female employment in urban India, Klasen and Pieters (2012) observed that participation of poorly educated women in the labour force was driven by necessity, while employment opportunities determined the participation of highly educated females into the labour force. In other words, higher wages acted as a pull factor for a minority of well-educated females into the labour force. Improvement in service delivery system can actually enhance decent female employment particularly in rural areas where services related to health, nutrition, and education sectors are well below the standards.

CHAPTER VII

Problems Faced by Females

7.1 Introduction

Women in the study locations, like in most parts of India, were responsible for running the household. They did all kinds of household activities like washing, cooking, cleaning, taking care of the livestock (in rural areas), taking care of the elderly and the children, and socializing with neighbours and relatives. In addition, women were also expected to contribute to the household income which in most cases improved their bargaining power in household decision making. For working women, their daily time schedule is packed with household responsibilities in the early morning before going to work, then participating in income generating activity, and then on returning back home carry out all kinds of domestic activities (cooking, washing, child care etc.). She is the first person to get up in the morning, and the last person to go to sleep. Women are expected to take up most of the household responsibilities even though they are participating in income generating activities for the entire day as men do.

Female participation in the labour market is not a smooth affair, and females have to come across various types of problems as a consequence of their participation in the labour market. Such problems have an impact on their participation in the labour market. The objective of this chapter is to assess the types of problems that working women face at home (Section 7.2), and at workplace (Section 7.3). The following section (Section 7.4) discusses the constraints that females who are presently not working encounter for entering into the labour market. Section 7.5 analyses whether marriage as an institution has any significant impact on female labour market participation or not. The following section (Section 7.6) addresses the issue of skill training and its possible impact on female work participation. Participation of females in different government programmes in the study locations is analysed in the following section (Section 7.7). The last section (Section 7.8) summarizes the major findings of this chapter.

7.2 Difficulties faced by Working Women at Home

Working women have to bear the double burden of work at home as well as outside. They have to wake up earlier than rest of the members of the household to prepare meals, caring for the children, cleaning the house, and of course get ready for work. Back from work at home they are expected to carry out domestic responsibilities as soon as they enter. This is what the other members of the household expect them to do, and “there is nothing unusual about it”.

In addition to work related problems, working women faced some problems at home as well. In the study region, one-fourth of working females reported fulfilling domestic responsibilities as a major challenge while being a part of the work force (Table 7.1). Even though majority of households reported that they did not face any problem at home for

working outside, some females did report non-approval of family members for working outside.

Table 7.1: Problems faced by Working women at Home

Problems faced	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
No problem	58.0	42.3	68.0	58.0
Family members do not approve due to caste prejudice	6.0	4.0	0.0	0.0
Domestic responsibilities	20.0	28.0	28.3	30.0
Family members do not approve going out to work	8.3	15.0	0.0	1.0
Others	7.7	10.7	3.7	11.0
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Even though family members were usually supportive of the fact that women were working outside, they still expected them to take care of household chores as well, which becomes physically strenuous for the working women. In Gujarat, the response to women working was overwhelmingly positive, even though women had to take the entire burden of household responsibilities.

7.3 Challenges at Workplace

Challenges at the workplace were of a different nature. More often than not, the superior was a male and male bossism was more pronounced in case of a female staff. Female harassment took different forms, harassment on sexual lines being the most extreme one. Often females do not report such incidents, and in the survey, very few of them reported such incident. But almost every female surveyed in rural Uttar Pradesh were of the opinion that incidents of male harassment at work place (particularly in agriculture and construction labour) are quite common, though they themselves declined to divulge any such incident happening with them. There might be two possibilities – it might have happened with someone close (in the family or in the neighbourhood), or even if it had happened with them, they are too scared to divulge because of social stigma associated with it. Other forms of harassment that women have to face include constant criticism about the quality of their work and such criticisms are often quite loud intended to embarrass them and to drive home the point that females are good for nothing, and they should not come to work and rather stay home to take care of the family. Efforts are always made to demean the economic contribution of females and to prove that they are economically insignificant. Apart from harassment, women at work face problems related to workplace infrastructure (absence of female toilet being the most common). Women have to tolerate all such problems if they want to continue working, or else they have no other option but to withdraw themselves from the workforce.

Slightly less economically vulnerable households do take precautions before sending female members to work. They usually check out the nature of job and whether the place is safe or not before allowing them to work. Women are perhaps the most vulnerable section of the workforce and they need to show tremendous resilience to continue being in the workforce, and this is particularly so if they are coming from lower income groups.

In the study locations in both the States, lower wages, long hours of work and distance to workplace were common problems faced by females employed as wage labourers in agriculture, construction, and textile factory (Tables 7.2, 7.3, 7.4). In addition, various forms of male harassment were a major problem faced by working women in Uttar Pradesh, while the degree of this problem was much lower in Gujarat.

Table 7.2: Problems faced by women working as agriculture labourer

Problem	% of females facing the problem in Rural UP	% of females facing the problem in Rural Gujarat
Male Harassment	28.9	0.0
Distance	1.0	46.5
Long Work Hours	33.0	27.9
Lower Wages	36.1	25.6
Lack of Technical skills	1.0	0.0
Lack of Basic Facilities at Work Place	0.0	0.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 7.3: Problems faced by women working as construction labourer

Problems Faced	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Male Harassment	52.2	50.0		0.0
Distance	0.0	25.0		43.0
Long Work Hours	43.5	20.0		50.0
Lower Wages	4.3	5.0		6.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 7.4: Problems faced by women working as textile factory labourer

Problems Faced	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Male Harassment	4.5	5.0		0.0
Distance	0.0	30.0		10.0
Long Work Hours	50.0	35.0		14.3
Lower Wages	31.8	15.0		55.7
Lack of Technical skills	9.1	10.0		15.0
Lack of Basic Facilities at Work Place	4.5	5.0		5.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Distance to workplace seemed to be a major problem particularly in Gujarat. In Gujarat, even though the condition of roads was good, availability of conveyance was a major problem. It was therefore not surprising that three-fourth of women in Gujarat had to walk down to their workplace. In Uttar Pradesh, there was a very strong preference for women to work within the close neighborhood, and therefore 68 per cent of women reported walking down to their workplace (Table 7.5).

