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Mapping the World of Women's Work: Regional Patterns and Perspectives

Saraswati Raju

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Subregional Office for South Asia, New Delhi

Mapping the World of Women's Work: Regional Patterns and Perspectives

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Executive Summary

One of the much talked about features of the latest available large-scale survey data for 1999-2000 to 2004-05 on employment has been the overall increase in women's workforce participation rates in both rural and urban areas. This increase has restored the earlier 1993-94 levels. Scholars have interpreted this increase variously-as putting an end to the 'jobless growth' syndrome of the 1990s, as a welcome sign for women, or as a sign precarious to their general well-being. Overall, however, questions have also been raised about how this increase shows up: what kind of work, in which sectors and whether or not the increase is spatially distributive. These questions assume importance given the concern for 'inclusive growth' and 'decent work' on the one hand and growing regional disparities despite overall growth on the other.

The inadequacy of official statistics in capturing the full range of women's work has always been an issue and yet their participation in the labour market has a distinct regional pattern-relatively lower workforce participation in northern states vis-à-vis states in the south and the north-east-that cannot be explained within the framework of a strict demand-supply paradigm. Apart from economically stimulated triggers, region-specific socio-cultural norms continue to encode workforce profiles of women workers.

After an extremely sluggish growth in workforce over the years 1993-94 to 1999-2000, 2004-05 registered an overall growth in workers. However, this growth has essentially been in the informal sector and, within it, in self-employment, particularly for the woman worker, both rural and urban.

Overall, women's workforce participation responds to what is happening to the men folk. There are strong indications that given the almost diminishing absorptive capacity of the agricultural sector, men with some education move out to access non-farm opportunities with women taking over the agricultural activities, more so in developed states. In less developed states, however, women are forced to access and work on whatever little land they possess while men appropriate the limited non-farm local jobs-increase in women cultivators in poorer states seems to bear testimony to this proposition.

As high as 72.8 per cent women workers are still in agriculture and the possibilities of their accessing non-farm activities in rural locations remain rather slim-these are major concerns. The growth in regular salaried employment has been very high for urban women and yet very limited occupational avenues account for it-the most visible category being that of 'domestic help'. In education, which is another category to register a marked growth, women are confined to the lower rungs of job hierarchies. Given the overall working conditions, these 'salaried' jobs do not necessarily improve women's material well-being.

In general, because of self-employment, that too from home-based units in the unorganized sectors, women are not only paid less than men, they are in the labour market without any protective cover in terms of job/income/social security and decent conditions of work.

The already unskilled and largely uneducated character of majority of the workforce is much aggravated in the case of women workers. Workforce participation has risen for illiterate women in rural areas; otherwise, illiteracy or semi-literacy has now become more of a barrier to entering the labour market for men in general and urban women in particular. Curiously, those in the middle rungs of educational

levels-elementary and middle levels-or educated beyond graduation seem to have better chances of accessing the emerging job opportunities. This phenomenon has to be linked with the spurt in low-end support services as well the exploitative nature of cheap labour in the Indian labour market. A segment of urban women who are either graduate or have education beyond it are exceptions to this general observation, but their proportion in the entire stock of workers is rather small.

The impact on the Indian labour market of the slowing down of the global economy is a complex matter. On the one hand, export-oriented industries where the impact is directly visible do not necessarily employ women workers in large proportions, even though in terms of absolute numbers they may be significant. On the other, there are innumerable smaller units which are intermediaries in the global value chain, however invisible and uncounted for, where loss of work-days/expanded hours of work to compensate for reduced days of work, closing/shifting of unorganized units, decline in real wages as well as growing rural-urban disparities have become issues of growing worries for the majority. Moreover, inflation, rising cost of living on account of both food and non-food items and privatization of essential services combined with commodification of free goods such as common property resources and the like indirectly impact women's lives. Those at the margins suffer as a whole, but women bear the disproportionate/added burden because regardless of entering the formal/informal labour market they remain primarily responsible for the basic survival needs of the family.

It is evident that women have become 'shock absorbers' in the overall functioning of labour market dynamics. It is about time that the perception of their being 'supplementary' workers (even as they remain 'invisible' in statistics) be questioned and women workers be seen as partners in their own right and receive full entitlements as citizens.

Foreword

This paper is part of a series of studies that have been launched by the ILO Subregional Office in collaboration with the Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST). The work was inspired and shaped by Devaki Jain who suggested conducting a nuanced and policy oriented factual mapping of women's engagement in employment which could be used to influence the knowledge base of policy makers, and to think of new ways to increase productivity of women's work, to shift women out of low productive work to new kinds of work and to give them independent incomes. By doing so, the aim was to highlight women's economic values and recast the ideas and institutions to deal with their contribution as well as neglect. Nirmala Banerjee lead a team of scholars through technical discussions, sifting out key gender dimensions in the current economic scenario and guided the studies and the arguments. Ratna Sudarshan, Director, ISST and Reiko Tsushima, ILO Specialist on Gender Equality and Women Workers' Issues coordinated the entire process.

The paper by Saraswati Raju maps women's location in the world of work conceptually and spatially. It provides a striking visual of the gendered location of women across India. The author shows that women's workforce participation rates vary widely across regions with as much as 20 (urban) to 46 (rural) percentage points between the highest and lowest states. The difference for men does not come close. Low participation rates among women characterize rich and poor states alike and cut across agro-ecological/ cropping pattern and developmental levels, indicating that women's participation in the public domain of work is influenced by region specific socio-economic and cultural codes and cannot be explained by availability of work or the poverty argument only. Further, women's engagement in unpaid household service limits their access to paid work. When they do work, it is likely to be at lower rungs of the labour market, which is not surprising given that increase in workforce participation of women was highest amongst the illiterate and those with education up to primary levels.

The author also discusses how the current labour market dynamics seems to be rearticulating the stereotypical construct of women's primary location within domesticity in a newer form. Lack of support to reduce women's work in the reproductive and household service sphere and flexible use of their labour as and when needed - such as in the time of economic crisis- is resulting in women choosing paid work that can be done at home in between other responsibilities, such as piece-rated "home-based work" which keeps them invisible, isolated from other similar workers and without social protection.

The paper is rich; the analysis and the data contained will be most useful for anyone wishing to take an in-depth look at regional differences in women's work and the spaces they occupy.

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	iii
Introduction	1
Workforce Participation	2
<i>Age-specific workforce participation rates</i>	5
<i>Marital status and workforce participation rates</i>	7
<i>Growth rates and regional patterns</i>	7
Sector-wise Distribution of Workers	9
Composition and Employment Status of Workers	10
Workers and Access to Literacy and Education	16
<i>Educational levels and workers' changing profiles</i>	16
<i>Educational levels and appropriation of available work</i>	20
Workers in Agriculture and Allied Activities	25
<i>Self-employment in agriculture (cultivators)</i>	27
<i>Wage work in agriculture (agricultural labourers)</i>	29
<i>The emerging pattern</i>	30
Workers in Non-Agricultural Activities	31
<i>Non-agricultural workers in rural India</i>	31
<i>Non-agricultural workers in urban India</i>	36
<i>Wage workers</i>	38
<i>Regular salaried work</i>	39
<i>Non-agricultural self-employed workers in urban India</i>	42
Agricultural and Non-agricultural Wages	48
Additional Observations	50
The Global Meltdown and Women Workers	53
In Conclusion	56
Notes	59
References	62
Annexures	66

List of Tables

Table 1.	Workforce participation rates (15-59 years), 2004-05	3
Table 2.	Workers' (15-59 years) share in agriculture and allied activities, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	9
Table 3.	Distribution of workers across sectors and employment status, 2004-05	9
Table 4.	Workers in unorganized and organized sectors, 2004-05	10
Table 5.	Workers (15-59 years) across employment status by sector and sex, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	11
Table 6.	Additional workforce (15-59 years) by educational levels, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	21
Table 7.	Rural workers (15-59 years) and their increase/decline across educational levels, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	22
Table 8.	Urban workers (15-59 years) and their increase/decline across educational levels, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	23
Table 9.	State-wise concentration of additional workforce (15-59 years) by educational levels, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	24
Table 10.	Growth of population and workers in agriculture and allied industries, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	26
Table 11.	Self-employed and wage workers in agriculture (15-59 years), 2004-05	27
Table 12.	Growth rates of rural non-agricultural workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05	32
Table 13.	Growth rate of male non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) by employment status, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	34
Table 14.	Growth rate of women non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) by employment status, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	35
Table 15.	Share and growth rate of non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) across industry groups (1-digit) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	37
Table 16.	Distribution of women wage workers (15-59 years) in urban India by employment status, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	41
Table 17.	Workers in non-agricultural enterprises by workplace in urban India, 2004-05	45
Table 18.	Non-agricultural self-employed home-based workers with work specification given wholly or mainly and making own arrangement of credit, raw material equipment, 1999-2000	47
Table 19.	Women (15-59 years) in the lowest/highest two MPCE classes undertaking domestic duties by UPSS and also carrying out additional activities, 2004-05	53
Table 20.	Women Workers in Special Economic Zones, 2008	55

List of Graphs and Maps

Graphs

Graph 1.	Age-specific workforce participation rate: Overall and among married women in rural India, 2004-05	6
Graph 2.	Age-specific workforce participation rate: Overall and among married women in urban India, 2004-05	6
Graph 3.	Growth rate of rural workers (15 -59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05	8
Graph 4.	Growth rate of urban workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05	8
Graph 5.	Growth rate of illiterate (including below primary) workers (15-59 years) in rural India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	17
Graph 6.	Growth rate of illiterate (including below primary) workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	18
Graph 7.	Growth rate of workers (15-59 years) with secondary and above education in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	20
Graph 8.	Growth rate of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	28
Graph 9.	Sex ratio of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	29
Graph 10.	Growth rate of wage workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	30
Graph 11.	Non-agricultural women workers (15-59 years) in manufacturing in urban India, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	36
Graph 12.	Growth rate of regular salaried workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	39
Graph 13.	Growth rate of casual labourers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	40
Graph 14.	Non-agricultural women workers (15-59 years) in private households, 1999-2000 and 2004-05	42
Graph 15.	Growth rate of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05	44
Graph 16.	Percentage of home-based in non-agricultural self-employed workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05	44
Graph 17.	Non-agricultural self-employed home-based workers (15-59 years) across educational levels by sex in urban India, 2004-05	46
Graph 18.	Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in food production along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05	51
Graph 19.	Rural Women (15-59 years) Engaged in Household Manufacturing along with Domestic Activities (UPSS), 2004-05	52
Graph 20.	Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in collection of fuels (energy) for household consumption along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05	52

Graph 21. Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in water collection along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05	52
Graph 22. Women workers in government/state and private Special Economic Zones, 2008	54
Maps	
Map 1. Workforce participation of all women (15-59 years)	4
Map 2. Workforce participation rates of women (15-59 years), 2004-05	5
Map 3. Growth rate of all workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05	8
Map 4. Male workers across employment status (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05	12
Map 5. Women workers across employment status (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05	13
Map 6. Male workers across employment status (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05	14
Map 7. Women workers across employment status (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05	15
Map 8. Illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 Years) in rural India, 2004-05	16
Map 9. Illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 Years) in urban India, 2004-05	16
Map 10. Workers with secondary and above education (15-59 years), 2004-05	19
Map 11. Agricultural workers (15-59 years), 2004-05	25
Map 12. Growth rate of agricultural workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05	26
Map 13. Agricultural wage workers (15-59 years), 2004-05	29
Map 14. Non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05	32
Map 15. Self-employed workers (15-59 years) in Non-agriculture in rural India, 2004-05	33
Map 16. Non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05	38
Map 17. Women wage workers (15-59 Years) in urban India, 2004-05	38
Map 18. Self-employed workers (15-59 years) in non-agriculture in urban India, 2004-05	43
Map 19. Average daily wages of casual person-days (15-59 years) in agriculture, 2004-05	49
Map 20. Average daily wages of women person-days (15-59 years) in non-agriculture, 2004-2005	50
Map 21. Women (15-59 years) undertaking domestic duties and additional work	51

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Introduction

Even as faster growth and increased incomes propagated by the pro-globalization lobby (World Bank, 2002) progressively came under the scanner, a proposition that had opened itself much earlier was the contestation that growth can in fact bypass some sections or can impact them in such a manner that they become increasingly marginalized (Bhagwati and Srinivasan, 2002). With the current impasse of growth combined with worldwide recession, exclusionary practices continue to be an important issue for India and one which planners seem to be aware of. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) talks extensively of 'inclusive growth' in direct contrast with earlier plans and budgetary declarations since 1991, which had placed 'high growth' as a panacea for all ills that the country faced. High growth in turn would come only with faster and deeper reforms. Now, growth is taken as given and the concern is about the distributive aspect of growth.

However, in my analysis, I argue that the post-colonial state in globalizing India where market is becoming extremely competitive, despite remaining committed to collective interests at some social cost in principle, is reconfiguring existing social and gendered constructs to serve the interests of few and marginalize many. State policy discourses articulate such interests with either alarming naivety or by design. Although caste/class/ethnicity overlaps and intersections complicate the scenario further, in many instances a gendered location remains the primary axis along which exclusions and marginalization continue to take place.

The world of work is one of the most appropriate sites to engage with some of these propositions. It must be recognized that work is not only a way to livelihood, it defines the conditions of existence, more so for women as they bear the responsibility of social reproduction as well as some kind of productive work whether or not their work gets adequately captured as such in official data. Women's work remains largely invisible or inadequately captured because of the ways in which 'work' gets defined, understood and socially perceived not only by data gatherers but also by the respondents, including women themselves (Beneria, 1981; Dixon, 1982; Bennett, 1992; Raju, 2006). As a result of underestimation and invisibility, the conditions in which women work and the implications thereof in terms of their general material conditions and well-being do not get the attention they deserve in official discourses.

One of the much talked about features of the latest data on employment has been the overall increase in women's workforce participation rates. Almost a worldwide, as also an Asian phenomenon with varying degrees (ILO, 2007), overall this increase has been variously interpreted by scholars as putting the 'jobless growth' syndrome of the 1990s to rest, as expanding opportunities for women in the labour market even if under exploitative conditions (Kabeer, 2004), or as precarious to women's overall well-being including health (Swaminathan, 2007).¹ Whichever viewpoint one subscribes to, there are cross-cutting issues which require close attention: what kind of work has increased and which sectors have gained and what are the implications thereof? For example, do increases in specific categories such as salaried jobs necessarily mean better jobs? Has the increase been appropriated by certain groups, regions and locations, or has the geographical spread been fairly distributive? It is well known, for example, that service conditions in many regular jobs such as domestic help are not qualitatively better off as compared to casual work.

These questions assume importance given the concern for 'inclusive growth' and 'decent work'

on the one hand and growing regional disparities despite overall growth on the other (Planning Commission, 2005). Also, they open to debate the Million Development Goals' (MDG 3.2) supposition that increase in non-agricultural wage labour is one of the indicators of betterment of women workers. As it is, in developing countries, most of the employment is outside the non-agricultural sector or as unpaid family labour. Even otherwise, the indicator does not capture differences in the quality of the different types of non-agricultural wage employment regarding earning, conditions or legal and social protection.

Taking various dimensions of the regional patterns and gender disparities in agricultural and non-agricultural workforce as the entry point, this paper addresses some of these issues, but prior to that some caveats are in order. Drawing from the unit level information from the employment and unemployment surveys by the National Sample Survey (NSS) Organisation,² the analysis is confined to the working age population of 15-59 years, as the changes in workforce structure of 0-15 and 60-plus population have different developmental connotations. Also, the workforce includes both principal and subsidiary status workers as the purpose is to look at the total quantum of work, its gendered structure and labour market changes as a whole.

The paper is divided into nine sections. Following the Introduction, the first section is an overview of workforce participation rates, including various intercepts such as women's marital status, age-specific profiles of workers and overall regional variation. An analysis of the sectoral composition and employment status of workers follows in the second section. The third section looks at the human resource base in terms of literacy and educational levels of workers. The kind of opportunities created for the incremental labour during 1999-2000 to 2004-05 is also addressed in this section. The next two sections focus on agricultural and non-agricultural workers, and their employment statuses as self-employed and wage and regular workers. These sections attempt to analyse the changing scenario of the labour market and its implications for workers in general and women workers in particular. Self-employment, a critical category for women workers, receives special attention. The sixth section comments briefly on wage differentials between men and women workers. The seventh section consists of additional observations on the rather familiar category of unpaid work, which in fact adds to families' survival strategies. Newer opportunities are touched upon briefly in the subsequent discussion, and the final section concludes the discussion.

Workforce Participation

The increase in workforce participation rates has been of particular interest because the previous NSS round in 1999-2000 had recorded a significant drop in workforce participation rates as compared to 1993-94.³ If 1993-94 is considered as a base year for comparison, the increase shows up only in urban workforce participation rates, both for males and females. Between 1999-2000 and 2004-05, however, there is overall increase in workers and, as pointed out earlier, the most noticeable increase is amongst women workers (Annexure I).

In terms of absolute numbers, the total employment in the economy increased from 397 million to 457 million between 1999-2000 and 2004-05. Table 1 provides an overview of the workforce participation rates in the working age population, i.e., those in the 15-59 age group. It is intriguing to note that even as the definition of work remains inadequate in capturing the whole range of women's productive work, it still manages to capture sharp variations therein across the geographical space of India.

The highest workforce participation rate is 74 per cent for rural women workers in Himachal Pradesh whereas the lowest of 13 per cent is in Tripura. For urban women the two extremes are Meghalaya with 44 per cent and Bihar with 11 per cent. The workforce participation rate of rural men ranges between 75 per cent (Manipur) to 91 per cent (Gujarat); the national average is 87 per cent. Urban men have lower rates with an average of 80 per cent for India, which varies from 68 per cent in Manipur to 86 per cent in Himachal Pradesh. When contrasted with women, there is thus not much variation in the workforce participation rate of men.

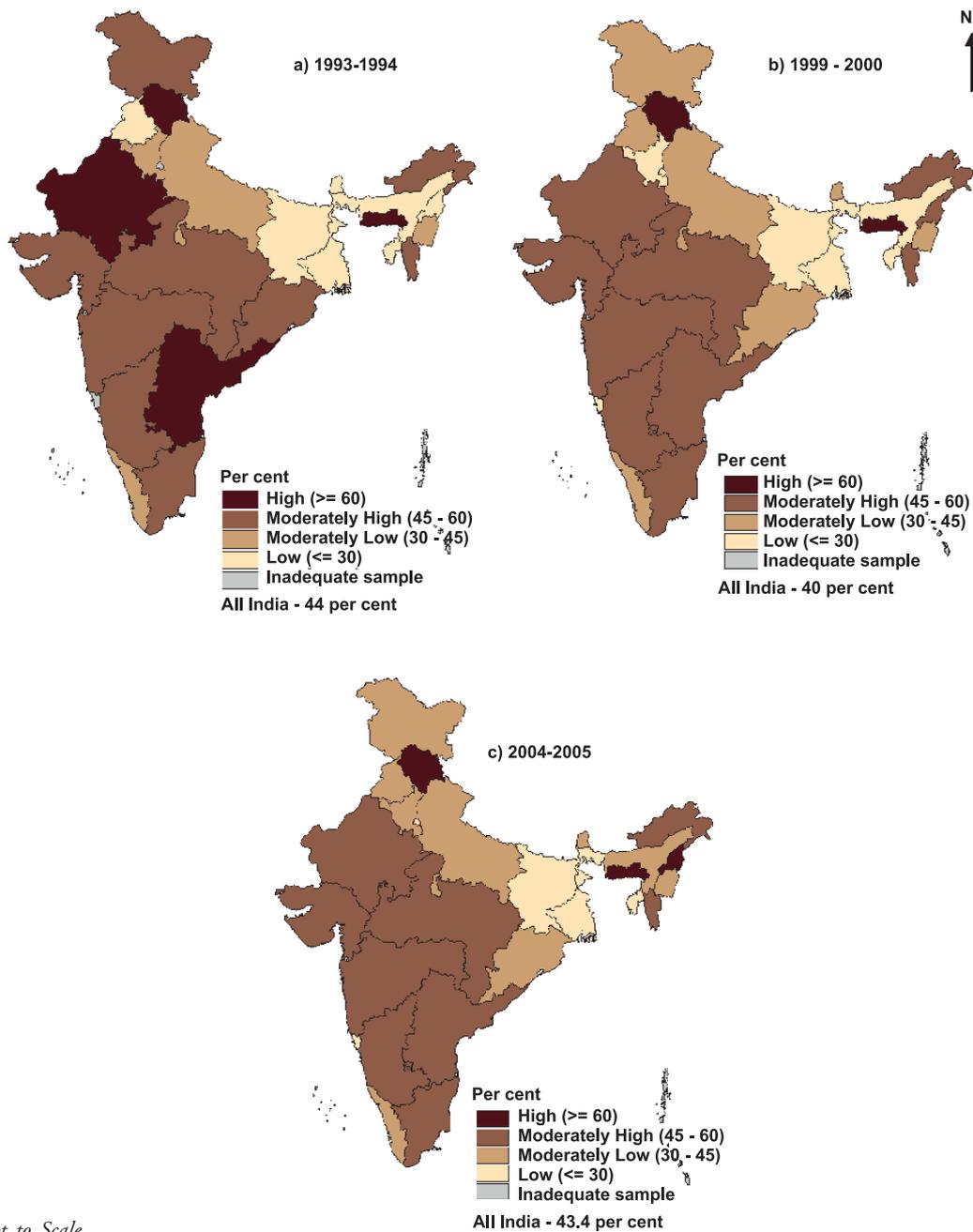
Table 1: Workforce participation rates (15-59 years), 2004-05

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	89.9	70.5	80.1	81.2	31.6	57.0	87.2	59.1	73.2
Arunachal Pradesh	80.3	64.5	72.9	72.9	21.2	48.9	79.2	58.1	69.3
Assam	86.5	33.1	61.4	80.0	16.6	50.6	85.7	31.2	60.1
Bihar	88.0	23.8	55.8	70.6	10.6	43.8	85.7	22.4	54.4
Chhatisgarh	88.7	75.2	82.1	73.9	25.0	51.3	85.6	65.6	75.9
Gujarat	91.2	67.0	79.6	84.1	22.1	55.9	88.4	50.3	70.5
Haryana	81.7	52.2	68.0	79.0	20.0	52.2	80.8	42.1	63.0
Himachal Pradesh	81.9	73.5	77.6	86.4	33.1	64.4	82.5	69.5	76.0
Jammu & Kashmir	79.2	40.8	61.0	75.4	14.2	47.4	78.0	33.1	57.0
Jharkhand	87.8	51.2	69.8	70.0	18.9	46.4	83.9	44.6	64.8
Karnataka	89.5	65.9	77.9	83.2	26.4	56.5	87.2	52.5	70.4
Kerala	80.1	36.0	56.6	78.6	27.3	52.7	79.7	33.7	55.6
Madhya Pradesh	89.2	60.9	75.9	81.3	23.2	54.1	87.0	50.4	69.8
Maharashtra	85.6	70.7	78.3	80.7	27.8	56.6	83.3	51.5	68.2
Manipur	75.1	48.2	61.5	68.3	31.5	50.2	73.2	43.9	58.5
Meghalaya	90.5	76.4	83.5	69.9	44.8	56.9	87.2	70.9	79.1
Mizoram	87.1	63.6	75.9	72.8	40.1	56.4	80.9	52.9	67.3
Nagaland	79.8	74.0	77.0	72.5	37.5	55.9	77.2	61.4	69.6
Orissa	88.9	48.3	68.3	74.5	21.3	49.9	86.4	44.3	65.3
Punjab	85.0	48.5	67.3	81.6	19.8	53.5	83.7	38.2	62.2
Rajasthan	86.5	67.7	77.2	78.9	29.7	56.2	84.3	57.5	71.3
Sikkim	79.2	47.1	64.2	76.2	22.7	52.2	78.8	43.8	62.5
Tamil Nadu	88.1	66.6	77.1	83.5	33.7	59.5	86.0	52.6	69.3
Tripura	79.3	12.5	47.1	70.4	13.4	42.1	77.8	12.7	46.3
Uttarakhand	81.3	67.3	74.1	76.8	18.4	49.6	79.8	53.5	66.7
Uttar Pradesh	86.4	40.5	63.6	80.2	17.3	51.9	84.7	35.1	60.7
West Bengal	87.3	27.7	58.2	80.6	21.3	53.3	85.2	25.8	56.7
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	82.2	28.5	57.7	76.8	14.6	49.6	77.5	16.5	50.7
India	87.1	51.5	69.5	80.2	24.2	54.3	84.9	43.4	64.8
Coefficient of variation	0.05	0.33	0.14	0.06	0.35	0.09	0.05	0.33	0.12

Note: Wherever sample size is adequate, the disaggregated data for north-eastern states have been provided.
Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

The comparable workforce participation rates for women cut across poverty levels, agro-ecological/cropping patterns and developmental levels. Punjab (38 per cent) and Uttar Pradesh (35 per cent), Jammu & Kashmir (33 per cent) and Kerala (34 per cent) are cases in point questioning the commonsensical assumption or purely economics-centric logic about the direct inter-linkages between poverty and women's enhanced workforce participation (Map 1). In general, states in the northern Indian plains (Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal) have lower workforce participation rate by girls and women than the states located in the south. The rural-urban disaggregation does not change this pattern much except that rural workforce participation rate is higher (Map 2).

Map 1: Workforce participation of all women (15-59 years)

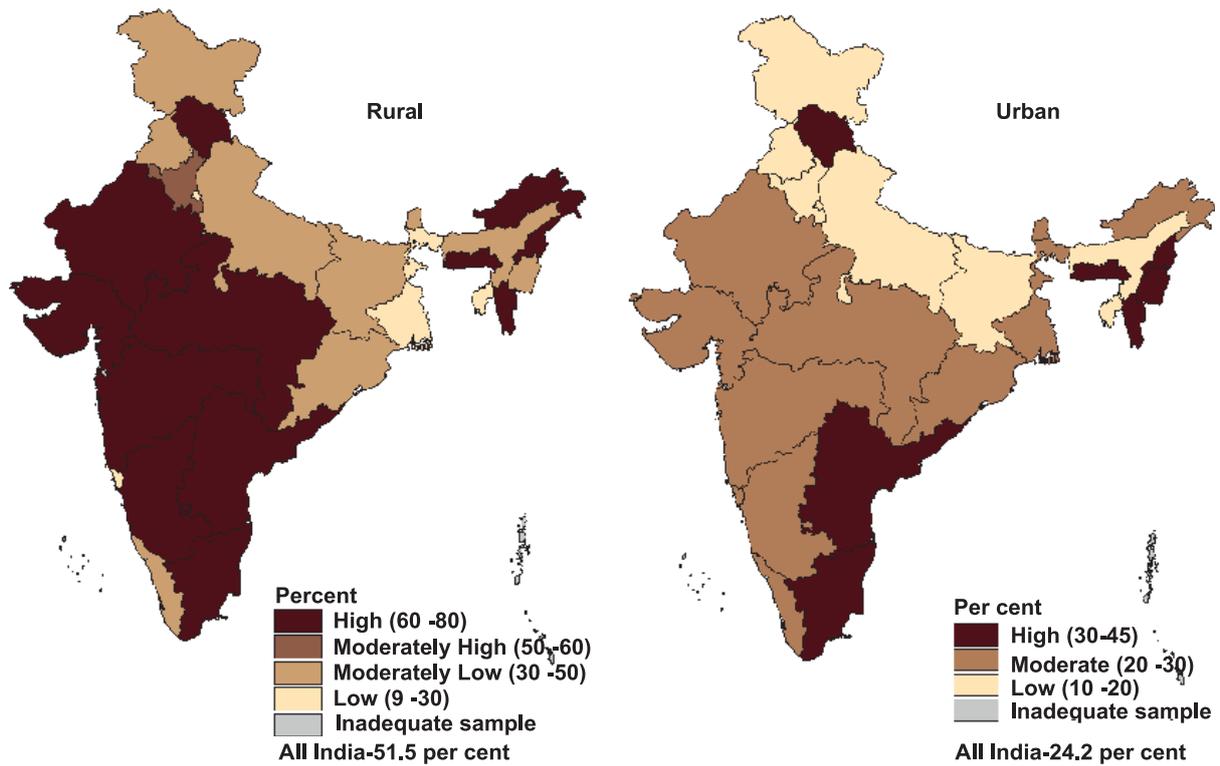


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Map 2: Workforce participation rates of women (15-59 years), 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

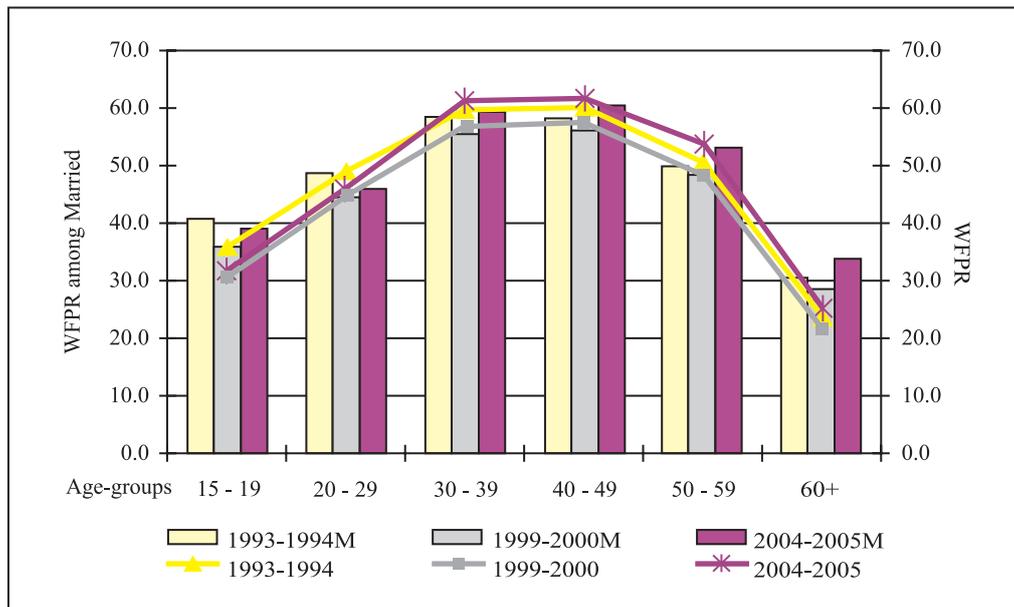
Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Such regional variations are partly because of the differential opportunities available in the labour market although the stricter regime of gendered codes in the north restricting the actual participation by women in the labour market as well as their recognition as workers compared to the south have also been well documented in literature (Raju and Bagchi, 1993; Agarwal, 1994; Das, 2006). While the construct of men as bread earners is universal, whether women participate in the labour market or not is a complex issue involving socio-economic and cultural codes which warrants an approach which is multi-layered and socio-culturally and regionally contextualized (Hart, 1997; Elson, 1999; Kantor, 2002; Salway et al., 2005).⁴

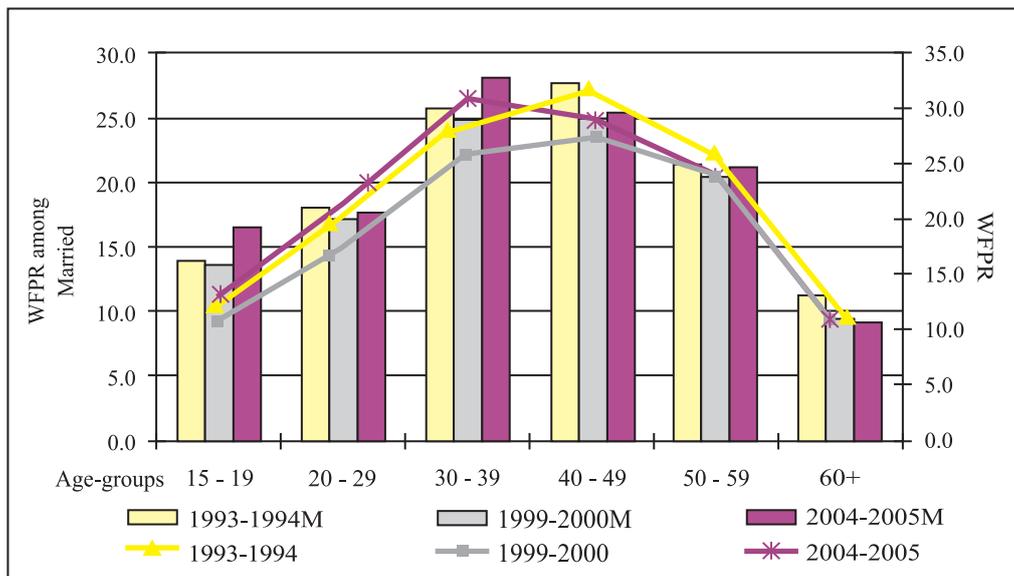
Age-specific workforce participation rates

Age-specific workforce participation rates vary by rural-urban locations. However, there are no significant variations across age cohorts of workers, except relatively higher workforce participation amongst the older age cohorts in rural as compared to urban areas (Graphs 1 and 2).

