

**RECENT PATTERNS OF URBAN
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT
IN INDIA: 1983-2000**

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CERTIFICATE

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Sona Mitra

(SONA MITRA)

To Ma and Baba

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
<i>Chapter 1</i>	
INTRODUCTION AND A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	1
<i>Chapter 2</i>	
PATTERNS OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN URBAN INDIA A Macrostudy	11
<i>Chapter 3</i>	
UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGED PATTERN IN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT: A Statewise Analysis	34
<i>Chapter 4</i>	
A FOCUS ON ANDHRA PRADESH AND MAHARASHTRA	55
Conclusion	91
Bibliography	96

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LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER TWO

2.1	Annual Average Rate of Growth of All-India Urban Employment	11
2.2	Work Participation Rates According to UPSS: All-India	12
2.3a	Distribution of Urban Female Workers: All-India Industrial Classification (UPSS)	13
2.3b	Distribution of Urban Male Workers: All-India Industrial Classification (UPSS)	13
2.4	Share of Manufacturing Sector in Urban Female Employment: All-India	15
2.5	Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in the Manufacturing Sector: All-India	16
2.6a	Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Manufacturing Sector According to the UPS	18
2.6b	Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Manufacturing Sector According to the UPSS	18
2.7	Share of Urban Workers in Tertiary Sector Employment: All-India	21
2.8	Share of Services in Urban Female Employment: All-India	22
2.9	Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment in the Service Sector: All-India	24
2.10a	Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Service Sector According to the UPS	26
2.10b	Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Service Sector According to the UPSS	26
2.11	Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment in Trade: All-India	28
2.12	Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in Trade: All-India	29
2.13a	Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Male Employment According to UPSS: All-India	30
2.13b	Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Male Employment According to UPS: All-India	30
2.14	Urban Open Unemployment Rates: All-India	31

CHAPTER THREE

3.1	Statewise Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Employment	35
3.2	Share of Manufacturing Sector in Urban Female Employment	36
3.3	Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Manufacturing	38
3.4	Share of Services in Urban Female Employment	41
3.5	Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Services	44
3.6a	Share of Trade in Urban Female Employment	46
3.6b	Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Trade	47

3.7a	Distribution of Urban Female Workers by Occupational Status as per UPSS	49
3.7b	Distribution of Urban Female workers by Occupational Status as per UPS	50
3.8	Open Unemployment Rates for Urban Females	51
3.9	Urban Female Employment Elasticity of Output	52

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1	Work Participation Rates According to UPSS: Andhra Pradesh	56
4.2	Urban Employment Growth Rates: Andhra Pradesh	57
4.3a	Sectoral Shares to GSDP at Factor Cost: Andhra Pradesh	58
4.3b	Rate of Growth of Sectoral GSDP: Andhra Pradesh	59
4.4a	Distribution of Urban Female Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Andhra Pradesh	64
4.4b	Distribution of Urban Male Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Andhra Pradesh	65
4.5	Rate of Growth of Employment of Urban Males and Females in Different Sectors: Andhra Pradesh	66
4.6a	Urban Women Workers According to Occupational Status Considering the UPS: Andhra Pradesh	68
4.6b	Urban Women Workers According to Occupational Status Considering the UPSS: Andhra Pradesh	68
4.7	Employment Elasticity of Output for Urban Males and Females In Andhra Pradesh	70
4.8	Open Unemployment Rates in Urban Andhra Pradesh	72
4.9	Work Participation Rates by the UPSS: Maharashtra	73
4.10	Urban Employment Growth Rates: Maharashtra	75
4.11a	Sectoral Shares to GSDP at Factor Cost: Maharashtra	77
4.11b	Rate of Growth of Sectoral GSDP: Maharashtra	77
4.12	Distribution of Urban Female Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Maharashtra	79
4.13	Distribution of Urban Male Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries given by the NIC: Maharashtra	80
4.14	Rate of Growth of Employment in Various Sectors: Urban Maharashtra	83
4.15	Employment Elasticity of Output for Males and Females in Different Sectors: Maharashtra	84
4.16a	Urban Women Workers According to Occupational Status Considering the UPS: Maharashtra	84
4.16b	Urban Women Workers according to Occupational Status Considering the UPSS: Maharashtra	85
4.17	Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment by Type of Activity: Maharashtra	86
4.18	Open Unemployment Rates in Urban Maharashtra	86

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER TWO

2.1	Growth Rates of GDP and the Tertiary Sector in India	21
2.2	Urban Employment Elasticity and Output Growth Rate in Public Administration and Other Services	24
2.3	Share of Trade in Urban Female Employment	27

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1	Trends in Manufacturing Sector Growth Rate of GSDP after 1991: Andhra Pradesh	59
4.2a	Share of Urban Female Workers Employed in Services: Andhra Pradesh	60
4.2b	Share of Urban Male Workers Employed in Services: Andhra Pradesh	60
4.3	Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment in Banking, Real Estate, etc. Sector: Andhra Pradesh	69
4.4	Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment in Public Administration and Other Services: Andhra Pradesh	69

ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Andhra Pradesh
ASI	Annual Survey of Industries
BHEL	Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited
BPO	Back-office Processing Operations
CDS	Current Daily Status
CSO	Central Statistical Organization
CWS	Current Weekly Status
DFID	Department For International Development
ECIL	Electronics Corporation of India Limited
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
EPZ	Export Processing Zones
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FII	Foreign Institutional Investor
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoAP	Government of Andhra Pradesh
GOI	Government of India
GoM	Government of Maharashtra
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IT	Information Technology
ITeS	IT enabled Services
LAC	Latin American and Caribbean
MERC	Maharashtra Electricity Regulatory Commission
MIDC	Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MSRTC	Maharashtra State Road Transport Corporation
NAS	National Accounts Statistics
NCT	National Capital Territory
NIC	National Industrial Classification
NSS	National Sample Survey
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
PSU	Public Sector Unit
Pub. Admn.	Public Administration
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDP	State Domestic Product
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPS	Usual Principal Status
UPSS	Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status
VRS	Voluntary Retirement Scheme
WPR	Work Participation Rate

1 | INTRODUCTION AND A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the last three decades, the global economy has become far more open to international trade as various low-income countries turned into large exporters. Since the 1970s, with the increasing replacement of the Keynesian demand management policies by the policies based on supply side model, a global strategy of growth based on open economies emerged. Trade liberalization as part of an outward-oriented growth strategy for the countries that were still in a dirigiste regime became a very important part of the neo-liberal economic policies. International institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, in their endeavour to lend a hand to the low-income countries in their efforts to make a transition into industrially advanced countries, advised them to follow the path of an export-led growth process. Apart from trade liberalization, policies involving greater integration with the international markets included liberalization of the capital markets, various forms of deregulation and a reduced role for the state. The policies further aimed at the increased privatization of the economy to achieve and sustain high a growth path. These policies have been similar for countries across the world irrespective of their specific characteristics, and to some extent all across the globe, wherever these policies were followed, there were similar results.

It was anticipated by the policy-makers that liberalization and structural adjustment policies would bring with them substantial benefits in terms of higher growth rates and greater convergence of incomes across countries and regions, bringing about a reduction in poverty and inequality in the world over, and leading to greater international integration. But the outcomes have belied the expectations of higher rates of growth of output or employment. Moreover, instead of convergence of

incomes across the regions and countries across the world, these policies have resulted in amplified divergence across the countries, specifically between the developing South and the developed North, making the rich countries richer and the poor countries poorer. These policies have not even meant higher rates of employment generation for the developing countries of the South. In fact, many developing nations that turned away from the regime of protected industrialization for domestic markets to follow the export-oriented growth path faced similar problems of volatile and speculative capital inflows, inadequate benefits from trade and poor employment growth rates.

Apart from the above consequences, another common feature in the pattern of employment was observed in the liberalizing countries. The policies of liberalization of trade, which stressed on the increasing role of export-led growth strategies brought about a change in the gender composition of the industrial workforce in those countries to include more women. In fact by now it is a well-known fact that trade-related growth has been strongly associated with an increase in the numbers and proportion of women in the labour force. In particular, trade liberalization and export-led growth processes created new jobs for the young women in developing countries and by the late eighties and early nineties women workers became more strongly represented than their male counterparts in the production of goods meant for export in the developing nations, specifically in Latin America and South, East and South-East Asia. Nearly 50 percent of the total labour force in the export industries of most of the countries in these regions comprises of women. In East and South-East Asia alone between 1985-90, the share of women workers to total workers was somewhere around 70 percent in the export-oriented industries. A review of the literature in the next section of this chapter would throw light on some of the important issues related to women's employment in the industrial/non-agricultural activities in the context of liberalization.

A Review Of The Literature

A substantial literature dealing with the issues of female employment in the context of the structural adjustment programme argues that there has been an increased participation of women in the labour force in many countries, due in part to an increasing flexibility in the labour markets. and more recently has been marked by the increasing flexibility within the labour markets (Standing, 1999; Mehra and

Gammage, 1999). It has been further argued that this changing character of labour markets has led to a significant spurt in female employment the world over, and a relative if not absolute fall in men's employment, as well as a 'feminization' of many jobs traditionally held by men (Standing, 1989, 1999; Catagay and Ozler, 1995). Mehra and Gammage (1999) have shown empirically that countries in regions like Africa, South and South-East Asia, China, Latin America, which took to the path of rapid industrialization by pursuing outward oriented development strategies, have experienced an increase in the share of females to total employment in the manufacturing and services sector. Different economists have attributed such increases in the share of female employment in the non-agricultural activities, specifically in the export-oriented industries, to different factors.

Factors Behind 'Feminization'

An important reason for the implied substitution of women for men in these industries has been the lower wage earnings received by women (Standing, 1999; Ghosh, 1999, 2004a). Throughout the world the gender wage earnings differential has been quite substantial, as recorded by Standing (1999). Women's wages have been lower than men's wages due to the various historical, social, cultural and demographic factors. At the workplace women are faced with job or training discrimination, whereby skill improvement over time does not take place for women (Standing, 1999) and they continue to remain at the lower end of the wage structure.