State / Location	Walk	Cycle / Rickshaw	Scooter / Auto	Bus	Others	Total
Uttar Pradesh	68.5	18.7	8.0	1.5	3.2	100.0
Gujarat	75.6	4.4	12.4	3.5	4.0	100.0

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In addition to socio-economic problems and problems related to physical infrastructure, wage labour was indeed a very physically tiring work which exhausted women of all their energy, and too much physical labour with too little nutrition resulted in large number of ailments. Also, there were some occupations like *agarbatti* making, diamond polishing which involved considerable health hazards, thereby reducing working lifespan of women. It might be pertinent here to just mention a few responses which we received from working women in work related activities:

- After doing all household activities I have to go out to work (diamond polishing). Diamond polishing is a very strenuous work which puts lot of pressure on eye sight
- While making agarbatti I feel pain in the hip. Also, the powder causes cough and irritation in the eyes
- I work from morning 8 to evening 8 due to which I get headache, back pain and pain in eyes
- Have to walk for long distance. Get head-ache due to working under hot sun and also there is fear of wild animals
- Has to go to long distance to work. So develop swelling legs
- Physical exhaustion is too much due to working under the hot sun. Every month have to spend Rs.50-100 on medicines
- When we are working on the fields the owner of the fields harass us
- In diamond polishing work the dust that comes out goes into eyes and nose, and so it becomes difficult to breath
- Diamond polishing has to be done very carefully with concentration. We often feel headache and pain in the eyes. The wage that is received is not equivalent to the work done
- Sometimes get injured while cutting threads
- Work load is very heavy and the job requires standing whole day under the sun. After working whole day outside, I have to work at home also

- For tailoring work have to sit for long hours. So get back pain and develop swelling in legs
- Have to start working immediately after lunch. Not allowed to take rest for some time
- Have to work continuously to please the employer, cannot even have lunch properly
- Problems commuting to the work place, have to pay from own pocket for commuting
- eyes pain due to *chikan* work, and moreover low wages and long working hours are extremely demotivating
- We go to school and also do the work of gems at lower wages

The above mentioned narratives from working women clearly indicate absolute non-existence, and often open violation of decent work conditions. Given that these workers were employed in the unorganized sector of the economy which is totally out of reach of any legal entity, one wonders what kind of policy prescriptions one can think of in order to make life a little better for these working women.

Work related problems exist for women who were into home-based work as well. Typically, the trader is a male, and he uses all his tricks to under value the quality of work done by females. In case of zari and embroidery work they calculate the wage depending on the design and the extent of work. However, the method of calculating it is quite complex and is known to them only. The motive behind this complexity is to under-value the work done by women in order to pay less than what women should actually get. Since home-based workers are not organized/unionized, there is a point beyond which they cannot argue or fight for their rights. Their submission was also guided by the fact that there was hardly any alternative employment opportunity in the vicinity, and therefore, antagonizing the trader might aggravate economic vulnerability of the household.

7.4 Constraints that Non-working Women Encounter for Entering the Labour Market

The NSSO employment and unemployment survey (2009-10) collected information regarding willingness of females (15 years and above) primarily involved in domestic duties to accept work opportunities at the household premises. For the country as a whole, one-third of females (15 years and above) in rural areas and more than one-fourth in urban areas who were engaged in domestic duties (by usual principal activity) were willing to accept work opportunities at the household premises (Table 7.6). In both rural and urban India, there was a strong willingness among females primarily involved in household chores to take up tailoring work within their premises. This underlines the need for providing skill training to such females in tailoring, followed by institutional support for marketing their product so that the training thus provided reaches its logical conclusion. Therefore, the declining trend in female work participation rate in a way points towards lack of skill training and employment opportunities for females in the vicinity.

Table 7.6: Proportion of Females (15 yrs & above) Usually Engaged in Domestic Duties (by UPA) Willing to Work within Household Premises, by Type of Work Acceptable

State / Sector / All India	% of female willing to accept work within premises	Type of work - dairy (%)	Type of work - tailoring (%)	Type of work - others (%)
<i>Rural</i>				
Gujarat	24	7	7	10
Uttar Pradesh	35	9	12	14
All India	33	7	10	16
<i>Urban</i>				
Gujarat	30	0.7	10	19.3
Uttar Pradesh	32	1.5	15	15.5
All India	27	1.3	11.4	14.3

Source: NSSO, Report No. 550

It has been already pointed out (based on the primary survey) that in Uttar Pradesh the proportion of females reporting domestic responsibilities as their principal occupation was higher as compared to that in Gujarat. Higher proportion of females reporting household chores as primary occupation in Uttar Pradesh as compared to Gujarat was noted in employment and unemployment survey conducted by NSSO in 2009-10 as well (Government of India, 2013). The proportion of females (in the age group 15 years and above) reporting domestic duties as their usual principal activity was 72 per cent in rural Uttar Pradesh, and 56 per cent in rural Gujarat. In case of urban areas it was 71 per cent in Uttar Pradesh and 68 per cent in Gujarat (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Proportion of Females (15 years and above) Reporting Domestic Duties as Usual Principal Activity, 2009-10

State / All India	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Gujarat	56	68
Uttar Pradesh	72	71
All India	57	64

Source: NSSO, Report No. 550

Majority of females who reported domestic duties as their principal activity spent most of the time in domestic duties primarily due to absence of any other family members to carry out household chores. In Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh as well, majority of females for whom domestic duties was the principal activity reported non-availability of any other household member to be the primary reason why they had to spend most of the time in domestic duties (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: Proportion of Females for Whom Absence of any other Household Member was the Reason for Spending Most of the Time in Domestic Duties out of All Females who Reported Domestic Duties as Usual Principal Activity (15 years and above), 2009-10

State / All India	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Gujarat	58	61
Uttar Pradesh	55	65
All India	62	65

Source: NSSO, Report No. 550

Clearly, household responsibility was considered to be a major hindrance towards female work participation in both rural and urban areas. Another important factor which hampered female employability was lack of skill training. The record of formal skill training in India is rather poor with only 2-3 per cent of the workforce receiving formal training. Persons who drop out of the formal education system due to various reasons can actually contribute substantially towards economic development if they are imparted skills which have demand in the market. One of the reasons for the phenomenal growth of East Asian economies has been their human capital formation particularly through skill training.