Graph 1: Age-specific workforce participation rate: Overall and among married women in rural India, 2004-05



Graph 2: Age-specific workforce participation rate: Overall and among married women in urban India, 2004-05



The curious increase of workers in the 60-plus married women's population in rural India needs some conjectural proposition. For this, the share of additional workers-both men and women in this age cohort who were married-was disaggregated by monthly per capita consumption classes as a proxy for poverty levels. The percentage share of these workers from 1999-2000 to 2004-05 was seen to be negative in the lowest two income quartiles as well as the next two quartiles, followed by an almost secular increase in the subsequent consumption categories to register the highest increase in the top two consumption classes. This is true for both men and women.

Since this is an all-India observation (state level analysis not being done because of paucity of samples) nothing conclusive can be said. And yet, it becomes clear that the 'poorest of the poor', who can also be equated with illiterates, have absolutely no access to the labour market if they need to work in their twilight years. In contrast, those at the highest income echelons-men and women-have much higher percentage share in the additional workforce. This increase may either be because of overall improved longevity, particularly for well-off sections, younger people moving away to better pastures necessitating the aged to continue working or, as in the case of women, recognition in official data of activities like supervision of livestock rearing, dairy activities, etc.

Withholding varying possibilities, several policy implications are in order: old age security particularly for those who are at the bottom of the economic ladder, creation of community-based social support systems in the absence of kin and overall better monitoring of senior citizens. There is also a sharp decline in the workforce participation amongst those in the younger age groups, more so in rural areas, pointing towards more children in schools, which is a desirable trend. The slower educational spread amongst the same age cohort in urban areas may possibly be attributed to the availability of petty jobs, mostly of an informal nature (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009).

Marital status and workforce participation rates

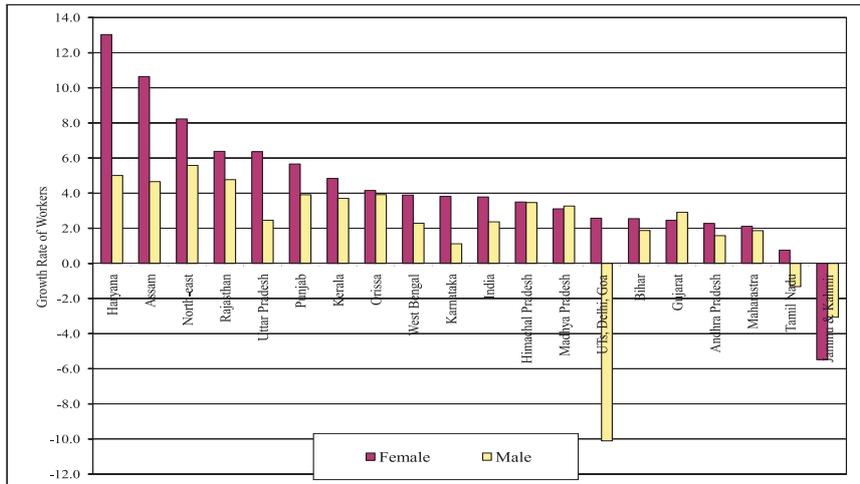
One of the constraining features barring women from entering the formal labour market is their reproductive and associated responsibilities. If so, it can be proposed that marital status would intercept women's working profiles despite contrary evidences coming in slowly (Banerjee and Raju, 2009). It can further be proposed that these responsibilities assume different forms in rural and urban contexts because of several reasons. First, work and non-work boundaries are fuzzy in rural settings as much of the agricultural work which is dominated by women workers can be carried out within or near residential premises. Secondly, informal support networks are relatively easier to find in rural areas whereas in urban areas much of the formal work is carried out with fixed hours outside homes and the nuclear family setting is not amenable to children being left behind. It will be noted later in the paper that a higher percentage of urban women (than rural) whose usual activity has been reported as 'domestic work' attributed their status as such to absence of any other member of the family present at home. Graphs 1 and 2 depicting age-wise overall workforce participation rates as well as among married cohorts seem to endorse this observation.

The inverted U-shaped curve in the rural graph is smooth and does not indicate marked variation for the reproductive age groups. The urban graph, however, is erratic and women in early reproductive ages have lower workforce participation rates as compared to later ages, suggesting married women's compulsion to opt out of the labour market when children are young (Dowling and Worswick, 1999; Banerjee and Raju, 2009).

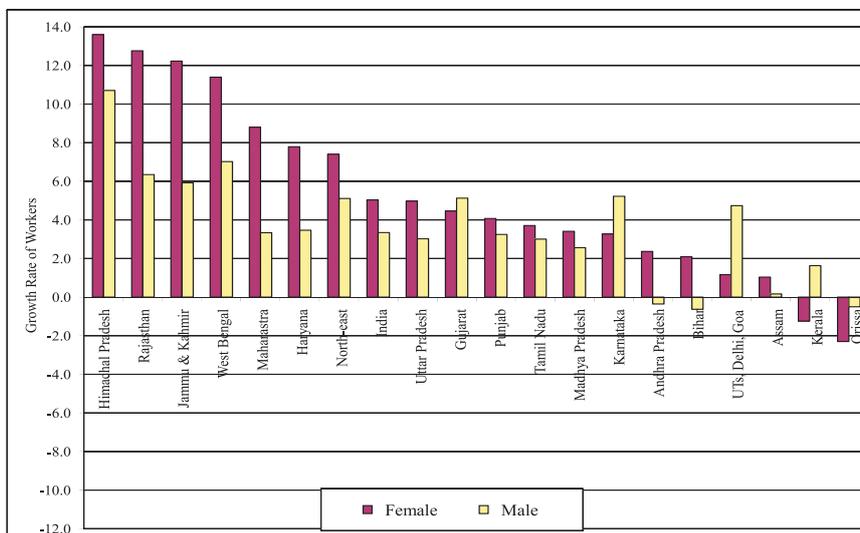
Growth rates and regional patterns

The growth in workforce participation rates was extremely sluggish in 1993-94 to 1999-2000-a phenomenon that has often been referred to as 'jobless growth' in the literature (Sivaramkrishnan et al., 2005; Kundu and Mohanan, 2009). The national average for women was 2 per cent (1.7 per cent in rural areas and 3.2 per cent in urban areas). However, the period between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 is somewhat different in that it has registered overall growth in workforce participation rates. By far the highest growth rate was in urban women's work participation rates (Graphs 3 and 4 and Map 3).⁵

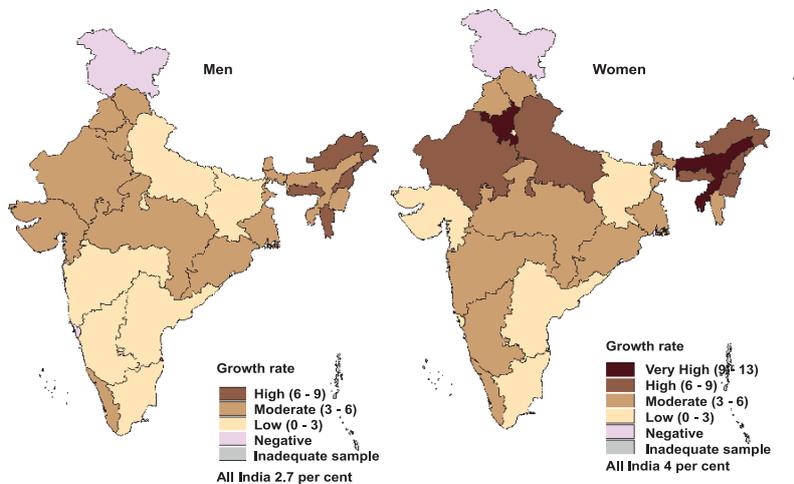
Graph 3: Growth rate of rural workers (15 -59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Graph 4: Growth rate of urban workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Map 3: Growth rate of all workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Map Not to Scale;

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS);

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Growth rate of workers in urban India between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 was 3.3 per cent and 5.0 per cent for men and women respectively.

Sector-wise Distribution of Workers

The workforce can broadly be divided in the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors. The share of agriculture (including forestry and fishing) in India's GDP has progressively declined—from 22.9 per cent in 1999-2000 to 18.5 per cent in 2004-05 (at 1999-2000 prices) without a corresponding decline in the workforce, i.e., the number of people dependent on agriculture is not going down even as the agricultural sector is shrinking. This is a worrying trend indeed. The sector still employs 59 per cent of the total workforce in the age group 15-59 years, of which 75 per cent are women and 51 per cent are men. Withholding other variants such as size of landholdings, nature of employment, etc., an overwhelming concentration of women workers in agriculture also means a low return to labour for women compared to non-agriculturally employed men.

As one would expect, these agricultural workers, both men and women, are essentially rural in location (96 per cent) making it possible to equate agricultural workers with rural India in general (Table 2, Annexure II) However, non-agricultural workers do not have such a spatially concentrated pattern.

Table 2: Workers (15-59 years) in agriculture and allied activities, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

	Percentage in A&A, 1999-2000			Percentage in A&A, 2004-05			Growth rate in A&A (1999-2000 to 2004-05)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rural	64.8	83.2	71.5	70.0	85.4	75.4	0.8	3.3	1.8
Urban	5.5	17.6	8.0	6.0	17.5	8.2	1.5	5.2	3.1
Total	46.8	72.4	55.1	51.3	74.8	58.6	0.8	3.3	1.8

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Much of the workforce in agriculture is in the unorganized sector as is also the case with non-agricultural workers. Further, a very large proportion of women workers is in the unorganized sector, both in agriculture as cultivators and wage labourers and in the non-agricultural sector as self-, casually or regularly employed workers (Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of workers across sectors and employment status, 2004-05

	Agriculture ⁶				Non-agricultural				Total	
	Unorganized sector		Organized sector	All	Unorganized sector			Organized sector		All
	Cultivators	Labourers			Self-employed	Casual labour	Regular work			
Male	30.8	16.8	1.3	48.9	22.2	7.7	6.5	14.7	51.1	100
Female	46.4	25.0	1.4	72.8	13.9	2.8	3.2	7.3	27.2	100
Total	35.9	19.4	1.3	56.6	19.5	6.1	5.4	12.4	43.4	100

Source: NCEUS, 2007.

The entire increase in the workforce during 2004-05 has been of an informal nature although organized sector employment also increased by 17 per cent (from 54.1 million to 62.6 million). At this juncture, the distinction between 'informal work' and 'informal (unorganized) sector' needs to be made. Keeping with arguments made by the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS, 2007), it is by and large the nature of work rather than its placement in a particular sector that makes work formal or informal.⁷ Thus the organized (formal) sector can have workers who are employed under non-secure work conditions characteristic of the unorganized (informal) sector. It may be noted that the share of women workers informally employed in the organized sector rose from 47.1 per cent in 1999-2000 to 55.5 per cent in 2004-05 (Ibid.). Table 4 shows the informal (unorganized) component of formal (organized) sector work.

Table 4: Workers in unorganized and organized sectors, 2004-05

	Male			Female			Total		
	UW	OW	Total	UW	OW	Total	UW	OW	Total
US	99.6	0.4	100	98.8	0.2	100	99.6	0.4	100
OS	44.2	55.8	100	55.5	44.5	100	46.6	53.4	100
Total	90.7	9.3	100	95.9	4.1	100	92.4	7.6	100*

Source: NCEUS, 2007. *457.5 million

Note: US: Unorganized sector, OS: Organized sector; UW: Unorganized worker, OW: Organized worker
The unorganised sector consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale and production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers. Whereas, the unorganised workers consist of those working in the unorganised enterprises or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits, and the workers in the formal sector without any employment/ social security benefits provided by the employers. (NCEUS 2007: 21)

This contradiction can be resolved. What is being hinted at is that even in the organized sector the addition employment that has been created is entirely informal in nature (Kundu, 1997; Papola and Sharma, 1997; Standing, 1999; Chen 2001; Mukherjee, 2004), necessitating a distinction between informal sector employment and informal work employment, part of which is in fact placed within the organized sector (Chen et al., 2006).⁸

Composition and Employment Status of Workers

The composition of the workforce structure and its implications is dealt with in subsequent sections. However, a few salient features are as follows. In stark contrast with the earlier pattern until 1999-2000, when the share of self-employed workers (rural) had recorded a steady decline with a corresponding increase in the share of casual workers leading to 'casualisation' of workers (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009), the labour market in contemporary India is dominated by self-employed workers, both in urban and rural areas. In 2004-05, this category accounted for 51 per cent of workers followed by casual workers (33 per cent) and regular workers (16 per cent). There is a general decline in casual work accompanied by an increase in self-employment and salaried work, more among women workers than men, across the board (Table 5). To what extent rise in regular salaried employment is an encouraging sign from the workers' point of view is an open question. They not only constitute a miniscule part of the workforce in rural India, their share in the overall women's workforce participation rate is also

small. Much of the increase in this category is accounted for by women workers in urban India who are typically placed at lower rungs of job hierarchies which are potentially exploitative in nature.

Self-employed workers are predominantly confined to unorganized workers, more so women workers. This category overshadows other avenues of employment in terms of growth profiles as well. Seen in combination with low level of skill and educational attainment and their concentration in Own Account Manufacturing Enterprises (OAME), the implications are drastic.

Table 5: Workers (15-59 years) across employment status by sector and sex, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

Employment status	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Percentage of workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000									
Self-employed	52.8	56.7	54.1	40.0	44.2	40.8	49.1	54.7	50.8
Regular salaried	9.6	3.2	7.4	43.2	34.6	41.5	19.4	8.1	15.9
Casual labour	37.6	40.1	38.5	16.8	21.2	17.7	31.5	37.1	33.3
Total	100.0								
Percentage of workers (15-59 years), 2004-05									
Self-employed	55.9	63.0	58.5	43.5	46.5	44.1	52.2	60.3	54.7
Regular salaried	9.7	3.9	7.6	41.8	36.8	40.8	19.4	9.3	16.2
Casual labour	34.4	33.1	33.9	14.7	16.7	15.1	28.4	30.4	29.1
Total	100.0								
Growth rate of workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05									
Self-employed	3.6	6.0	4.5	5.0	6.1	5.3	3.9	6.0	4.6
Regular salaried	2.5	7.6	3.4	2.7	6.3	3.3	2.7	6.8	3.4
Casual labour	0.5	-0.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.5	-0.1	0.3
Total	2.4	3.8	2.9	3.3	5.0	3.7	2.7	4.0	3.1

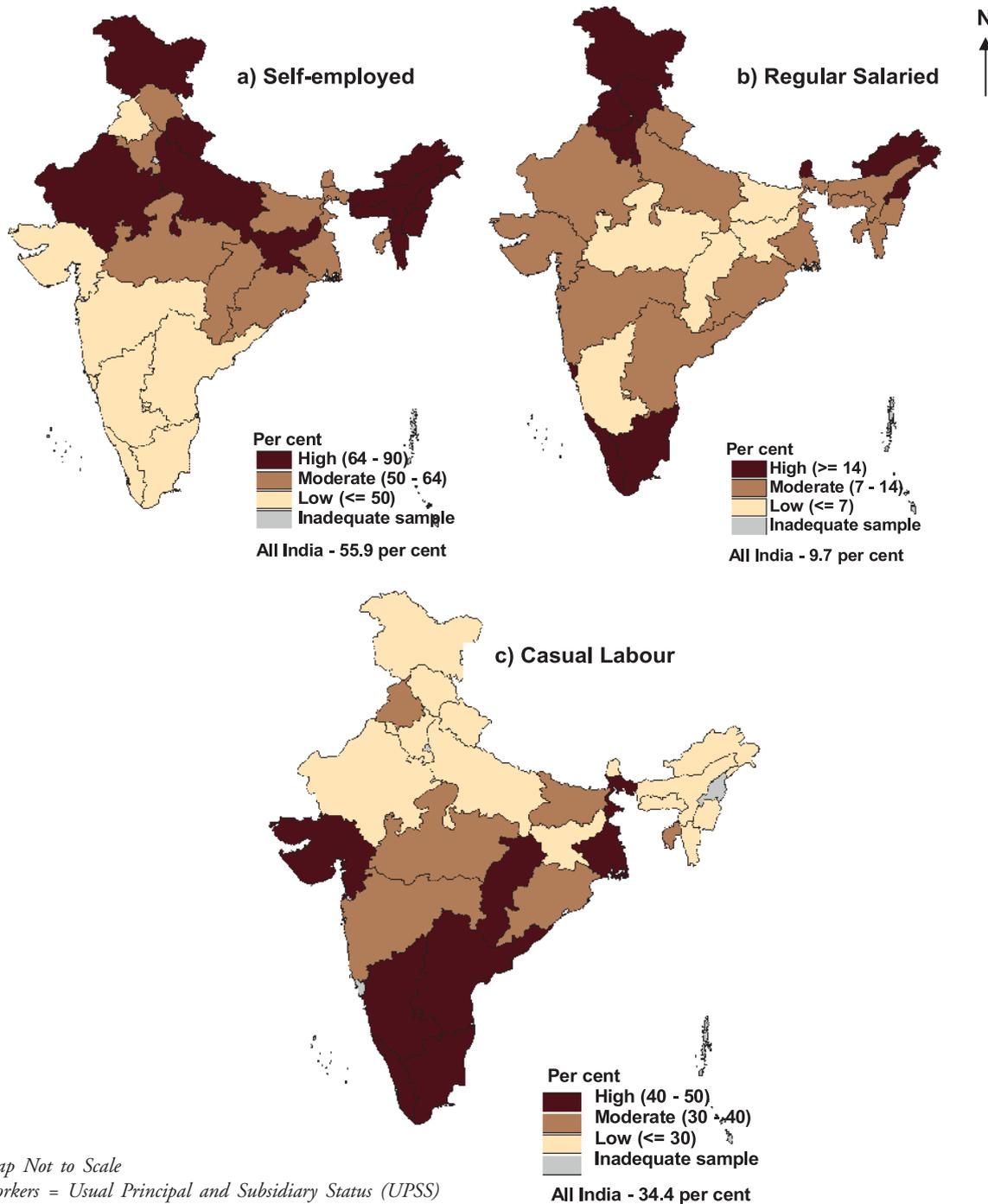
Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Self-employment among women workers has been a matter of concern, particularly in feminist discourses, although the percentage share of male workers in self-employment is also quite high. In fact, their spatial distribution is also comparable. However, the similarities end there. Overall, self-employed women workers not only significantly outnumber men, their conditions of work are also qualitatively different from men as they constitute a very large component of 'unpaid family labour' who are 'workers' in statistical discourse but have no control over either the means of production or returns to work (ILO, 2007). As high as 72 per cent (75 per cent in rural areas and 48 per cent in urban) of self-employed women workers are unpaid family labour, as compared to 27 per cent (30 per cent in rural and 19 per cent in urban areas) men workers. I return to these issues later in the discussion.

With a few exceptions, the rural and urban patterns of self-employed workers are distinctly regional as they are mainly confined to the relatively backward and poorer states of Bihar, Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (Maps 4 to 7). These are also the states with negative or slow growth in casual wage workers (except in Rajasthan). One may argue that given the

absence of wage work coupled with almost stagnant or slow absorptive agriculture and the increasing tendency in the labour market towards contractual labour, workers are compelled to 'opt' for such jobs which can be carried out within the household premises usually under product specifications (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009). Various policy measures also seem to encourage self-employment rather than wage employment through various anti-poverty programmes such as the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the self-employment component of Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana (Urban Employment Plans) (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009).

Map 4: Male workers across employment status (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05

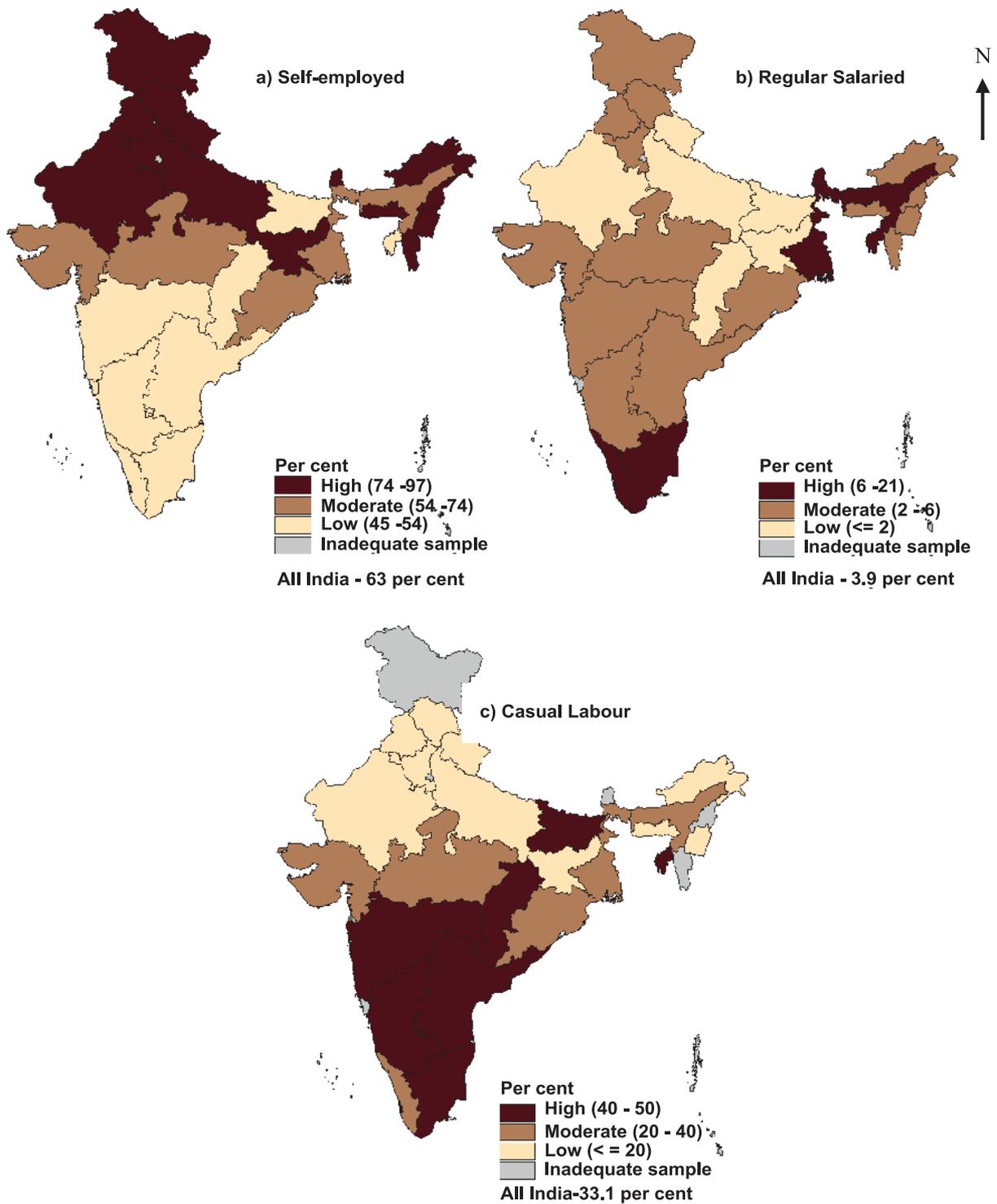


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Map 5: Women workers across employment status (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05

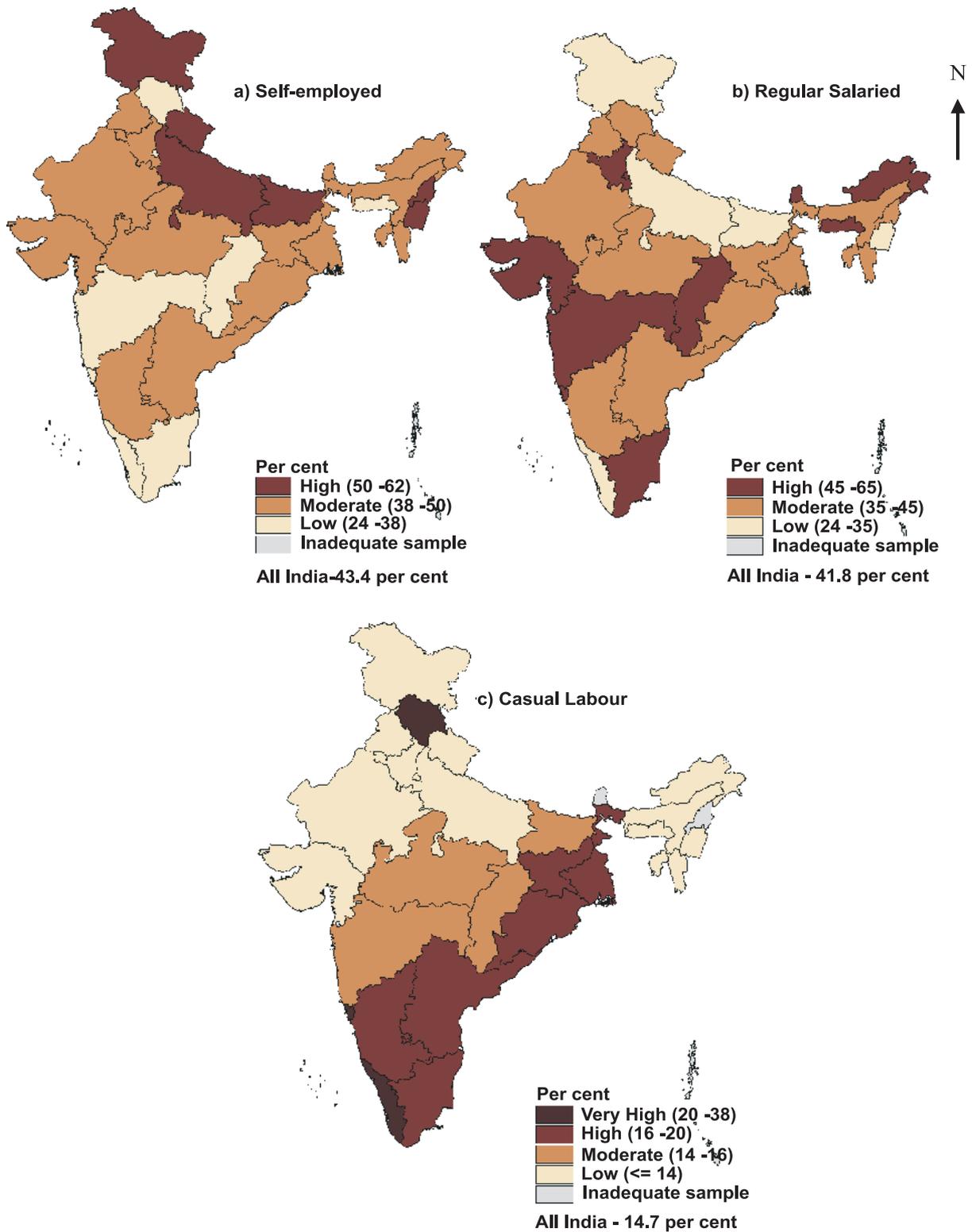


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Map 6: Male workers across employment status (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05

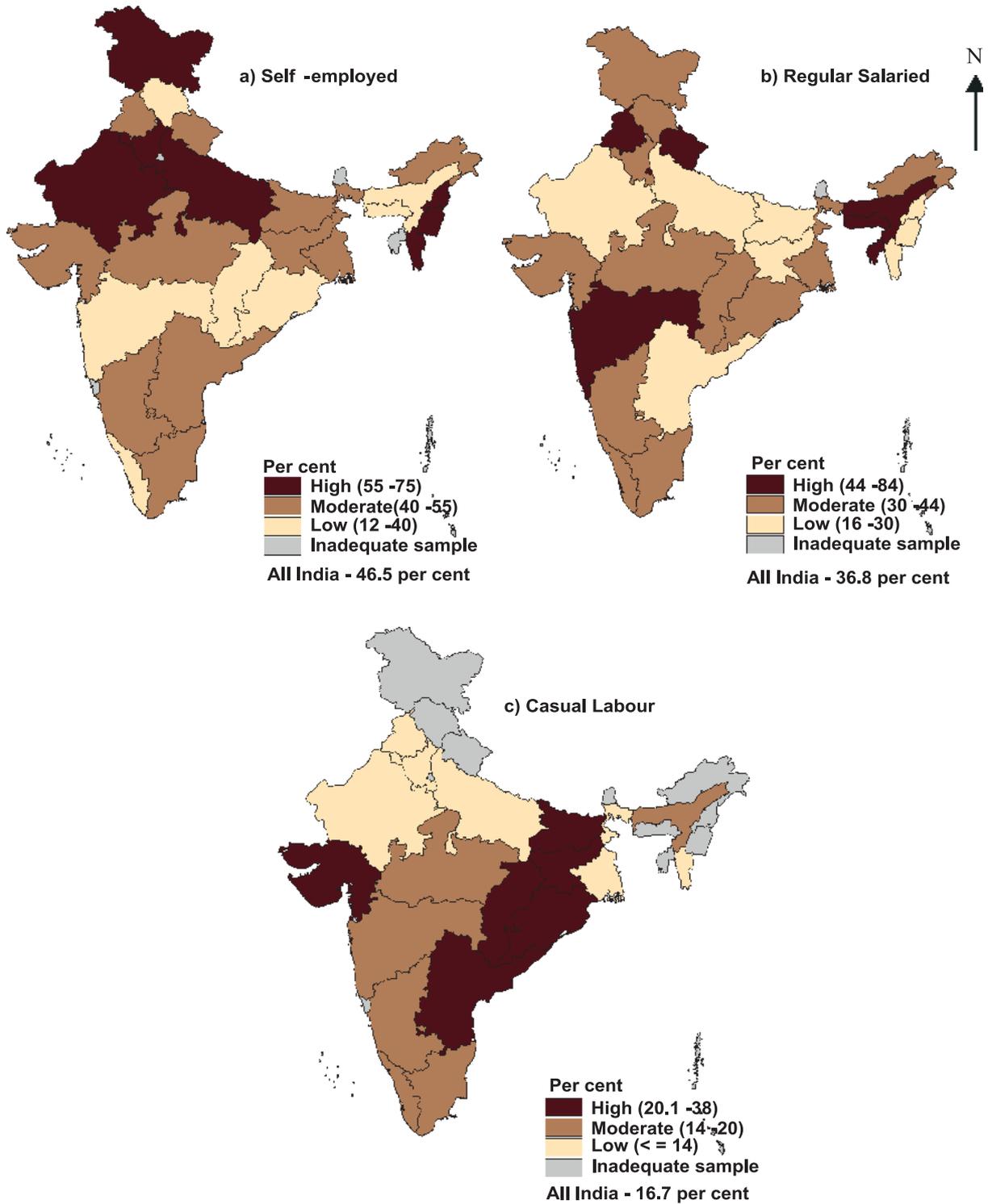


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Map 7: Women workers across employment status (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

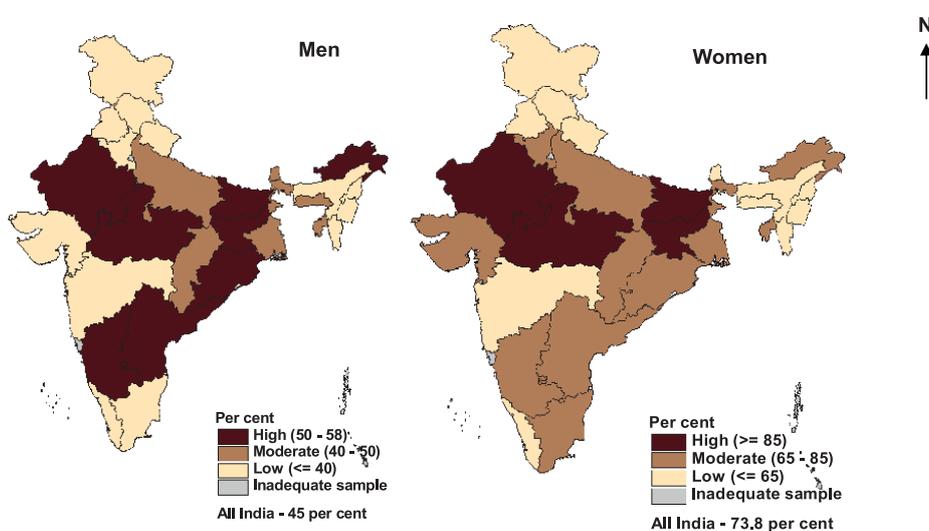
Workers and Access to Literacy and Education

Educational levels and workers' changing profiles

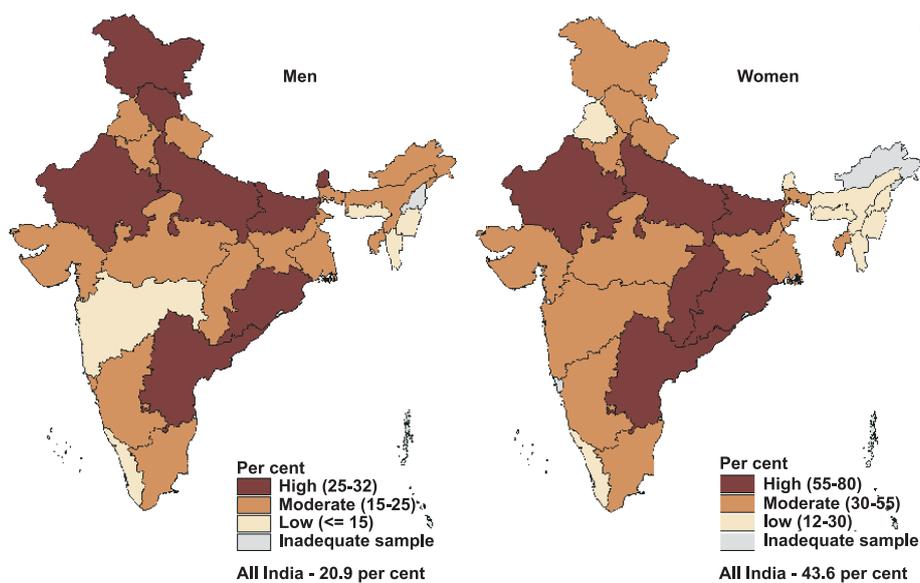
About 74 per cent of rural women workers and 44 per cent of urban women workers are either illiterate or have education below primary level. These figures are much lower at 45 per cent and 21 per cent for rural and urban male workers respectively.