There is also direct wage discrimination against women. The reason cited behind such discrimination is basically that women cannot contribute long hours to work because of their responsibilities in the care economy. Women's primary involvement in domestic and childcare responsibilities continue to be a source of vulnerability for them, not only because it represents unpaid work but also because it becomes an obstacle to the women workers' mobility and autonomy in designing their labour market strategies (Beneria, 2001). The labour market institutions do not seem to take cognizance of the dual role played by women. Working conditions in the labour market fail to acknowledge the contributions of women in the reproductive or care economy. It is argued that labour markets are institutions operating at the intersection of the productive and reproductive economies (Elson, 1999). As a result of such a set up, Standing (1999) argues that women workers are prepared to work for less wages since they have a lower 'aspiration wages'. This also happens when an

economy in its recessionary phase cannot provide enough employment opportunities and also moves on to the retrenchment of the existing workers. The male proportion of the unemployed/retrenched workers do not accept jobs offering low, sub-family wage rates. It is the women who then take up these jobs at low, individual wage rates and hence are substituted for men in the workforce. Women workers are preferred by the employers as they have lower reservation wages than men, are more willing to accept longer hours and inferior, sometimes unhygienic and hazardous work conditions, are mostly non-unionized and lack the strength of collective bargaining and do not demand better and permanent job contracts (Ghosh, 2004a).

The above situation is coupled with growing labour market flexibilities in the form of labour market deregulations, weakening of the employment security regulations and the minimum wages act, banning of workers' unions in MNCs as well as in entire countries in some cases, eroding the strength of unionized workers in permanent, full-time jobs, etc. This has led to higher women's share of employment (Standing, 1989, 1999). These increasing flexibilities in the labour market have given rise to an alternative pattern of employment that enables women to cope with their family and work roles better. Although these flexible modes of employment lie beyond the reach of labour legislation and social protection and are characterized by low incomes and a high level of insecurities, they have had profound implications for women attempting to manage dual roles as workers inside and outside the home (Rani and Unni, 2003).

Further in the wake of export-led industrialization, the NICs experienced the growth of various 'sunrise' industries such as the computer hardware and consumer electronics sectors. These sectors along with the garments and textiles industries involved 'assembly line' production methods, which are semiskilled, monotonous and detailed, with an emphasis on manual dexterity and fineness. Such kind of work was thought to be especially suited to women, who, it is believed, have 'nimble fingers'. These specific industries were mostly located in the export-processing zones (EPZ) of the industrializing countries. In fact women constitute around 70 percent of the labour force in the EPZs (Joekes and Weston, 1994; Joekes, 1999). Apart from this, there have been the TNCs whose exporting subsidiaries have been large employers of women in the industrializing countries. Studies (Joekes and Weston, 1994) have indicated the high share of women workers in the TNCs. Given the widespread trade liberalization and the growth of low-wage-cost export platforms in the developing

countries, there has been a rise in the proportion of TNC activities related to trade in these countries. Although unlike the EPZs, the TNCs are quite an insignificant factor in total employment of most of the developing countries, yet they are often important in the industrial sector. The EPZs in the developing countries have been marked by the presence of these TNCs, mostly in the electronics sector. The production processes in electronics involve more women due to the nature of the work involving greater dexterity and precision and in several places these units have acquired an all-female direct production workforce in the developing countries.

Such feminization has had positive effects for women in terms of providing greater recognition and remuneration of their work. It also generally helped in improving the relative status and bargaining power of women within households, as well as their self-worth and to some extent has led to their empowerment (Joekes and Weston, 1994). Yet this increase in paid employment has also led to an onerous double burden of work for the women both inside and outside the home.

Under such circumstances, an analysis of the trends in the employment of women in those countries of the developing world, which followed a path of rapid industrialization based on the trade liberalization policies, reveals interesting facts about feminization. A substantial literature has dealt with these issues.

Recent Trends In Female Employment In Some Developing Countries

Several case studies have been carried out in different countries that have followed an export-led growth strategy specifically in the Asian and Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) regions in the nineties to study the emerging issues in female employment in these regions. A sizeable amount of literature dealing with the recent trends in the employment of women in the developing countries that have experienced an increase in the share of females in the labour force as an effect of trade liberalization argues that the affair has been a short-lived one and that there is a clear trend towards defeminization in those countries due to a cluster of factors. The reversal of the process of feminization of employment in manufacturing has already been observed in the LAC countries (ILO, 1998). The study by Fontana, Joekes and Masika (1998) has provided evidence that, in Latin America and the Caribbean, the expansion of export production has been associated with the feminization of the industrial labour force only in its initial stages. In fact in Costa Rica, the percentage of women in manufacturing workers fell from 40 percent in 1991 to 35 percent in 1994.

Similar trends of decline were observed in Argentina, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, etc. In Puerto Rico the drop in this share was from 48 percent in 1988 to 43 percent in 1994 and in Venezuela it dropped to 27 percent in 1993 from 28 percent in 1991 (Standing, 1999). In Mexico, Ghiara (1999) points out that as the share of exports increased between 1987 and 1993, the share of women workers declined from 38 to 29 percent. Even the case study of Mexico by Bratchet-Marquez and Oliviera (2004) shows that there has been a decline in the labour force participation of women in the recent past in the *maquiladoras* or industrial assembly plants, as men have been hired in more technologically advanced industries and occupations. The proportion of women workers fell from 77 percent of total labour force in 1982 to just under 60 percent in 1990 (Mehra and Gammage, 1999). This decline in the female share of employment in these regions has been attributed either to recession and structural adjustment measures that resulted in a decline in employment opportunities or to a shift in the nature of employment towards more skilled activities that naturally excluded women.

The gains in manufacturing employment appear to have been particularly strong in Asia (especially China in East Asia, and Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines in South East Asia). Several economists (Horton, 1995; Lim, 1994; Wee, 1998) have established the fact that between 1985-95 the economic boom in the East and South-east Asian region fuelled by the expansion in export production was largely based on the growing use of women as wage workers. Most countries in this region in the period between 1985-97 witnessed a massive increase in the labourforce participation of women. Consequently, the gap between male and female labourforce participation rates narrowed implying that in this period the narrowing of the gender gap was not only in terms of employment but also extended to wage differentials and working conditions. This process was most marked in the high exporting economies of South-East Asia where there had been a slight narrowing of the wage gap. Ghosh (1999, 2004a) argues that as the positive process in the form of reducing wage gaps occurred, there was in fact a decline in the share of females employed in the export manufacturing sectors and that this happened before the economic downturns experienced by the region due to the 'Crisis of 1997'. In fact, recession and the consequent adoption of adjustment policies that led to a contraction in exports was not the primary reason for such defeminization processes in the region since the phenomena of declining women's employment started in mid-nineties—well before the crisis struck the region. It could have been possible due to the transition from the

'low road' industrialization to the new capital intensive and technology intensive 'high road' industrialization process that typically excluded the unskilled or semi-skilled women workers. A lack of any kind of skill development in their years of work left women incapable of moving higher in the value chain or getting other forms of employment after they were retrenched. Such an operational transformation took place mostly in the East Asian economies and not in the whole of South-East Asia. Yet the decline was observable all over East and South-East Asia. Ghosh (1999, 2004a) shows empirically that not only in Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea, but also in Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines, there have been substantial declines in the share of women in total employment on an average of 5 percent from the early nineties till 1997. Joeke (1999) shows a decline in the percentage of females employed in the EPZs of Malaysia, Philippines and South Korea between 1980 and 1990 with the decline being as sharp as 20 percent in case of Malaysia. Thus Ghosh argues that the diminishing gender wage gap and pressures to implement social policies beneficial to women reduced their relative attractiveness to employers. The case study by Cho, Zammit, Chung, Kang, (2004) also highlights this significant point in the context of South Korea.

Apart from such tendencies of the defeminization process, the developing economies have a significant informal sector, which, along with the formal manufacturing industry involving clothing and electronics sectors and other export-oriented activities, experienced an accelerated involvement of the women. With rising labour market flexibilities producers appear to be relying more on casual or temporary workers, reducing the number of permanent workers, with a motive of profit maximization and there is an increasing trend observed among them to outsource the work or do it on a complex sub-contracting basis. Producers prefer outsourcing/subcontracting of work as it gives them a higher profit margin by lowering the cost of production. Through this kind of putting-out operations the producers avoid labour regulations, save on factory space and on their infrastructural costs. The workers are paid on a piece-rate basis, which often tends to be lower than the minimum wage norms; they do not demand better work conditions and there is lesser threat to the producer of having an organized/unionized workforce as the workers remain scattered. It has been suggested that a substantial amount of such outsourcing/subcontracting work extends down to home-based work. Substantial increases in home-based work has been marked in the crisis-hit countries in their

phases of adjustment. Thus several studies (Sethuraman, 1998; Chen, Sebstad, O'Connell, 1999) have shown that the percentage of home workers to total workers in the clothing industry alone, has been around 38 percent in Thailand, 60 percent in Indonesia, 25 to 40 percent in Philippines, 45 percent in Venezuela, 31 percent in Argentina, 30 percent in Mexico and between 30 to 60 percent in Chile. Mehra and Gammage (1999) further show that this kind of home-based work that involves production of embroidered garments, shoes, carpets and some electronic component supply, all of which are related to export production, has been an important source of employment for women. They mention that in Hong Kong and Philippines 87 percent and 79 percent of all home-based workers have been women, in Argentina 87 percent of home-workers in clothing and footwear are women and in Mexico 92 percent of the embroidery home-workers are women.

All of this may be especially significant for India, where the process of open feminization of the labour force was not as evident. The trajectory of liberalization and opening up of the economy in India has followed a different course compared to the other Asian countries.

The Indian Context

The Indian economy had been kept protected for a long time as compared to some other Asian economies. India initiated its economic reforms consisting of a structural adjustment programme, liberalization and globalization of the economy in 1991. After the 2-3 years of initial slump, the GDP growth rate increased appreciably to remain at around 6.5 percent in the nineties. There has been a commendable growth of exports and the export share of India in the world has increased to significantly more than one percent from 0.5 percent in the eighties. The country in terms of foreign exchange reserves is situated at a comfortable position of 135 US\$ billion at the present.