7.5 Impact of Marriage

Marriage as an institution did not deter females from participating in the labour market. Proportion of females who worked prior to marriage was lower than the overall female work participation rate – implying that more females entered the workforce after marriage (Table 7.9). This was mostly in order to add on to the household income. In rural areas, females prior to their marriage mostly worked on their own field or worked as daily wage labourer in agriculture (mostly in groups alongside their family members). In urban areas, unmarried women mostly worked as labourer in textile factories and diamond workshops.

Table 7.9: Proportion of Females Who Worked Before Marriage		
State	Rural	Urban
Uttar Pradesh	10.6	20.6
Gujarat	55.5	45.6

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

It might be observed that the proportion of females working prior to their marriage in Uttar Pradesh was much lower than that in Gujarat. This was primarily due to the lack of employment opportunities in the vicinity. Villagers in a FGD in Lucknow pointed out to declining agricultural work opportunities in the village over the years (last one and half decade in particular). Because of its proximity to urban centres, land value has appreciated significantly (Rs. 500,0000 and above per acre) for which large landowners have started selling out their land to the developers (expectedly for housing units).⁴ Therefore, agricultural employment has gone down. But there has not been a concomitant increase in non-

⁴ During the period 1998-9 to 2009-10, net sown area in Lucknow declined from 0.14 million hectare to 0.13 million hectare. This was one of the sharpest declines in whole of Uttar Pradesh.

agricultural employment for the villagers. The decline in agricultural employment opportunities has affected female employment more than male employment. One big advantage of this village is its proximity to urban centres for which males find employment in urban centres (like construction works, driving, vendors etc), while females are left with very little work other than few days of employment during transplanting and harvesting seasons in the village. Females in this village do not go outside the village for work. This was primarily driven by concerns of household responsibilities and partly security concerns. The recent shameful incident in Delhi has further aggravated the security concern (particularly among young unmarried females – both Muslims and Hindus).

In the survey we enquired whether married women found encouragement or discouragement from their in-laws regarding their participation in the labour market. More than half of the married females reported that they received encouragement from their in-laws to participate in the labour market. Even though the encouragement was to work from home or in nearby locations (usually accompanied by neighbours and relatives), the important thing was they were allowed or encouraged to work. Sometimes it was self motivation guided by financial necessity with passive support of the in-laws. It would be interesting to note down some of the answers that were provided by the respondents:

- I have motivated myself. Cost of living is so high. What is the point in sitting at home
- It is important to be self reliant. I am an open minded person. When I have learnt something, I should utilise the skills and earn
- I asked for permission from my husband. The next day he bought me a tailoring (stitching) machine
- Mother in law attends to household work and sends me out to work. So I do not feel burdened
- Both husband and mother in law feel that once the child grows up I can start earning which can take care of the financial problems in the family. But at the same time they feel that I should not neglect household duties
- Husband says if you work now we can have something for the future
- Husband and son have the opinion that since it is own agriculture, it is better if family members work
- Husband says that if females work then they will go ahead in life
- Everyone in the family works and so I get encouragement to work
- In-laws encourage me to work because in that case we will get additional income and we can take good care of children

Marriage as an institution did not adversely affect participation of females in the workforce primarily due to economic distress. Participation of young females in the workforce was restricted due to non-availability of employment opportunities in the vicinity. This was particularly true in rural areas. From the above points we observe that concern over children's education and financial stability of the household was important considerations motivating female participation in the workforce. An implication of this was increasing participation of females in household decision making (Table 7.10). Females were more active in decision

making process of the household well beyond the four walls of kitchen. They were now active participants in decision regarding children’s education and decisions related to household savings. Also in matters related to healthcare, even though females’ exclusive decision making power was relatively less, their participation (jointly along with male members) was considerable. In rural and urban Gujarat, about one-third of the households reported joint decision making in matters related to health care. In rural UP, this joint decision making was reported in 20 per cent of surveyed households, while in urban UP it was 29 per cent. The reason for relatively less involvement of females in health related matters (as reported by the respondents) was their lack of awareness about medical facilities and their lack of confidence in dealing with the private healthcare operators. Males, owing to their larger social networking, have a better idea about costs involved in availing different types of health services, and therefore can deal with the private operators better.

Table 7.10: Proportion of Households where Females Take Decision (%)

Type of Decision	Rural UP	Urban UP	Rural Gujarat	Urban Gujarat
Education of Children	56	39	50	57
Food to be Cooked	77	88	89	81
Savings (Finance)	52	62	38	49
Healthcare	33	41	23	34

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In other words, female participation in workforce (even though distress driven) not only ensured financial security to the household, it also gave them a sense of dignity through which their participation in the household decision making improved considerably. Even the male respondents admitted that females can take better decision regarding their children’s education as they spend more time with them, and also females could foresee hard times (to some extent) for which they prepare themselves by “saving out of nothing”, and thereby “keep the boat sailing”.

Increasing participation of females in household decision making was undoubtedly a positive towards female empowerment (even though it might be distress driven or forced up on them due to non-participation of male members). Another sign of growing assertiveness among females in the study locations was their active involvement in important decisions concerning their own life (Tables 7.11 and 7.12). It was only in decisions regarding marriage where senior household members had much greater say. However, even in marriage, more than one-fourth of households in Uttar Pradesh reported going by the opinion of females themselves. Gujarat however seemed to be a much more conservative society in this regard.