The states which stand out in this regard in terms of both rural and urban women workers are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh where the rural percentages of illiterate workers hover between 80 to 90 per cent, with Bihar registering as high as 91 per cent. In urban areas, the corresponding figures range from 60 to 70 per cent with the exception of Bihar, where 79 per cent of urban women belong to the illiterate category (Annexure III, Maps 8 and 9).

Map 8: Illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 Years) in rural India, 2004-05



Map 9: Illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 Years) in urban India, 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

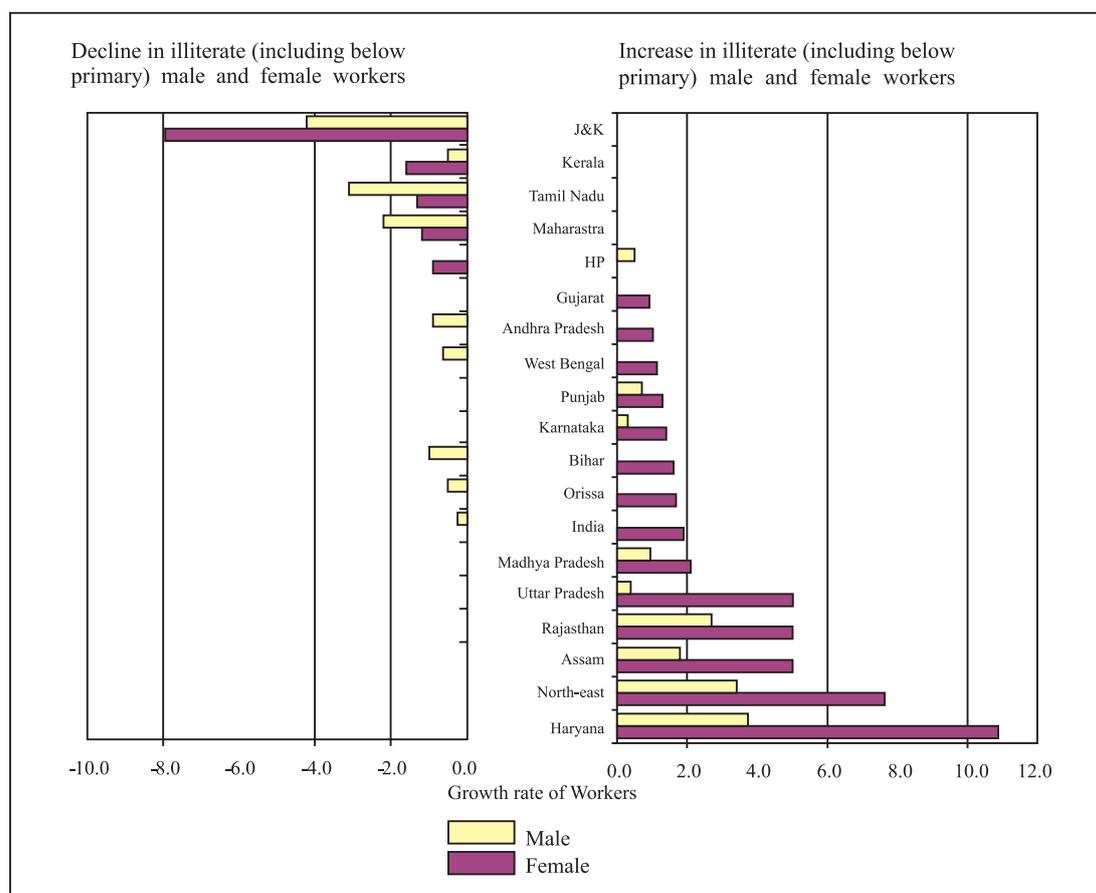
Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds.

The presence of illiterate or semi-literate literate workers in these states is so overwhelming that their share even in secondary and tertiary sectors is quite high (Annexure IV).

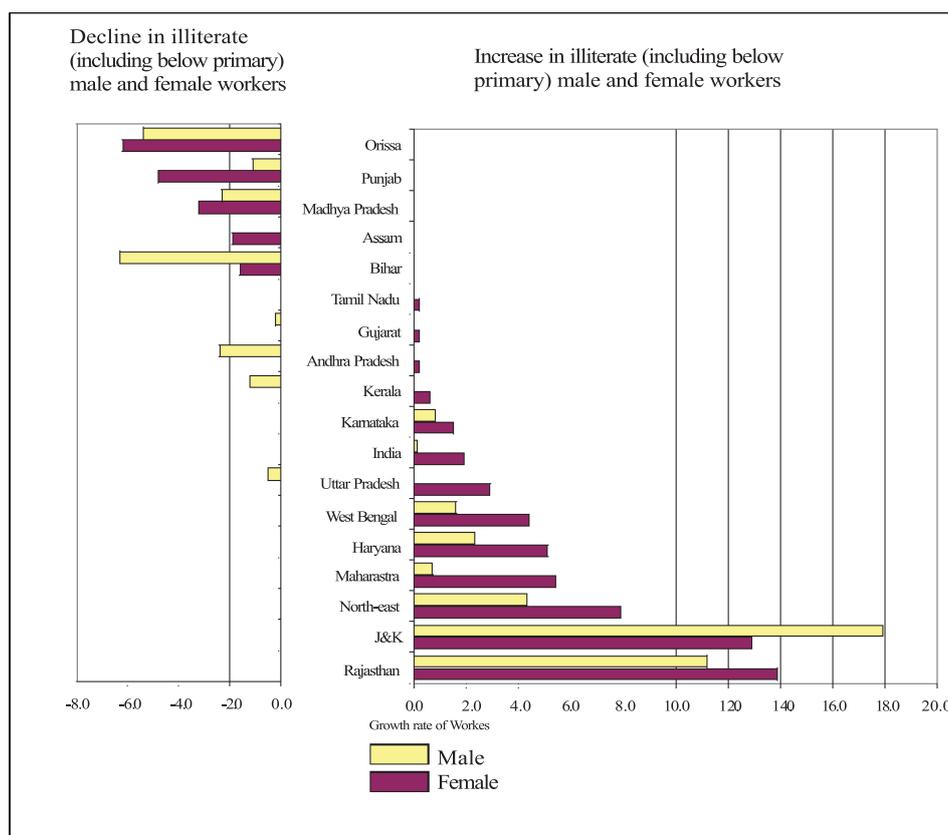
While the work opportunities for illiterate and semi-literate men in rural as well as urban India are either dwindling or growing at a very slow pace (a point taken up later on in this section), women workers belonging to this category have higher growth rates as compared to their male counterparts almost everywhere across the country. The more disturbing observation is that by and large the states which are characterized by higher concentration of illiterate or below primary educated workers are also the ones to have positive growth rates of such women workers. For example, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are predominantly less developed states. Haryana and Punjab are the exceptions in this category. In contrast, urban growth rates, despite being much lower, include a few better-off states such as Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and urban West Bengal, whereas Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have registered negative growth rates. Graphs 5 and 6 provide the growth rates of workers who are either illiterate or have education below primary level (also, see Annexure V).

Conventionally, rural-urban migration has been seen as a way out to equalize regional disparities in income because of earning gaps between the two (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009). However, it can be seen that with a few exceptions, the relatively less developed states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are characterized by negative or slow growth rates of illiterate and semi-literate male workers, both in rural as well as urban areas.

Graph 5: Growth rate of illiterate (including below primary) workers (15-59 years) in rural India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Graph 6: Growth rate of illiterate (including below primary) workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



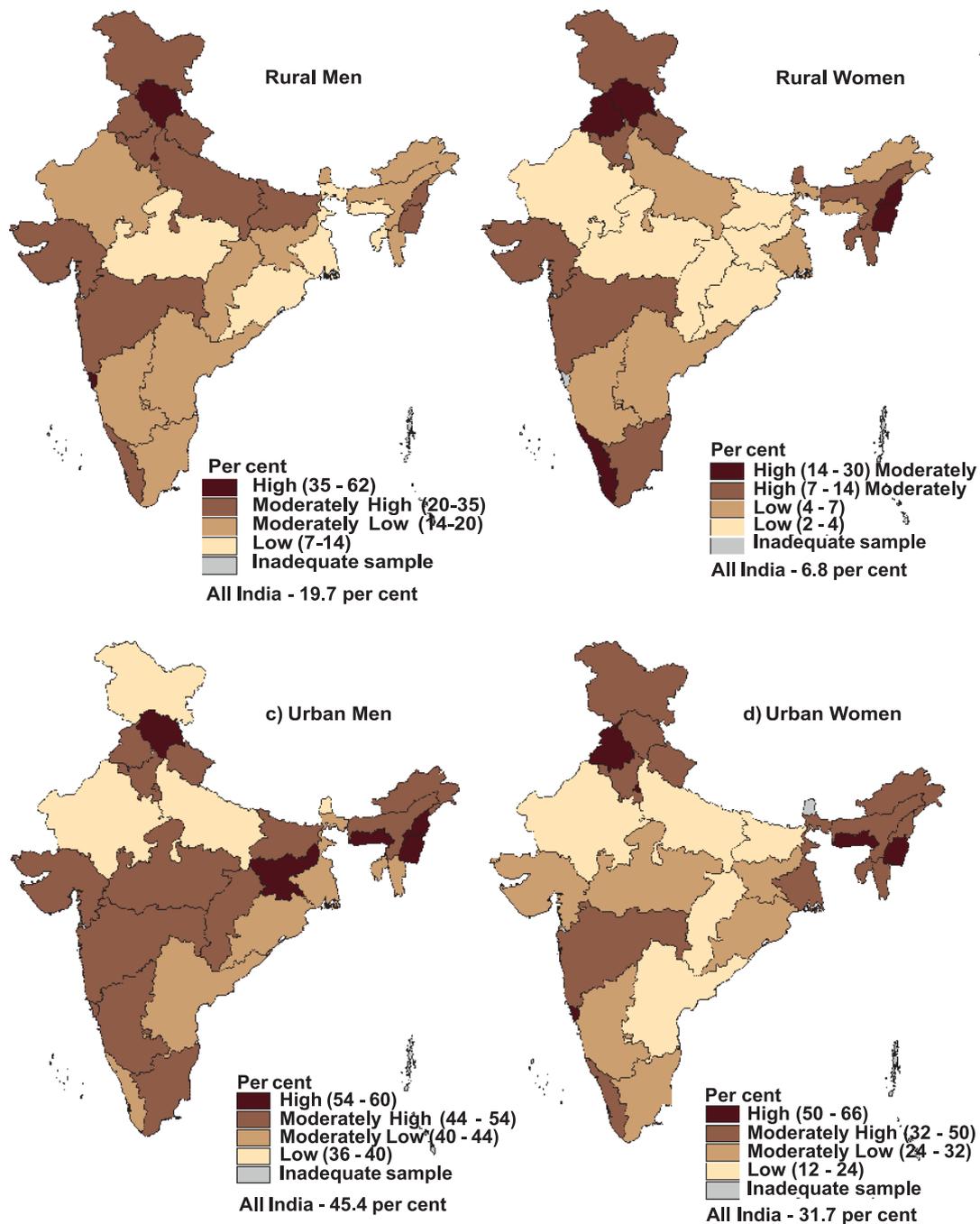
These twin processes, i.e., negative/slow growth rates of illiterate/semi-literate rural workers coupled with negative growth rates for urban workers belonging to the same educational cohort, have damning implications for the well-being of majority of workers, including women workers in particular and women in general.

On the one hand, rural locations no longer seem to be in a position to provide work for those who are in the labour force⁹ whereas urban areas, which earlier could absorb the prospective illiterate or semi-literate migrant, now have extremely limited employment possibilities on offer. That this is happening more significantly in poorer states makes the situation still worse because, as observed by Kundu and Mohanan (2009, pp 13-14), in small and medium towns (which would characterize these states) the 'incidence of migrants is much higher for people with secondary or higher levels of education' as against the illiterate and semi-literate worker. The ongoing 'modernization and technology upgrade' in [large] urban areas makes the absorption of rural poor difficult as they do not possess the level of skills necessary for accessing such labour markets. Under such circumstances, combined with a progressive decline in the rate of inter-state migration over the past few decades (Kundu, 2006), it can very well be postulated that a large part of the 'increase' in (rural) women workers particularly in less developed states is not only distress-driven, chances of upward mobility for them are near absent. The subsequent analysis substantiates these observations further although these issues are complex and require an independent and detailed enquiry.

Map 10 shows the regional variation amongst workers with education beyond secondary

education. Not surprisingly, rural levels are much below the urban and the percentages for women are lower than men (see also Graph 7). Within this broader segment, a brief overview of workers with graduate and beyond throws up some disturbing facts - the percentage share of workers in this category has remained either unchanged or has declined from 1999-2000 to 2004-05 for men. There is an increase for women workers in keeping with the overall trend; their growth rate is also higher than their men counterparts. Also, regional variations are visible.

Map 10: Workers with secondary and above education (15-59 years), 2004-05

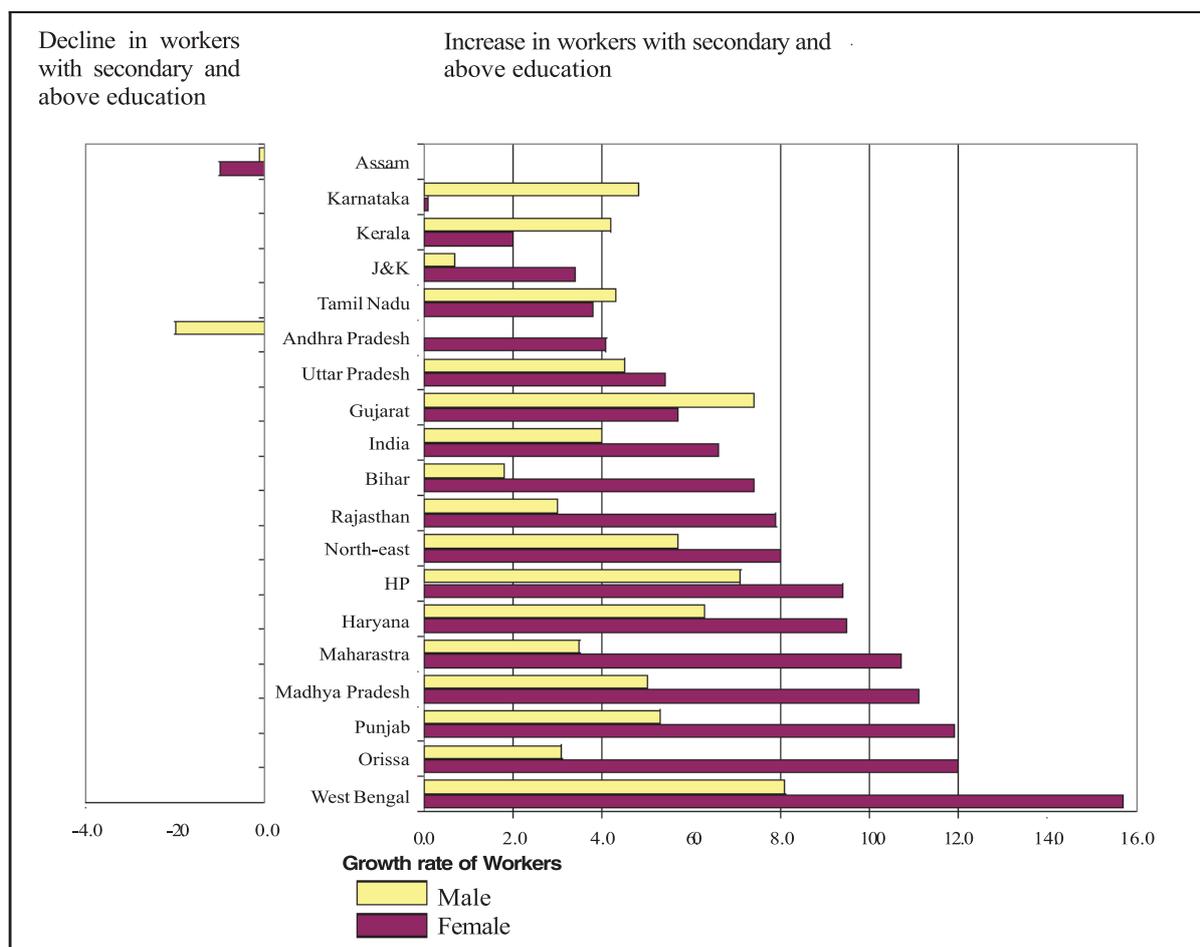


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds.

Graph 7: Growth rate of workers (15-59 years) with secondary and above education in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



It is important to note that much of the 'higher than national average' growth rates in graduate male workers are in states which had overall low initial levels of higher education. In contrast, most of the industrially better placed states show negative growth rates in this segment of workers. For women, the pattern is somewhat mixed in the sense that the states with positive growth rates include Haryana, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab and West Bengal on the one hand and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Once again, the advantageous position of relatively better-off states is evident (Annexure VI).

Educational levels and appropriation of available work

Table 6 looks at the workforce added during the year 2004-05 to the stock of 1999-2000 and how that is distributed across different educational levels for rural and urban areas.¹⁰ A segmented regime of the kind of opportunities men and women could avail in terms of work, be it in the rural or urban context, is discernible. Much of the increase in women workers is accounted for by those who are either illiterate or semi-literate, particularly so in rural areas. Rural men on the other hand seem to be at a loss in accessing work if they were illiterate or have education below primary level. This is a matter of concern in a situation where bulk of the population continues to belong to this category of educational attainment. This can either be indicative of almost non-existent possibilities for labour absorption in

agriculture which could have accommodated illiterate men or alternatively of a situation where men, after getting educated, are moving out of agricultural activities. Even for urban men, the chances of being in the labour market are minimal if they are illiterate or have below primary education although they are better placed than their counterparts in rural areas if they have higher (secondary and above) education. However, as observed by Kundu and Mohanan (2009), the workforce participation rates for graduate (men) have remained stable or have declined over the years.

As Kundu and Mohanan also note (although they separate those with primary education from illiterates), most of the jobs added to the labour market in the review period were accounted by those who had elementary and middle education rather than those at the polar end of the educational hierarchy (i.e., illiterates or those having education beyond graduation). They argue that although globalizing India has an expanded labour market, the jobs that are being created are mostly at 'the lower level support system, employing semi-literate men and women' which may act as a deterrent to 'educational development or skill formation' per se (2009, p. 19). Alternatively, it may be that in the absence of requisite educational levels and appropriate skills amongst majority of workers, a very small section of the privileged workers are in a position to appropriate the high-end employment avenues, which indeed seems to be the case (see Annexure VI).

Table 6: Additional workforce (15-59 years) by educational levels, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

	Illiterate & below Primary	Elementary	Secondary & above
All men	Decline	***	**
All women	**	***	*
Rural men	Decline	***	**
Rural women	**	***	*
Urban men	*	**	***
Urban women	*	***	**

*Note: The asterisks indicate the educational levels which accounted for the differential share of workers in the increased workforce between the years 1999-2000 and 2004-05 for that category of workers. *** = Highest; ** = Second highest; * = the least.*

It may be argued that the states where rural illiterates and those with lower than primary education account for the major share of increased workforce over the years 1999-2000 and 2004-05 are states where most of the workers are illiterates or with primary education to begin with. However, there are exceptions. For example, rural Haryana does not belong to such a category and yet much of the increased workforce during the period under review is for illiterates or those having below primary level education. In contrast, despite belonging to the same category as that of Haryana, in rural Himachal Pradesh the nature of work opportunities created seems to be for those having secondary or more education. Conversely, Maharashtra's rural workers are illiterate or are lowly educated in general as compared to the national average, but these workers seem to be edged out of the labour market at the expense of those who have at least elementary or secondary and more education (Table 7).

Table 7: Rural workers (15-59 years) and their increase/decline across educational levels, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

State	Female				Males			
	Illiterate & below primary	Elementary	Secondary & above	Total	Illiterate & below primary	Elementary	Secondary & above	Total
Andhra Pradesh	39.2	41.0	20.5	100.0	-36.4	85.6	51.4	100.0
Assam	28.4	64.1	7.5	100.0	15.9	72.0	12.3	100.0
Bihar	58.1	28.6	13.7	100.0	-32.8	86.8	46.9	100.0
Gujarat	27.9	49.9	22.2	100.0	-0.1	70.1	30.3	100.0
Haryana	58.5	24.9	16.6	100.0	25.0	44.0	31.0	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	-13.3	39.7	73.6	100.0	3.7	32.7	64.4	100.0
Jammu & Kashmir	98.6	1.9	-0.5	100.0	56.9	28.7	14.4	100.0
Karnataka	28.1	58.6	13.7	100.0	13.4	113.0	-23.5	100.0
Kerala	-9.1	47.9	61.4	100.0	-2.0	58.6	43.4	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	59.0	34.8	6.9	100.0	15.6	57.2	27.5	100.0
Maharashtra	-38.8	87.2	53.5	100.0	-40.7	52.8	90.2	100.0
North-eastern states	52.4	39.4	8.3	100.0	25.7	59.1	15.9	100.0
Orissa	36.0	52.3	11.7	100.0	-7.2	73.7	33.6	100.0
Punjab	13.7	55.7	30.9	100.0	7.8	50.4	41.8	100.0
Rajasthan	70.9	23.9	5.2	100.0	30.4	44.5	25.1	100.0
Tamil Nadu	-123.5	143.7	82.7	100.0	94.9	-1.0	4.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	66.2	24.9	9.1	100.0	7.4	61.4	31.7	100.0
West Bengal	21.0	68.4	11.5	100.0	-13.1	94.3	19.5	100.0
Union territories								
Delhi, Goa	-7.8	35.9	71.9	100.0	37.7	31.7	30.6	100.0
India	39.0	43.4	18.0	100.0	-3.8	69.7	34.8	100.0

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Why this should be so is an intriguing question, which can only be partially addressed in this paper. Status-linked withdrawal of women from the labour market is an issue and it is possible to argue that in the more conservative milieu of rural Haryana, higher educational attainments restrict women from participating in the public domain to a greater extent than elsewhere; a waste of potential resources indeed (Harriss-White, 2004).

These varying patterns suggest that labour market dynamics are playing out differently in different contexts. For example, Himachal Pradesh—a state with relatively higher workforce participation rates among rural women—is also characterized by relatively lower percentage of illiterate/below primary educated women workers as compared to India as a whole. The growth rate of rural women workers has been lower than the national average between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 in the state. However, most of the increase in the workforce has been for those who have secondary education. Although most of these educated workers continue to be employed in agriculture and allied activities, their share in agriculture and allied activities

has declined significantly from 88 per cent to 78 per cent over the period. Services, particularly the educational field and manufacturing, are the emerging avenues for women workers in Himachal Pradesh.

In Maharashtra, the growth rates for women workers have been very slow during 1999-2000 to 2004-05. Notwithstanding this slow growth, however, some education seems to help women in accessing even agricultural work, which remains the mainstay for them, trailed by manufacturing and trade. Haryana's growth is partly because of low initial base and partly because of crop diversification and commercialized agriculture.

In urban areas, increase in women workers is shared across educational levels although when compared to men, illiterate or lowly educated women workers seem to have better chances of accessing work in urban areas. These women however have fewer chances of finding work as compared to women who have elementary or higher educational levels (Duraismy, 2002). It can be conjectured that of late some education as compared to being illiterate or lowly literate (below primary) is becoming a pre-requisite for labour market absorption and yet there are distinct regional variations (Tables 8 and 9).

Table 8: Urban workers (15-59 years) and their increase/decline across educational levels, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

State	Female				Males			
	Illiterate & below primary	Elementary	Secondary & above	Total	Illiterate & below primary	Elementary	Secondary & above	Total
Andhra Pradesh	5.4	60.9	34.3	100.0	207.9	-351.2	238.8	100.0
Assam	-54.3	201.5	-47.2	100.0	69.4	128.7	-26.4	100.0
Bihar	-53.8	86.5	67.3	100.0	289.9	-57.0	-132.9	100.0
Gujarat	1.6	59.5	38.9	100.0	-0.8	32.9	67.9	100.0
Haryana	26.0	24.0	50.0	100.0	12.7	-1.4	88.7	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	53.9	12.4	33.7	100.0	49.8	10.1	40.2	100.0
Jammu & Kashmir	33.5	53.8	12.8	100.0	68.0	27.5	5.2	100.0
Karnataka	20.4	78.6	1.0	100.0	3.1	51.9	45.3	100.0
Kerala	-7.7	171.1	-65.9	100.0	-7.1	9.4	98.6	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	-57.7	89.2	69.0	100.0	-22.3	35.8	87.2	100.0
Maharashtra	21.1	33.6	45.4	100.0	3.4	48.5	48.9	100.0
North-eastern states	22.8	25.7	52.7	100.0	12.7	31.8	55.7	100.0
Orissa	180.4	22.5	-102.9	100.0	354.4	-14.0	-240.4	100.0
Punjab	-38.8	-2.3	141.1	100.0	-8.0	32.7	75.5	100.0
Rajasthan	70.9	17.0	12.0	100.0	46.4	34.7	19.0	100.0
Tamil Nadu	2.0	69.6	28.8	100.0	0.2	38.0	63.0	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	36.7	37.4	25.9	100.0	-5.1	48.4	56.8	100.0
West Bengal	17.5	41.6	40.9	100.0	5.6	47.9	46.9	100.0
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	107.6	-37.1	30.0	100.0	12.1	54.0	34.1	100.0
India	18.3	42.0	39.8	100.0	0.7	46.5	53.3	100.0

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Table 9: State-wise concentration of additional workforce (15-59 years) by educational levels, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

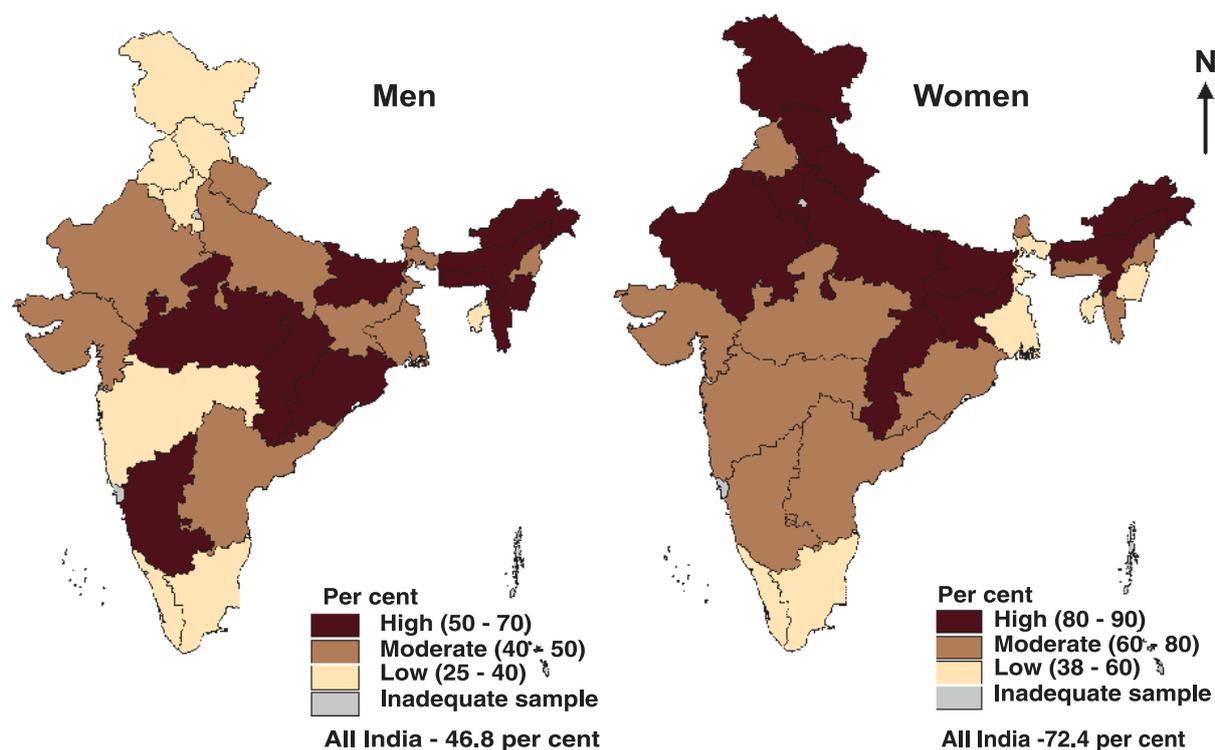
	Illiterate & below primary	Elementary	Secondary & above	Decline in total workers
Rural women	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, North-eastern states, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh	Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal	Kerala	Jammu & Kashmir
Rural men		Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, North-eastern states, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal	Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra	Jammu & Kashmir, Tamil Nadu
Urban women	Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh	Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal	Haryana, Maharashtra, North-eastern states, Punjab, West Bengal	Kerala, Orissa
Urban men	Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Rajasthan	Assam, Karnataka, Maharashtra, West Bengal	Gujarat, Haryana, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, North-eastern states, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa
All women	Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, North-eastern states, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh	Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu	Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab	Jammu & Kashmir
All men		Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, North-eastern states, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal	Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu	Jammu & Kashmir

Note: The states are classified according to the educational levels which accounted for highest share of workers in the increased workforce between the years 1999-2000 and 2004-05 for that category of worker.