However, as far as the question of the impact of liberalization and globalization on the crucial variables of an economy, i.e., employment and income distribution are concerned, the situation is far from satisfactory. Several Indian economists (Ghosh, 2002b; Chandrasekhar and Ghosh, 1999, Sharma, 2004, Sundaram, 2001) have expressed concerns over this issue. A similar yet disquieting feature observable from all these studies was the declining trend in the overall employment growth in the Indian economy as an aftermath of the structural

adjustment policies. While Chandrasekhar and Ghosh (1999) argue that the production restructuring in the Indian economy as an effect of the ongoing reform process has not been in the more labour-intensive economic activities, which has led to such a disturbing situation, Sundaram is of the opinion that the decline in the worker-population ratios in the younger age-groups between 1993-94 and 1999-00 is due to a beneficial rise in the student-population ratios. Such an argument explains only one-third of the decline in work participation rates for the age group of 14-25 years. Moreover, Sundaram has also not provided any explanations for the decline in the WPRs in the age group of 25 and above.

Considering the patterns that developed in the East and South-East Asian countries in the form of increased participation of women in the total labourforce specifically in the export-oriented manufacturing and the services sector as an effect of trade liberalization, the Indian trend and pattern can be determined by a closer study of the urban workforce engaged in industrial/non-agricultural economic activities. Ghosh (2002b) in this context argues that by the time the Indian industry was extensively following the liberalization policies, that is, by the nineties, the feminization of labour in the export industries had reached its peak in the rest of Asia and was on a declining trajectory. Further she argues that formal feminization of work in India has been relatively less developed. Instead, even in India, just as in the other developing countries, there has been an increase in women's work in home-based activities (Ghosh, 2002b, 2004a; Shah and Gandhi, 1992; Gothoskar, 2000; Mazumdar, 2004).

Given this background, the main aim of this study is to assess the impact and analyse the nature of the changes that have taken place in the pattern of female employment in urban India in the context of the reform process. The study is based primarily on secondary employment data pertaining to the four major rounds (38th, 43rd, 50th and 55th rounds) of the NSS surveys, i.e. the quinquennial surveys conducted in 1983, 1987-88, 1993-94 and 1999-00 respectively, by the NSSO. The compound annual average rates of growth of employment (to be used for the entire study) have been calculated from the absolute employment figures for the years 1983, 1987-88, 1993-94 and 1999-00. The absolute employment figures have been calculated by extrapolating the census population figures of 1981, 1991 and 2001 for the years corresponding to the NSS rounds and plotting the respective NSS estimates on the

extrapolated figures. Apart from the NSS and Census figures the study has also used the CSO and ASI figures in the course of the discussion.

An important purpose of the study is to find out whether there has been a tendency of feminization of the urban workforce in India or whether the trends are those of casualisation of the female workforce in urban India as has been the case in other Asian economies in the nineties as an impact of the reform policies that has begun in the country since 1991. Thus, the next chapter, Chapter 2, is a macrostudy of the all India employment trends of the urban female workforce comparing it to the male employment patterns. Chapter 3 discusses the statewise variations and specificities involved in the employment patterns of both males and females in urban India. Chapter 4 is a focus on the urban female employment patterns of two reform-oriented states, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, which have seen a distinctive decline in the rate of growth of urban female employment in the nineties. The study is summed up by a short conclusion.

2 | PATTERNS OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN URBAN INDIA A MACROSTUDY

The main purpose of this chapter is to understand the shifting pattern and changes in the female employment scenario in urban India in the backdrop of an overall decrease in the rate of employment generation in the nineties compared to the previous decade. The rate of employment generation all over India decreased over the nineties both in the rural as well as in urban areas. In the urban sector there has been a decline in the annual average rate of growth of employment from 3.3 percent to 2.8 percent. While the urban employment growth rate for males shows a sharp decline in the later phase of the nineties, the same figures for the females show stagnation (See Table 2.1). Placed in this context, the focal point of our study would be to analyse whether it has been possible for women workers to experience an improvement in their employment conditions.

Table 2.1: Annual Average Rate of Growth of All-India Urban Employment (in percent)

Year	Male	Female	Persons
1983 to 1987-88	3.1	4.4	3.3
1987-88 to 1993-94	2.9	4.4	3.1
1993-94 to 1999-00	2.5	4.4	2.8

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

A macrostudy of the urban female employment in India, based on secondary data sources, reveals that female employment in urban India had always been persistently and substantially lower than that in the rural areas. This is evident from the WPRs for the age group 15-59 provided by the NSS (Ref Table 2.2). In the urban areas, while the male WPR varied between 50 and 52 percent with no clear-cut indication of an increase, the female WPR, although somewhat stagnant till 1993-94, has a declining trend. This is interesting in the sense that it suggests that the process of feminization of employment in India is not borne out by the data on the WPRs of urban females. In fact the lower WPRs of the urban females as compared to the rural females is to some extent an indication of the inability of the industrial development processes in the urban areas to create sufficient employment opportunities for women.

Though there are several shortfalls involved in only analyzing the secondary data, which fails to capture a lot of dynamics of the social and economic effects on the employment pattern, yet the data are capable of revealing some of the recent changes and shifts that have taken place in the patterns of urban female employment in India.

Table 2.2: Work Participation Rates According to UPSS: All-India

Rounds	Year	Rural		Urban	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
38th	1983	54.7	34.0	51.2	15.1
43rd	1987-88	53.9	32.3	50.6	15.2
50th	1993-94	55.3	32.8	52.0	15.4
55th	1999-00	53.1	29.9	51.8	13.9

*Source: Employment and unemployment in India, 1999-2000, Key results, NSSO**

The NSS estimates of the proportion of urban females employed in different industries, based on the one-digit industrial classification, of the four major quinquennial rounds of surveys conducted by the NSSO in the years 1983, 1987-88, 1993-94 and 1999-00, are a distinct proof of the fact that manufacturing and service sectors constitute the major share of the females employed in urban India (Ref Table 2.3). In urban India, agriculture, which has been otherwise peripheral to the urban context and urban employment, continued to account for a far too large share of the

* While the WPRs refer to worker-population ratios in the age group 15-59, the employment growth rates have been calculated for the total population. Therefore while urban female rate of growth of employment show stagnation, the urban female WPRs show a decline.

female workforce than actual urban style employment for a considerable period of time after independence. But in Table 2.3a a steady decline is visible in the proportion of urban women employed in agriculture from 1983 onwards. It also shows a rise in the proportion of females employed in service sector in the urban areas. At the same time, the tables also exhibit a declining share of employment of both males and females in manufacturing and a falling share of employment of urban males in the service sector as well.

**Table 2.3a: Distribution of Urban Female Workers:
All-India Industrial Classification (UPSS)**

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Agriculture	31.1	26.6	24.7	17.7
Mining	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.4
Manufacturing	26.8	27.1	24.1	24.0
Electricity	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Construction	3.2	3.8	4.0	4.8
Trade	9.5	9.8	10.0	16.8
Transport	1.5	0.9	1.3	1.8
Banking and real estate, etc	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.5
Pub. Admn. and others	26.2	29.4	32.5	31.9
Services	27.0	30.6	34.3	34.4

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

**Table 2.3b: Distribution of Urban Male Workers:
All-India Industrial Classification (UPSS)**

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987- 88	50th 1993- 94	55th 1999- 00
Agriculture	10.3	8.7	9.0	6.6
Mining	1.2	1.3	1.3	0.9
Manufacturing	26.9	26.0	23.5	22.4
Electricity	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.8
Construction	5.1	5.8	6.9	8.7
Trade	20.4	21.5	21.9	26.2
Transport	10.0	9.7	9.7	10.4
Banking and real estate, etc	3.2	3.6	3.8	4.4
Pub. Admn and others	21.8	22.1	22.2	19.6
Services	24.9	25.7	26.0	24.0

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

In the Indian context, the kind of employment distribution of the urban males and females in the tables above does not exactly follow the trends in other developing countries, which in their years of structural adjustment experienced a shift away from the agricultural sector towards the manufacturing and the service sectors in terms of overall employment (Chandrasekhar, 2003). We find that in the urban areas the major proportion of women workers are engaged in the services and manufacturing sectors. Hence our analysis of female employment in urban India would revolve mainly around these two sectors. This chapter is divided in three sections: changes in the manufacturing sector, changes in the service sector, and the sectoral shifts in the pattern of employment, trying to analyse the changes relative to the male employment.

Changes in the Manufacturing Sector

From Table 2.3 it is evident that the share of women employed in manufacturing has been a significant one in the urban sector. The disaggregation of the manufacturing sector into the two divisions provided by the NSS reveals that division (1) has substantially the greater share of employment for urban females than the other division. By the definition used by the NSS, manufacturing (1) consists of agro-based industries that include textiles, garments, leather and leather-products, beverages and food products, tobacco, paper and paper products, etc. and therefore traditionally employs most of the women workers. But the data in table 1.4 suggests that the share of the urban females employed in manufacturing (1) has declined steadily and sharply over the period under consideration, i.e., the 38th, 43rd, 50th and 55th rounds of the NSS quinquennial surveys. The other sector i.e. manufacturing (2) that comprises all non-agro based industries—specifically chemicals, rubber and plastics, basic metals, non-metallic mineral products and manufacturing of other electrical and electronic as well as transport equipments has experienced an increase the share of employed urban females. A point that can be noted here is that the decrease in the share of the employed in the manufacturing sector as a whole has been more by the UPS than by the UPSS although by a very small extent. This can be seen in Table 2.4 below.

**Table 2.4: Share of Manufacturing Sector in Urban Female Employment:
All India**

Year	UPS			UPSS		
	Manufac turing (1)	Manufac turing (2)	Manufac turing total	Manufac turing (1)	Manufac turing (2)	Manufac turing total
1983	21.1	4.9	26.0	22.0	4.8	26.8
1987-88	20.7	6.2	26.9	21.4	5.7	27.1
1993-94	18.8	4.8	23.6	19.0	5.1	24.1
1999-00	17.0	6.3	23.2	17.6	6.4	24.0

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

To understand the importance of this discrepancy in the data for the two different activity status it becomes important first to note the definitions of both. The NSS data on employment distinguishes between the 'principal' and 'subsidiary' status of an activity based on whether the person is 'usually' engaged in the activity. Thus a person is classified as 'usual principal status' (UPS) worker according to the activity on which the person has spent a relatively longer time of the preceding 365 days in the reference period. The activities pursued by a person is classified into three broad categories, namely, i) working or employed, ii) seeking or available for work (unemployed) and iii) not in the labour force.