Table 7.11: Distribution of Households by the Individuals Involved in Decision Making about Various Activities of Females in the Household, UP (%)				
Decision Regarding	Decision Taken by (%)			
	Woman Herself	Senior Members	Husband	Others
Females continuing in education	45	34	18	3
Females looking for jobs	37	37	22	4
Females continuing in jobs	37	31	28	4
Self-employment of females	36	31	21	12
Marriage of female members	28	47	0	25

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Table 7.12: Distribution of Households by the Individuals Involved in Decision Making about Various Activities of Females in the Household, Gujarat (%)				
Decision Regarding	Decision Taken by (%)			
	Woman Herself	Senior Members	Husband	Others
Females continuing in education	43	36	14	7
Females looking for jobs	55	23	13	9
Females continuing in jobs	73	12	9	6
Self-employment of females	61	18	15	6
Marriage of female members	6	71	0	23

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

7.6 Skill Training: Inadequate and Ineffective

Mehrotra et al. (2013a) estimated India's skill challenge to train 291 million persons by the year 2022. However, this is only a quantitative aspect of the skills challenge. The concerns of quality, which have also been observed in the present study, need also to be dealt with while addressing the skills challenge. In the study region, there was considerable variation in participation of females in skill training programmes. Female participation in skill training programmes in Uttar Pradesh was particularly low, and that too was of no use at all (Table 7.13). On the other hand, participation was reasonably high in Gujarat, and almost half of the females participating in such programmes got some employment opportunities (even as piece-rate workers home based worker). The skill training programmes in Gujarat were mostly organized by the NGOs in areas related to stitching/embroidery, computer related courses, and beautician related courses.

Table 7.13: Proportion of households where at least one female member participated in skill training programme in the last 5 years		
State	Rural	Urban
Uttar Pradesh	1.4	3.1
Gujarat	22.2	23.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

The scarcity or lack of initiative in skill training programme in Uttar Pradesh came out quite clearly during the FGD organized at one of the surveyed villages in Lucknow District. During the period of this study a training programme organized by the state government (Jan Shiksha Abhiyan) was going on in the village This programme was a three months course on tailoring, meant only for females with education level below secondary. The participants had to pay a nominal fee (Rs. 20 per month) to participate in this programme. In this programme, participants were taught 16 different types of stitching, but they were not taught any *chikan* work (which was an important home-based work in the region). However, quality and intensity of training was much below the expectation. There were only two sewing machines for the entire village, and therefore not everyone got a chance to have hands on training in using the machine. Therefore those who participated in the training considered themselves to be partially trained, and being aware of their limitation they would be happy to earn Rs. 1000 – 2000 per month. But opportunities for earning even this meagre amount did not exist in this village or in the vicinity where they really wanted to work. The training they acquired was thus mostly utilised for stitching clothes for their own household members. They were extremely eager to learn and wanted skill training programmes on new stitching techniques to be organized more regularly in the village

Such kinds of training programmes which hardly contribute anything to improve employability of the trainees clearly highlights the apathy of the officials to impart skills to the youth- an activity vital to reap the benefits of demographic dividend. The fact that such training programmes were nothing but mere lip services can be judged by the total absence of any innovation regarding the type of training to be imparted, very little infrastructure being used to provide such training, and absence of any follow up action once the training was provided.

In this village in Lucknow (where FGD was held), usually females enter the workforce at a very young age (13-14 years). If the mother was working in agriculture, the child accompanied her mother. If the mother was in chikan work the child got involved in it. This village had one elementary school (up to 8th standard), and therefore, females mostly could not study beyond the elementary level. After completion of elementary education females in this village wanted to enter the labour force and for this they wanted some kind of skill training to be organized in the village itself. The high school was located 6 km away, which acted as a deterrent towards attaining higher education for females.

Section 7.7: Participation in Government Programmes

Awareness about social security programmes, in both the states, was the highest for scholarship programmes for girls' education which had highest number of beneficiary households In Gujarat, as many as 20 per cent of households surveyed benefitted from girls' scholarship, while it was close to 10 per cent of in Uttar Pradesh.

Awareness about health care related programmes was much higher than social security related programmes, and among them Anganwadi programme was well known to the households in both the States (Table 7.14). The functioning of the Anganwadi centres seemed better in Gujarat than the ones in Uttar Pradesh. The centres in Gujarat had , weighing machines, charts mentioning heights and weights of the children, Anganwadi workers taking care of the children and also preparing their meal. Though there were good number of children (15 – 20) in the centres in both Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, the physical conditions of the centres (walls, roofs, and general cleanliness) were better in Gujarat as compared to that in Uttar Pradesh. During FGD in one of the villages in Gujarat it was revealed that though RSBY cards were distributed in the village but hospital refused to provide services as the Government did not release the funds.

Table 7.14: Proportion of Households being Aware of or Benefitted from Government Programmes

Programme related to	Uttar Pradesh			Gujarat		
	Aware but not Benefitted	Benefitted	Not Benefitted	Aware but not Benefitted	Benefitted	Not Benefitted
Social Security	26.3	6.1	73.7	45.1	6.4	54.9
Health care	46.6	5.5	53.4	72.1	6.8	27.9
Employment	63.6	2.8	36.4	16.4	2.0	83.6
Housing	66.4	2.4	33.6	44.3	5.4	55.7
Nutrition	61.1	13.2	38.9	70.1	45.1	29.9

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

For employment related programme, the focus enquiry was on MGNREGA. In contrast to other programmes enquired in the study, awareness (and to some extent interest as well) about MGNREGA was much higher in Uttar Pradesh, even though there was not much of a difference in proportion of beneficiaries between the two States. The average days of employment in Uttar Pradesh were 13 days in the last year, and the wage received was Rs. 100 per day. Even though the study locations in Gujarat did not seem to take much interest in MGNREGA, on an average, days of employment in case of the participating households was 17 days (higher than that of Uttar Pradesh) and the average wage received was Rs. 120 per day.