Workers in Agriculture and Allied Activities

Despite being the largest employer, agricultural growth rates have slowed down considerably and have been far below population growth rates in recent years (Table 10). Yet the percentages of women workers in agriculture not only continues to remain higher than men (Map 11), their growth rates are also significantly higher at 3.3 per cent as compared to the growth rate for male workers which has been less than 1 per cent - a phenomenon which has been variously called 'feminisation of agriculture' and 'creeping feminisation' of agriculture (Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009; Map 12). This clearly implies that men in general have better chances of moving out of agriculture whereas women lack such options. It should not be very difficult to understand the reason behind this. There are clear evidences to suggest that education - even some - improves prospects of non-farm employment quite significantly (Lanjouw and Shariff, 2002) and women significantly lag behind in this regard. Of late, opportunities for non-farm employment have also slowed down. However, a cautionary note is in order. The earlier section on literacy and education unequivocally shows that there are marked regional exceptions to this general proposition and the enhanced presence of women workers in agriculture is also intricately interlinked with their male counterparts' inability to move to non-farm work options easily (also see, NCEUS, 2007).

Map 11: Agricultural workers (15-59 years), 2004-05

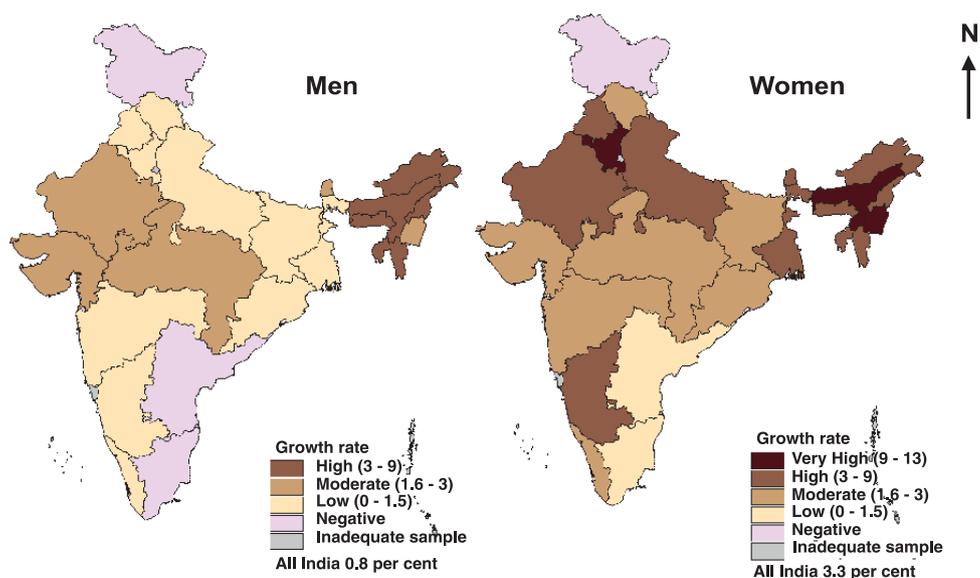


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds.

Map 12: Growth rate of agricultural workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Table 10: Growth of population and workers in agriculture and allied industries, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

State	Population	Agriculture & allied
Andhra Pradesh	0.1	-0.5
Arunachal Pradesh	2.4	5.5
Assam	3.0	7.7
Bihar	1.1	0.7
Gujarat	1.9	1.2
Haryana	3.0	6.3
Himachal Pradesh	2.4	2.3
Jammu & Kashmir	-0.9	-6.3
Karnataka	0.7	1.3
Kerala	2.7	2.2
Madhya Pradesh	1.9	1.8
Maharashtra	1.2	1.8
Manipur	3.4	4.8
Meghalaya	4.9	6.2
Mizoram	5.6	7.5
Nagaland	4.1	6.2
Orissa	1.6	1.2
Punjab	2.4	2.1
Rajasthan	4.7	3.8
Sikkim	2.5	4.8
Tamil Nadu	-0.1	-1.1
Tripura	4.0	4.5
Uttar Pradesh	1.8	2.9
West Bengal	2.2	2.4
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	0.8	-6.1
India	1.6	1.7

Note: Wherever sample size was adequate, the disaggregated data for north-eastern states have been provided.
Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Self-employment in agriculture (cultivators)

It may be recalled that the NSS does not provide disaggregated data on cultivators and agricultural labourers. However, self-employed in agriculture can be equated with cultivators whereas wage workers are agricultural labourers.

Self-employment in cultivation is on the rise for men and women-by 2.6 per cent and 6.1 per cent respectively during the review period. About 64 per cent of women agricultural workers are cultivators as against 62 per cent of men. States where the share of cultivators is lower than the national average are Bihar and Gujarat (also Tripura) (62 per cent each), Madhya Pradesh and Orissa (58 per cent each), West Bengal (53 per cent), Maharashtra (51 per cent), Karnataka (46 per cent), Tamil Nadu (42 per cent) and Andhra Pradesh (41 per cent). Correspondingly, they rank high on share of women workers in wage labour (Table 11).

Table 11: Self-employed and wage workers in agriculture (15-59 years), 2004-05

State	Male			Female			Total		
	SE	WW	AW	SE	WW	AW	SE	WW	AW
Andhra Pradesh	46.7	53.3	100.0	41.4	58.6	100.0	44.1	55.9	100.0
Arunachal Pradesh	94.8	5.2	100.0	98.3	**	100.0	96.5	3.5	100.0
Assam	77.6	22.4	100.0	74.2	25.8	100.0	76.5	23.5	100.0
Bihar	62.8	37.2	100.0	61.9	38.1	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0
Gujarat	53.1	46.9	100.0	61.6	38.4	100.0	57.1	42.9	100.0
Haryana	75.3	24.7	100.0	87.9	12.1	100.0	81.8	18.2	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	93.6	6.4	100.0	99.1	**	100.0	97.3	2.7	100.0
Jammu & Kashmir	89.8	10.2	100.0	99.8	**	100.0	94.3	5.7	100.0
Karnataka	49.7	50.3	100.0	45.7	54.3	100.0	47.9	52.1	100.0
Kerala	43.2	56.8	100.0	67.5	32.5	100.0	53.7	46.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	61.8	38.2	100.0	58.0	42.0	100.0	60.2	39.8	100.0
Maharashtra	51.9	48.1	100.0	50.6	49.4	100.0	51.2	48.8	100.0
Manipur	96.2	3.8	100.0	95.5	4.5	100.0	95.9	4.1	100.0
Meghalaya	85.7	14.3	100.0	88.8	11.2	100.0	87.1	12.9	100.0
Mizoram	98.8	**	100.0	99.6	**	100.0	99.1	0.9	100.0
Nagaland	98.3	**	100.0	99.6	**	100.0	99.0	**	100.0
Orissa	56.5	43.5	100.0	57.9	42.1	100.0	57.0	43.0	100.0
Punjab	60.1	39.9	100.0	93.8	6.2	100.0	76.2	23.8	100.0
Rajasthan	89.1	10.9	100.0	92.2	7.8	100.0	90.8	9.2	100.0
Sikkim	92.4	7.6	100.0	96.8	**	100.0	94.2	5.8	100.0
Tamil Nadu	40.1	59.9	100.0	42.0	58.0	100.0	41.1	58.9	100.0
Tripura	78.0	22.0	100.0	62.2	37.8	100.0	75.7	24.3	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	81.0	19.0	100.0	86.4	13.6	100.0	83.2	16.8	100.0
West Bengal	47.3	52.7	100.0	52.5	47.5	100.0	48.5	51.5	100.0
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	55.8	44.2	100.0	66.5	33.5	100.0	60.0	40.0	100.0
India	61.7	38.3	100.0	63.8	36.2	100.0	62.6	37.4	100.0

Note:

i. Asterisks indicate inadequate samples

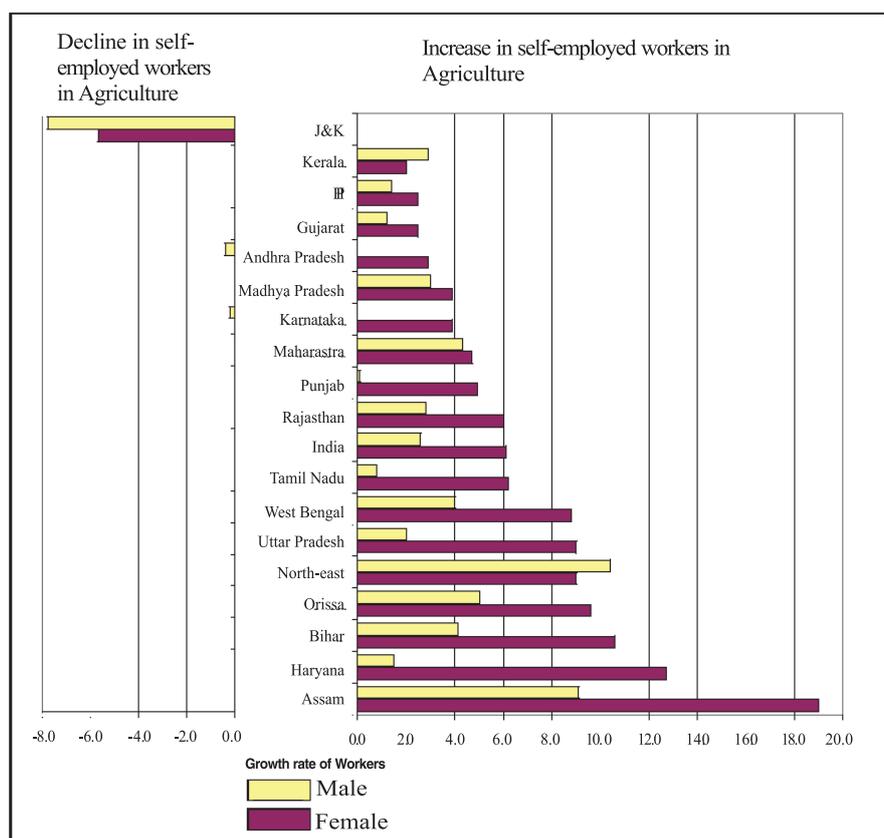
ii. Note: Wherever sample size was adequate, the disaggregated data for north-eastern states have been provided.

iii. SE: Self-employed; WW: Wage workers; AW: Agricultural workers

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Graph 8 presents the growth rates of the self-employed in agriculture, i.e., cultivators. It is not coincidental that many of the states registering 'higher than national average' growth rates in self-employment in agriculture are located in the poorer states of northern India and Orissa. Haryana is the exception. These self-employed workers are those who primarily belong to either landless families or families with very small 'sub-marginal' (0.01 to 0.40 hectares) landholdings (NCEUS, 2007).

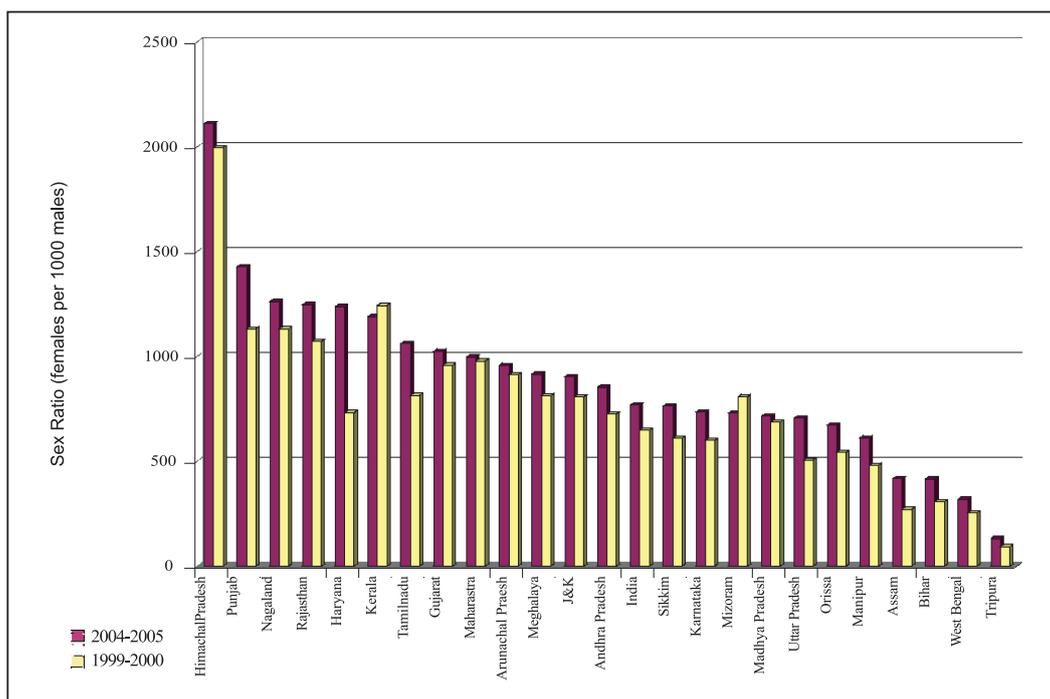
Graph 8: Growth rate of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Higher incidence of self-employed women in agriculture may in fact be an outcome of a combination of factors. These may be disguised unemployment in the wake of loss of wage work, male selective migration or movement away from agriculture, and/or socially imposed identity-women reporting as working on their own lands rather than operating on somebody else's land as wage labour—thus creating a misleading impression that women cultivators (as compared to wage work in agriculture) are on the rise (Kapadia, 2002).

As pointed out earlier in the section on education and skills, the emerging job opportunities (even if limited) in rural settings are of the nature which require some education as a pre-requisite. It may be argued that given the widespread illiteracy even amongst males in the states of Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and even West Bengal (Annexure III), women who are mostly illiterate or have very little education enter the agricultural workforce as the only option available to them. If they do so, it is most likely to be on their own land—even if it is a small holding—as cultivators (Graphs 8 and 9). That cultivators are particularly concentrated in the northern states where status-linked withdrawal of women workers from wage work is known seems to lend some credence to this proposition.

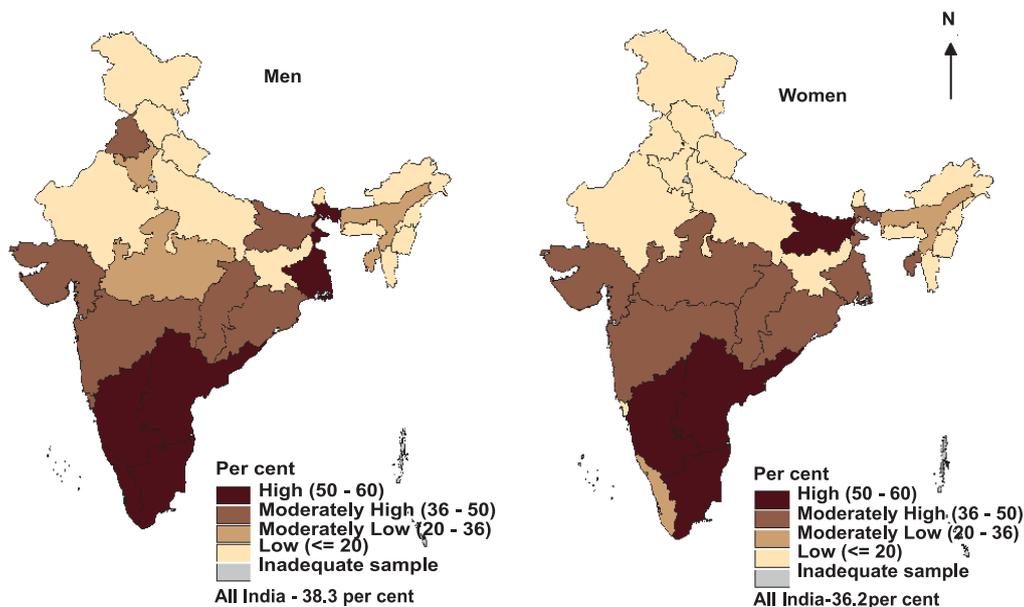
Graph 9: Sex ratio of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 and 2004-05



Wage work in agriculture (agricultural labourers)

It is of interest to note that states which record a relatively higher share of cultivators in women workers invariably have fewer women workers in wage work. With the exception of Haryana and Punjab, however, the pattern is repeated for male workers as well (Map 13).

Map 13: Agricultural wage workers (15-59 years), 2004-05



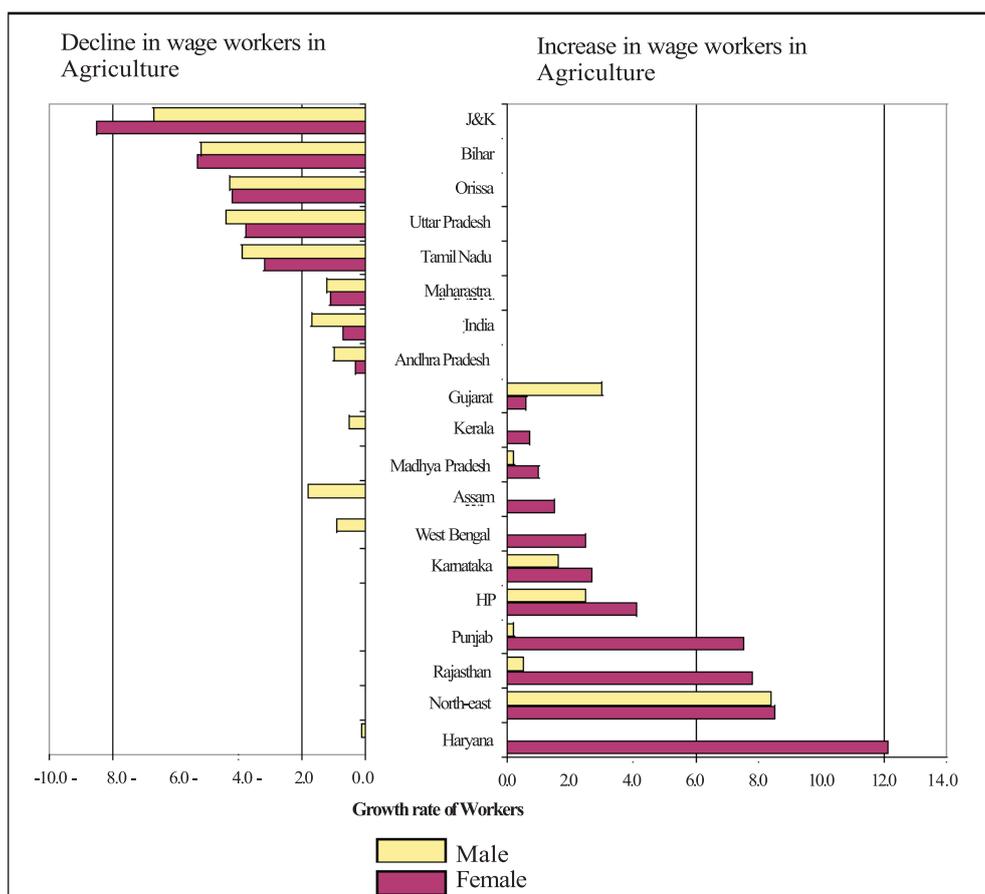
Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various

Withholding the overall negative growth rate in wage labour in agriculture for women, albeit much slower than that for men (-1.7 for men and -0.7 for women), such decline has been sharper for states such as Jammu & Kashmir (-8.5), Bihar (-5.3), Orissa (-4.2), Uttar Pradesh (-3.8) and Tamil Nadu (-3.2) (see earlier Graph 7). These states also recorded much higher decline in wage work for men. On the other end of the spectrum are states which have recorded increase in wage work for women, i.e., Haryana (12.1 per cent), Rajasthan (7.8 per cent), Punjab (7.5 per cent) and Himachal Pradesh (4.1 per cent). As far as men are concerned, states are characterized by either stagnancy (Haryana, Rajasthan and Punjab) or slight increase (Himachal Pradesh) in wage work for them (Graph 10, Annexure VII).

Graph 10: Growth rate of wage workers (15-59 years) in agriculture, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



As far as agricultural labour is concerned, the relationship with poverty seems to be somewhat ambivalent although in as many as four states, i.e., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra where agricultural labourers form a larger chunk of agricultural workers, rural poverty is higher than the national average. On the other hand, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal are not as badly placed in terms of rural poverty despite registering high agricultural wage labour among women. However, two of the poorer states (Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) have as high as 92 and 86 per cent self-employed women agriculturalists. (I return to this later in the discussion.)

The emerging pattern

States where wage labour for women has declined, like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, have recorded

higher share of cultivators amongst women agricultural workers. The increase in cultivators amongst women workers may, however, be misleading and should be seen in combination with the almost stagnant/negative growth in their share in wage work as agricultural labourers. The rising share of women cultivators, particularly in poor states, has to be interpreted carefully as it may be indicative of disguised unemployment. It can be argued that as opportunities for work in agriculture in general and wage labour in particular become scarcer, people may turn to their own holdings, however small they may be, to not only keep themselves engaged, but also eke out some living.

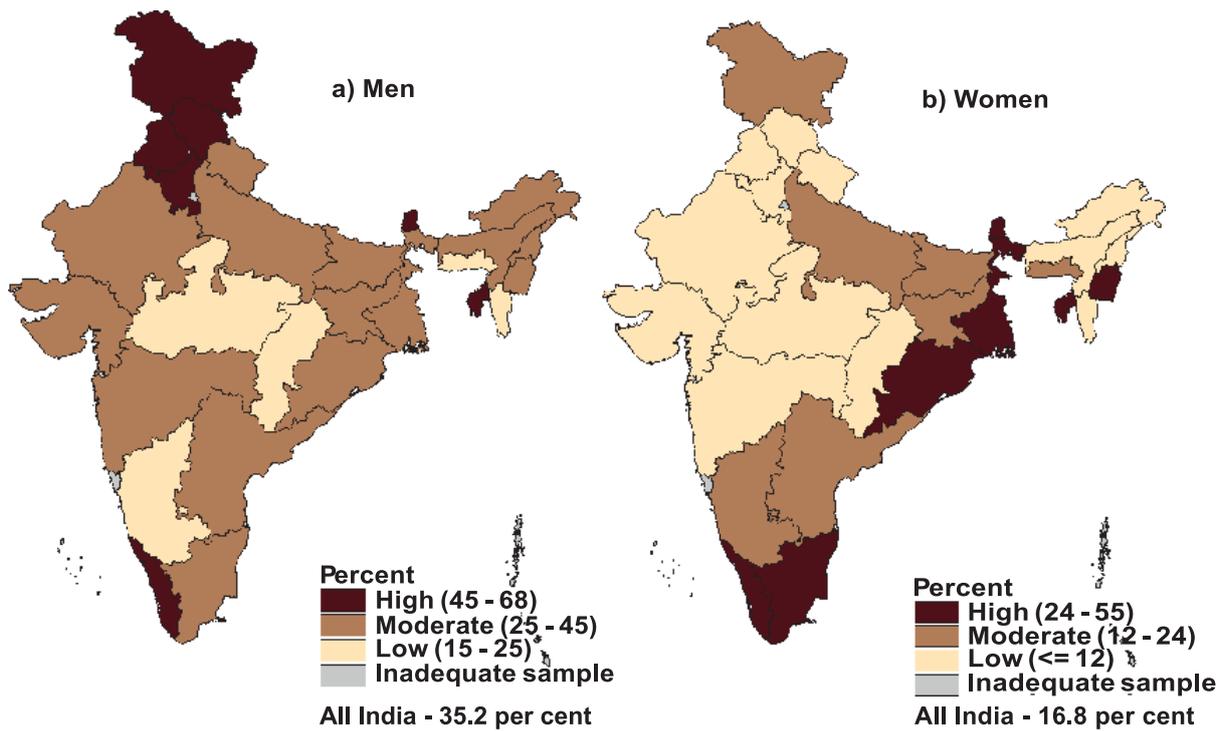
In this regard, a clear typology seems to emerge: (a) states having declining opportunities for wage labour both for men and women, such as Jammu & Kashmir (-8.5), Bihar (-5.3), Orissa (-4.2) and Uttar Pradesh (-3.8), accompanied by increasing share of cultivators among women. These are mostly poor states. It can be speculated that in the absence of wage work, women turn to cultivating whatever little land is at their disposal as they cannot afford to remain outside the workforce; and (b) rich and relatively better-off states showing increased wage labour for women (also cultivators as is the case with Haryana) with men moving out of agriculture, more specifically from wage labour (particularly in Punjab and Haryana). Male workers opting out of agriculture and entering into non-agricultural work in Punjab and Haryana may be indicative of the twin process of receding employment elasticity and profits in agriculture, and despite higher than national agricultural wages, relatively narrower gaps between wages of men and women. This proposition gets strengthened if one looks at the growth rates of non-agricultural male workers as against almost stagnant growth in agricultural workers—they are much higher than the national average in Haryana (10.0 per cent) and Punjab (8.6 per cent). Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan share characteristics with Punjab and Haryana in terms of women workers, but also show increase in wage work and cultivators as far as male workers are concerned (Table 12). Much of this growth is in the self-employed category. Then there are states such as Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, and Rajasthan which have recorded 'high' to 'moderate' growth in wage work for women in agriculture. Some of these states are amongst those which have shown increasing tendency towards crop diversification and commercialization in the 1990s even though there may be some reversal of late. Available literature on commercialization argues that when such shifts occur, generally wage labour replaces/adds to family labour because differential wages may make it profitable to hire women workers (Singh, 2003).¹¹ However, part of the process may be because of what can be called 'substitution' of male workers by women, such as in Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh which are characterized by male out-migration. Substitution may also occur as men move to non-agricultural work. To this extent, the outcomes are similar, i.e., increasing presence of women workers in agriculture, but the processes behind these outcomes are different. However, these issues require much deeper scrutiny.

Workers in Non-agricultural Activities

Non-agricultural workers in rural India

Non-agricultural workers in rural areas are slightly more than one-fourth of all rural workers with male workers registering 35 per cent and women workers 17 per cent (Map 14). In 2004-05, as many as eight states were above the national average in case of women workers, while 14 states were above the national average as far as male workers were concerned. The states which have higher than national average non-agricultural workers in rural India of both men and women are Sikkim, Tripura, West Bengal, Orissa, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Map 14: Non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) in rural India, 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

This component of women workers, i.e., non-agricultural workers, is growing at a particularly faster rate than that for men in the relatively more developed states of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra (with the exception of Rajasthan) (Table 12).

Table 12: Growth rates of rural non-agricultural workers (15-59 years), 1999-2000 to 2004-05

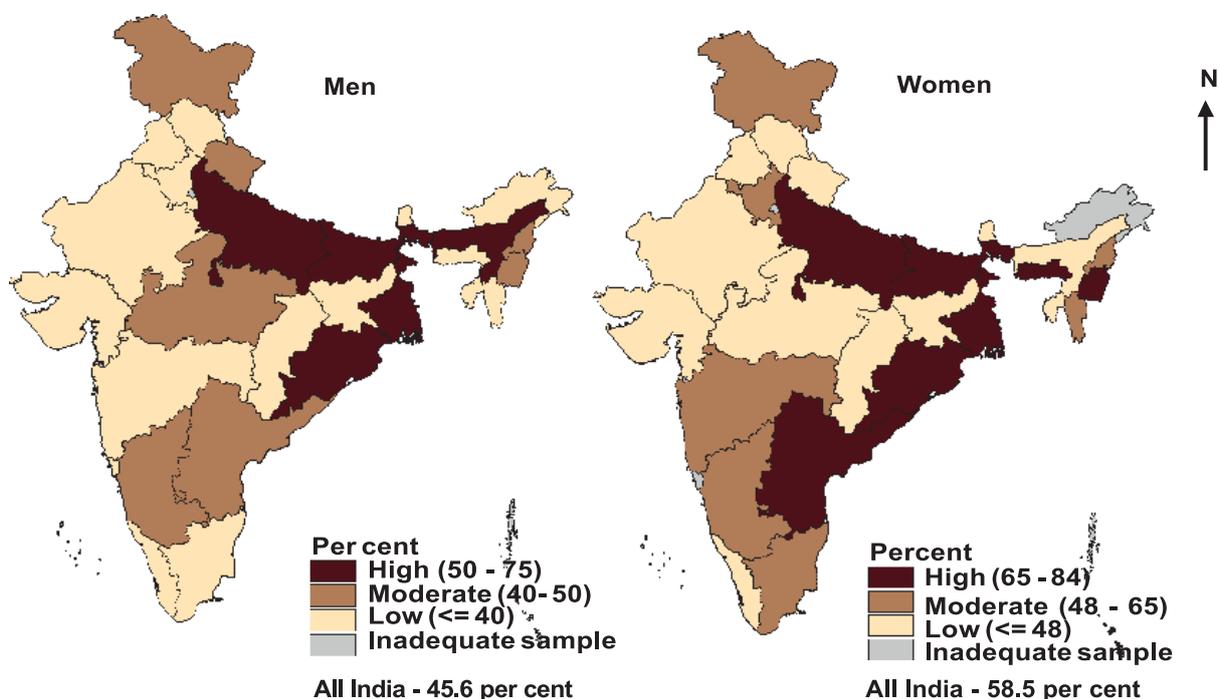
State	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	7.0	8.6
Assam	1.9	-0.3
Bihar	8.0	2.9
Gujarat	4.2	9.1
Haryana	10.0	15.6
Himachal Pradesh	5.2	18.4
Jammu & Kashmir	4.2	8.0
Karnataka	2.2	6.7
Kerala	5.8	8.9
Madhya Pradesh	8.4	6.8
Maharashtra	3.8	11.1

North-eastern states	7.9	10.6
Orissa	12.8	10.8
Punjab	8.6	8.5
Rajasthan	8.6	11.4
Tamil Nadu	0.4	2.8
Uttar Pradesh	6.4	6.6
West Bengal	4.4	1.9
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	-10.9	4.3
India	5.7	6.7

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Non-agricultural workers can be sub-divided in self-employed and wage workers. Wage workers can either be in regular salaried or casual work. Maps 14 and 15 taken together suggest that non-agricultural rural workers are predominantly in the self-employed category. This is particularly so for women. The growth rates of self-employed in non-agricultural work are higher for male workers and they are higher than that for women, more so in less developed states.