A 'non-worker', that is one whose status has been already ascertained on the basis of usual principal status, is someone whose major part of time in the preceding year was spent as either unemployed or not in the labour force. However, such a person could still be involved in some economic activity in a subsidiary capacity in which s/he is then referred to as a 'subsidiary status worker'. These categories together constitute the all 'usual principal and subsidiary status (UPSS) workers'.

The distinction in activity status becomes quite important when we analyse urban women's employment. The pattern that is revealed by the estimates in the above Table 2.4 reflects the fact that for the urban females, all across India, there have been some increases in subsidiary activities in the manufacturing sector. This point can be substantiated in a better manner when we look at the variation in the employment of women by their occupational status.

We also find that the annual average rate of growth of urban female employment in the overall manufacturing sector has experienced a sharp decline over the entire period under consideration. The growth rates obtained using the Usual

Principal Status (UPS) and both Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS) show differences similar to those observed for the urban female share in this sector. The decline in the average rate of growth of female employment in urban India is much sharper in when considering the former.

The annual average rate of growth of urban female employment in the period 1983-88 as per the UPS was 4.1 percent and as per the UPSS was 3.6 percent. As we compare the nineties figures, i.e., when we consider the period 1987-94 and also 1993-2000, the UPSS figures are greater than the UPS figures. This further confirms that women workers have been engaged additionally in some kind of subsidiary activity. The table below shows the differences.

Table 2.5: Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in the Manufacturing Sector: All India

Year	UPSS	UPS
1983 to 1987-88	3.6	4.1
1987-88 to 1993-94	1.1	0.9
1993-94 to 1999-00	2.8	2.6

Source: Calculated from Census reports 1981, 1991 and 2001 and the NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

The data on type of employment for the urban females is given in Tables 2.6a and 2.6b. The estimates corresponding to the total, i.e. all sectors together suggest that there has been a gradual decline in the share of casual employment and a rise in the share of regular employment, with self-employment more or less stable. This is, by itself, a positive sign since in urban India, in most cases, regular employment entails better quality job contracts and higher wages than self-employment or casual employment. What is noticeable here is the fact that although the phenomenon is true for both UPS and UPSS, the discrepancies between these two categories becomes sharper in terms of UPSS. Also the self-employed category appears much more dominant (accounting for nearly half of the urban female workers), when we consider the subsidiary status as well.

This substantial difference can be explained in the following manner. It can be argued that the predominance of the self-employed category has taken mainly two forms: a) an increase in certain service activities, specifically domestic services and b) self-employment in the form of increased home-based activities surrounding the

manufacturing sector. The former would be discussed in the next section of this chapter. The latter is discussed below.

Tables 2.6a and 2.6b describe the data in both the divisions of the manufacturing sector by the contractual/occupational status considering UPS and UPSS separately over this period. The data suggests that for manufacturing (1) there has been a shift away from casual employment towards self-employment along with a substantial rise in the share of regular employment. This is true considering both UPS and UPSS. However, a more noticeable point, which follows the pattern of overall female employment in urban India, is the increased predominance of self-employment when the subsidiary status is also considered. This category constitutes 70 percent of the share of females employed in the manufacturing (1) sector while regular employment is only about 20 percent. While an increase in the share of regular employment following a decline in the share of casual employment is always welcome, yet regular employment is still a very small percentage of the females employed in the manufacturing (1) sector. Even the data on manufacturing (2) from the same tables, show a significant decline in the share of casual employment, with a simultaneous yet substantial drop in the share of regular employment and an increase in the share of self-employment both by the UPS and the UPSS. It is once again notable that considering the subsidiary activity, there is a dominance of the self-employed category constituting more than 50 percent of the females employed in this sector. The predominance of the self-employed category in this sector confirms our earlier argument of an increase in the home-based activities in this sector for the women.

By now it has become well known that in the context of trade liberalization and the export-oriented development strategies that are being adopted by the liberalizing countries, there has been the development of a particular type of home-based activities in the form of putting out operations of companies or a complex chain of sub-contracting and outsourcing of production processes adopted by the MNCs as well as local corporates, specifically in the garments sector, which entered the Indian market in the nineties. An increase in the share of self-employment in the manufacturing (1) points out to increased engagements around this type of home-based activities. Since such work does not get represented in the employment

statistics based on the employers' records, it can be an explanation for the decline in the share of females employed in manufacturing as well as the decline in the rate of growth of female employment in this sector, which may have occurred despite the growing dependence of the sector on the productive contributions made by the women.

Table 2.6a: Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Manufacturing Sector According to the UPS

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Self-Employed				
Manufacturing (1)	49.1	54.2	57.9	65.4
Manufacturing (2)	37.8	43.0	30.8	46.3
Total	37.3	39.3	37.2	38.4
Regular and Salaried				
Manufacturing (1)	16.3	19.8	16.1	24.1
Manufacturing (2)	28.4	34.9	41.6	35.1
Total	31.8	34.2	35.5	38.5
Casual				
Manufacturing (1)	34.6	26.0	26.0	10.5
Manufacturing (2)	33.8	22.2	27.6	18.7
Total	30.9	26.5	27.3	23.1

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

Table 2.6b: Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Manufacturing Sector According to the UPSS

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Self-Employed				
Manufacturing (1)	54.6	59.9	62.4	70.4
Manufacturing (2)	40.8	45.6	37.3	53.6
Total	45.8	47.1	45.8	45.3
Regular and Salaried				
Manufacturing (1)	13.0	15.5	13.1	19.9
Manufacturing (2)	23.6	30.1	31.4	29.3
Total	25.8	27.5	28.4	33.3
Casual				
Manufacturing (1)	32.4	24.6	24.5	9.7
Manufacturing (2)	35.6	24.3	31.3	17.1
Total	28.4	25.4	25.8	21.4

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

It has already been pointed out in the earlier chapter that this kind of home-based subcontracting or outsourcing work has become typical of export-oriented manufacturing units in the adjusting economies of the developing world and is

characterized by inferior conditions of work and pay. Generally these forms of activities are bereft of any kind of workers' non-wage remunerations. Evidence from several micro studies (Neetha, 2001; Mazumdar, 2004, Deshpande, 2001) related to manufacturing activities show an increased activity of women around such home-based work in particular towns and cities. There have been reports about engagement of women in piece-rate based manufacturing work done in parts of Gujarat (Chatterjee, *et al*, 2002; Das, 2001) under cramped conditions and poor lighting and ventilation. Also evidence from Orissa of increased home-based work in handicrafts have been provided by Anand (2001). The problem with this kind of work is the associated tendency of informalization of the employment pattern. In the Indian context such informal home-based activities are restricted not only to export-oriented garment. The case of *beedi* (indigenous cigarette) industry is a well-known one, where approximately 90 percent of the total workforce involves women working from home. The *beedi* industry is a highly labour intensive industry, especially *beedi* rolling. Such a labour intensive operation is entrusted mostly to home workers, a large proportion of whom are women (Labour Bureau, 1995). Apart from the *beedi* industry, Unni and Rani (2003) account for other types of activities like incense-stick rolling, making paper bags, kites, hair bands, *bindi* pasting, etc which are carried out by women working from home. The *beedi* manufacturing industry along with the other specified small-scale activities are not export industries, but they indicate that home-based activities have already been a common manufacturing practice in India. It further suggests that this kind of labour practices are already widespread and therefore have been available for use by the export-oriented manufacturing units which naturally require more 'flexibility' in their operations devoid of any complexities involved in terms of regulation and reservation of certain activities for small enterprises. Such home-based activities are generally characterized by poor payments to the workers, usually on a piece-rate basis, which is typically below the minimum wage norms.

If the trends discussed so far are considered together with the micro level information, then it can be concluded that there have been tendencies of feminization of the manufacturing workforce in a particular manner whereby the utilization of urban women workers have been at the lowest and poorest paid rungs of the

production chain. Such women have therefore been deprived of the non-wage benefits that might have accrued from outside work.

Another interesting observation in the manufacturing sector has been the increase in the share of regular women workers by the UPSS. Apparently, there has been an increase in the share of regular employment and a decline in the share of casual employment, which indicates improvement in the employment situation. In case of the manufacturing sector such observations confirm the increased regular subsidiary activities among the urban women. This indicates a regular source of income of the urban women workers from the subsidiary activities in the form of home-based work that are mostly paid on piece-rate basis, as has been described earlier. In fact the spurt of export activities specifically in the garments, wearing apparel and textiles sector has provided the women workers with a continuous source of employment in the form of home-based work obviously under conditions described earlier.

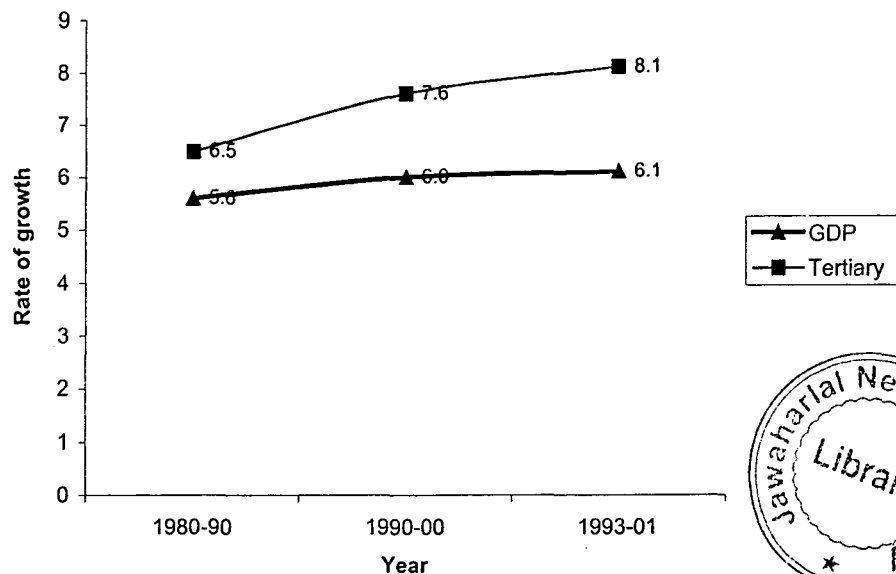
Therefore, even if the share of women workers with regular employment has increased in manufacturing, it does not necessarily indicate a better employment pattern for the women workers in the urban areas, despite the decline in the casual employment. This pattern confirms the increased female participation in the marginalized, low-paid activities in this sector, which has been discussed earlier.