As regards functioning of MGNREGA in the study regions of the two States, insufficient days of employment and non-availability of work seemed to be common cause of discontent among the villagers. In Gujarat, the tribals complained of social exclusion by the Panchayat (village administration), while the Panchayat head complained about non-availability of workers. The problem lies in lack of awareness among the tribals particularly about the mechanism through which MGNREGA works – they still perceived it as any other government programme with a top down approach (where State and District authorities prepares a project to be implemented) rather than MGNREGA being a demand driven guaranteed employment programme. In Uttar Pradesh, despite awareness not enough work was undertaken, the reason for the same could not be ascertained through the FGDs. The

villagers expected the District and State authorities to be much more active in implementing this programme. The only positive thing that had happened in the village in Lucknow District was the wage increase during the last two years in agriculture primarily due to MGNREGA. MGNREGA wage in the village was Rs. 100 per day, and the agricultural wages for females have increased from Rs. 60 – 70 per day two years ago to Rs. 100 at present. But with very few days of employment this wage increase hardly had an impact on the livelihood of the villagers.

As regarding programmes related to housing (Indira Awas Yojana), the proportion of beneficiaries was a little higher in Gujarat as compared to Uttar Pradesh. The functioning of Public Distribution System helped in maintaining nutritional security for reasonably high proportion of households in Gujarat.

Overall, there seemed to be reasonably good awareness among the people in the study regions of both the States about various government programmes and schemes (with the exception of tribals in Gujarat who have been excluded from the main stream of the society for several centuries. Even if the tribals were aware of certain schemes, they were denied access at the local level through the practice of caste hierarchy). The real problem lies in programme implementation which often became complicated by the caste hierarchy at the local level.

7.8 Summary

In a nutshell, the most pressing problem that females faced were related to conditions of work (low wage, long work hours, physical exhaustion, and health hazards), and that of physical infrastructure (roads and conveyance). Household members are not averse to the idea of females participating in the workforce, even though this willingness in most of the time was distress driven. Apart from economic stability, an important indirect consequence of female work participation was their increasing involvement in household decision making. The most fundamental problem that persists is the mentality of male supremacy at work place resulting in mistreating females as inferior beings. Social mobilization, creating awareness are some of the means of coming out of it. But one practical and visible solution lies in facilitating skill training programmes for females in a meaningful way substantiated with follow up actions. Skill training programmes particularly for females remains a major concern not only in the study locations, but throughout the country. However, between the two States, a much higher proportion of females participated in skill training programmes in Gujarat which helped them in getting a job or becoming self-employed.

CHAPTER VIII

Findings from Time-Use Survey

8.1 Introduction

Women who are not working in any income generating activity and not receiving any remuneration are not considered to be a part of the labour force. Their activities are not considered to be economically significant. However, common sense would suggest that but for their so called non-economic contribution it would have been rather difficult for male members of the household to participate in economic activities. In other words, unpaid non-economic activities done by females are equally important for the overall well-being of the household.

Women, whether they are participating in economic activities or not, generally have to bear disproportionately much larger share of household responsibilities. Time use survey provides detailed information on how individuals spend their time and tries to capture an individual's daily life schedule with a specificity that combines both income generating and non-income generating activities. For the purpose of the study, daily time schedule of adult female members (15 years and above) for the previous day (one day prior to the date of survey) has been considered. The results of time use survey (which was a part of this study) have been analysed for adult females who are into different types of occupation. It is to be noted here that in this study simultaneous activities were not captured, and therefore, it is possible that in some instances the total time in different activities might add up to more than 24 hours.⁵ Questions based on each of the activities –economic, learning, household maintenance responsibilities, taking care of children and elderly and personal care –were put to both male and female members of the household. Household maintenance included activities like cleaning of dwelling unit as well as surroundings, washing clothes, cleaning of utensils, fetching water, cooking, and shopping for household ration and other needs. Personal care activities included eating, sleeping/resting, physical exercise, religious practices, personal hygiene, medical care, and time spent on searching for job.

8.2 Time Use Study of Adult Working Females

In case of female agricultural labourer, in rural Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, the time allocation in different activities was almost similar (Table 8.1). One important difference was with regard to child caring. In Gujarat, due to better functioning of Anganwadi centres women could leave their small children in the Anganwadi centres and went for wage employment. However, this was not so in Uttar Pradesh, and hence women had to spend relatively more time in taking care of their children more than twice the number of hours spent by female in Gujarat. While females in UP spent 7.5 hours on an average per day on economic activities, women in Gujarat could manage one extra hour on economic activities.

⁵ Typical time-use surveys capture simultaneous activities by asking activities undertaken every hour of the day. This way the total number of hours worked in a day remains less than 24. However, in present survey, the questionnaire captured time use through time taken in performing each of the activities –cooking, cleaning, other domestic chores, taking care of elderly and children. Therefore, number of hours worked sometimes comes to over 24.

**Table 8.1: Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation:
Occupation :-Agricultural Labourer (Hours)**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh	Gujarat
	Rural	Rural
Economic Activities	7.54	8.49
Household Maintenance	4.30	3.18
Caring for Children	3.62	1.67
Caring for Old	0.36	1.03
Learning	0.60	0.32
Personal Care	8.15	8.60

Note: There are no agricultural labourers in urban areas

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In case of construction workers, the proportion of time spent in personal care was relatively higher which was understandable by the fact that the very nature of this job was physically extremely taxing (Table 8.2). In the urban areas, female construction workers had to carry their children to the worksites as they had no one to look after them at home. Therefore, economic activities and caring for children were to some extent simultaneous activities for female construction workers in urban areas. It is important that child care centres should be opened up in both rural and urban areas to take adequate care of the children while their mothers are working.