Map 15: Self-employed workers (15-59 years) in Non-agriculture in rural India, 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

It is not unexpected, it may be argued, that given the relatively more remunerative wage structure in non-agricultural activities (as compared to agriculture), men are bound to appropriate the limited options available in the competitive environs of limited resources. Also, under any given circumstances, they are likely to be better equipped than women in terms of education and skills. Within the group, women in developed states seem to have similar advantages (Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13: Growth rate of male non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) by employment status, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

State	Rural				Urban				Total			
	SE	RS	CL	Total	SE	RS	CL	Total	SE	RS	CL	Total
Andhra Pradesh	6.0	6.2	9.6	7.0	3.0	-2.2	-2.1	-0.3	4.5	0.3	3.9	2.8
Assam	7.6	-3.0	-3.1	1.9	-1.6	1.7	2.7	0.3	5.0	-0.9	-2.4	1.5
Bihar	9.7	0.2	9.4	8.0	-1.4	-1.9	-0.6	-1.5	5.9	-1.0	6.9	4.5
Gujarat	6.2	3.6	2.4	4.2	6.4	11.4	-10.9	5.7	6.4	9.1	-3.8	5.2
Haryana	12.6	8.3	8.9	10.0	5.6	2.8	-5.3	3.2	8.9	5.3	4.8	6.6
Himachal Pradesh	8.4	5.0	3.3	5.2	10.9	2.5	34.4	11.0	9.0	4.4	6.8	6.4
Jammu & Kashmir	8.9	4.5	-3.0	4.2	9.9	1.7	11.4	6.7	9.4	3.2	0.4	5.2
Karnataka	1.9	-0.8	5.8	2.2	6.9	4.1	7.5	5.7	5.1	2.8	6.7	4.5
Kerala	8.8	8.7	2.7	5.8	3.9	-0.8	-0.7	0.8	6.9	4.2	1.6	4.0
Madhya Pradesh	6.5	8.9	11.0	8.4	4.7	2.7	-0.2	3.1	5.4	4.5	5.9	5.2
Maharashtra	7.1	2.7	0.7	3.8	6.5	0.5	5.5	3.1	6.7	1.0	3.5	3.3
North-eastern states	9.1	5.9	8.6	7.9	11.2	2.5	-4.8	4.5	9.8	4.2	6.3	6.6
Orissa	13.1	9.5	15.2	12.8	2.2	-2.5	0.6	-0.1	9.3	2.9	11.0	7.7
Punjab	6.3	7.8	12.5	8.6	4.5	4.4	-2.1	3.8	5.2	5.6	7.6	5.8
Rajasthan	8.1	7.5	9.8	8.6	**	4.7	4.8	6.3	8.2	5.7	8.6	7.5
Tamil Nadu	1.6	-3.0	3.1	0.4	6.1	2.6	-1.6	3.1	4.4	0.8	0.9	2.1
Uttar Pradesh	5.7	4.0	9.8	6.4	4.5	2.3	0.3	3.2	5.1	2.9	6.8	4.8
West Bengal	4.0	1.6	7.8	4.4	7.9	5.5	9.1	7.1	5.6	4.3	8.4	5.8
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	-10.4	-7.3	-21.8	-10.9	2.6	6.3	4.6	4.8	0.7	4.2	-5.2	2.2
India	6.5	3.5	6.6	5.7	5.1	2.7	1.2	3.5	5.7	3.0	4.5	4.5

Note:

i. Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

ii. SE: Self-employed; RS: Regular salaried; CL: Casual labour.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Table 14: Growth rate of women non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) by employment status, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

State	Rural				Urban				Total			
	SE	RS	CL	Total	SE	RS	CL	Total	SE	RS	CL	Total
Andhra Pradesh	10.2	4.4	7.4	8.6	6.6	2.7	-8.4	2.4	8.9	3.4	-1.0	5.8
Assam	-4.0	1.6	2.9	-0.3	-0.7	0.4	3.1	0.6	-3.3	0.9	3.0	0.0
Bihar	0.1	7.1	12.9	2.9	-9.8	-0.3	10.2	-2.2	-1.6	3.0	12.1	1.6
Gujarat	11.0	12.0	5.5	9.1	6.2	6.4	1.6	5.1	8.0	8.0	3.4	6.6
Haryana	12.1	**	**	15.6	9.0	6.8	**	7.0	10.3	11.0	8.1	10.2
Himachal Pradesh	2.9	17.8	**	18.4	**	9.8	**	16.3	18.2	15.5	**	17.8
Jammu & Kashmir	6.8	2.0	**	8.0	14.6	5.5	**	4.0	8.6	3.9	6.2	6.4
Karnataka	6.0	13.4	2.3	6.7	3.0	5.3	3.1	4.0	4.7	7.2	2.7	5.2
Kerala	11.3	14.1	1.3	8.9	-9.1	3.3	1.1	-1.9	2.9	9.4	1.3	4.9
Madhya Pradesh	4.8	15.1	4.7	6.8	0.8	17.1	-3.0	5.3	2.8	16.4	1.8	6.0
Maharashtra	11.6	13.1	8.1	11.1	8.3	10.1	8.4	9.2	9.4	10.5	8.3	9.7
North-eastern states	18.1	2.7	3.5	10.6	8.1	7.8	-0.4	7.3	14.3	5.8	2.6	9.2
Orissa	8.9	15.7	16.4	10.8	14.0	7.6	-5.7	-4.1	5.3	10.8	9.0	6.9
Punjab	13.4	13.8	**	8.5	4.8	6.6	**	5.4	7.9	8.3	-8.6	6.4
Rajasthan	11.0	13.6	11.1	11.4	21.1	9.2	-3.3	13.7	16.5	10.4	8.2	12.5
Tamil Nadu	2.0	2.3	6.1	2.8	6.0	4.5	-3.9	4.1	3.8	3.8	1.8	3.5
Uttar Pradesh	6.5	9.3	4.6	6.6	2.4	-0.4	9.6	2.0	4.8	2.6	6.0	4.5
West Bengal	-0.2	15.8	5.1	1.9	14.7	10.1	2.1	11.2	3.8	11.7	3.9	5.4
Union territories, Delhi, Goa	12.2	3.2	-3.6	4.3	-5.4	4.9	0.2	2.0	-3.1	4.8	-0.8	2.3
India	5.8	9.7	6.3	6.7	5.2	6.4	0.3	5.0	5.6	7.4	3.8	5.8

Note:

i. Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

ii. SE: Self-employed; RS: Regular salaried; CL: Casual labour.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 0.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Wage workers continue to be an important component of the non-agricultural sector in rural India, especially among men. Among men, share of casual workers is higher than that of regular salaried. For women workers, share in regular salaried and casual workers is nearly equal.

This is true for all states except for developed states such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Haryana and Punjab for men, and the four southern states, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh for women (in these states share of regular salaried workers is higher than casual workers in rural non-agriculture).

The higher growth rate among women in regular salaried work in rural non-agriculture in general is reflected at the state level. Growth rates therein are higher for women than men. However, for casual labourers, the growth rates are higher among men. These trends may not necessarily imply better service conditions for women because of differential wage structures and bunching in low-paid jobs even as regular salaried workers.

Non-agricultural workers in urban India

Prior to discussing non-agricultural workers in urban India, a few points have to be noted. While agriculture is synonymous with rural areas and agricultural workers are essentially rural in location, non-agricultural work and workers cannot completely be equated with urban locations, as part of such work is carried out in rural areas as well. However, most urban workers are engaged in non-agricultural work. About 82 per cent of women workers and 95 per cent of male workers in urban India are in non-agricultural activities (Annexure VIII).

The share of workers in the total non-agricultural workforce has remained high in manufacturing although it has not led to significant growth in manufacturing (Graph 11). In fact, the share of manufacturing, which was about one-fourth of GDP in the 1990s, has further declined to around 24 per cent in 2004-05. Although whatever increase is observed is accounted for by women workers (Table 15) who have essentially grown as casual labourers.

Graph 11: Non-agricultural women workers (15-59 years) in manufacturing in urban India, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

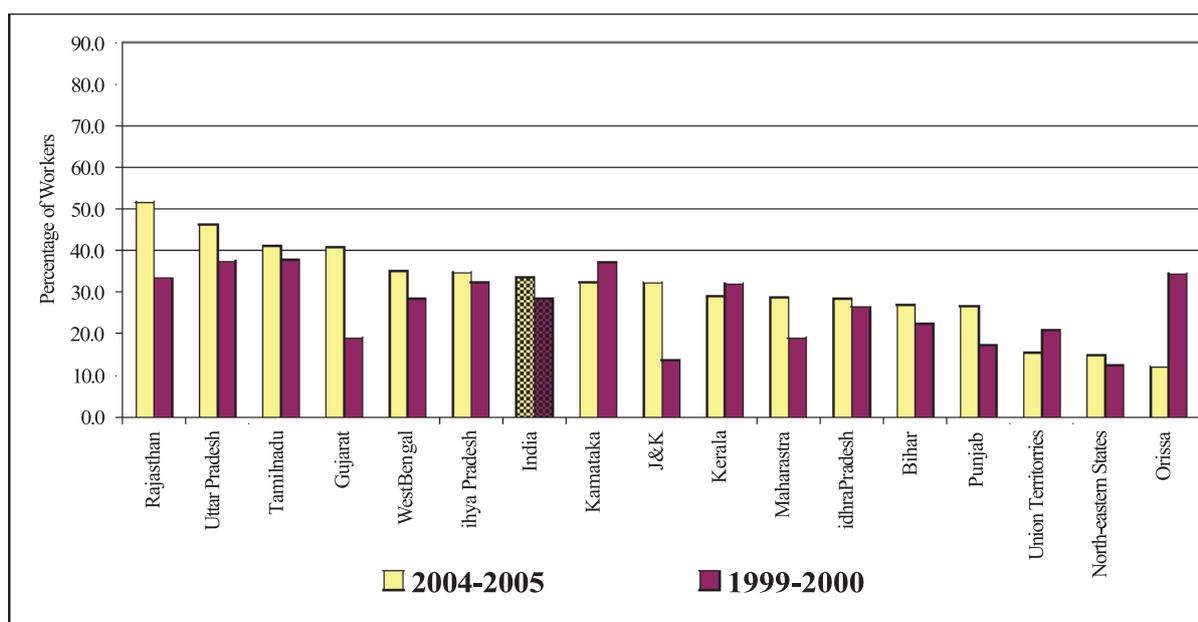


Table 15: Share and growth rate of non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) across industry groups (1-digit) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

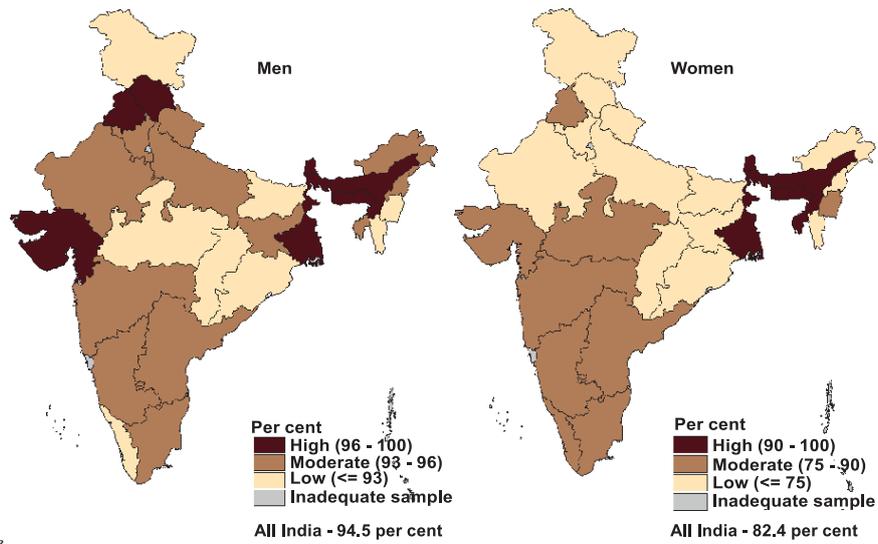
Regroup of NIC	1999-2000			2004-05			1999-2000 to 2004-05		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mining and quarrying	1.0	0.4	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.9	4.2	**	3.4
Manufacturing	24.0	28.4	24.8	25.1	33.6	26.6	4.4	8.5	5.3
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.9	0.2	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.8	3.4	**	3.6
Construction	9.4	6.0	8.8	9.9	4.7	8.9	4.6	-0.1	4.1
Wholesale/retail trade, hotels & restaurants	30.6	19.9	28.7	29.4	14.6	26.6	2.6	-1.3	2.2
Transport, storage and communication	11.4	2.3	9.8	11.6	1.7	9.8	3.8	**	3.6
Financial intermediation, real estate, renting and business activities	4.8	3.2	4.5	6.2	4.2	5.8	8.9	**	9.1
Public administration and defense, compulsory social security	8.8	5.1	8.2	6.4	4.0	6.0	-2.9	-0.1	-2.6
Education	3.3	14.7	5.3	3.7	14.9	5.8	6.2	5.3	5.8
Health and social work	1.6	4.8	2.1	1.6	4.6	2.1	3.4	4.5	3.9
Other community, social and personal service activities	3.6	9.0	4.5	3.3	4.6	3.6	1.9	-8	-1.1
Private households with employed persons	0.7	5.8	1.6	0.9	12.6	3.1	9.3	22.4	18.4
Extra territorial organisations and bodies	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**	**	**
Total non-agriculture	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	3.5	5.0	3.7

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

It can be seen that there is not much variation in non-agricultural work across states for men whereas the regional concentration for women is striking (Map 16). Incidentally, more women carry out agricultural work (18 per cent) as compared to their male counterparts (6 per cent) even in urban settings.

Map 16: Non-agricultural workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05



Map Not to Scale

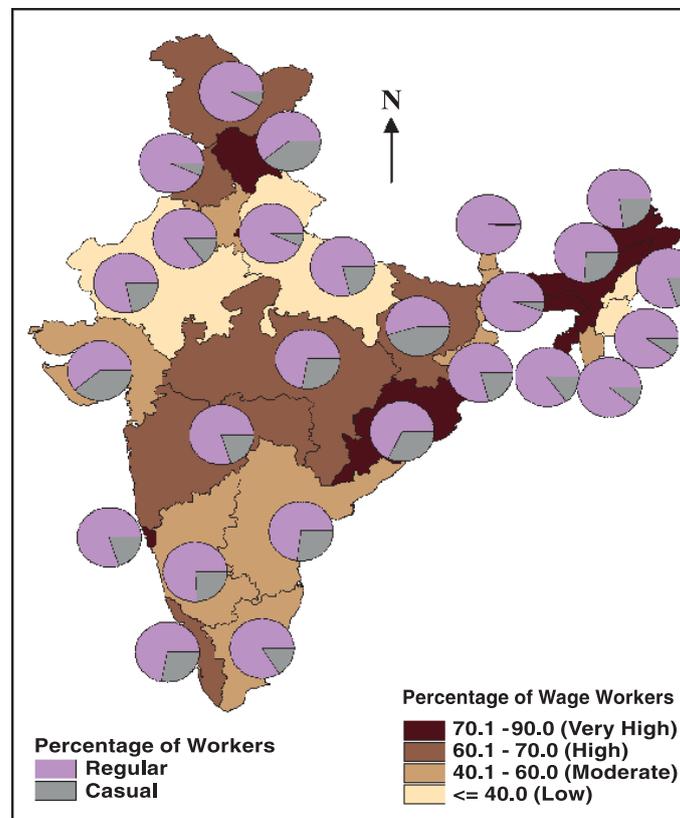
Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Wage workers

About 58 per cent of non-agricultural workers in urban India are wage workers as per the 2004-05 data. There is not much regional variation in wage work for men, but for women workers this percentage ranges from 37-38 per cent in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh to 83 per cent in Himachal Pradesh (Map 17).

Map 17: Women wage workers (15-59 Years) in urban India, 2004-05

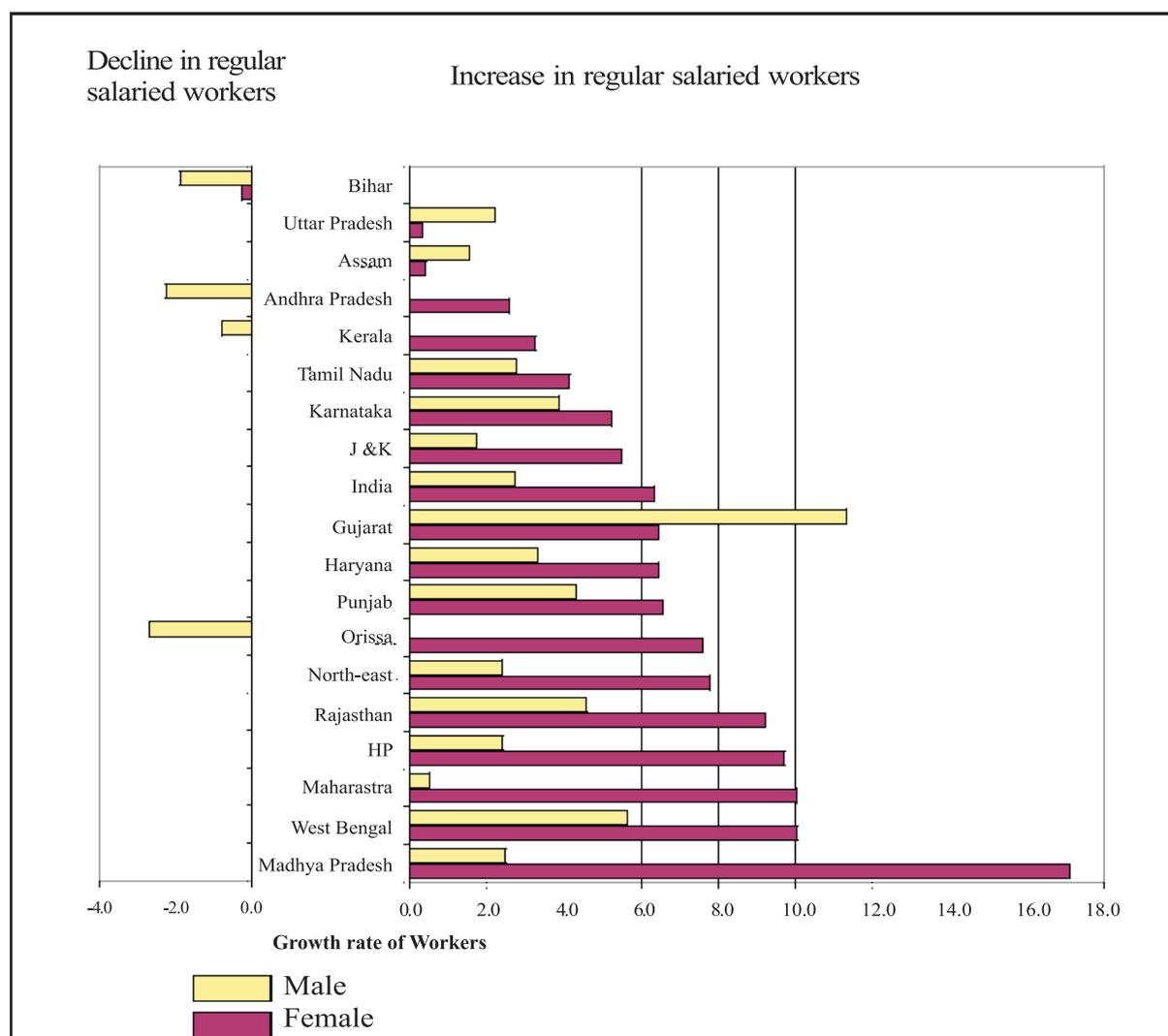


Most of the north-eastern states also record high participation of women in wage work. Slightly more than three-fourths of wage workers (men and women) receive regular wages and the rest are casual workers. States which have regular wage workers below the national average (77.7 per cent) include Bihar (55 per cent), Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh (61.0 per cent), Orissa (68 per cent), Kerala and Madhya Pradesh (72 per cent), and Andhra Pradesh (73 per cent).

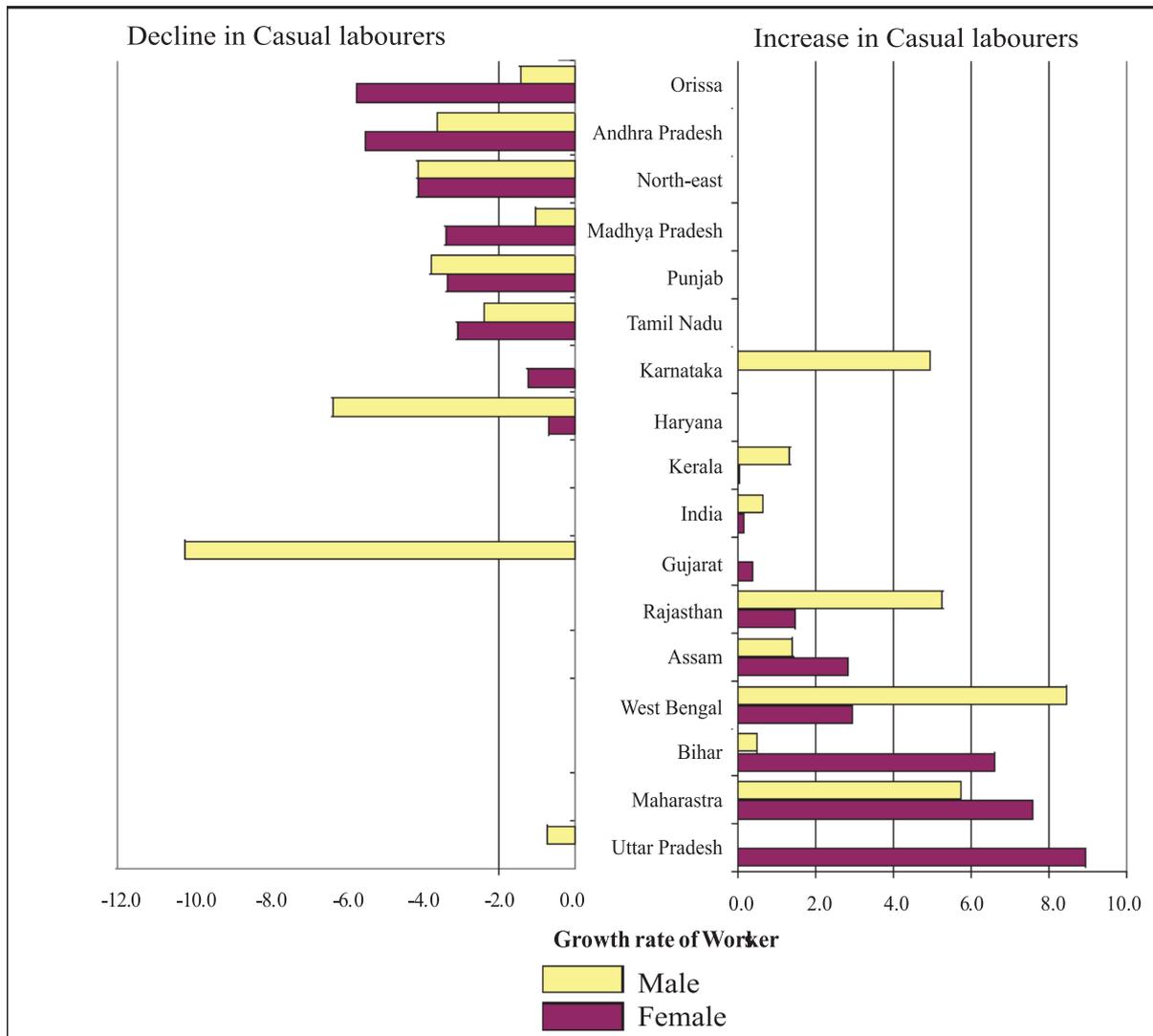
Regular salaried work

In five years, from 1999-2000 to 2004-05, the share of regular salaried employment has remained almost the same for men (the only exception was Gujarat). For women in urban locations, their share in regular salaried work rose from 33.3 per cent in 1999-2000 to 35.6 per cent in 2004-05 accompanied by a relatively sharper decline in their share of casual work during the same period as compared to the last three decades (Kundu and Mohanan, 2009; Graphs 12 and 13).

Graph 12: Growth rate of regular salaried workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Graph13: Growth rate of casual labourers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Women also have a much higher growth as compared to men in salaried jobs. Although a significantly large part of this growth is because of the lower initial base, women's participation in regular salaried work has indeed gone up. Gujarat is an exception, where the growth rate of urban regular salaried men is higher than women. Most of these men are employed in manufacturing, wherein their share has increased from 33 in 1999-2000 to 54 per cent in 2004-05.

The phenomenal rise in regular salaried work has to be interpreted with care. The year 2004-05 stalled the fall, witnessed earlier, in the share of regular employment at the aggregate level and yet the process is one indicating 'formalisation. . . at the lowest level of employment which [has] helped the middle class [gain] certain amount of stability in their low cost support system' (Kundu and Mohanan 2009, p. 24).

Table 16: Distribution of women wage workers (15-59 years) in urban India by employment status, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

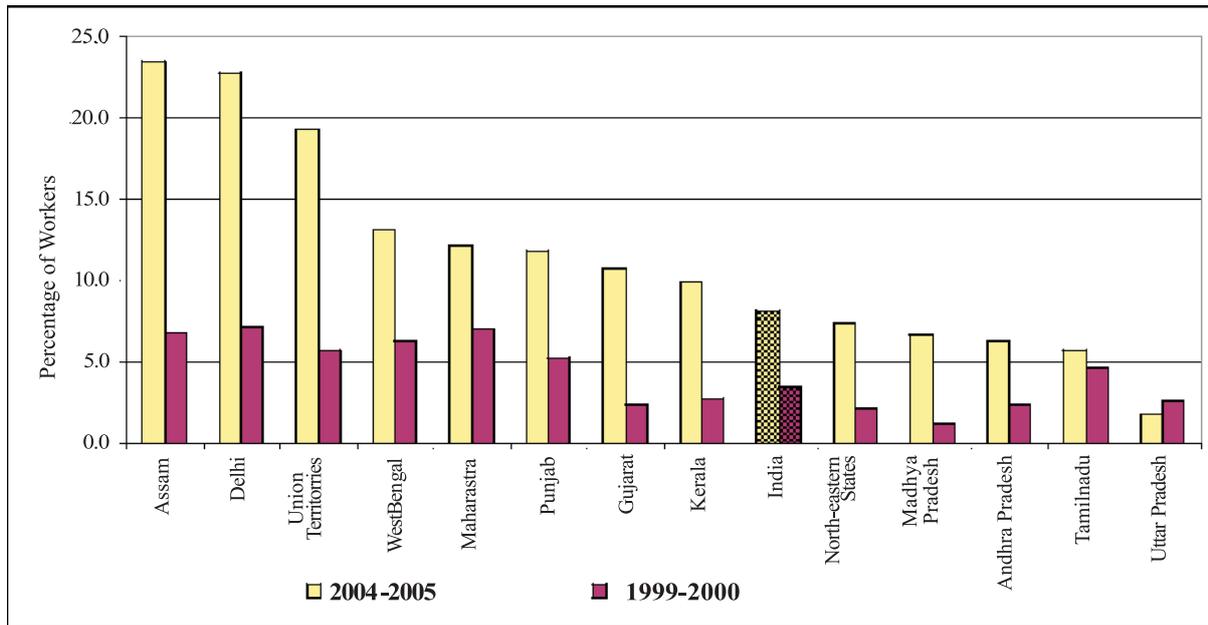
Regroup of NIC	1999-2000		2004-05	
	Regular salaried	Casual labour	Regular salaried	Casual labour
Mining and quarrying	0.5	1.5	**	**
Manufacturing	16.2	20.6	14.9	32.9
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.5	**	0.5	**
Construction	0.5	35.1	0.6	33.5
Wholesale/retail trade, hotels & restaurants	5.0	10.1	4.3	8.2
Transport, storage and communication	4.0	**	2.5	**
Financial intermediation, real estate, renting and business activities	5.7	**	7.6	**
Public administration and defense, compulsory social security	11.9	1.0	8.7	**
Education	29.7	**	26.7	**
Health and social work	9.8	**	8.9	**
Other community, social and personal service activities	1.9	29.7	1.7	2.3
Private households with employed persons	14.1	**	23.2	17.9
Total non-agriculture	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

It is clear from Table 16 that slightly less than one-fourth of regular salaried women workers are employed by private households in domestic services, mostly in urban households (Graph 14). It is also the most rapidly expanding avenue for women workers as it has recorded the highest growth rate (22.4 per cent). These domestic servants, however, are likely to be classified as regular workers only because they receive salaries on a regular basis although their working conditions may not be qualitatively better than casual workers. For example, the NCEUS (2007, pp 85-86, Box 5.1) report points out how an overwhelming majority of women domestic help-about 84 per cent and 92 per cent in urban and rural areas respectively-get wages much below minimum wages.

Graph 14: Non-agricultural women workers (15-59 years) in private households, 1999-2000 and 2004-05



The next category is educational services where women are predominantly positioned as teachers at the lower end of the teaching hierarchy in kindergarten, primary and elementary schools (Banerjee and Raju, 2009).¹²

According to Kundu and Mohanan (2009), those (including urban women) with secondary and higher levels of education have witnessed a significant decline in regular employment. Although this paper does not cross-classify women wage workers (regular as well as casual) by educational levels, looking at concentration of these workers in occupations such as domestic help, construction and at the lower end of educational services, it is not difficult to conclude that increase in regular work by itself is not a panacea for lauding the contemporary changes in the labour market in India.

As far as casual work is concerned, construction emerges as the most important category for women casual wage workers in urban India. Some of the states with relatively higher share of casual workers are also the ones lagging behind in the developmental trajectory. Bihar and Orissa, and to some extent Madhya Pradesh, are also characterized by much higher share of women workers in casual labour as compared to their male counterparts. As it is, casual workers are the least protected with the lowest levels of earning, and if they are women, their vulnerabilities multiply manifold.

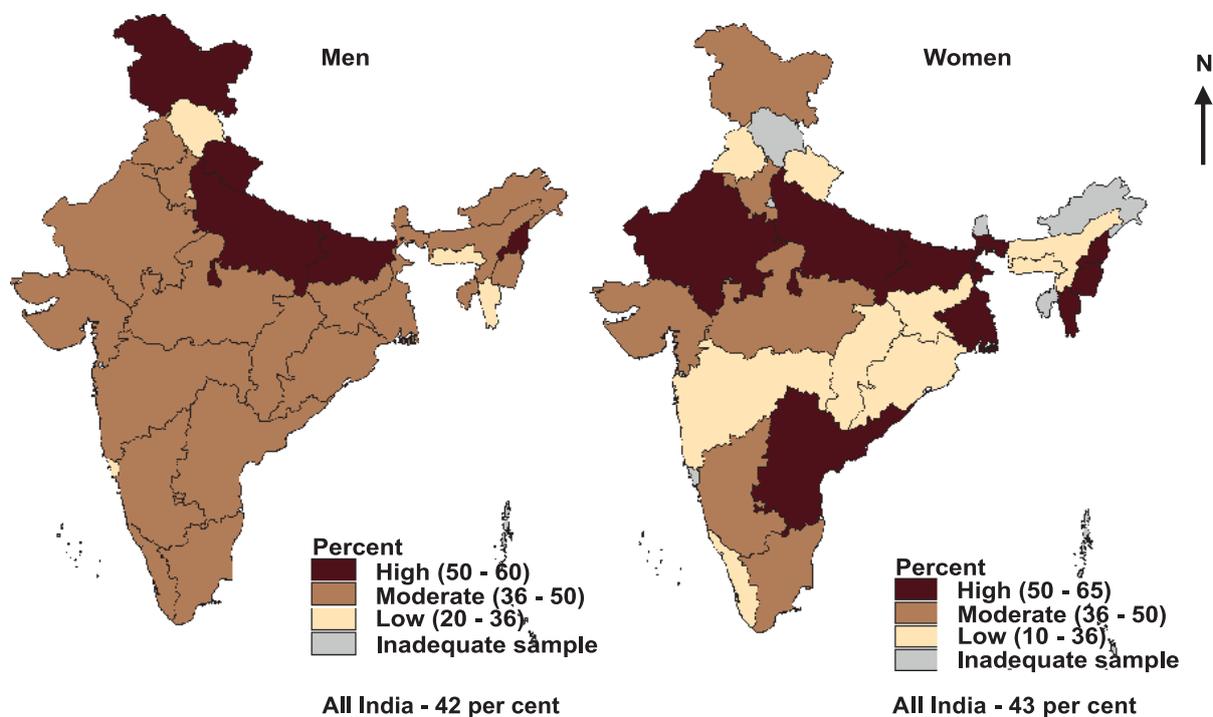
Non-agricultural self-employed workers in urban India

Self-employment as a major component of workers both in rural as well as urban locations has been commented upon earlier. It can be categorized as 'own account workers', by far the largest category, who work on their own using their own labour and resources, usually for extended hours. The next

category is that of 'unpaid family workers' and the third one is as 'employer' (one who hires workers for dispensing whatever activities they are engaged in). Given the strong presence of women as self-employed workers (as 'own account workers' and as unpaid family labour), this section looks at this category more closely.

Although the national average for self-employed women in non-agricultural activities in urban India is 43 per cent, regional variations are quite evident with Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh recording 62 to 63 per cent of non-agricultural self-employed women workers. Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal are at the bottom, but they also have half of their non-agricultural women workers as self-employed. Compared to this, there is not much regional variation for self-employed male workers (Map 18). However, contrary to popular perception, both men and women workers are almost at par in terms of their share in the respective workforces as a whole.