Changes in the Service Sector

Various theories have emerged arguing that the expansion and growing importance of the tertiary sector is a central feature of liberalization. Chandrasekhar (2003) points out that the experience across the developing countries suggests that liberalization, which allows market signals to direct investments and reduces controls and restrictions on the entry and exit of FIIs, encourages 'premature' diversification of the economy into services that manifests itself in increased shares of services in output and employment. It has also been argued that this sector has acquired a new and dynamic identity due to the definitions that have incorporated "business services" which also externalize part of R and D and management functions, and include activities like retailing, banking and insurance, and administration in this sector.

In the Indian context, it has been observed that since 1980s the tertiary sector growth rates have outpaced the GDP growth rates of the country. This was fairly marked in the second half of the nineties, as shown in Figure 2.1. As a consequence, the tertiary sector share in GDP increased from 36 percent in 1980-81 to 53 percent in 1999-00. We also find that in case of urban workers, the share of employed in total workers also increased over this period, more prominently in the nineties. Table 2.7 below gives this detail.

Fig 2.1: Growth rates of GDP and the Tertiary sector in India



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Table 2.7: Share of Urban Workers in Tertiary Sector Employment: All India

Year	Male		Female	
	UPS	UPSS	UPS	UPSS
1983	55.1	55.0	43.0	37.6
1987-88	57.2	56.9	45.8	38.9
1993-94	58.1	57.9	51.0	46.3
1999-00	60.6	60.6	56.1	52.9

Source: Employment-unemployment in India, 1999-00, Key results, NSS

The Table 2.7 shows that the increase in the share of tertiary sector employment among the urban workers was more in case of the females. While the male share increased by 2.7 percent that for the females increased by 6.6 percent by



the UPSS. Again noticeably, the increase by UPSS has been more for the urban women than the UPS, which confirms the fact that even in this sector there has been an increase in subsidiary activities. A disintegrated picture of the broader tertiary sector into service and trade sectors given below will help to understand the picture better.

From our previous Table 2.3, we find that a significant proportion of females employed in the Indian urban areas are in the service sector. Table 2.3 reveals the fact that over the years, and particularly in the nineties, the service sector has engaged a major proportion of urban women in its activities. Following the opinion of the various theorists mentioned above, it can be argued that such increases may be a consequence of the neo-liberal policies adopted by the government of India in 1991. The major industries in this sector, as classified by the NIC, include financial intermediaries, insurance, real estate, banking, business activities, public administration, community, health, educational services and others. The table below gives the share of urban females employed in the banking and real estate segment and the public administration, defense and other services segments of this sector based on both UPS and UPSS.

Table 2.8: Share of Services in Urban Female Employment: All-India

Industry/Year	UPS				UPSS			
	1983	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00	1983	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00
1 Banking and Real Estate	1.0	1.4	2.2	2.7	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.5
2 Pub Ad. And Other Services	30.5	32.2	35.9	35.1	26.2	29.4	32.5	31.9
3 Service (1+2)	31.5	33.6	38.2	37.9	27.0	30.6	34.3	34.4

Source: *Employment-unemployment in India, 1999-00, Key results, NSS, Various years*

The table shows that there has been significant increases in the share of employment of urban females over the years from 1983 to 1993-94, but it remained somewhat the same in the 55th round. In fact in the 55th round, while the public administration and other services segment register a marginal fall in the shares, the banking and real estate segment of the service sector that includes the financial intermediaries, business activities and insurance related activities shows a marginal

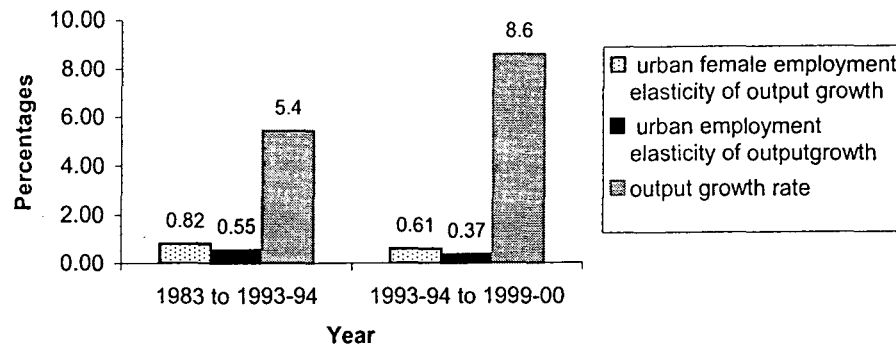
rise in the shares. But over the entire period there have been significant increases in both the segments.

The public administration and other services sector, which comprises of community services, personal services, health, education and defense services, shows a greater share of urban females employed in this sector. This is evident from the table above. A notable point in this is that the increases have been more by the UPSS than by only taking the principal activity status. This once again implies that even in this sector there has been an increase in the subsidiary activities. An increase in the subsidiary activity in this sector, as pointed out earlier, might have taken the form of increased domestic service among urban women. This can be better substantiated as we look at the data relating to the share of female workers by the type of contract given in Tables 2.10a and 2.10b. The data pertaining to the type of contract shows that the sector is predominated by regular employment. This is in itself a positive sign but there has been a drop in the share of employed of urban females in this category by approximately 3 percent by both the type of activity since 1983. It is worth mentioning that the increase in the regular employment between the 50th and the 55th round in the public administration, personal, community and other services have been significantly more by the UPSS. This indicates an increase in a certain kind of regular subsidiary activity for urban women. This kind of subsidiary activity might have the form of domestic services which may be extremely low paid even though they have a regular basis of payment. In fact micro studies have shown a rising incidence of domestic services in urban areas. In that sense, regular employment might not be an indication of better job options for the women.

Alongwith a decline in the share of employed, in this sector we also find a drastic decline in the rate of growth of female employment, which is shown in Table 2.9 below. The declines have taken place between 1993 and 2000. This is interesting as we find that within this period the rate of growth of output in this sector was above 8 percent. It implies that the output growth rate in this sector was not translated into employment growth opportunities. We find that the employment elasticity of output growth for the urban females to be declining in this sector. In fact the employment

elasticity of output growth for the urban workers as a whole shows all the more decline in this sector¹. All this is visible in Figure 2.2.

Fig 2.2: Urban Employment elasticity of output growth in Public Ad. And other services



Again from Table 2.8, it is absolutely evident that though there has been a rise in the share of employed in the banking and real estate sector, yet the percentage of women involved in the sector is quite insignificant. The data shows that there have been impressive rate of growth of employment for urban females till 1993-94, but between 1993 and 2000 the rate of growth of female employment in this sector has dropped drastically, more so by the UPS (Ref Table 2.9).

Table 2.9: Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment in the Service Sector: All-India

Industry/Year	UPS			UPSS		
	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00	1987-88	1993-94	1999-00
1 Banking and Real Estate	10.9	11.7	6.3	12.5	10.7	7.6
2 Pub Ad. And Other Services	4.6	5.0	2.4	6.1	4.8	2.5
3 Service (1+2)	4.9	5.3	2.7	6.3	5.1	2.8

Source: Calculated from Census reports 1981, 1991 and 2001 and the NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

¹ However an important point should be noted in this respect. The output in the service sector is calculated by the wage payment in this sector. The increased output growth rates may be a reflection of increased wages in this sector that took place in the sixth and the seventh Pay Commissions and therefore might not always provide an absolutely correct correlation between output and employment.

The banking and real estate sectors comprise of financial intermediaries, insurance, hardware and software related services, and the IT-enabled and BPO services. In the wake of liberalization in the Indian context it becomes important to mention briefly the rapid rise of the export sector related to software and ITeS. This sector in the 1990s has been hyped a lot regarding its growth potential and its employment creating capacities, especially for urban educated females. In fact several studies conducted to this effect reveal the promising nature of this sector in terms of offering a combination of employment and export revenues from hardware, software, BPOs and ITeS. The rise in the output growth rate in the banking and real estate segment of the service sector in the nineties is often attributed to the increased activity in this sector. The nature of work involved in these services includes a range of activities like data entry, data processing, medical transcription, back-office work and increased activities around call centers. A look at the employment creating capacity of this sector reveals that much of the software related activities are in English. Hence the employment generated by it caters to only a very specific urban, metropolitan, English speaking, rich and mostly upper caste section of society. In fact the recent trends of decline in the rate of educated unemployment in urban areas confirms this to some extent.

The main concern of this study is to assess the extent to which the female workforce has been absorbed in this form of export related activities. The banking and real estate sectors show an increased share of women employed, although the figure is quite low, and it also registers high rate of growth of employment. The unavailability of employment data pertaining to the software sector prevents any specific conclusions from being drawn. But some micro evidence suggests that there has been reasonable participation of women in this sector, specifically in the call centers and the back office operations. A study conducted by Mazumdar (2004b) in and around Delhi, Noida and Gurgaon confirms the increased participation of young, unmarried, graduate, convent-educated girls in the call centers. In fact in the software industry as a whole the share of women workers is estimated to be 27 percent (Ghosh, 2002) at present.

While this sector has clearly contributed to reduce urban educated unemployment rates in the country, specifically for t urban females², yet by its sheer character it excludes the majority of the urban poor female workforce who do not have access to basic education, let alone skill training and English learning. Therefore it caters to a very limited section of the urban female workforce and hence fails to reverse the deteriorating pattern of urban female employment in the larger context. Though it can be said that feminization of a certain activity, which employs a minuscule amount of the workforce, has taken place, it is obviously not true for the entire workforce in the service sector.