**Table 8.2: Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation
Occupation - Construction Labourer (Hours)**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat
	Rural	Urban	Urban
Economic Activities	7.50	6.00	8.50
Household Maintenance	3.02	2.45	3.58
Caring for Children	0.97	3.70	1.54
Caring for Old	0.36	1.75	0.13
Learning	0.75	0.30	
Personal Care	9.85	9.17	8.26

Note: there were no female construction labourers in rural Gujarat

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

In case of home-based workers, it was noted that females spent a substantial proportion of their daily schedule in child caring (Table 8.3). It was primarily because they had to take care of their children (since there was no one else to take care of them) that they preferred working from home instead of going out to work. Most of the females in this occupation had small children and therefore more time was spent on their care. Also, the nature of the work in this occupation (chikan work, zardosi work, zari work) puts lot of pressure on their eye-sight, and their vision weakened with age. Generally, females in this occupation were relatively young. In the village in Lucknow District where the FGD was held females usually

entered into this work at a very young age (13-14 years). If the mother is in *chikan* work the child gets involved in it along with the mother. Otherwise they get themselves associated with some small workshops and start working there as apprentices earning Rs. 500 to 600 per month. During the time of the survey and FGD it was observed that this village had only one elementary school (up to 8th standard), and therefore, females did not (could not) study beyond the elementary level. After completion of elementary education females in this village wanted to enter the labour force and for this they needed some kind of skill training in the village itself. The high school however was located 6 kilometers away, which often acted as a deterrent towards higher educational attainment for females in that and nearby villages.

**Table 8.3: Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation
Occupation - Home Based Worker (Hours)**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Economic Activities	6.23	6.20	5.27	4.18
Household Maintenance	4.86	5.29	3.56	4.63
Caring for Children	1.72	3.60	5.75	4.96
Caring for Old	0.19	0.31	0.00	0.03
Learning	2.63	0.90	0.33	2.60
Personal Care	8.64	7.96	9.57	8.60

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Those working in the service sector had attained higher levels of education, so they spent relatively larger proportion of time in learning activities as compared to females in other occupations (Table 8.4). Also, females who were into service sector were into much better paying jobs and economically too they were well off. But still family members expected them to perform household activities and so they had to spend a substantial portion of their time at home doing all kinds of activities related to household maintenance.

**Table 8.4: Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation
Occupation – Services (Hours)**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Economic Activities	8.64	7.33	8.71	6.11
Household Maintenance	2.65	3.96	2.64	2.09
Caring for Children	2.37	1.17	1.23	3.53
Caring for Old	0.55	2.78	0.25	0.00
Learning	2.60	2.63	2.12	3.56
Personal Care	8.60	7.11	9.94	9.15

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

Females who did not go out to work in wage employment generally had some land owned by the male member of the household and they spent on an average 25-30 per cent of their time

working on the land (Table 8.5). Working on the land and performing household chores accounted for half of their daily time schedule.

**Table 8.5: Average Time Spent by Adult Females by Occupation
Occupation - Farmer at Own Field (Hours)**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh	Gujarat
	Rural	Rural
Economic Activities	5.50	7.19
Household Maintenance	4.49	5.34
Caring for Children	0.87	0.65
Caring for Old	0.54	0.08
Learning	0.79	0.50
Personal Care	8.02	9.55

Note: There were no farmers at own field in urban areas in both States
Source: Primary Survey, 2012

8.3 Time Use of Males in Household Activities

As against females, males on an average spent much less time on household activities. It is to be noted that in Gujarat, average time spent by males on household activities was more than their counterparts in Uttar Pradesh, and this was also one of the reasons for higher participation by females in the labour market in Gujarat compared to that in Uttar Pradesh.

**Table 8.6: Average Time (hours) Spent by Adult Males in
Household Maintenance**

Activity	Uttar Pradesh		Gujarat	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Cleaning of dwelling unit, surrounding	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.9
Cleaning of utensils	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4
Shopping	1.4	1.0	1.6	1.3
Washing clothes	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.3
Cooking	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
Fetching water	0.2	0.1	1.1	0.6

Source: Primary Survey, 2012

8.4 Summary

From the above analysis what we observe is that despite being a part of the workforce and working as hard as men (or may be more), females do end up doing a lot of activities which do not directly result in income generation. On an average such working women have to spend 4 – 6 hours in a day either in doing household chores or taking care of the children/aged. These are clearly non-economic activities. But if they were not undertaking these responsibilities, the household would have had to hire someone for doing the same, and therefore would have had to pay for them. Therefore to the extent that female members save that amount for the household also indirectly becomes their economic contribution to the

household earnings. Moreover, since females take care of the children and aged members of the household, prepare meals and wash clothes and utensils, it is possible for men to go out to work without any hassle. So, this way again females do contribute indirectly to the income generating process of the household and such contribution by females indeed needs to be acknowledged by society at large.

The importance of this time-use analysis lies in the fact that it clearly brings out certain qualitative aspects about women's work and time disposition and the hardship that they face in day-to-day life, although their work is not captured and reflected in labour statistics or in the society. First, they contribute indirectly to the income generating activities of male members of the household. And secondly, their participation in the labour market is greatly constrained by their responsibilities in the household which also restricts them from looking for jobs in areas beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

CHAPTER IX

Concluding Remarks and Policy Recommendations

This study was undertaken as a response to the growing concerns among policy makers regarding the declining trend in female labour force participation and thus employment, particularly during the second half of the last decade. Accordingly, the study began with an analysis of employment and unemployment survey data (NSS) for the 61st (2004-5) and 66th (2009-10) rounds. In India, there has been a consistent decline in female labour force participation rate and work force participation rate both in rural and urban areas since the 1970s (with the period between 1999-2000 and 2004-5 being the only exception). This decline in female WFPR was much sharper in rural India as compared to urban India, and was principally driven by fall in employment opportunities in unpaid family works. In order to understand the possible determinants of declining female employment, a primary household-based survey was conducted in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat in both rural and urban areas.