Map 18: Self-employed workers (15-59 years) in non-agriculture in urban India, 2004-05



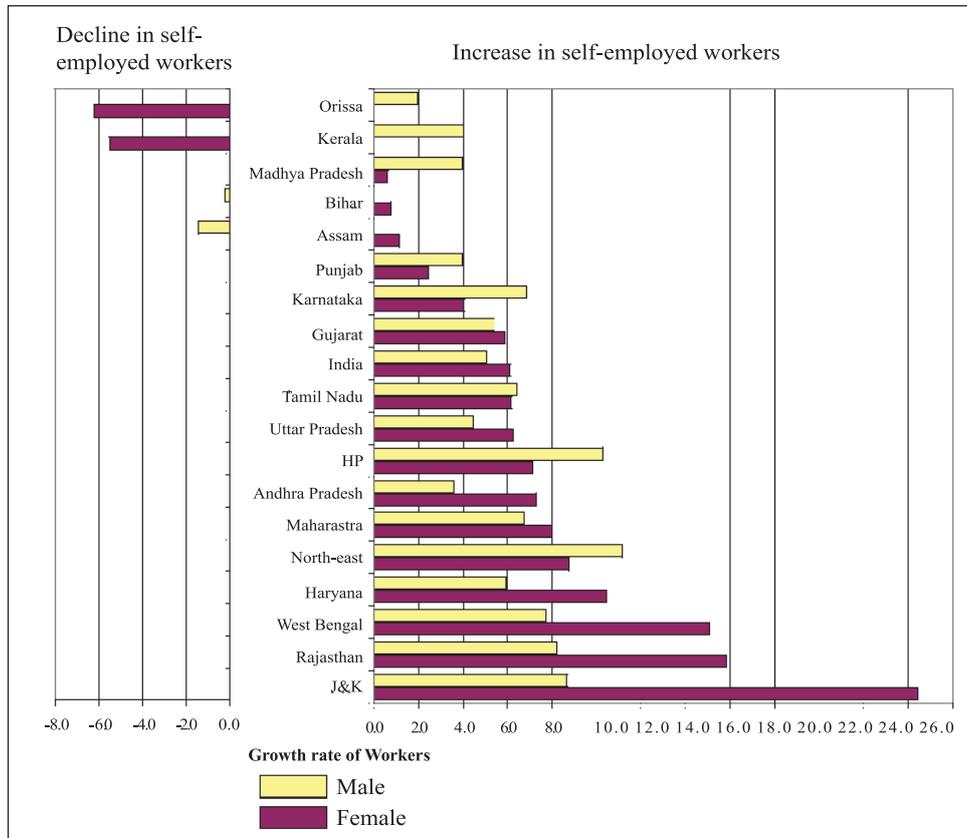
Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

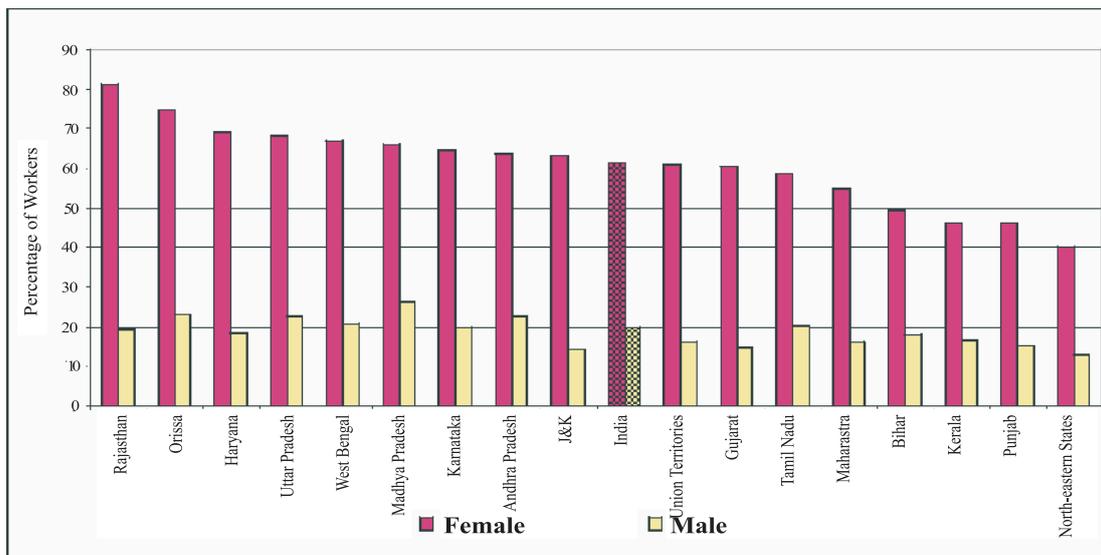
The period from 1990-2000 to 2004-2005, as compared to the past several years, is particularly marked by growth in self-employment. The emergence of self-employment as a major avenue has been attributed to the increasing tendency towards contractual jobs and the 'putting out' system-'disguised wage workers' as defined by the NCEUS (2007) whereby work can be undertaken outside the organized sector. This phenomenon is observed across the states in varying measure and except a few states the growth in self-employed women workers is much higher than that of men (Graph 15).

Graph 15: Growth rate of self-employed workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 1999-2000 to 2004-05



Although all self-employed are not necessarily home-based nor all home-based workers necessarily self-employed, an overwhelmingly large number of self-employed women workers are in home-based enterprises or use their homes as workplaces to operate out of as against their male counterparts (Graph 16).

Graph 16: Percentage of home-based in non-agricultural self-employed workers (15-59 years) in urban India, 2004-05



About 54 per cent of females work from their own dwellings as compared to 16 per cent males. Conversely, only 9 per cent females own independent enterprises as against 25 per cent males. The percentage of females working from home has gone up by 5 points between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 (Table 17).

Table 17: Workers in non-agricultural enterprises by workplace in urban India, 2004-05

Workplace	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
No fixed workplace	13.1	3.9	11.1	6.2	1.6	5.3	9.6	2.8	8.2
Own dwelling	18.6	61.2	28.1	12.9	45.9	19.3	15.7	54.1	23.7
Own enterprise	20.6	9.2	18.1	29.6	9.6	25.7	25.2	9.4	21.9
Employers' dwelling	3.4	7.3	4.2	3.7	20.7	7.0	3.5	13.5	5.6
Employers' enterprise	15.8	6.0	13.6	24.8	11.7	22.3	20.4	8.7	17.9
Street: Fixed location	3.9	1.9	3.4	4.5	2.4	4.1	4.2	2.2	3.7
Street: No fixed location	5.6	2.6	4.9	7.1	3.2	6.3	6.3	2.9	5.6
Construction sites	15.5	5.8	13.3	8.3	3.4	7.3	11.8	4.7	10.3
Others	3.5	2.1	3.2	2.9	1.5	2.6	3.2	1.8	2.9
Total	100								

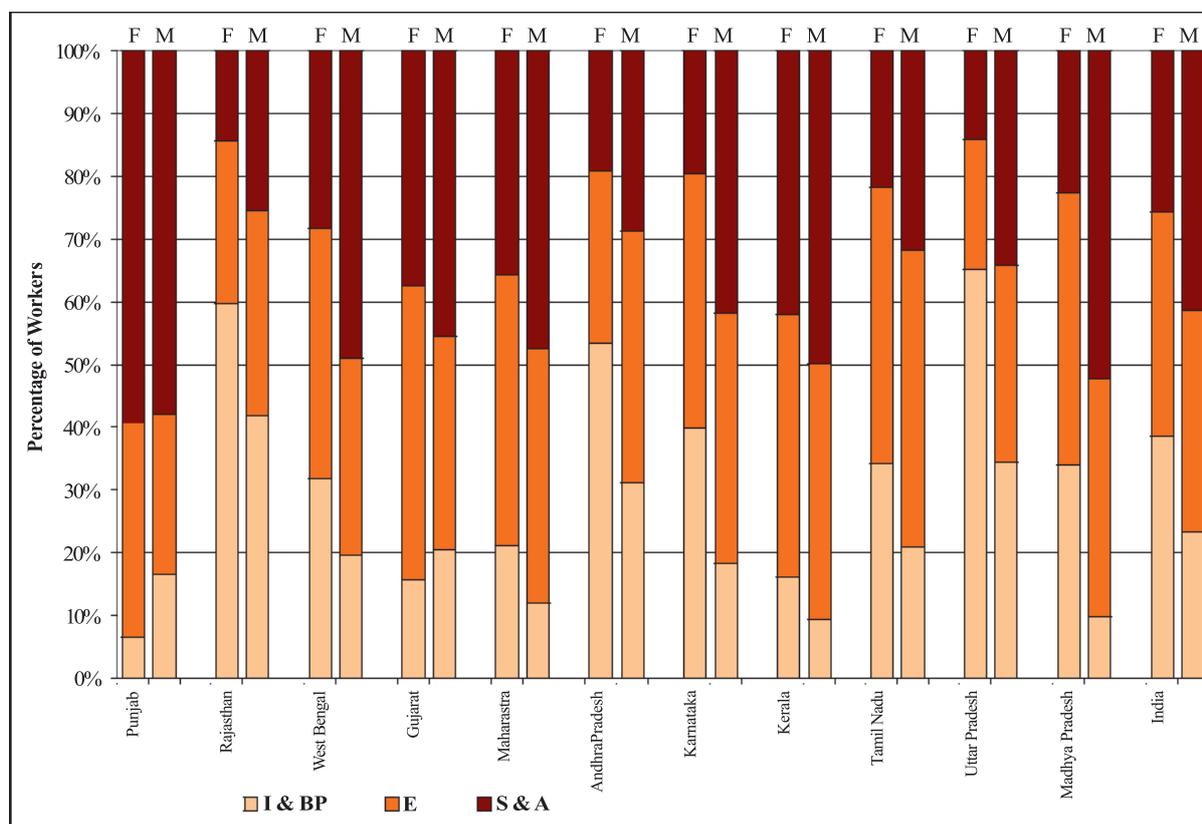
Source: NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05, borrowed from NCEUS, 2007 (p. 80)

Interestingly, the framing of women within the domestic sphere, even as a worker, seems to be an all-pervasive construct as there are very few inter-state variations (see earlier Graph 16). Disaggregating at the state level is not possible for all categories essentially because of inadequate sample size. In order to have a somewhat more robust sample size, these percentages have been worked out of non-agricultural workers rather than all workers.

Those working out of home may belong to higher income categories such as doctors, chartered accountants, architects, lawyers and so on. However, an overview of the educational qualifications of those who are home-based is sufficient to propose that most home-based workers, because of their illiterate or semi-literate status, would be at the lower end of the job hierarchy. It may also be argued that home-based workers are part of a larger stock and their educational attainments more or less represent the conditions of majority of the workers as a whole, particularly in case of women workers. For example, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have a relatively higher share of illiterate and semi-literate workers as compared to Punjab, Gujarat and Kerala (Graph 17). Activity-wise composition of these home-based workers would have shed some light on whether there was any state- or region-specific diversification of home-based activities linked to educational profiles, but the nature of available data is such that these questions cannot be adequately addressed. NCEUS (2007) has identified two types of self-employed by income-the category of workers which has low income vis-à-vis those with high

income. High income self-employment is not particularly women-centric whereas low-income activities such as handloom weaving, hand embroidery (*chikankari*), *beedi* and *agarbatti* making (four out of a total of 10 activities) are mostly carried out by women. A much higher percentage of self-employed home-based male workers have education up to secondary or higher education.

Graph 17: Non-agricultural self-employed home-based workers (15-59 years) across educational levels by sex in urban India, 2004-05



Note: I & BP = Illiterate & Below Primary; E = Elementary; S & A = Secondary & Above

What is important to note is that these 'self-employed' categories (particularly among women workers) constitute a very large component of 'unpaid family labour'. Overall, slightly more than one-third of self-employed women workers are unpaid family labour as compared to one-fifth of male workers. In 2004-05, this component has rapidly grown for women vis-à-vis men and most states have unpaid family workers ranging between 35 to 70 per cent (Annexure IX).

Self-employed workers, particularly those who are based in homes and work under the 'putting out' system, can be placed along a continuum of complete dependence on contractors or middlemen for design, raw material and other support to partial dependence (NCEUS, 2007). In 1999-2000 (the year for which this information is available), 64 per cent of home-based women working under product specification were provided with raw material by employers whereas only 28 per cent men workers had this provision. More male workers (43 per cent) depend on their own arrangements as compared to women workers (32 per cent) (see Table 18).

Table 18: Non-agricultural self-employed home-based workers with work specification given wholly or mainly and making own arrangement of credit, raw material equipment, 1999-2000

State	Work specification given wholly or mainly			Work specification given wholly or mainly and making own arrangement of credit, raw material & equipment		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	23.6	25.8	24.7	48.4	40.1	44.1
Bihar	21.3	38.9	28.0	68.6	32.1	48.8
Maharashtra	23.5	24.7	24.0	48.4	60.5	53.2
North-eastern states	25.1	20.6	22.6	76.6	61.6	68.9
Orissa	16.1	32.7	25.5	82.6	49.6	58.4
Rajasthan	11.6	43.9	23.6	58.9	20.9	32.4
Tamil Nadu	46.8	61.1	54.9	20.5	12.4	15.4
Uttar Pradesh	30.9	44.8	35.6	44.1	32.0	38.9
West Bengal	33.0	69.4	53.5	30.6	39.7	37.3
India	26.2	46.1	35.1	43.2	31.6	36.4

Note: Only those states are mentioned which had enough samples.

Source: Computed using unit level data of NSS on employment and unemployment, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000.

Such dependence means that women workers are in a disadvantageous position with their employers in terms of any bargaining.

As high as 46 per cent of non-agricultural self-employed home-based women workers (overall - men and women, 35 per cent) operate under product specification, i.e., for those doing embroidery pattern, colour schemes and other details are preset, making the work quite monotonous without individual inputs or creativity; the corresponding percentage for males is 26. Tamil Nadu and West Bengal top the list in terms of women workers operating from home under product specifications -the leather industry in Tamil Nadu and the readymade garments and hand embroidery industries in West Bengal seem to account for this phenomenon.

From a policy perspective, home-based work under contractual arrangements means that most women in India currently do not work for a direct employer.¹³ This is true not only in agriculture, but is also increasingly becoming common for a wide range of non-agricultural activities carried out in urban locations. Working from home not only adds to the invisibility of women workers and ambivalence in terms of relationships with employers, it also has implications for their social and legal security measures and claims. Very often such work is carried out beyond normal waking hours because of routine household chores including childcare and responsibilities for the aged from which these women workers have no escape. Such gendered constructs not only keep women away from participating in the formal

labour market, accessing information, and education and skill formation, the prevailing status quo of gender dynamics within the household also remains largely unchallenged and unchanged while self-exploitation continues unabated (Standing, 1991; Sharma and Singh, 1993; Banerjee, 1997; Osnowitz, 2005).

Women's work in general requires a more sensitive approach than presently available. The plight of self-employed workers epitomizes the need for this given their overwork, exploitation, under-payment and insecurity. And yet, official (policy) discourse eulogizes such work. To illustrate, I borrow from Mazumdar (2004, p. 17):

The system of home work is sometimes *advantageous* to them [women] because while doing their routine work at home, they do the job and supplement the incomes of their families. The raw materials are generally collected from the employers/contractors by the men folk of the household and finished goods are also delivered to the contractors/employers by them. The women have flexibility in working as there are no fixed hours of work and *they do not have to move out of their houses*. . . in case of single women [or households without male members] women home workers [because they have to deal with contractors/employers on their own] are exposed to [a] different form of labour exploitation (emphasis added).

Ironically, even presumably forward-looking policies in state discourses do not question such constructs and continue to regard self-employed workers as having autonomy in terms of how, where and when to produce, and economic independence as to market, scale of operation and money, showing complete insensitivity towards potentially exploitative production relations that home-based workers are exposed to. One may argue that such institutionalized legitimization works towards reinforcement of constructs that confine women to domesticity. Dependency for raw material on specific contractors also means that the conditions are analogous to that of bonded labour.

This significance of self-employment also brings home the urgent need to consider basic social security that covers not just general workers in the unorganized sector but also those who typically work for themselves. And yet, about one-third of women engaged in domestic duties as their principal activity were willing to take on (additional) what can officially be called 'work' if it was available within the confines of their homes. A woman's spatial framing is thus an outcome of the twin process of her primary location within domesticity and societal reticence towards her visibility in public places. The consequences are obvious.

Agricultural and Non-agricultural Wages

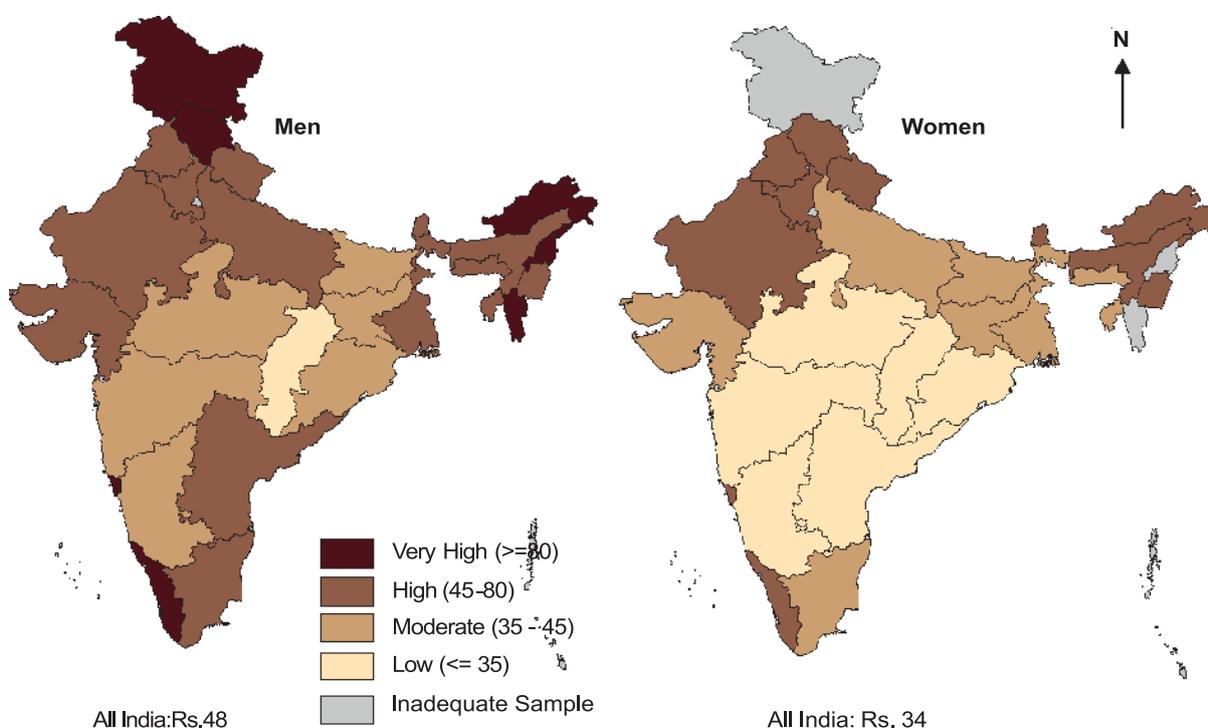
Despite phenomenal increase in informal work and the place of workers in the global value chain through incorporation in export-led activities, workers' wages have not gone up as much. However ironical as it may appear, cheap labour is the hallmark of labour transactions at the global level.

Kundu and Mohanan's work (2009) suggests a reduction in the real wages of regular and casual workers during 1999-2000 and 2004-2005, more so in urban areas (both for men and women), characterized by very high incidence of informal employment (which incidentally may be part of the organized sector). The apparent benefits accruing to rural workers, according to the authors, is more because of their absorption in public works and construction projects-sectors which are protected by certain legal and administrative stipulations rather than real change. The study further observes a

disturbing trend of decline in real wages for regular workers as well across educational categories, pointing towards the failure of various state instruments in protecting the so-called wage 'secure' sector of workers. Exceptions to this general observation are the illiterate agricultural workers in rural areas (both men and women) and graduate women workers in urban locations-both form a very small component of total workers. It may be argued that illiterate rural workers are in any case at the level of bare minimal wages with no possibility of any further decline in earnings.

I do not intend to engage fully with the question of wages here and the discussion that follows may be seen as indicative rather than conclusive. What is important from the perspective of workers is the overall lower wages for women workers in majority of the states as compared to their male counterparts. The darker shades on the map indicating higher wages cover more of India in the case of men than women. Bihar and Jharkhand are the only exception in terms of having comparable lower daily wages for both men and women (Map 19).

Map 19: Average daily wages of casual person-days (15-59 years) in agriculture, 2004-05



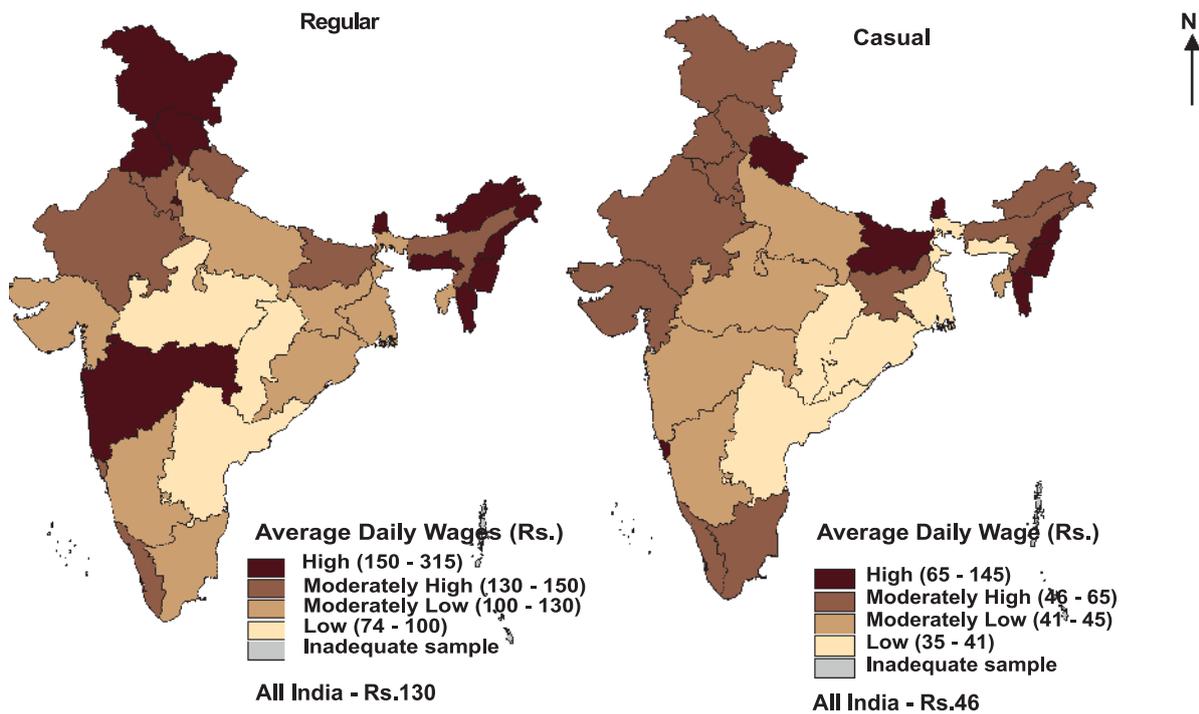
Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Women's wages for casual work are lower than wages for regular work, as expected (Map 20). However, within the same categories, women's wages are lower than that of men (see earlier Map 19). There is no regular pattern and yet, as far as male workers are concerned, wages are lower in general for them in the less developed states. As opposed to those in regular non-agricultural activities, women casual workers have a more homogeneous wage structure suggesting that much of the casual work in a given region is of routine nature.

Map 20: Average daily wages of women person-days (15 - 59 years) in non-agriculture, 2004-2005



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

In general, the disparity in men-women wages is large amongst non-agricultural workers. These gaps exist essentially because of concentration of women in low-paid jobs within the segment rather than discrimination for the same type of work, although the latter also exists. Stereotyping of work in care services as paramedics, nurses and health workers, punch/data operators in IT industries, and nursery teachers in education are some of the cases which have received pointed references in literature. Such jobs have limited upward mobility (Raju, 2007). The breaking of the proverbial glass ceiling is a prerogative of a select few.

Additional Observations

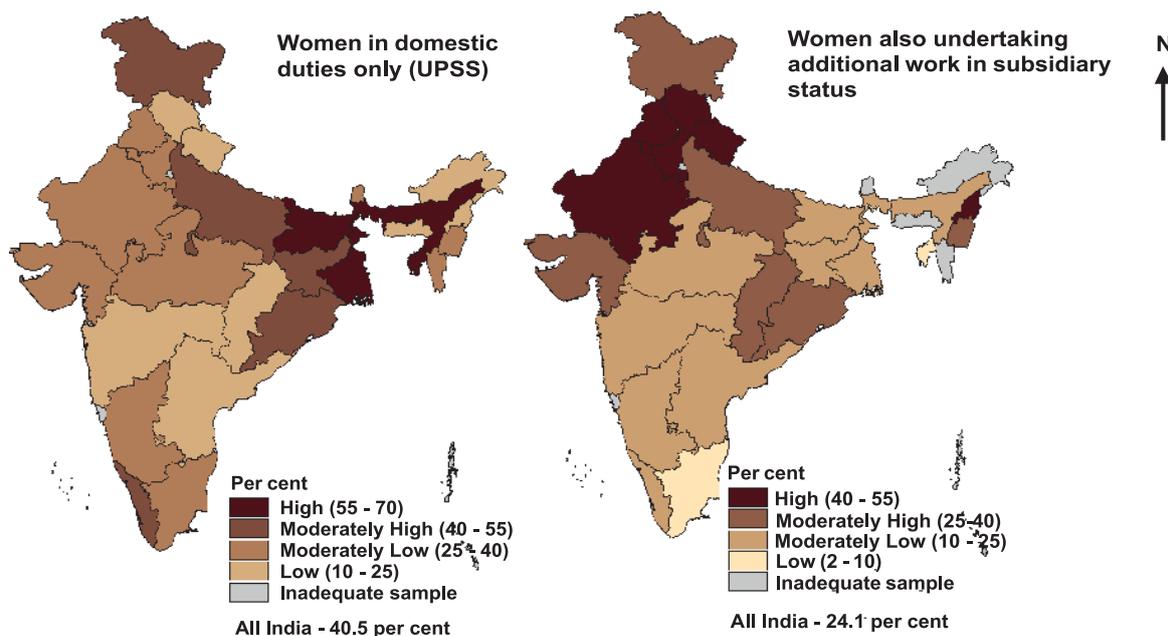
Huge burden of unpaid work (SNA and non-SNA) exists along with un/under-employment in the labour market. Much has been written and debated on these issues and yet there remains a nagging need to keep revisiting them. Data on 'subsidiary' activities of those whose principal status has been recorded as 'domestic work' bring out the inherent problems associated with designating domestic activities as 'non-economic' activities.

The purpose of this limited analysis is to argue once again that women who are mainly engaged in household work, with or without any subsidiary work, also contribute substantially to the survival of households, not just in terms of 'caring' activities but also in economic terms (for example, a larger percentage of households depend on firewood in the north-eastern region than in other parts). The mapped data are about those who have registered 'domestic work' as their principal activity and also those who undertake subsidiary work in addition to domestic work. It can be reasonably argued that women belonging to the second category are doubly burdened. The NSS data do not collect information

on domestic duties by those who return themselves as workers in the principal status-the assumption being that these working women are absolved from doing domestic duties, an erroneous conjecture given the rigidly gendered nature of Indian society in general.

It is well known that household burdens keep women away from participating in the formal labour market. Conversely, however, if women are workers in subsidiary status, their contribution to specified domestic activities is not reduced. Most women are engaged in domestic duties in principal status and yet take up some work in subsidiary manner, mostly self-employed as unpaid household helpers (Map 21, Graphs 18 - 21).

Map 21: Women (15-59 years) undertaking domestic duties and additional work, 2004-05

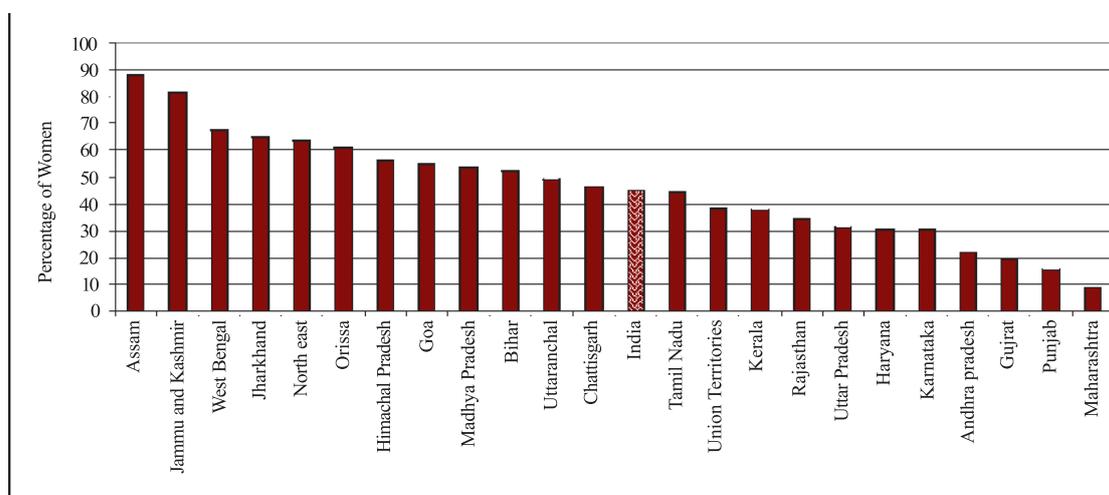


Map Not to Scale

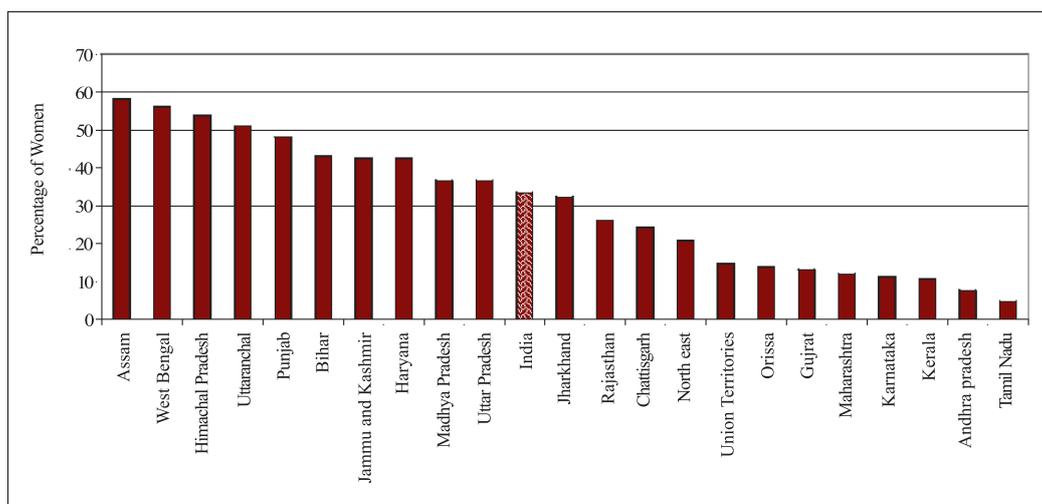
Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

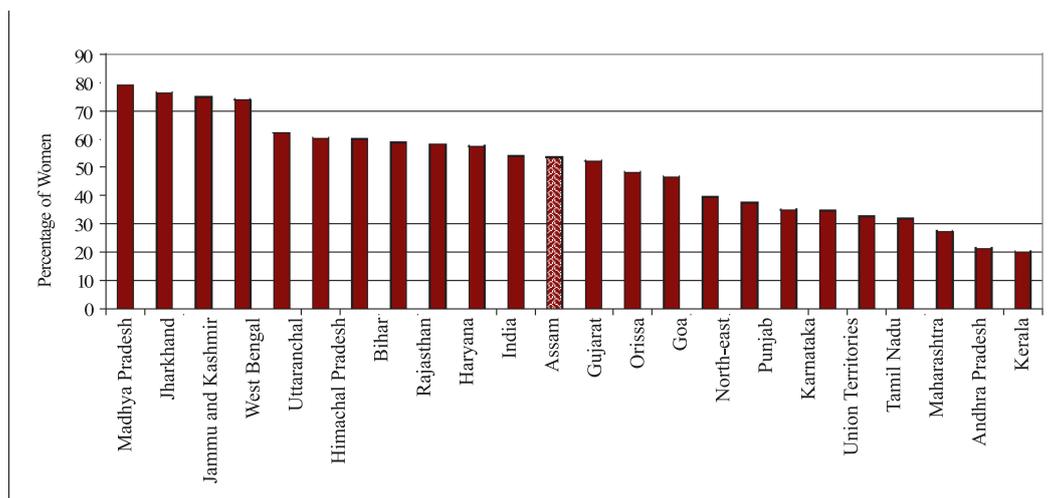
Graph 18: Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in food production along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05



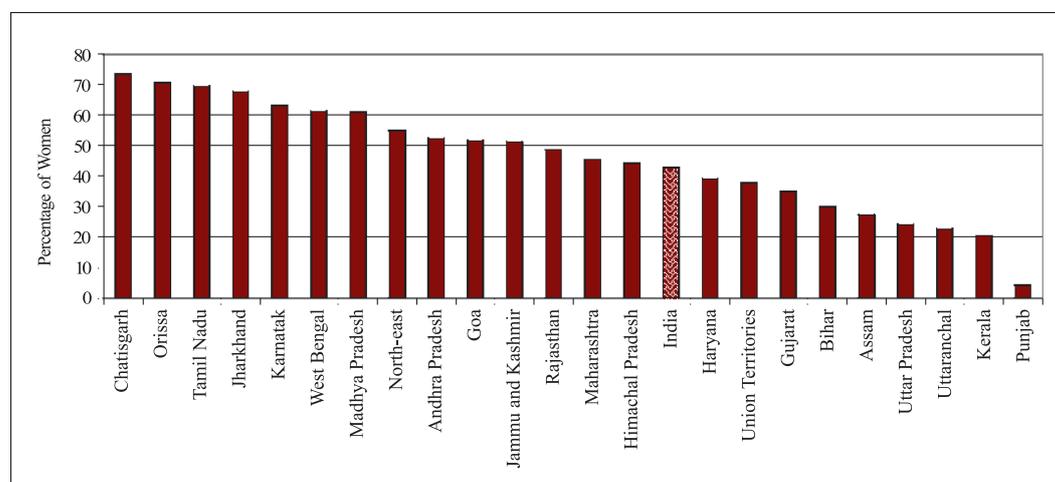
Graph 19: Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in household manufacturing along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05



Graph 20: Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in collection of fuels (energy) for household consumption along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05



Graph 21: Rural women (15-59 years) engaged in water collection along with domestic activities (UPSS), 2004-05



With very few exceptions, most women who, in addition to being engaged in full-time domestic work, take on work as subsidiary status in food production, collecting fuel, fodder and water, and manufacturing activities belong to the poorer states which are also geo-ecologically challenged.