Table 2.10a: Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Service Sector According to the UPS

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Self-Employed				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	17.7	8.5	17.6	23.0
Public Admn. & other services	9.7	11.1	16.1	13.3
Regular and Salaried				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	74.9	86.6	82.1	75.6
Public Admn. & other services	76.0	75.8	71.1	72.9
Casual				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	7.4	4.8	0.4	1.4
Public Admn. & other services	14.3	13.1	12.8	13.7

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

Table 2.10b: Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in the Service Sector According to the UPSS

Rounds Year	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Self-Employed				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	19.5	18.8	22.4	26.1
Public Admn. & other services	12.5	21.2	22.2	16.8
Regular and Salaried				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	73.6	77.1	77.2	72.5
Public Admn. & other services	72.1	65.8	64.2	69.6
Casual				
Banking, Real Estate etc.	6.9	4.1	0.4	1.4
Public Admn. & other services	15.4	13.0	13.6	13.6

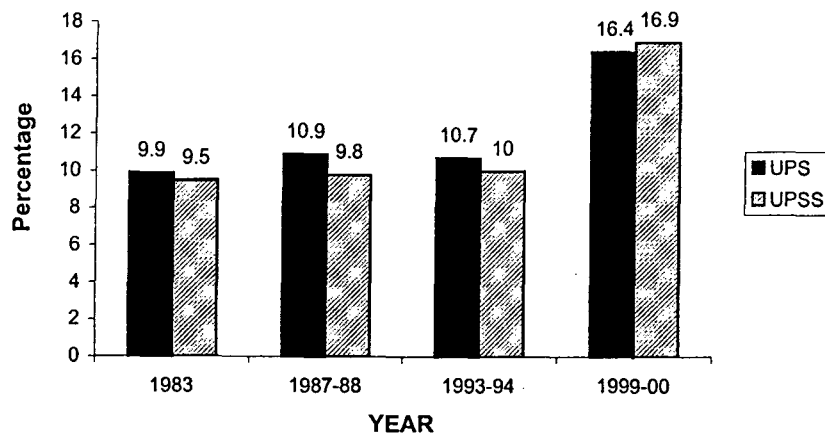
Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

² Urban educated unemployment rates by the UPS have dropped from 20.7 percent to 16.3 percent for the secondary educated urban females and have declined from 20.5 percent to 16.3 percent for the graduate urban females between the 50th and the 55th rounds of the NSS. However, for the educated urban males, the open unemployment rates show a drop but not as significant as for the urban females. For secondary qualified males it has declined from 6.9 percent to 6.6 percent, while for the graduate urban males it has increased marginally to 6.6 percent from 6.4 percent in this period.

Sectoral Shifts in the Pattern of Female Employment

We have already examined the patterns of urban female employment in the manufacturing and the service sector, which had been the primary source of female employment in the urban areas during the decade of the eighties and also prior to that. Our analysis has revealed some trends towards feminization as an after-effect of the neo-liberal policies. But it has also been noted that while in the manufacturing sector the kind of feminization that has taken place in the home-based activities cannot be a cause of celebration and that the impact of certain specific activities in the service sector that have been feminized has been very small. Similarly, with overall declining urban WPRs of women, reduced rates of growth of female employment in the two major sectors of employment for the urban women in the later part of the nineties, we find other sectors like construction, transport, trade etc. experiencing a rise in the proportion of women’s involvement (ref Table 2.3). Amongst this, after services and manufacturing, the trade sector has emerged as the most significant with a marked rise in the share of total women employed, both by the UPS and UPSS (ref. Figure 2.3). However the extent of increase has been marginally more considering the subsidiary activities.

Fig 2.3: Share of Trade in Urban Female Employment



In a similar manner, urban female employment in trade has registered high growth and has almost doubled in the last period as per the UPS and more than

doubled according to UPSS (ref Table 2.11). All this indicates a similar trend of increased subsidiary activities in this sector as has happened in other sectors. In this sector, there has been a massive increase in the absolute number of females employed (by about 1.1 million as per the UPSS) from the 50th round to the 55th round of the NSS. This has been the largest increase in absolute terms as compared to the other two sectors under discussion. From the 38th round to the 55th round, the increase has been of about approximately 1.4 million women workers according to the UPSS. Thus it is evident that the major share of this increase has taken place in the latter half of the nineties.

It can therefore be argued that given the trends of deceleration in urban female employment, the loss of employment of urban females in manufacturing and services was made up by women crowding into the trade sector. The trade sector mainly includes the wholesale and retail trade and hotels and restaurants.

Table 2.11: Annual Average Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment In Trade: All-India

Year	UPSS	UPS
1983 to 1987-88	4.1	5.6
1987-88 to 1993-94	3.5	2.7
1993-94 to 1999-00	12.1	10.2

Source: Calculated from Census reports 1981, 1991 and 2001 and the NSS Employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

In the nineties, women who were either unable to find employment or ended up losing jobs in the other two sectors, then entered into trading activities, mainly in wholesale and the petty retail trade. This trend becomes clearer as we look at the share of urban female workers by their activity type/occupational status. This share shows that this sector is dominated by self-employment. Self-employed women workers constitute more than 80 percent of the total female employment in this sector (Ref Table 2.12). This predominance suggests that there has been increased activity around retailing and wholesale trade. Estimates given by Sundaram (2001) reveal that retail trade alone accounted for the major share of the increase in absolute terms in this sector. The overall share of retail trade in total employment in the service sector increased from 20 percent in 1993-94 to about 27 percent in 1999-2000 and the share of retail trade in women's employment increased from approximately 20 percent in

1993-94 to 24 percent in 1999-00. It can therefore be concluded that in the nineties the increased activities in the trade sector mainly revolved around retail trade. More often in case of women this kind of retailing boils down to street vending and petty selling of a whole range of items from green vegetables to *paan*, *beedi* and cigarette.

Table 2.12: Urban Female Workers by Type of Activity in Trade: All-India

Round	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th
	1983	1987	1993	1999	1983	1987	1993	1999	1983	1987	1993	1999
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00	3	7-88	3-94	9-00
UPS	89.1	89.5	84.2	79.4	5.0	5.6	8.9	11.9	5.9	4.8	6.9	8.7
UPSS	90.4	89.5	85.7	82.2	4.2	5.6	7.9	9.9	5.4	4.9	6.4	7.8

Source: NSS employment-unemployment Report, Various Rounds

From the above discussion it is therefore clear that the stagnation and declining shares of women’s employment in manufacturing, the reduced employment opportunities for women workers in both manufacturing and services, in this period, have all played a role in pushing or crowding large numbers of women into petty retail trade, even as many have been pushed out of the workforce.

Our discussion regarding the situation of the urban female employment reveals a deteriorating condition in the nineties. A look at the male employment figures over this period suggest that the situation had been worse for the males. It has already been pointed out that while the urban male employment growth rate had been declining steadily over the period (Ref Table 2.1), the WPRs of the urban males have remained somewhat constant. In such a situation, the rate of growth of employment of the urban males in the service sector experienced a sharp decline (ref Tables 2.13a and 2.13b). While the male employment growth rate in manufacturing shows a slight increase according to UPSS, it registers a decline between 1983 and 1999-00 when only UPS is considered. But a notable point in this is that the employment growth rate for urban males between 1987/94 and 1993/2000 in the manufacturing sector registers an increase, while the same for urban females in this period has been declining. A comparison of employment growth rates of urban males and females in the manufacturing sector thus reveals that the situation for the urban women was worse than that of males in this particular sector. It can also be noted that ‘feminization’ was not the relevant process.

Table 2.13a: Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Male Employment According to UPSS: All-India

Year	Manufacturing	Trade	Services (Taken Together)
1983 to 1987-88	2.1	4.4	3.5
1987-88 to 1993-94	1.6	3.4	3.9
1993-94 to 1999-00	2.3	8.4	-0.7

Source: Calculated from Census reports 1981, 1991 and 2001 and the NSS Employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

Table 2.13b: Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Male Employment According to UPS: All-India

Year	Manufacturing	Trade	Services (Taken Together)
1983 to 1987-88	2.3	4.6	3.6
1987-88 to 1993-94	1.2	3.2	3.6
1993-94 to 1999-00	1.7	7.6	-1.4

Source: Calculated from Census reports 1981, 1991 and 2001 and the NSS Employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

In the trade sector, one finds from the above estimates that although there have been increases in the annual average rate of growth of urban male employment, the growth rates are not as high as compared to their female counterparts. A major fall in the employment growth rate of the urban males has been observed in the services sector, where there has been a drop in the absolute number of male workers, which is evident from the negative rate of growth. The reduced employment growth rates for both males and females in the service sector to some extent can be attributed to the decline in the organized sector employment in the nineties as much of organized sector employment was based in the service sector. It has been observed that this deceleration in the organized sector employment was due to the collapse of the public sector employment in the nineties. The organized public sector employment growth rate dropped from 2.4 percent between 1981/90 to only 0.3 percent in 1990/00. While there were increases in the rate of growth of employment in the private organized sector from about 0.3 percent in 1981/90 to 1.3 percent in 1990/00, on the whole such increases were not enough to compensate for the loss of public employment³.

³ The estimates of the public and private sector employment in the organized sector have been calculated from the figures obtained in the Economic Survey, 2000-01.

Given this caveat in the employment situation, another disturbing trend in the nineties relates to the open unemployment rates given in the table below. The NSS estimates show quite high unemployment rates by the daily status for both males and females. But the rates are higher for the females than for the males.

Table 2.14: Urban Open Unemployment rates: All India

Year	UPS		CWS		CDS	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1983	5.9	6.9	6.7	7.4	9.2	11.0
1987-88	6.1	8.8	6.7	8.9	8.8	12.0
1993-94	4.5	8.2	5.2	8.4	6.7	10.4
1999-00	4.8	7.1	5.6	7.3	7.3	9.4

Source: *Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years*

In this chapter we have found the following:

- There has been an increase in subsidiary activities among the urban female workers in manufacturing, services and the trade sector.
- It can be inferred that in the manufacturing sector there have been increases in the self-employed as well as regular subsidiary activities of the urban female workers in home-based work. Such activities are generally situated at the low end of the production chain and are usually low paid with no non-wage benefits. This inference is supported by evidence from micro studies.
- In the Indian context, this kind of home-based work is not an outcome of the increased export-related activities, but has been present in the Indian system earlier as well. The export related production processes that took the form of subcontracting or outsourcing work has increased the magnitude of the home-based activities.
- It has also been inferred that in the service sector the increase in subsidiary activities has taken the form of increased domestic services.
- There has been a decline in the educated unemployment of urban females due to increased activities around ITeS and software services.
- There has been feminization of certain specific activities in the software services and feminization of the home-based work in manufacturing.
- There have been declines in casual employment in the manufacturing and service sectors. Yet at the same time the share of casual employment among

urban women workers in the trade sector has been increasing, though from a low initial level.