The study revolves around factors behind the declining female employment, and also focuses on problems and constraints that women faces with respect to their participation (or non-participation due to those very constraints) in the labour market. In the literature on female employment, family income and education were identified as important pull factors for this declining trend in female employment. In his study neither could evidence of any income effect, nor the notion of backward bending supply curve could be established. Impact of Education on employment could be established in some of the study locations.

Despite universal programmes on literacy and elementary education (Literacy Mission of the nineties, and SSA since 2002), the problem of illiteracy still looms large, particularly among rural females of Uttar Pradesh. As a result of which females are trapped in low productive jobs with low remuneration involving physical hardship and strain. The correlation between female illiteracy and incidence of poverty was quite strong both in economic sense as well as broader sense of deprivation, and mother's education is an important determinant of child's overall development. Thus, there is but no option other than emphasizing on female educational attainment within the broad framework of educational programmes designed by the Central and State governments. Further, higher educational attainment will also improve employability of females into more productive and better remunerative jobs. In this context it is important to provide short term skill training programmes for females at the local level in line with the local industry needs like tailoring, food processing, and other handicraft products, which will give them an opportunity to find employment in the vicinity.

Analysis of age-group wise activity of females (both in rural and urban areas) suggested that the influence of increasing participation in education did not have a significant impact on declining female employment in Gujarat, while in Uttar Pradesh this impact was much stronger. The proportion of females in the age-group of 15 to 29 years who were into education was much higher in Uttar Pradesh compared to that in Gujarat where majority of females in this age-group were engaged in economic activities. Thus, education as a pull

factor had a much stronger influence in the study locations in Uttar Pradesh, while in Gujarat its impact was not so obvious.

There was social group-wise segregation of occupation guided by educational attainment and to some extent social customs. SCs and STs were deprived in terms of material well-being which got manifested into lower human development achievements. Because of economic distress, females in these social groups had to enter the labour force quite early and as a result they were trapped into physically exhausting and low paying jobs. In other words, in most cases, the occupational choice for females belonging to SC and ST social groups were restricted to manual wage labour. In case of other social groups, females were either into non-manual wage employment, or working on their own land (in rural areas), or were barred from working outside due to social customs.

In terms of quality of employment, the analysis pointed out that qualitative improvement in education was related to attainment of higher levels of education. However, this process was not continuous and attainment of certain minimum threshold standard of education was necessary. In urban Gujarat, shift away from manual labour happened (at least in some cases) with the attainment of secondary education, while in UP and also in rural Gujarat this threshold level was at Higher Secondary level. Therefore, benefits of education vary across regions and to a large extent were dependent on the local economy.

In terms of remuneration, average wages for males were higher than that of females. Second, on an average, wages in urban areas were higher than that in rural areas. Third, except in occupations like agricultural labour and construction labour in rural Uttar Pradesh, there was hardly any difference in days of employment between males and females in other occupations considered here.

By and large, greater proportion of less educated females was in the workforce, both in rural and urban areas. Qualitative improvement in female occupation was occurring for girls on attaining higher secondary education. In rural and urban UP, none of the females with higher secondary education were engaged as agricultural or construction labourers. They were mostly into home-based work, clerical work or into small scale trading (commercial shops). In rural Gujarat, higher secondary educated females worked in textile factories or diamond factories as daily wage workers, but not in agriculture or construction sectors as labourers. There seems to be a notion of gradation of occupations (even among those working as daily wage labourers) which influenced their participation in different occupations depending on their educational attainment. So, even though there was similarity in occupational status between construction labourers and textile factory labourers, construction work might be viewed as a low grade work and therefore, on attaining a certain minimum level of education, construction work ceases to be an employment option. If one was looking for a qualitative improvement in employment opportunity, then secondary education might not be enough. It is therefore important to increase the number of higher secondary schools for girls with special emphasis on vocational education. Further, educational scholarships for girls should be extended up to at least higher secondary level.

Female workers suffered both in terms of quantity as well as quality of employment. Household responsibilities, social obligations, and security concerns often forced females to accept rather unfavourable terms of working conditions in terms of low wage and long working hours. Further, on many occasions their economic contribution was not even factored in despite putting no less effort as compared to males. This was particularly true in case of home-based work where men were also involved and dealt directly with the traders. A large proportion of women were working as home-based workers in embroidery, zardosi work, and decorative items. Such home-based work though involved all members of the household, but women had to perform a disproportionately larger share of that work. This was in addition to their daily household chores. The nature of employment in such work was self-employment. However, it may be noted that such kind of self-employment for women was not by choice but by compulsion. Women found it difficult to go out to work due to family responsibilities, certain social norms in some communities which prevented women in taking up wage employment outside the home, and of course non-availability of suitable employment opportunities in the vicinity.

This phenomenon of women participating in the workforce was more prevalent in rural areas, and in many occasions their willingness to participate in the workforce could not materialize due to non-availability of work in the neighbourhood. In rural areas, the supply of women workers willing to participate in agricultural work far outnumbered the demand for workers. Also, women preferred working in the vicinity, while work close to home was either on many occasions not available at all or available for only few days. The problem of finding work was more acute for females with small children compared to their younger or older counterparts. Women with small children could not accompany their husbands for work in far-away places (20 – 30 km), which was not a problem for younger or older females.

Work opportunities for females were indeed extremely limited particularly in rural areas with shrinking employment opportunities in agriculture and not enough employment opportunities being created in the non-farm sector. Due to various socio-economic and cultural factors along with security reasons females prefer to find employment opportunities in the vicinity. This only adds to the problem of female participation in the labour market. Creating employment opportunities in small towns which can be easily accessed by females staying in both rural and urban areas and improving employability of females should be the foremost agenda for policy makers. Further, in order to protect the quality of employment in terms of decent work conditions, women's associations and self-help groups should be promoted both in rural as well as in urban areas.