That the poorest of the poor women are particularly overburdened is clear from Table 19. Even as they are engaged in full-time domestic duties, they undertake other activities which are essential to ensuring food and other survival requirements of their families. It can be seen that the poorest of the poor undertake several additional (survival) activities as compared to those at the top of the MPCE classes.

Table 19: Women (15-59 years) in the lowest/highest two MPCE classes undertaking domestic duties by UPSS and also carrying out additional activities,* 2004-05

No. of activities	Rural			Urban		
	MPCE <= 270	MPCE >890	All	MPCE <= 395	MPCE >1880	All
0	19.6	37.6	25.7	32.9	56.9	46.3
1	19.7	24.2	21.0	34.3	29.1	30.7
2	21.6	17.8	18.0	14.2	10.1	14.2
3	14.6	8.8	13.3	7.9	2.2	4.5
>= 4	24.6	11.4	21.9	10.6	1.7	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

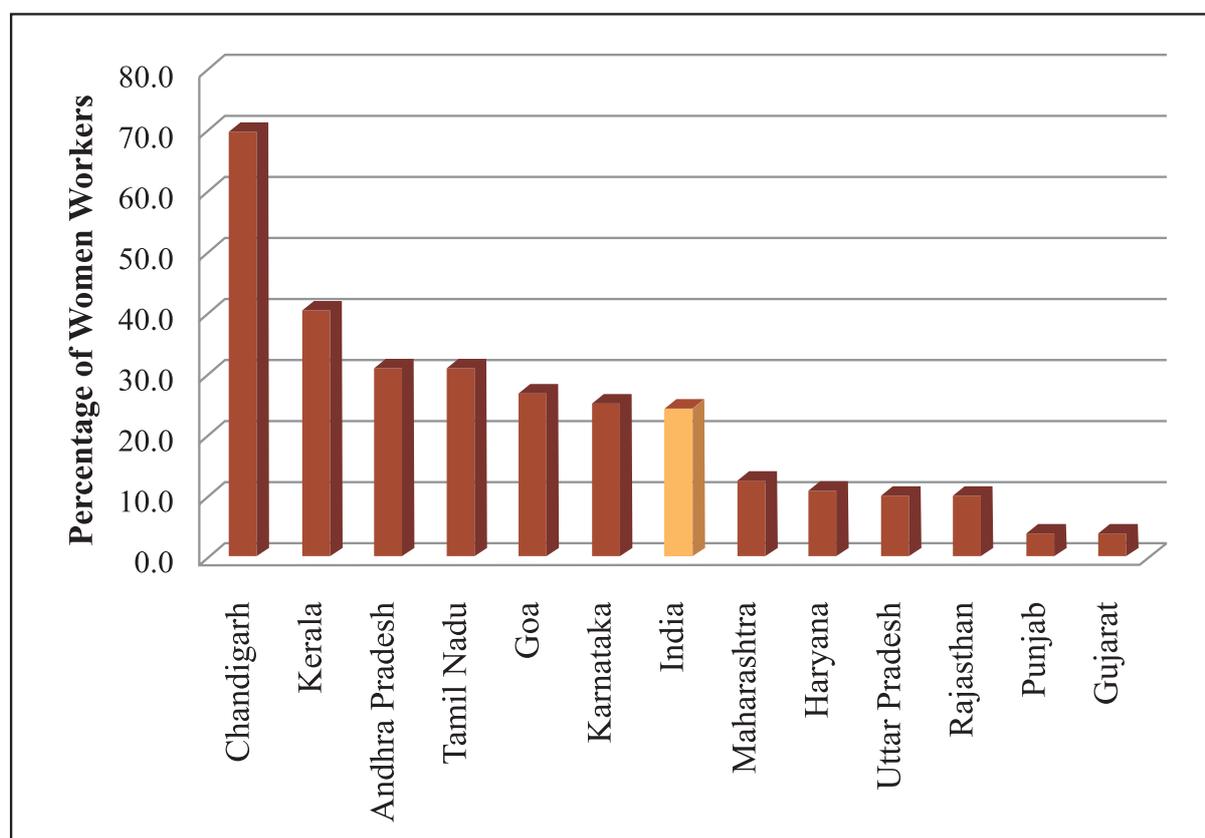
*Note: *Maintenance of kitchen gardens, orchards, etc.; work in household poultry, dairy, etc.; free collection of fish, small game, wild fruits, vegetables, etc. for household consumption; free collection of firewood, cow-dung, cattle feed, etc. for household consumption; husking of paddy for household consumption; grinding of food grains for household consumption; preparation of gur for household consumption; preservation of meat and fish for household consumption; making baskets and mats for household use; preparation of cow-dung cake for use as fuel in the household; sewing, tailoring, weaving, etc. for household use; tutoring of own children or others' children free of charge; bringing water from outside the household premises (or village for rural areas). Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on employment and unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.*

The Global Meltdown and Women Workers

It is commonplace understanding that in a globalizing world, countries which have access to cheap labour have a competitive edge in export-oriented growth. It is also well known that women (and children) form a major component of cheap labour. It is obvious therefore that the recent slowdown would have affected them negatively. That said, it is extremely difficult to chalk out systematically the impact of the financial crisis and recessed economy on women workers. According to Ghosh (2002), the slow, and in some cases, almost static growth in manufacturing cannot directly be attributed to the recent economic slowdown as data over the 1990s for Asian countries show that although women formed a considerable share of manufacturing, there was no upward mobility in the sector. This was true for export-oriented manufacturing as well. Thus, the share of women's employment in Export Processing Zones had declined sharply between 1980 and 1990 in Malaysia, South Korea and the Philippines

(Ghosh, 2002). That is, the process of export-oriented feminization of workforce employment had begun and slowed down before the present crisis arose, although the crisis may have hastened the process whereby women workers are disproportionately prone to job loss because of the very nature of their employment contracts. According to the available data, the Special Economic Zones in India are nowhere close to other East Asian countries in terms of employing women (Graph 22).

Graph 22: Women workers in government/state and private Special Economic Zones, 2008



As per the more recent data, women's share in manufacturing in urban areas, where they are mostly located, has increased from 28.4 per cent in 1999-2000 to 33.6 per cent in 2004-05 whereas for men the share has remained almost the same (see earlier Table 15). However, if only principal status workers in manufacturing are considered, this recent increase is not that impressive compared to earlier years. What it suggests is that even as women workers in manufacturing are increasing, they are overwhelmingly being confined to subsidiary status.

As Ghosh points out, one feature that distinguishes the Indian export-oriented labour market from other Asian countries is the absence of open employment of women in export-oriented factories. Although the formal and informal workers' divide is increasingly getting blurred and women working from home for export-oriented products is on the rise in India, women here seem to be integrated in the global market through small, mostly household-based, units, which may be because of 'the relatively low position of many of India's export commodities in the international value chain' where profit maximization through cheap labour is of more concern rather than 'skill and quality considerations'. Ghosh substantiates her proposition with examples from the Tirupur Knitwear industry (Ghosh, 2002, pp 41-42).

Table 20: Women Workers in Special Economic Zones, 2008

States	State and private SEZs
Andhra Pradesh	6972
Chandigarh	1233
Goa	6
Gujarat	198
Haryana	221
Karnataka	9458
Kerala	779
Maharashtra	1109
Punjab	119
Rajasthan	4
Tamil Nadu	466
Uttar Pradesh	121
India	20686

Source: Department of Trade and Commerce, Government of India, March 2008.

The impact of the global meltdown is usually counted in terms of jobs lost involving multinationals, large corporate players and the like. It is true that units in the export-oriented sector (large enough to be captured in large-scale surveys) such as wearing apparel, and hotels and restaurants within the services sector, which are seen to be directly affected by the present economic slowdown, employ a very small section of women workers as a whole. And yet, it is the small producers who contribute much to exports through handlooms, textiles, wearing apparel, various types of agricultural products such as spices, and marine fisheries. Women workers are major participants in such small producing units. Often lost in pre- or post-production processes, they remain invisible. Closure of these units in the absence of lack of international demand and absence of any protection is likely to affect vulnerable workers in general and women workers in particular.¹⁴

There are indirect effects of the recessing economy on employment that do not necessarily manifest in large-scale data. Given the informal nature of emerging industrial employment in India, the workforce participation rates may continue to remain what they are or even rise (as has been the case with women workers) because most of the workers involved in this segment may not be in a position to afford quitting the jobs and losing their status as 'workers' even under worsening conditions. Several case studies and reports by organizations such as SEWA and independent scholars/researchers have documented numerous instances in which total days for which work used to be available have been reduced, but the work hours have been extended to compensate for fewer working days. Falling prices of produced goods, loss in petty and yet income-generating activities in which the most vulnerable groups such as rag-pickers and street vendors, etc., are engaged are common phenomena, with the result that many are forced to accept work much below nominal wages.

Another sector that has been hyped as potentially employment generating is that of software and IT-enabled services. The National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM) in its Strategic Report of February 2009 put the sector's direct employment at nearly 2.23 million while the sector's indirect job creation is estimated to touch 8 million. As a proportion of national GDP, the sector's revenues have grown from 1.2 per cent in the financial year 1998 to an estimated 5.8 per cent in 2009. The net value added by this sector to the economy is estimated at 3.5 to 4.1 per cent for the same year. The sector's share of total Indian exports (merchandise plus services) has increased from less than 4 per cent in 1998 to almost 16 per cent in 2008, wherein export revenues are estimated to gross USD 47.3 billion in 2009, accounting for 66 per cent of the total IT-BPO industry revenues. This incidentally does not include the employment potential of a wide range of IT-enabled services, including data entry and processing, medical transcription and back-office work subcontracted by multinational companies, where it is often argued that the scope for job expansion is even greater. However, even the most optimistic statements carry a fairly cautious note because of high levels of unemployment in developed countries which could slacken outsourcing of jobs to India (Times of India, 10th February 2010).

Undoubtedly, the absolute numbers in IT are large, but they accounted for slightly more than 2 per cent of the total workforce in the country as on 1 January 2009 (estimated to be 455.7 million on the basis of the NSS 61st Round Survey on Employment and Unemployment conducted during July 2004 to June 2005 and after adjusting for census population estimates at the state levels [unpublished communication]). Moreover, according to a report in the daily newspaper *Hindu* (9 March 2007), the IT and IT-enabled services sector claims to have about 18 per cent women employees.¹⁵

Given the earlier discussion on the quality of the workforce in general, and the share of additional women workers in particular, the critical question is: with their present capabilities, how many women are in a position to avail of the opportunities of this nature?

The role of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) in generating work for rural women warrants a separate analysis. Very briefly, however, despite increasing participation of women NREGS—from 41 per cent share in overall person-days in 2006-07 to 52 per cent as of July 2009—it is still comparatively lower than men. Also, women's high participation in certain states has pushed the national average up whereas in most of the states women's participation is very low. In general, the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are marked by greater participation in NREGS; north Indian states, except Rajasthan, are the poor performers. It is to be noticed that the states which are doing relatively better in this regard are the states where women have traditionally been participating in the public domain of work.

In Conclusion

The nuanced and complex texture of labour market participation by women is often inadequately understood and addressed in policy prescriptions. Despite increasing workforce participation, women's overarching location within the domestic sphere with unabated household obligations in the realm of reproductive and other household responsibilities continue to constrain their entry in formal labour markets. Even formally inducted women workers 'opt' to work at home, implying that entering a job market simply adds to women's overall workload in the absence of support structures at homes.¹⁶

However, home-based work keeps women away from all the benefits that formal work status should bestow upon them.

Although it is commonsensical to posit that poverty would push women to work, low participation rates amongst women characterize poor and rich states alike. Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are good examples. Such contradictions may arise due to inadequate conceptualization of what constitutes 'work' although regionally varying work participation rates point to a much deeper role of region-specific societal norms about status-linked withdrawal or negation of women's working as well as stereotypical constructs of women as homemakers combined with differential job opportunities available to them.

Ironically, the changing nature of labour market dynamics in the contemporary context seems to have become an ideal site for reframing women's position anew within the household sphere. After a secular decline in self-employment and a corresponding rise in casual work from the early 1970s to 1990s, the present-day scenario in India is marked by a sudden spurt in self-employment particularly for women workers, both rural and urban. As pointed out earlier, a much higher percentage of women as compared to their male counterparts work from home under product specification and other logistic support from employers, further restraining any possibilities of improving/enlarging their skills. These home-based, self-employed women workers are the 'invisible' link in the global value chain but remain characteristically outside any sort of security cover, making them one of the most vulnerable segments of workers in general. What is even more distressing is the observation that, with very few exceptions, the less developed states bear the disproportionate brunt.

How women respond to labour market demands depends upon what is happening to their men folk. Differential processes influencing changes in the labour market are in operation, although the outcomes appear to be comparable. In a situation of a progressively shrinking agricultural sector in terms of its capacity to absorb labour, which forces men in developed states such as Haryana and Himachal Pradesh to seek non-agricultural avenues, women seem to step in to fill the void thus created. In less developed states, however, women are forced to access and work on whatever little land they possess while men appropriate the limited non-farm jobs. Increase in women cultivators in rural areas particularly in poorer states seems to bear testimony to this proposition.

Increase in regular salaried women workers requires a closer probe. The question is whether this tag necessarily improves their working conditions or material well-being. As the earlier discussion shows, most of these salaried workers are confined to the lower rungs of job hierarchies or end up being domestic help in urban households where the working conditions may be worse than that for casual workers.

Although much of India's workforce is unskilled and largely uneducated, these conditions are further aggravated in case of women workers. Barring the rural areas where workforce participation rates have risen for illiterate women, illiteracy or semi-literacy act as barriers to entering the labour market for men in general and urban women in particular. Those with education up to elementary and middle levels as compared to those located at the tail end of the educational hierarchy-illiterate/lowly literate and highly educated-seem to have better chances of accessing the emerging job opportunities. A segment of urban women who are either graduate or have education beyond it are exceptions to this general observation, but their proportion in the entire stock of workers is rather small. That is, although globalizing India is experiencing an expanded labour market, the jobs that are being created are mostly

for lower level support services. Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that a very small section of privileged workers are in a position to appropriate the high-end employment opportunities.

Most of the illiterate workforce can be absorbed in agriculture, but that is problematic too on several counts. The agricultural sector already faces disguised unemployment. More importantly, in a scenario where education is on the rise, recent employment opportunities (even in rural settings) seem to warrant at least some educational attainment. It is also likely that with the spread of education, people aspire to move away from agriculture. Apart from requiring enabling conditions which include alternative arrangements for household work and support structures for child care, etc., women workers do not have diversified skill profiles and are usually bunched in what can be termed 'feminine tasks'. They lack access to educational avenues and skill-enhancing environs, which positions them at the lower end/low productive/low return jobs. Withholding these general comments, it is crucial to recognize that labour market dynamics are being played out differently in different regional contexts warranting measures that are contextualized to fit local conditions.

Export-oriented industries where the impact is directly visible do not necessarily employ women workers in large numbers, at least as compared to other countries in South Asia. Yet it can be argued that inflation, rising cost of living on account of both food and non-food items and privatization of essential services combined with commodification of free goods such as common property resources and the like have indirect bearing on women's lives. Those at the margins suffer as a whole, but women bear a disproportionate/added burden because regardless of entering the formal/informal labour market they remain primarily responsible for all the crucial aspects of daily survival of their families. Even as a small privileged section of women can access labour market opportunities, another cadre of women 'housemaids' has begun to take over their responsibilities without de-stabilizing the status quo in terms of who does what and what women's primary responsibilities at home are.¹⁷

Whether or not the recent economic slowdown has had an impact on women is an ambivalent question in that the workforce participation rate of women workers in exclusively export-oriented units is too small to get affected. However, one can argue that women have become the indirect 'shock absorbers' (in a manner of speaking) of the recent happenings in the labour market. It is about time that the perception of being 'hit' by the recent market processes is expanded to include the so-called 'supplementary' women earners and their struggle (even as they remain 'invisible' in the statistics), and they be seen as partners in their own right and receive their full entitlements as citizens.

Thus, creating new job opportunities alone may not necessarily improve women's material conditions. Apart from the protective measures in the informal sector, several strategic interventions by the State are required in terms of a) valuing women as workers in their own right and b) intensifying concerted efforts to raise their educational and skill levels beyond the so-called 'feminine' avenues so that the job-pool widens for them and c) creating support structures to ease their household work burden. These may be seen as immediately 'doable' measures. There are other more complicated issues such as entrenched mindsets, value systems and subjugating discourses within which women are compelled to operate. They require sustained questioning and addressing from a much larger social milieu and proactive actions by a variety of players and civil society members.

Notes

- ¹ An interesting debate, particularly in the context of globalizing India, is about enhanced opportunities and public and private resources being appropriated by a select few such as those in the IT sector at the expense of other sectors which employ women in greater numbers (Mitter and Sen, 2000).
- ² The National Sample Survey (NSS) Organisation carries out quinquennial surveys on employment and unemployment and covers more than 100,000 households and 500,000 individuals throughout the country. The survey covers socio-economic and demographic characteristics, employment and unemployment characteristics, and provides information on wages. The latest year for which data are available is 2004-05.
- ³ The sharp increase in workforce participation rates in 2004-05 has been a matter of debate. Scholars point out that the base year 1999-2000 was a particularly bad year which had witnessed lower workforce participation rates as compared to longer-term trend values, partly because of the relatively poor performance of agriculture in that year. Thus, the 'increased' workforce participation rate in 2004-05 over 1999-2000 is what can be termed a 'statistical phenomenon'. However, given the demographic dividend which is characterized by the increase in 'working age cohort' of the population, it is generally conceded that a part of the unexpectedly high employment growth rate between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 is real. It is important to note that the recent rising workforce participation rate is accompanied by substantially higher unemployment rates. This contradiction arises because the pace at which work opportunities are being created is not in sync with the pace at which the young working age group is growing (Bhalla, n.d.; Kundu and Mohanan, 2009).
- ⁴ The Indian experience shows that in certain parts of the country, even among the poorest of the poor, women's participation in the public domain of work is overwhelmingly conditioned by prevailing socio-cultural constructs that see working women as a direct threat to the family's honour and the concept of masculinity that assigns the role of family provider to men and their domination of women. Increasingly it has been argued that gendered locations and their characteristics are the result of distinct, though interlocking, social relations and processes and that women's experience of poverty is mediated through social relations of gender. This implies that it is only by looking at context can we deduce whether social relations of gender act to exacerbate or relieve scarcity (Kabeer, 1996, 1997). The much commented upon divide between the northern Indian plains and the south are cases in point. The available quantitative and qualitative data clearly show that the more patriarchal north is characterized by low level of workforce participation of women across religious, ethnic and economic strata whereas in the relatively more gender-liberal south the level of workforce is much higher and compares well across class categories, i.e., the poor and the rich. It must, however, be pointed out that these north-south distinctions are being slowly obliterated in terms of popular practices, such as preference for sons.
- ⁵ It is of interest to note that where the growth rate of male/female workers in urban areas is concerned, the correlation between the two is 0.58, implying some kind of structural impetus therein. The corresponding rural rates do not have any such association, with a correlation value of - 0.3, which is not significant.

- ⁶ The NSS does not report cultivators and labourers separately for agriculture. Hence, to obtain an estimate, self-employed workers in agriculture have been considered as cultivators and wage workers as labourers.
- ⁷ Unorganized enterprises constituting the unorganized sector have no legal status of their own (except the owner) with small size of employment and low capital intensity and labour productivity. Unorganized workers consist of those working in unorganized enterprises or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits, and workers in the formal sector without any employment/social security benefits (no protection against accidents, no maternity and healthcare benefits, no pension, etc.) provided by employers (NCEUS, 2007).
- ⁸ Kundu and Mohanan (2009) talk of the changing nature of the informal sector, which is now quite different from what the sector used to be in the 1980s and 1990s when it was dominated by illiterate and unskilled workers. Most of these workers belonged to the poor segments of the population. As such, the informal sector had a significant impact on poverty reduction. The contemporary informal sector in contrast has opened up more opportunities on a daily/weekly basis rather than on a sustained basis. Also, the informal sector is much more heterogeneous in terms of composition of workers. Their status and occupational diversification have little to do with poverty alleviation. They call this process 'formalization' of the informal sector.
- ⁹ Scholarly evidence shows that the non-farm sector cannot emerge without support of the vibrant agricultural sector, whereas small rural enterprises are not very effective in terms of generating employment. More importantly, however, whether one is able to access the available non-farm opportunities or not is contingent upon individual and household characteristics such as education and landholdings, which further restrict the most disadvantaged in rural settings from availing them. Not surprisingly, the states under discussion in this section do not account for more than 25 to 33 per cent of total income from non-farm sources (see, Lanjouw and Shariff, 2000).
- ¹⁰ In order to examine this, first the total number of workers added in 2004-05 to the base year 1990-2000 was taken into account. This was followed by looking at how the added workers were distributed across educational levels as a percentage of overall increase in the workers over the period 1999-2000 to 2004-05. Calculated thus, one will see which categories of workers in terms of educational levels have grown relatively faster as compared to workers as a whole.
- ¹¹ Singh (2003) in his case studies of hybrid cottonseed production in Andhra Pradesh and vegetable farming in Punjab had examined the labour conditions in contract farming in India to argue that agriculture is increasingly becoming 'feminized' as men move out of the sector more quickly than women and as women become the preferred labour type for many employers.
- ¹² 'In the education sector the occupational segregation is very clear. Men are prominently in the higher education sector, and women in rural areas are mainly in pre-primary. A lot of them are likely to be aganwadi workers, ayahs, etc. In urban areas, women workers are prominently primary school teachers.' (NCEUS, 2007: 84) Although a substantial percentage of regular women workers in the age group 15 to 59 years in urban India, as per 2004-05 data, were employed in education, as high as 55 per cent were in primary education and another 3.4 per cent were in adult and other education.

- ¹³ As pointed out by Ghosh (2002), how can the notion of decent conditions of work be actualized given the chances of self-exploitation of workers in the absence of a direct employer? How are, what she calls, 'living wages' to be realized when wages are not received at all by such workers, who instead depend upon uncertain returns from various activities that are typically petty in nature?
- ¹⁴ In a front page coverage, the leading newspaper, Times of India (February 10th 2010, page 1), calls it a myth 'that the global financial crisis left India virtually unscathed'. Quoting from the data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs'(UNDESA), it further notes that India is the biggest victim of financial crisis-induced. The UNDESA data estimates that the number of India's poor was 33.6 million higher in 2009 than would have been the case if the growth rates of the years from 2004 to 2007 had been maintained. In 2009 alone, an estimated 13.6 million more people in India became poor or remained in poverty than would have been the case at 2008 growth rates. In other words, while a dip from the 8.8 per cent growth in GDP averaged from 2004-05 to 2006-07 to the 6.7 per cent estimated for 2008-09 may be nothing like the recession faced by the West, its human consequences for India were probably worse. The 2.1 per cent decline in India's GDP growth rate has effectively translated into a 2.8 per cent increase in the incidence of poverty. The report attributes this increase in poverty to a combination of reduced household incomes, rising unemployment and pressure on public services.
- ¹⁵ IT/IT-enabled services do occupy the major share of women workers. As per March 2008, in SEZs, for example, about 60 per cent of a total of 20,686 women were in this sector followed by multi-products (13 per cent), footwear (9 per cent), textile (8 per cent) and gems and jewellery (6 per cent). The IT/IT-enabled services sector excludes the figure of Tamil Nadu as the male-female differences are not available.(Data sourced from the Department of Trade and Commerce, Government of India.)
- ¹⁶ Of those aged 15 years and above and engaged in household work as usual activity, 55 per cent in rural areas and 58 per cent in urban areas were compelled to be at home because there was '*no other member to carry out the domestic duties*'; another 20 per cent women in rural areas and 18 per cent in urban areas remained outside the formal work sphere because of '*social and/or religious constraints*' (NSSO, 2004).
- ¹⁷ However, it is not always possible to employ outside labour as substitutes. It is therefore not surprising that according to 2004-05 data, 33 per cent of rural women and 27 per cent of urban women aged 15 and above who were usually engaged in domestic duties but were available for 'work' wanted it on the household premises. Of them, about 72 per cent in rural areas and 68 per cent in urban areas preferred only 'part-time' work on a regular basis, while the percentages of such women preferring regular 'full-time' work were 23 and 28 in rural and urban India respectively.

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Annexures

Annexure I: Growth rate of workers (15-59 years) by sex and location, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	1.6	2.3	1.9	-0.4	2.4	0.3	1.0	2.3	1.5
Assam	4.7	10.6	6.0	0.2	1.0	0.3	4.1	9.9	5.3
Bihar	1.9	2.6	2.0	-0.6	2.1	-0.3	1.5	2.5	1.8
Delhi	-17.7	-4.3	-17.1	5.4	1.0	4.9	2.2	0.7	2.1
Goa	-1.8	2.2	-0.8	-6.9	3.7	-4.8	-4.4	2.8	-2.7
Gujarat	2.9	2.5	2.7	5.1	4.5	5.0	3.7	2.8	3.4
Haryana	5.0	13.0	7.5	3.5	7.8	4.1	4.5	12.2	6.5
Himachal Pradesh	3.5	3.5	3.5	10.7	13.6	11.3	4.4	3.9	4.1
Jammu & Kashmir	-3.1	-5.5	-3.9	5.9	12.2	6.7	-0.9	-4.1	-1.8
Karnataka	1.1	3.8	2.2	5.2	3.3	4.8	2.4	3.7	2.9
Kerala	3.7	4.8	4.1	1.6	-1.2	0.8	3.1	3.4	3.2
Madhya Pradesh	3.3	3.1	3.2	2.6	3.4	2.7	3.1	3.1	3.1
Maharashtra	1.9	2.1	2.0	3.3	8.8	4.4	2.5	3.5	2.9
Orissa	3.9	4.2	4.0	-0.5	-2.3	-0.9	3.2	3.6	3.3
Punjab	3.9	5.7	4.5	3.2	4.1	3.4	3.7	5.4	4.1
Rajasthan	4.8	6.4	5.4	6.3	12.8	7.7	5.2	7.1	5.9
Tamil Nadu	-1.3	0.8	-0.4	3.0	3.7	3.2	0.5	1.5	0.9
Uttar Pradesh	2.5	6.4	3.6	3.0	5.0	3.3	2.6	6.2	3.6
West Bengal	2.3	3.9	2.6	7.0	11.4	7.8	3.6	5.5	4.0
North-eastern States	5.6	8.2	6.5	5.1	7.4	5.8	5.5	8.1	6.3
Union Territories	-1.2	4.3	0.4	3.9	1.1	3.3	1.9	2.6	2.1
India	2.4	3.8	2.9	3.3	5.0	3.7	2.7	4.0	3.1

Note: Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal (now Uttarakhand) merged with Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and Uttar Pradesh respectively in 2004-5.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure II: Share of women workers (15-59 years) across industry by sector and sex,
Share of Workers (15- 59) years in Agriculture & Allied Industries across Sector by Sex, 2004-05

State	Male			Female			Total		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
J&K	93.7	6.3	100.0	92.9	7.1	100.0	93.3	6.7	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	99.3	**	100.0	98.5	1.5	100.0	98.8	1.2	100.0
Punjab	96.0	4.0	100.0	96.4	3.6	100.0	96.2	3.8	100.0
Uttaranchal	95.9	4.1	100.0	96.9	3.1	100.0	96.5	3.5	100.0
Haryana	94.1	5.9	100.0	94.8	5.2	100.0	94.5	5.5	100.0
Rajasthan	96.0	4.0	100.0	94.1	5.9	100.0	94.9	5.1	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	96.8	3.2	100.0	95.9	4.1	100.0	96.4	3.6	100.0
Bihar	97.5	2.5	100.0	97.2	2.8	100.0	97.4	2.6	100.0
Assam	99.3	0.7	100.0	99.4	**	100.0	99.3	0.7	100.0
West Bengal	98.3	1.7	100.0	98.2	**	100.0	98.3	1.7	100.0
Jharkhand	97.9	2.1	100.0	96.5	3.5	100.0	97.3	2.7	100.0
Orissa	97.7	2.3	100.0	97.2	2.8	100.0	97.5	2.5	100.0
Chhatisgarh	97.9	2.1	100.0	97.7	2.3	100.0	97.8	2.2	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	96.3	3.7	100.0	96.4	3.6	100.0	96.3	3.7	100.0
Gujarat	96.8	3.2	100.0	96.9	3.1	100.0	96.9	3.1	100.0
Maharashtra	95.1	4.9	100.0	95.5	4.5	100.0	95.3	4.7	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	96.2	3.8	100.0	96.0	4.0	100.0	96.1	3.9	100.0
Karnataka	96.4	3.6	100.0	96.4	3.6	100.0	96.4	3.6	100.0
Kerala	89.3	10.7	100.0	91.8	8.2	100.0	90.4	9.6	100.0
Tamil Nadu	92.5	7.5	100.0	93.6	6.4	100.0	93.1	6.9	100.0
North-eastern States	94.8	5.2	100.0	95.5	4.5	100.0	95.1	4.9	100.0
Union Territories, Delhi, Goa	83.2	16.8	100.0	93.7	6.3	100.0	87.3	12.7	100.0
India	96.4	3.6	100.0	96.0	4.0	100.0	96.3	3.7	100.0

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure III: Illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 years) by sex and location, 2004-05