- There have been increased activities of women in the petty retail trade that is confirmed by the dominance of the share of self-employment and a rise in the share of casual workers in the urban women workers.
- There is an overall worsening of the employment scenario in the urban areas with falling rates of growth of urban males and high open unemployment rates for both males and females.

Given these results what one can conclude is that the pattern of growth in the post liberalization era could not generate adequate employment in the urban areas. This disproves the expectations of the strategy makers of the nineties who anticipated that trade liberalization and deregulation would be adequate incentives to generate employment-intensive economic activities. The policies of privatization and deregulation followed in India, to some extent raised the output growth rate, but the further expectation that this would automatically lead to higher employment and income growth rates failed to materialize in the Indian context. There have been several reasons for such an outcome. The cutting down of public investment in vital urban infrastructure and cost-cutting in the public sector in fact reduced the efficiency and accessibility of urban infrastructure that also led to the reduction in the employment generating capacities of the private sector. The loss of infrastructural facilities also affected small producers who accounted for more labour intensive methods of production and they were automatically driven out of the economy. The output growth that has been taking place is in sectors of the economy where the scope of labour absorption has been quite low. The policies of the government in the 1990s were involved in curbing public investment and reducing state intervention, with the aim of reducing fiscal deficits and encouraging private initiatives in those key areas of manufacturing and industrial growth which involved labour-intensive growth processes. Such initiatives had been the prerogative of the Indian state before the advent of the structural adjustment policies. But in the Indian context it has been seen that public investment attracts private investment. From the above discussion it has become clear that a macroeconomic strategy relying on liberalization and deregulation cannot solve the problem of unemployment or rather the deteriorating employment

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problem of our country. The need of the hour is to frame a broader macroeconomic policy based on the revival of the Keynesian demand management policies which would reinstate the extremely important role of the state.

Finally, in the Indian context it has been observed that the policies of liberalization have had deteriorating effects on the employment of urban females. What one has observed are the increasing tendencies of a particular regressive form of feminization. Apart from the minuscule portion of the software services, i.e. the ITeS and BPO operations, developing tendencies of feminization, such tendencies have developed mainly for the work at the lower end of the value chain which involves low paid, inferior working conditions. It can be inferred that as an impact of the liberalization policies and the labour market deregulations, this kind of feminization was a response to the need of the employers for a more flexible labour force. This pattern of 'feminization' does not call for any celebration but what it requires essentially is a social policy to protect the rights of such women workers and provide them with better employment contracts.

3 | UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGED PATTERN IN URBAN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT A STATEWISE ANALYSIS

Following the discussion of the overall pattern of urban female employment in India in the previous chapters, this chapter is an attempt to understand the disparities in the employment pattern of urban females at the level of 14 major states in India and the NCT of Delhi.

An analysis of the pattern of urban female employment reveals a great degree of disparity among the states. While the all-India rate of growth of urban female employment shows stagnation, the same for the states give a mixed result. Looking at Table 3.1, we find that out of the 14 states, 7 states show a rise in the urban female employment and 6 states show a drop with Karnataka and Delhi being among those that show a stagnant rate of growth of employment of urban females. Interestingly enough, the 7 states that show a rise in the rate of growth of employment of urban females do not belong to any particular region but are scattered all over the country. Thus we find Haryana and Punjab in the north, Tamil Nadu among the southern states, West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar in the east, and Gujarat in the west registering an increased rate growth of employment of urban females over the period. Among these, only Haryana, Punjab and Tamil Nadu register a rise in the rate of growth of male employment. While for urban males, the rate of growth of employment shows a decline for most of the states (10 in number), an increase has taken place for only four states namely Haryana, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Delhi. What one can perceive from

such results is that the situation of urban females has been comparatively better than that of urban males in terms of the rate of growth of employment, which is consistent with the all-India pattern of employment.

In the overall employment situation, 9 states show a drop in the rate of growth of employment. What one observes from Table 3.1 is that there has been a deceleration in employment generation in the urban areas in the later part of the nineties. This picture of the deteriorating employment situation, which is observed in most of the states, is in line with the all-India pattern of employment.

Table 3.1: Statewise Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Employment

States/Year	Male			Female			Total		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Andhra Pradesh	3.5	2.5	1.2	4.3	2.9	1.0	3.6	2.6	1.1
Bihar	2.1	1.8	1.4	3.1	3.3	3.6	2.2	1.9	1.6
Gujarat	3.2	3.2	3.3	4.0	4.2	4.6	3.3	3.3	3.5
Haryana	3.2	3.4	3.7	5.4	7.0	9.4	3.4	3.7	4.2
Karnataka	3.0	2.9	2.8	4.0	4.0	4.1	3.1	3.1	3.0
Kerala	5.9	4.2	1.9	6.6	3.9	0.3	6.0	4.1	1.6
Madhya Pradesh	3.7	3.0	2.1	4.5	3.9	3.1	3.8	3.1	2.2
Maharashtra	3.2	3.1	2.9	4.8	4.1	3.1	3.4	3.2	3.0
Orissa	2.8	2.5	2.0	2.3	2.7	3.2	2.7	2.5	2.2
Punjab	2.6	2.8	3.1	4.1	6.7	10.4	2.7	3.1	3.7
Rajasthan	3.5	2.9	2.1	5.4	5.1	4.8	3.6	3.1	2.4
Tamil Nadu	2.1	2.7	3.6	2.5	4.4	7.2	2.2	3.0	4.3
Uttar Pradesh	3.0	2.3	1.4	5.8	5.5	5.2	3.2	2.5	1.7
West Bengal	2.5	2.2	1.8	5.2	5.9	6.9	2.7	2.6	2.4
Delhi	3.6	3.8	4.0	5.4	5.5	5.5	3.8	3.9	4.1
All India	3.1	2.9	2.5	4.4	4.4	4.4	3.3	3.1	2.8

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

However, a detailed study of the urban female employment figures given by the NSS for the one-digit classification of industries as per NIC codes disaggregated at the state level provides interesting results. In this chapter the main aim is to analyze the changing pattern of female employment in the urban areas in the light of the all-India pattern discussed earlier. The study would involve the employment situation for the urban females in their major sectors of employment, manufacturing and services, with a brief mention of the trade sector.

State Level Specificities and Variations in Urban Female Employment in the Manufacturing Sector

The trend in the proportion of manufacturing in female employment over the period of analysis is different for different states. While the shares in most of the states, barring Rajasthan, Kerala and West Bengal, have declined by both UPS and UPSS, following the all-India pattern, the extent of decline among the states has shown tremendous fluctuations. In Orissa and UP the figures register some variations over the period. In Orissa, while the share of employed of urban females in manufacturing dropped by 6.2 percent considering the UPS, it has increased marginally when including subsidiary activities, hinting at an increase in subsidiary work for urban women in the state. At the same time in UP, while the employed share of the urban women in manufacturing has increased by 1.3 percent taking into account only the principal status workers, the same has declined by 1.3 percent by the UPSS over the period of reference (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Share of Manufacturing in Urban Female Employment

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1987	43rd 1993	50th 1999	55th 1999	38th 1983	43rd 1988	50th 1994	55th 1999
Year/State	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Andhra Pradesh	24.6	28.3	21.7	21.7	24.7	28.0	22.7	22.2
Bihar	21.9	21.8	18.4	17.1	22.3	20.7	21.8	18.8
Gujarat	17.7	22.1	18.5	16.0	18.8	24.6	20.3	16.2
Haryana	18.6	19.8	13.7	9.0	21.4	17.4	19.5	12.2
Karnataka	34.4	30.5	29.1	28.9	31.8	32.3	28.1	30.7
Kerala	25.7	20.3	28.8	33.0	21.1	17.6	25.1	27.2
Madhya Pradesh	23.0	27.4	18.9	22.1	26.4	28.9	18.8	23.5
Maharashtra	21.4	21.7	17.7	14.8	23.9	23.2	17.7	15.7
Orissa	28.7	24.4	20.0	22.5	27.0	23.0	18.2	27.5
Punjab	19.5	14.0	6.7	18.5	23.1	16.4	10.3	13.4
Rajasthan	20.7	18.0	18.2	25.6	20.4	17.7	17.3	22.8
Tamil Nadu	35.6	41.2	35.0	31.9	34.6	40.7	35.1	32.6
Uttar Pradesh	29.7	22.6	29.9	31.0	34.1	24.3	31.2	32.8
West Bengal	22.7	25.0	26.6	26.5	27.2	27.0	30.5	28.8
Delhi	30.4	14.0	8.0	15.0	29.5	17.7	10.0	21.8
All India	26.0	26.9	23.6	23.2	26.8	27.1	24.1	24.0

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

So far, apart from the exceptional cases stated above, although the trend in the share of manufacturing in urban female workers has been one of decline in most of the states, yet we find that in the states of the south, that is Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, the share of employed of urban females in manufacturing

has been comparatively higher than the other states. In fact in 1999-00, the table shows that the share of employed of urban females in manufacturing in these states apart from Andhra Pradesh has been higher than the all-India estimates.

Again if we look at shares of female employment in northern states, that is in Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, it is observed that Haryana and Punjab have shares well below the national level which is primarily because in both the states a vast proportion of population is still engaged in rural areas. While in Punjab, the share of women workers in rural areas to total women workers in 2001 82 percent according to census estimates, that in Haryana was 89 percent. In these two states the range of fluctuations in the shares is noticeable. But looking at Uttar Pradesh, one peculiarity of the state being pointed out earlier, it is noteworthy that the share of urban women workers in manufacturing employment is higher than the all-India estimates. In fact, the rise in the estimates by the UPS indicate a rise of principal activity status workers among the urban female workers in the state which in itself is an indicator of a better situation of employment opportunities for urban women as principal activity status work implies a major period of availability of work in the preceding 365 days, i.e., in the survey year.