The non-availability of employment opportunities was a major cause of low female participation in the labour market, and this was particularly true in Uttar Pradesh where both LFPR and WFPR were lower than the national average.

Improvement in service delivery (particularly in the social sectors like health and education where achievements have been rather low) can actually enhance female employment particularly in rural areas. If females were made a part of this social delivery system then it would not only ensure quality employment to a large section of well-educated females but would also lead to better human development achievements in the regions. Improvement in service delivery system is also important in the urban centres where daily wage female workers face problems related to child care when they go out to work. These were poor women, daily wage earners by profession, and whose children deserved to be educated in order to come out of the poverty trap. Therefore development of the care economy is one of the measures that can raise female labour force participation.

As far as family support and encouragement is concerned, in both study locations the responses from family members were very positive, and in Gujarat, the responses were overwhelming. However, the preference was on home-based work, or work in the vicinity. Participating in the labour market did not relieve females from household responsibilities and they had to take up the double burden of earning as well as household responsibilities.

The most pressing problem that females faced were related to conditions of work (low wage, long working hours, physical exhaustion, and health hazards), and that of physical infrastructure (roads and conveyance).

In the study region, there was considerable variation in participation of females in skill training programmes. Female participation in skill training programmes in Uttar Pradesh was particularly low, and females complained that even when such programmes were organized they lacked innovation and were hardly of any use to them because the training did not improve their employability. In contrast, participation was reasonably high in Gujarat, and almost half of the females participating in such programmes got some employment opportunities (even as piece-rate home-based worker). Providing appropriate skill training can greatly enhance earning potential of females and provide them the much needed economic independence.

Overall, there seemed to be reasonably good awareness among the people in the study regions about various government programmes. The real problem was in programme implementation which often became complicated by the caste hierarchy at the local level. This problem has been plaguing the nation since independence and a possible solution can be spreading mass awareness, slowly bringing back the excluded sections of the society into the mainstream primarily through meaningful civil society interventions.

Marriage as an institution did not deter females from participating in the labour market. In fact, working after marriage improved the bargaining power of females in the household and increased their participation in household decision making process. Female participation in household decision making is extremely crucial for the overall well-being of the household and the female herself. This is particularly true in matters related to availing health care facilities. Even though participation of females in decisions related to availing health facilities is limited, they are the ones who mostly decide what is to be cooked and hence play

a major role in determining nutritional status of their household members. Globally India ranks 65th in Global Hunger Index (out of 79 countries), and one of the important contributors to such poor performance is the high incidence of child malnutrition. Further, more than half of the females in the age group 15 – 49 suffer from anaemia, poor health status can significantly reduce their participation in the workforce. Despite achieving significant economic growth, Gujarat has one of the highest child malnutrition rates in the country (45% of children under 5 years were underweight) and ranked 12 out of 17 major States in Hunger Index.

Educating or making females aware about nutrition and hygiene can contribute significantly towards improving health and nutritional status along with greater participation of females in the workforce. One way of achieving this is by raising awareness through Anganwadi or Asha workers, which imply that such workers first need to be trained and more number of workers have to be employed to carry on with the campaign. This will also have positive implications for female employment in rural areas.

Despite participating in economic activities, females had to fulfill all kinds of domestic responsibilities which turned out to be extremely strenuous and physically exhausting. Better functioning of Anganwadi centres in study locations in Gujarat was of considerable help to the working females who had to spend less time on child care activities.

The importance of the time-use analysis lies in the fact that it highlighted qualitative time disposition of females and the hardship that they faced in day-to-day life without much recognition in labour statistics or in the society, even in their own household. First, they contributed indirectly to the income generating activities of males by taking the bulk of household responsibilities on their shoulder. Second, their participation in the labour market was greatly constrained by their responsibilities in households which also restricted them from looking for jobs in areas beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

In brief, relative to the pull factors, it was more the push factor (in the form of lack of employment opportunities in the vicinity) which was driving down female employment in the study locations. This calls for policy correctives which go beyond the realm of employment initiatives in order to make economic growth much more inclusive in terms of gender. Decomposition of per-capita income growth for the last two decades revealed that a large part of the growth in per capita income was accounted for by growth in labour productivity. The two biggest contributors to growth in labour productivity were growth in capital deployed per unit of worker and total factor productivity growth. Evidently, growth in labour productivity in India has been occurring on account of increasing adoption of labour displacing technology. This strategy of increasing labour productivity which is devoid of employment objective is pursued in order to enhance international competitiveness. However, such a strategy of downsizing the workforce will be counter-productive causing lower aggregate demand thereby causing further decline in employment. In our study location in Lucknow, it was reported during the FGD that import of blocks of designs from China penetrating into the market was causing a decline in demand for traditionally skilled workers. In order to protect livelihood security of traditionally skilled workers it is imperative that such labour displacing

policies be reversed, and an alternative policy framework be put in place which establishes the link between rising labour productivity and expanding domestic demand which together have the potential to sustain higher employment growth.

At the micro-level, there is a need to set up child care centres with a much more expanded scope of child care and child development activities so that mothers can participate in the labour market, and this initiative is particularly needed for migrant female workers having children. Thus, unless targeted measures are taken to bring almost half of country's population in productive employment, our nation cannot efficiently reap the benefits of the demographic dividend.

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INSTITUTE OF APPLIED MANPOWER RESEARCH

City Office: 53, Lodhi Estate, New Delhi-110 003

Phone: +91 (0) 11 24697081; 24697082

Fax: +91 (0) 11 2778 3467

Web: <http://iamrindia.gov.in> E-mail: DG.IAMR@nic.in

Campus: Sector A-7, Narela Institutional Area, Delhi-110 040

Phone: + 91 (0) 11 27787215/6/7

Fax: +91(0) 11 27783467

Web: <http://iamrindia.gov.in> E-mail: DG.IAMR@nic.in