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	56.6	82.5	68.2	29.1	61.3	37.8	48.8	79.2	61.1
Assam	37.9	52.1	41.5	18.3	28.0	19.7	35.7	50.6	39.3
Bihar	54.5	90.9	62.3	29.1	78.7	34.5	51.8	90.3	59.7
Chhattisgarh	48.5	80.5	62.9	18.7	57.7	27.5	43.2	78.8	58.1
Gujarat	38.4	70.6	51.4	15.8	37.6	19.7	29.9	65.2	41.7
Haryana	32.7	66.2	44.7	18.9	37.1	22.1	28.4	61.9	38.7
Himachal Pradesh	24.4	43.6	33.8	28.7	39.3	31.0	25.1	43.4	33.5
Jammu & Kashmir	39.7	62.1	46.8	30.3	32.3	30.6	37.0	58.4	42.8
Jharkhand	55.1	87.7	66.9	16.6	50.6	23.0	48.0	84.5	60.2
Karnataka	50.8	73.6	60.3	17.5	41.9	22.9	39.4	68.2	49.8
Kerala	14.4	22.8	17.2	8.9	17.8	11.3	12.9	21.8	15.7
Madhya Pradesh	53.7	87.5	66.5	22.0	48.7	27.4	45.4	82.5	58.0
Maharashtra	31.0	59.3	43.5	14.6	31.5	18.3	23.3	52.6	33.8
North-Eastern States	39.8	55.8	45.3	14.8	21.7	16.8	34.9	50.5	40.2
Orissa	52.6	81.8	63.1	28.1	58.4	34.1	48.9	80.1	59.5
Punjab	38.7	51.3	43.1	21.5	25.4	22.1	32.2	46.5	36.4
Rajasthan	50.2	86.9	66.2	29.7	67.0	38.8	44.6	84.2	60.1
Tamil Nadu	38.8	65.1	50.5	16.4	38.0	22.4	28.9	57.7	39.8
Union Territories	23.5	47.2	28.9	16.8	32.2	18.8	17.7	35.7	20.3
Uttar Pradesh	44.5	83.3	56.7	30.6	61.8	35.3	41.0	80.9	52.1
Uttaranchal	29.3	57.8	42.6	20.2	35.8	22.9	26.5	55.7	38.2
West Bengal	47.7	71.0	53.1	21.1	38.0	24.3	39.7	63.0	44.8
India	45.0	73.8	55.5	20.9	43.6	25.6	37.7	68.8	47.8

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure IV: Sector-wise illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 years) 2004-05

State	Primary			Secondary			Tertiary		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	All
Andhra Pradesh	64.2	87.0	75.4	43.3	65.9	50.8	28.5	58.6	36.5
Arunachal Pradesh	67.1	78.6	72.6	34.5	67.1	41.4	17.5	31.1	19.4
Assam	40.1	52.3	43.8	35.0	55.5	38.2	26.9	36.6	28.0
Bihar	55.8	92.7	64.7	59.3	86.0	64.1	35.8	67.5	38.3
Chhattisgarh	52.8	81.2	66.7	34.4	78.8	44.8	17.0	41.5	21.1
Gujarat	43.8	71.9	57.0	20.8	45.6	25.4	17.1	40.2	20.8
Haryana	39.1	66.8	53.4	27.6	48.8	29.4	18.5	35.9	20.8
Himachal Pradesh	26.5	45.1	38.9	35.1	52.2	36.9	11.8	19.9	13.4
Jammu & Kashmir	49.7	60.9	54.7	44.8	70.8	48.0	16.4	13.7	16.2
Jharkhand	58.2	88.0	71.6	51.7	83.6	57.7	21.7	42.2	24.1
Karnataka	56.2	77.5	65.6	26.8	48.8	33.1	17.8	36.7	21.7
Kerala	22.7	28.9	25.4	10.9	17.6	12.7	8.4	15.6	10.2
Madhya Pradesh	56.4	88.4	69.4	42.5	74.0	51.4	20.2	40.4	23.3
Maharashtra	36.5	61.3	49.1	21.3	39.8	25.1	10.8	24.5	13.7
North-eastern States	42.7	58.6	49.1	39.5	38.2	39.2	25.2	43.1	27.3
Orissa	58.6	85.4	69.2	52.0	78.1	60.9	24.7	43.4	27.7
Punjab	46.0	54.2	49.9	31.3	22.1	30.4	20.0	22.6	20.4
Rajasthan	54.4	87.5	72.5	51.2	78.3	57.1	23.4	52.8	27.0
Tamil Nadu	48.1	71.2	59.7	23.4	44.2	30.1	15.1	34.6	20.0
Union Territories	35.4	64.6	46.8	26.6	44.8	28.2	18.0	35.5	21.7
Uttar Pradesh	45.2	84.6	60.5	45.1	76.9	50.2	29.8	50.2	32.0
Uttaranchal	30.9	59.2	47.3	35.6	38.8	35.9	16.2	22.3	17.0
West Bengal	53.5	78.6	59.1	35.5	59.4	42.4	24.4	37.1	26.4
India	50.1	76.7	61.5	35.0	58.0	40.3	20.9	37.9	23.9

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure V: Growth rate of illiterate and below primary educated workers (15-59 years) by location and sex, 1999-2000 to 2004-05

State	Male			Female		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Andhra Pradesh	-0.9	-2.4	-1.2	1.0	0.2	0.9
Assam	1.8	0.6	1.7	5.0	-1.9	4.7
Bihar	-1.0	-6.3	-1.4	1.6	-1.6	1.4
Gujarat	0.0	-0.2	-0.1	0.9	0.2	0.9
Haryana	3.7	2.3	3.4	10.9	5.1	10.3
Himachal Pradesh	0.5	26.5	3.0	-0.9	23.1	-0.4
Jammu & Kashmir	-4.2	17.9	-1.0	-8.0	12.9	-7.2
Karnataka	0.3	0.8	0.4	1.4	1.5	1.4
Kerala	-0.5	-1.2	-0.6	-1.6	0.6	-1.2
Madhya Pradesh	0.9	-2.3	0.5	2.1	-3.2	1.7
Maharashtra	-2.2	0.7	-1.4	-1.2	5.4	-0.4
North-eastern States	3.4	4.3	3.5	7.6	7.9	7.6
Orissa	-0.5	-5.4	-1.0	1.7	-6.2	1.2
Punjab	0.7	-1.1	0.2	1.3	-4.8	0.6
Rajasthan	2.7	11.2	4.0	5.0	13.9	5.8
Tamil Nadu	-3.1	0.0	-2.3	-1.3	0.2	-1.1
Union Territories	-14.0	3.3	-1.5	-0.4	4.3	2.7
Uttar Pradesh	0.4	-0.5	0.2	5.0	2.9	4.8
West Bengal	-0.6	1.6	-0.3	1.1	4.4	1.5
Total	-0.2	0.1	-0.1	1.9	1.9	1.9

Note: Cases not reporting educational level in 1999-2000 have been included in totals but not in any educational category.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure VI: Percentage and growth rate of graduates and above educated workers (15-59 years)
in urban India, 1999-2000 and 2004-05

State	1999-2000			2004-05			Growth rate 1999-2000 to 2004-05		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	18.0	9.6	15.9	15.4	9.5	13.8	-3.5	2.3	-2.5
Arunachal Pradesh	17.9	**	17.6	18.4	**	16.1	14.5	**	12.8
Assam	19.9	27.4	21.0	20.0	21.2	20.2	0.3	-4.0	-0.5
Bihar	22.4	10.2	20.9	23.7	11.7	22.0	0.5	5.1	0.8
Gujarat	15.4	13.5	15.1	15.4	10.1	14.4	5.1	-1.5	4.1
Haryana	15.3	18.1	15.7	16.0	19.0	16.5	4.4	8.9	5.2
Himachal Pradesh	28.1	26.7	27.8	15.2	17.7	15.7	-2.1	4.7	-0.7
Jammu & Kashmir	18.0	27.0	18.9	9.9	19.5	11.2	-6.0	5.1	-3.9
Karnataka	18.3	14.2	17.4	16.5	11.0	15.3	3.0	-2.0	2.1
Kerala	10.0	9.8	9.9	12.1	20.2	14.2	5.6	14.2	8.4
Madhya Pradesh	18.5	9.4	16.7	20.6	14.9	19.4	4.8	13.3	5.9
Maharashtra	15.3	17.6	15.7	16.0	19.1	16.7	4.3	10.6	5.7
Orissa	14.1	6.5	12.5	17.2	**	16.6	3.5	**	5.0
Punjab	12.7	16.0	13.2	14.3	33.0	17.5	5.8	20.3	9.3
Rajasthan	18.1	12.4	17.0	15.0	10.1	13.8	2.4	8.3	3.3
Tamil Nadu	14.0	11.3	13.3	16.6	11.6	15.2	6.6	4.1	6.1
Uttar Pradesh	16.1	17.1	16.2	17.1	13.5	16.6	4.3	0.1	3.7
West Bengal	20.4	15.1	19.6	18.3	16.8	18.0	4.7	13.7	6.0
North-east	49.4	48.1	49.0	20.0	20.9	20.3	-12.3	-9.1	-11.4
Union Territories, Delhi, Goa	57.7	56.3	57.5	24.0	36.8	25.7	-12.1	-7.1	-11.3
Total	17.2	14.5	16.7	17.2	15.2	16.8	3.3	6.1	3.8

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

**Annexure VII: Growth rate of self-employed and wage workers in agriculture (15-59 years),
1999-2000 to 2004-05**

State	Male			Female			Total		
	Self Employed	Wage Worker	Total	Self Employed	Wage Worker	Total	Self Employed	Wage Worker	Total
Andhra Pradesh	-0.4	-1.0	-0.7	2.9	-0.3	0.9	1.1	-0.7	0.1
Assam	9.1	-1.8	6.0	19.0	1.5	12.7	11.5	-0.8	7.8
Bihar	4.1	-5.2	0.0	10.6	-5.3	2.7	5.8	-5.3	0.8
Gujarat	1.2	3.0	2.0	2.5	0.6	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.9
Haryana	1.5	-0.1	1.1	12.7	12.1	12.6	6.8	3.2	6.1
Himachal Pradesh	1.4	2.5	1.4	2.5	**	2.5	2.1	2.8	2.1
Jammu & Kashmir	-7.8	-6.7	-7.7	-5.7	**	-5.7	-6.9	-6.8	-6.9
Karnataka	-0.2	1.6	0.7	3.9	2.7	3.2	1.4	2.1	1.8
Kerala	2.9	-0.5	0.9	2.0	0.7	1.6	2.4	-0.1	1.2
Madhya Pradesh	3.0	0.2	1.9	3.9	1.0	2.6	3.4	0.6	2.2
Maharashtra	4.3	-1.2	1.4	4.7	-1.1	1.6	4.5	-1.2	1.5
North-eastern States	10.4	8.4	10.2	9.0	8.5	8.9	9.8	8.5	9.7
Orissa	5.0	-4.3	0.3	9.6	-4.2	2.4	6.7	-4.3	1.1
Punjab	0.1	0.2	0.1	4.9	7.5	5.0	2.7	1.0	2.3
Rajasthan	2.8	0.5	2.6	6.0	7.8	6.1	4.5	3.5	4.4
Tamil Nadu	0.8	-3.9	-2.2	6.2	-3.2	0.1	3.4	-3.6	-1.1
Uttar Pradesh	2.0	-4.4	0.6	9.0	-3.8	6.6	4.6	-4.2	2.7
West Bengal	4.0	-0.9	1.2	8.8	2.5	5.5	5.0	-0.3	2.1
Union Territories & Delhi Goa	-6.8	-6.2	-6.6	-3.6	-1.3	-2.9	-5.5	-4.7	-5.2
India	2.6	-1.7	0.8	6.1	-0.7	3.3	4.0	-1.3	1.8

Note:

i. Agriculture includes agriculture and allied activities namely agriculture, fishing, forestry, plantation; Wage Workers in agriculture = Regular Workers + Casual Workers in agriculture; Self-employed Workers in agriculture = Own Account Workers + Unpaid Family Labour + Employer in agriculture.

ii. Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure VIII: Share of workers (15-59 years) in agriculture and allied activities and non-agricultural activities in urban India, 2004-05

State	Male			Female			Total		
	A&A	NA	Total	A&A	NA	Total	A&A	NA	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	8.1	91.9	100.0	46.6	53.4	100.0	13.4	86.6	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	**	98.3	100.0	26.8	73.2	100.0	7.0	93.0	100.0
Punjab	3.6	96.4	100.0	14.8	85.2	100.0	5.5	94.5	100.0
Uttaranchal	5.7	94.3	100.0	28.8	71.2	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0
Haryana	6.5	93.5	100.0	28.4	71.6	100.0	10.3	89.7	100.0
Rajasthan	6.4	93.6	100.0	34.8	65.2	100.0	13.4	86.6	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	6.3	93.7	100.0	28.7	71.3	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0
Bihar	16.3	83.7	100.0	47.1	52.9	100.0	19.6	80.4	100.0
Assam	3.9	96.1	100.0	**	92.4	100.0	4.4	95.6	100.0
West Bengal	2.6	97.4	100.0	**	96.7	100.0	2.7	97.3	100.0
Jharkhand	5.5	94.5	100.0	32.9	67.1	100.0	10.6	89.4	100.0
Orissa	8.5	91.5	100.0	27.3	72.7	100.0	12.2	87.8	100.0
Chattisgarh	7.7	92.3	100.0	27.7	72.3	100.0	12.2	87.8	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	8.5	91.5	100.0	22.3	77.7	100.0	11.2	88.8	100.0
Gujarat	3.7	96.3	100.0	14.5	85.5	100.0	5.7	94.3	100.0
Maharashtra	4.1	95.9	100.0	13.2	86.8	100.0	6.1	93.9	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	6.4	93.6	100.0	17.5	82.5	100.0	9.4	90.6	100.0
Karnataka	5.4	94.6	100.0	15.5	84.5	100.0	7.6	92.4	100.0
Kerala	10.2	89.8	100.0	16.8	83.2	100.0	11.9	88.1	100.0
Tamil Nadu	5.8	94.2	100.0	13.4	86.6	100.0	7.9	92.1	100.0
North-eastern States	14.1	85.9	100.0	19.9	80.1	100.0	15.8	84.2	100.0
Union Territories, Delhi, Goa	0.7	99.3	100.0	1.1	98.9	100.0	0.8	99.2	100.0
India	5.5	94.5	100.0	17.6	82.4	100.0	8.0	92.0	100.0

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

A&A = Agricultural and Allied; NA = Non-agricultural

Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

Annexure IX: Unpaid family workers (15-59 years) in non-agricultural self-employed home based workers in urban India, 1999-2000 and 2004-05³

State	1999-2000			2004-2005		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	16.6	51.3	33.7	26.7	52.3	40.6
Bihar	22.9	43.4	27.9	12.6	44.3	20.6
Gujarat	16.3	32.9	23.9	18.3	34.0	27.2
Karnataka	20.6	37.4	29.1	24.3	53.6	38.6
Kerala	**	20.0	15.7	**	**	16.8
Madhya Pradesh	24.8	42.2	31.2	19.7	45.3	30.1
Maharashtra	17.9	25.8	21.4	19.5	26.5	22.7
North-eastern States	13.2	28.0	21.8	**	38.0	28.4
Orissa	23.9	57.4	40.1	27.8	43.1	33.0
Punjab	24.0	32.3	26.3	22.5	**	19.8
Rajasthan	24.3	26.7	25.3	17.9	29.8	24.4
Tamil Nadu	18.5	40.7	30.5	21.3	38.0	31.0
Union Territories	17.2	36.1	23.3	**	20.5	15.9
Uttar Pradesh	30.8	50.9	37.7	28.2	58.5	37.8
West Bengal	14.4	26.1	18.9	14.5	18.6	16.5
Total	21.3	38.4	28.5	21.6	37.5	28.9

Note: Asterisks indicate inadequate samples.

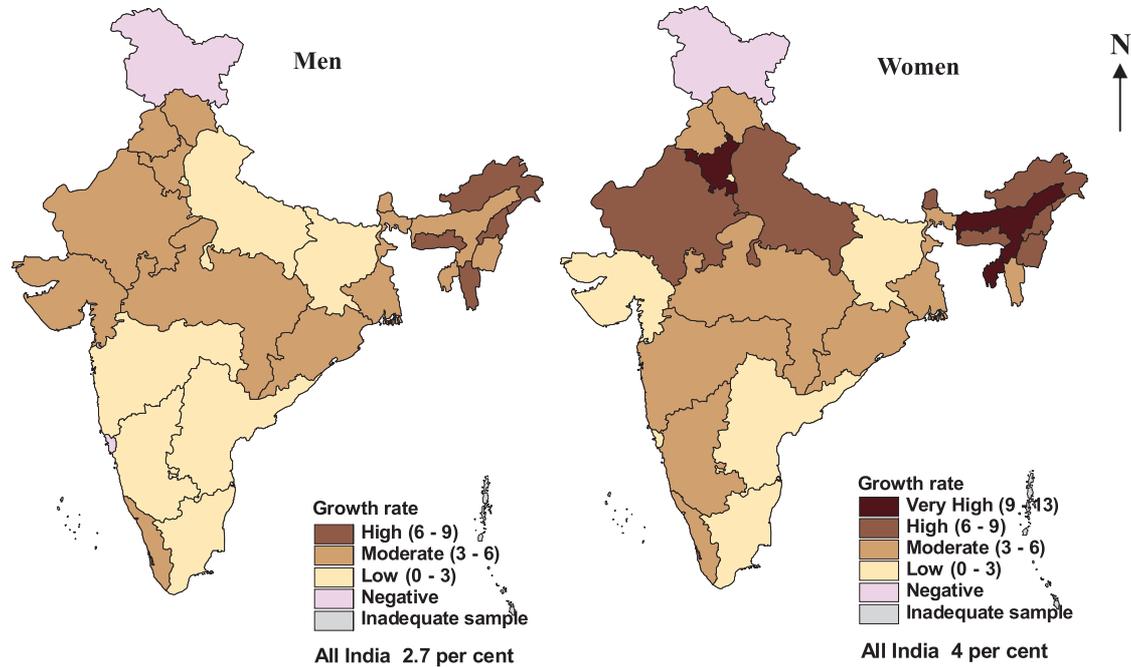
Source: Computed using NSS unit level data on Employment and Unemployment, 55th Round, Schedules 10 & 10.1, 1999-2000 and 61st Round, Schedule 10, 2004-05.

India: Base Map 2001



Map Not to Scale

Growth Rate of All Workers (15 – 59 years), 1999/2000 – 2004/2005

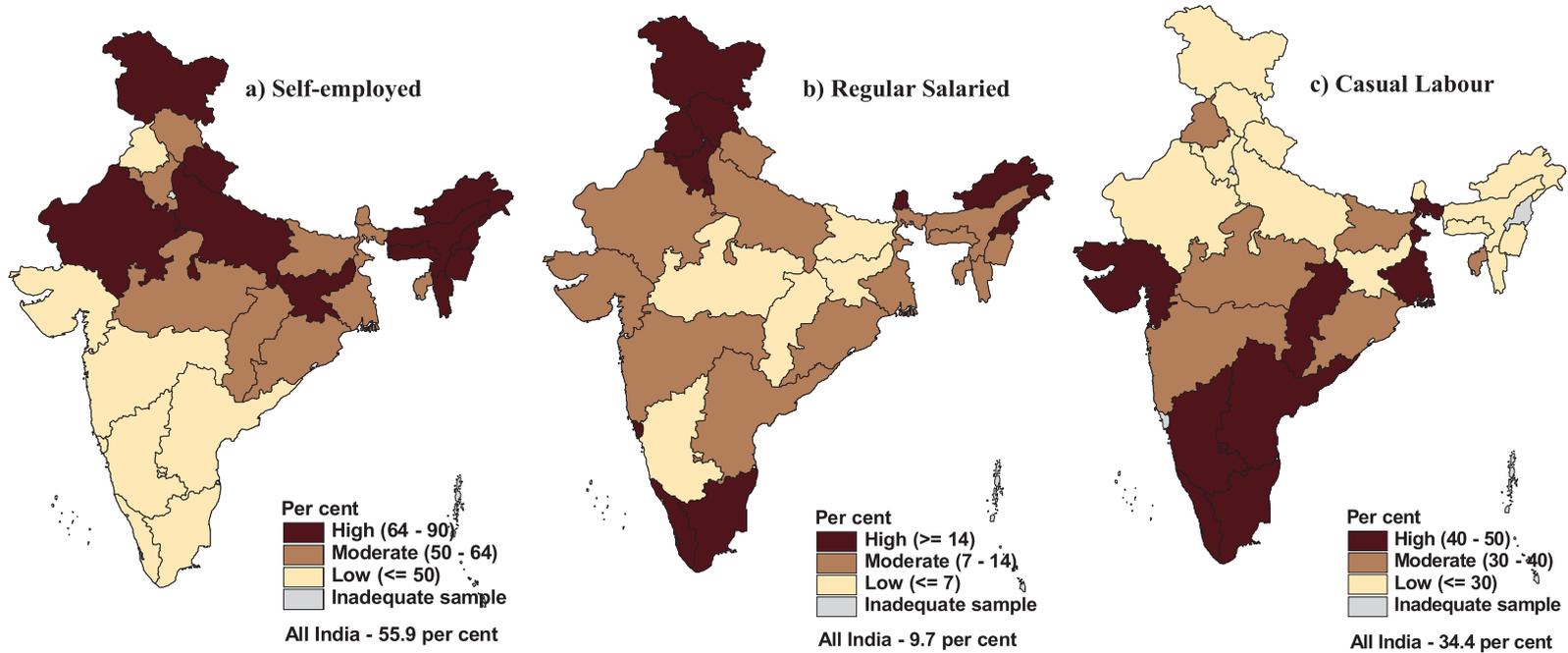


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Male Workers across Employment Status (15 – 59 years) in Rural India, 2004-2005

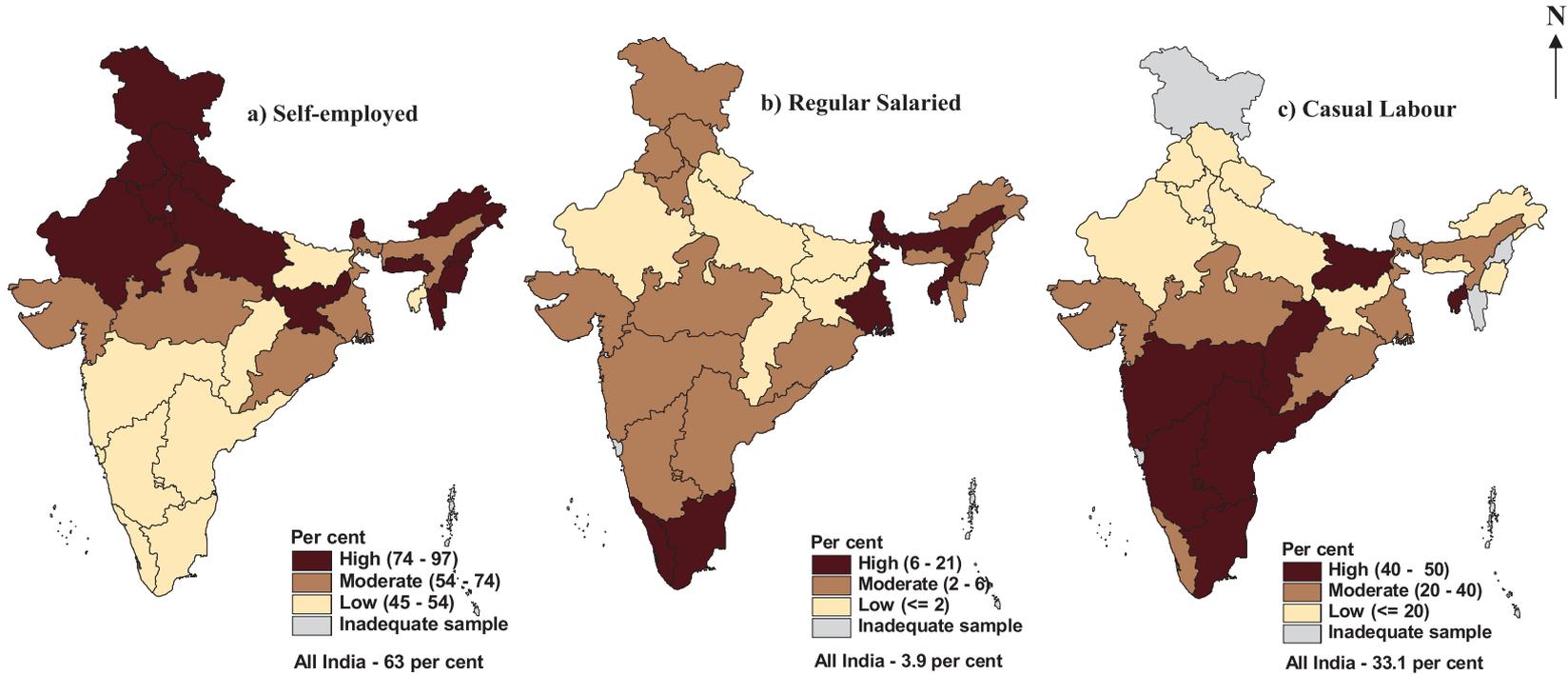


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Women Workers across Employment Status (15 – 59 years) in Rural India, 2004-2005

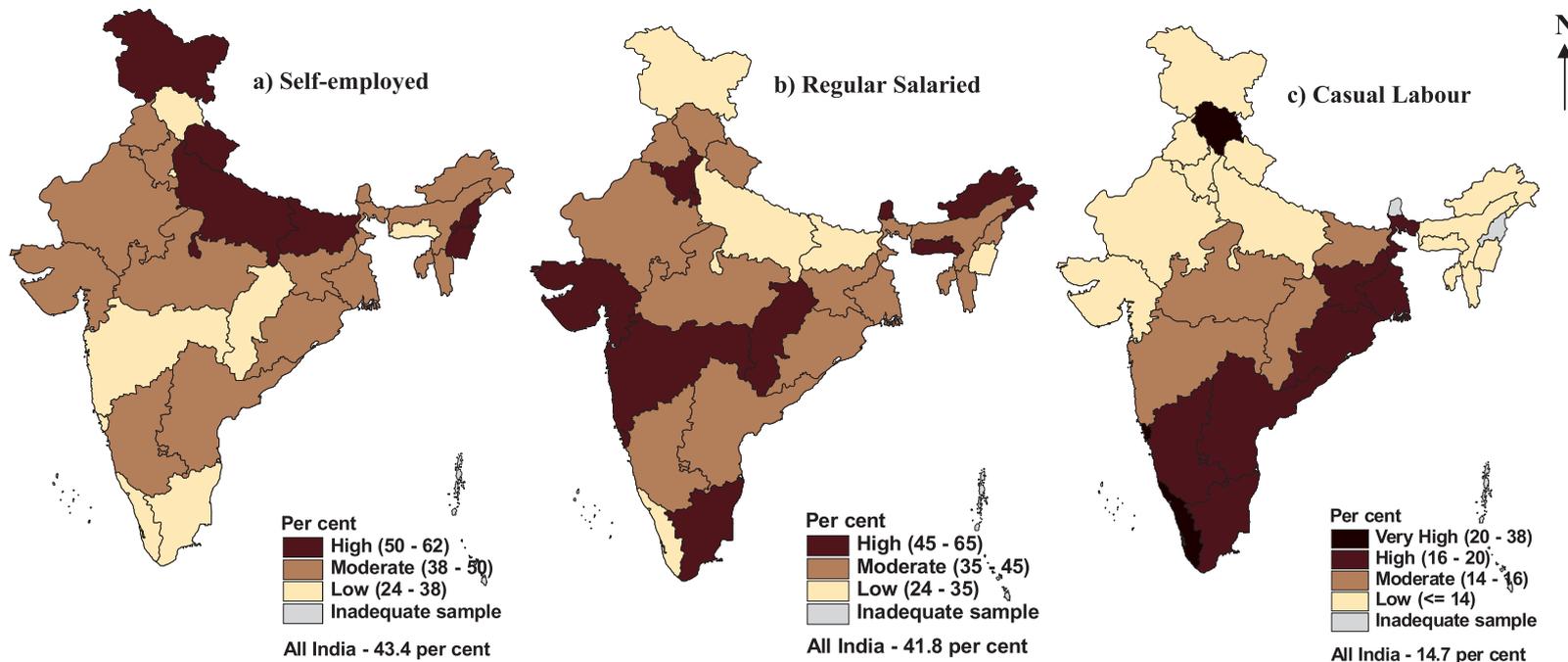


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

Male Workers across Employment Status (15 – 59 years) in Urban India: 2004-2005

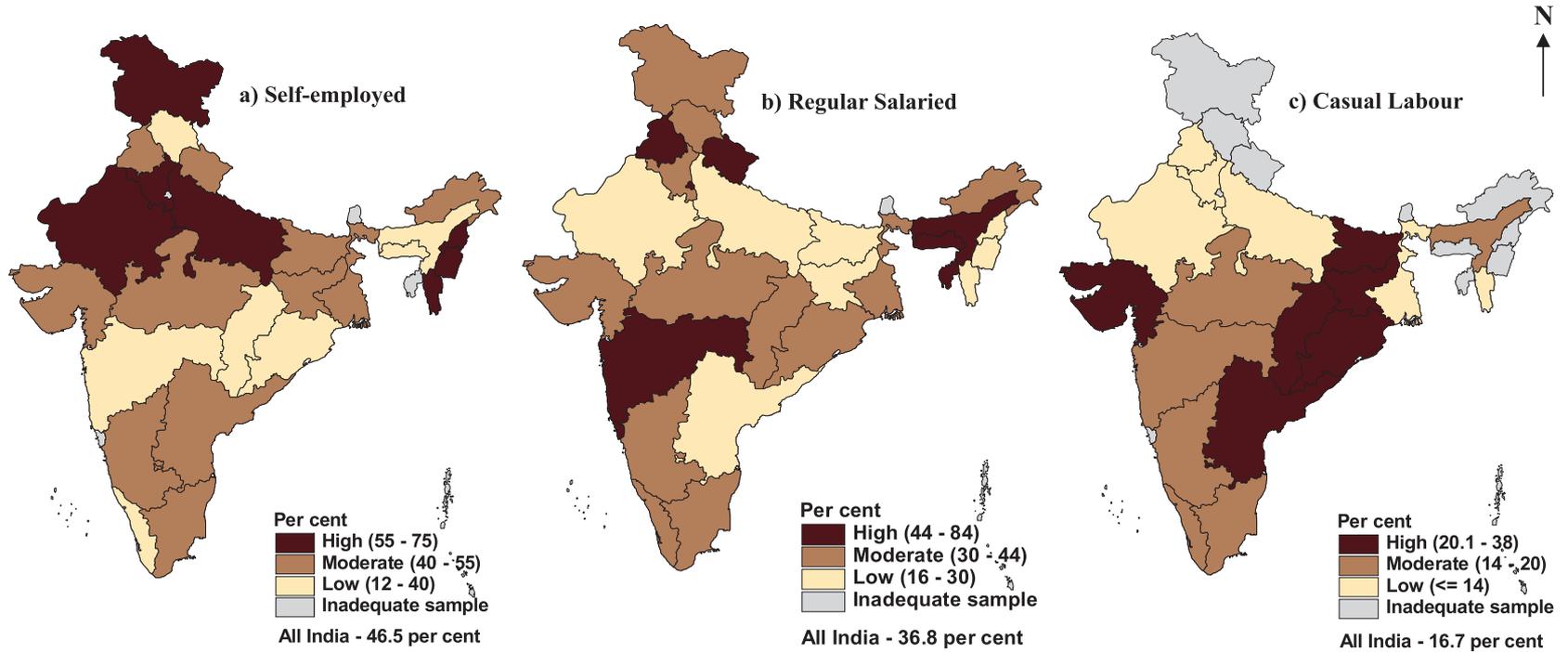


Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds

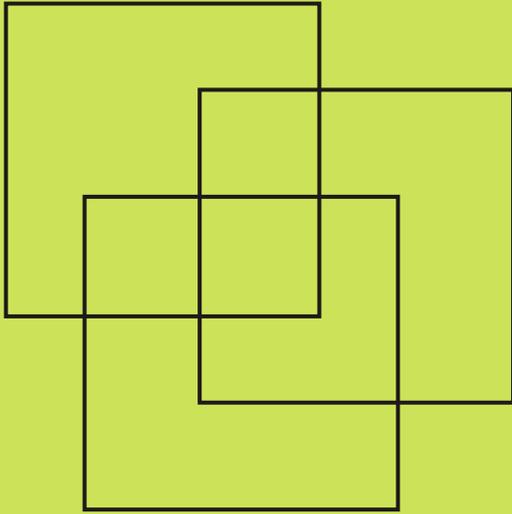
Women Workers across Employment Status (15 – 59 years) in Urban India: 2004-2005



Map Not to Scale

Workers = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS)

Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS, various rounds



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