Orissa and West Bengal both register a higher share than the all-India estimates. While Orissa registers an increase in subsidiary activities, West Bengal, on the other hand, registers sharper increase by the UPS indicating increased principal activities, similar to Uttar Pradesh.

In the western states, while Maharashtra and Gujarat show a decline in the shares, Rajasthan shows a rise. The share in Gujarat and Maharashtra are well below the all-India figures. In Rajasthan, the shares are more or less like the all-India figures, but even in Rajasthan we find that the increase in the share of employment of the urban women in this sector have been more by UPS.

Rest of the states i.e. Bihar, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh register a decline in the shares over the period. In all the three states the shares are below all-India average, significantly so in Bihar and Delhi.

It is however interesting to note that the states which register a rise in the share of urban women workers in manufacturing like Kerala, West Bengal and Rajasthan, have registered sharper increase by UPS. In Kerala, the share of manufacturing in urban female employment is actually more by the UPS than by the UPSS indicating

employment opportunities in this sector for the urban female for a longer duration in the year of survey.

While, we have noted an increase in the subsidiary activities for urban women at the all-India level in this sector for the period of study, it is however notable that when we look at the shares of urban female workers at the states we find that three states, namely, Bihar, Karnataka and Delhi, which have decreasing shares, actually show a sharper drop by the UPS than by the UPSS which is to some extent an indication of increased engagement in subsidiary activities.

This gets substantiated as we look at the data pertaining to the rate of growth of urban female employment and at the figures for employment for the urban female by the type of contract in the different states, which comes a bit later in the discussion.

But before we move to our discussions pertaining to the rate of growth of urban female employment, an important observation from the table is that in states like Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh the share of urban females employed in manufacturing had been rising till 1987-88 but started experiencing a decline from the 50th around (1993-94) onwards. This is very much like the all-India pattern. We may attribute such trends as fallout of economic reforms being pursued in the 90s. While this can be true for the reform oriented states like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka, for Madhya Pradesh, where the extent of reforms have been comparatively much lower, there can be other explanations.

As we move on to discuss the annual average rate of growth of urban female employment in India, it is observed that the results are of a mixed pattern in most of the states, without any clear trend. We find that among the 14-states there has been a decline in the rate of growth of urban female employment in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and West Bengal (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Manufacturing

Status	UPS			UPSS		
	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00
Andhra Pradesh	7.1	-1.7	1.6	6.7	-0.7	1.2
Bihar	2.7	-0.1	1.6	1.1	3.6	0.3
Gujarat	8.3	-0.1	0.3	9.4	-0.4	-1.0
Haryana	5.1	-2.3	-3.0	-0.8	5.8	-3.7
Karnataka	-0.1	1.9	2.6	3.0	0.3	4.2

Status	UPS			UPSS		
	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00
States/Year	88	94	00	88	94	00
Kerala	-0.4	9.4	3.2	0.8	9.5	2.2
Madhya Pradesh	8.0	-2.8	5.6	5.9	-3.8	6.8
Maharashtra	3.8	-0.1	-0.1	2.8	-1.2	0.9
Orissa	-0.6	-0.2	4.8	-0.4	-0.9	10.2
Punjab	-4.7	-9.1	22.3	-4.9	-4.9	7.8
Rajasthan	0.2	3.3	8.8	0.2	2.8	7.7
Tamil Nadu	5.2	-0.1	2.3	5.5	0.2	2.6
Uttar Pradesh	-2.6	8.2	3.6	-4.1	7.7	3.8
West Bengal	5.2	3.6	2.0	2.7	4.6	1.1
Delhi	-12.3	-5.2	15.7	-7.1	-5.2	18.6
All India	4.1	0.9	2.6	3.6	1.1	2.8

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

For the other states, the rate of growth of urban female employment over the period gives mixed results. What is remarkable is the extent of volatility in the rate of growth of employment of urban females in these states. However this kind of volatility has been noticed mainly in states where the share of women employed in manufacturing have been quite low, like Punjab (only about 13 percent, Table 3.2) or in states like Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa where the shares have dropped substantially over the period. Only in Rajasthan do we find a high rate of fluctuation even though the share of women employed in manufacturing in the state is not very low as compared to the all-India average.

Such wide disparity among the states makes it difficult to arrive at any generalized conclusion. However one can obviously see that there have been declines in the rate of growth of female employment in half of the states considered, which is bad enough. For the states showing high rate of fluctuations in the rates of growth depict not a picture of betterment of employment opportunities, but rather one of instability. Hence, at the end what can be said of such a picture is that there has been a deterioration of the situation of the urban females in the states with signs of developing employment insecurities, which is evident from the range of fluctuations over the period.

Moreover, another noteworthy point that has been observed from the table is that among the states showing high degree of volatility, most like Karnataka, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Delhi and UP also show higher rates of growth of employment of urban women by the UPSS than by the UPS. In fact in Madhya

Pradesh there has been a decline in the rate of growth of female employment by UPS but an increase by UPSS. This indicates increased rate of subsidiary employment generation for urban women in these states. Apart from this, in the case of Maharashtra we observe that there has been a negative rate of growth of urban female employment over this period signifying a drop in the absolute number of women employed in the sector by the UPS. In fact in Maharashtra there was a drop of approximately 10,000 women in this sector between 1993/00. What is notable here is that as we include the subsidiary activity status workers, the rate of growth, though below one percent, still remains positive implying that there has been subsidiary employment generation for urban women in Maharashtra as well.

This kind of a tendency of increased subsidiary activity among urban women in the 7 states mentioned above is to some extent a confirmation of the pattern that for the nineties obtained from our all-India data analysis. This once again shows that urban women in the manufacturing sector have been sporadically engaged in economic activities rather than engaged for a continuous period. This is a signal of the fact that there has been a lack in the availability of continuous work for urban women in this sector during 1993/00.

Variations in the Employment of Urban Women in Services

In this section apart from the pattern of female employment in services the discussion would also take into consideration the divisions in the service sector. In services we find that in most of the states the share of urban women workers has been quite high. For instance, in some of the states like West Bengal and Delhi, it is observed that the share of employed of urban females in services has been more than 50 percent indicating a major proportion of women being employed in this sector (Table 3.4).

It has been noted earlier that at the all-India level the major proportion of women are employed in this sector. Most of the states also follow the same pattern. Table 3.4 gives a detailed description. Over the period of study, in almost all the states, barring Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Kerala, there have been substantial increases in the share of employed of urban females in this sector. In Punjab and Madhya Pradesh the shares have remained somewhat at the same level between 1983 and 1999-00. In Kerala the share of urban women workers have declined by the UPS but increased considering subsidiary activities over this period.

It is however evident from this table that in most of the states this sector serves as the major sector in terms of absorption of women workers. In fact in more than half of the states over 30 percent of female workers are employed in this sector. The states that registered a lower proportion of females employed in this sector as compared to all-India estimates were Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Kerala. Interestingly all the four south Indian states register shares well below the national average while the western states like Gujarat and Maharashtra register higher shares.

Another notable feature from the table is that the proportion of principal activity status workers among the urban females in this sector has been higher than the proportion by the UPSS, indicating more principal activities available for the females in this sector. This is visible for almost all the states.

Table 3.4 suggests another important fact. It shows that while the employment shares for urban females in services increased between 1983 and 1993-94, it shows a decline thereafter. However the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, while registering lower shares than the national average, experienced a steady increase in the shares over the reference period. Also, except for Haryana, which has not shown any fixed pattern, the rest of the states have actually experienced a decline between 1993-94 and 1999-00. This to some extent denotes deceleration of the employment opportunities in services in the later part of the 90s.

Table 3.4: Share of Services in Urban Female Employment

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th
	1987	1993	1999	1999	1987	1993	1999	1999
States/Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Banking and real estate								
Andhra Pradesh	0.5	0.3	0.8	2.1	0.4	0.4	0.7	2.1
Bihar	0.3	1.3	0.6	2.1	0.2	1.0	2.1	2.1
Gujarat	0.8	1.0	0.9	2.4	0.7	0.8	0.7	2.2
Haryana		2.0	2.8	2.0		1.1	1.8	1.2
Karnataka	1.9	1.0	3.2	5.3	1.6	0.9	2.7	5.1
Kerala	1.9	4.4	1.9	4.6	1.2	3.1	1.6	3.6
Madhya Pradesh	0.5	0.6	2.8	0.5	0.4	0.4	2.5	0.4
Maharashtra	2.2	2.6	4.6	5.4	2.0	2.5	3.9	5.4
Orissa	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1
Punjab	4.4	2.5	3.4	2.2	2.7	1.2	2.1	1.3
Rajasthan	0.2		1.0	0.9	0.1		0.7	0.8
Tamil Nadu	0.5	0.7	1.3	2.0	0.4	0.6	1.1	1.9
Uttar Pradesh	0.5	1.2	1.5	1.0	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.7
West Bengal	0.9	1.6	2.1	1.3	0.7	1.1	1.8	1.3
Delhi	1.0	8.9	6.2	5.4	0.9	12.2	6.0	4.3
All India	1.0	1.4	2.2	2.7	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.5

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1987	43rd -88	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1987	43rd -88	50th 1993	55th 1999
States/Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Pub Admn. And other services								
Andhra Pradesh	24.3	23.2	26.5	26.7	22.1	20.8	23.8	24.7
Bihar	26.7	23.1	41.3	35.8	22.9	24.3	36.2	31.0
Gujarat	31.0	36.6	49.1	40.9	27.7	35.1	41.4	37.6
Haryana	49.0	63.2	46.2	57.1	36.6	43.1	32.7	37.4
Karnataka	17.8	15.8	25.3	24.7	16.7	16.5	23.8	23.4
Kerala	38.0	39.2	33.5	30.6	24.3	32.8	27.5	25.2
Madhya Pradesh	23.7	32.3	34.1	22.9	21.6	29.9	32.7	21.9
Maharashtra	30.5	35.4	38.5	38.5	28.2	33.3	38.2	37.1
Orissa	26.4	38.1	40.1	29.5	25.6	31.2	33.5	25.7
Punjab	56.3	60.9	69.3	55.5	35.2	32.0	49.0	36.1
Rajasthan	14.5	21.4	32.5	30.8	11.2	16.8	26.7	21.9
Tamil Nadu	24.5	25.1	25.9	27.4	21.3	22.1	24.3	26.0
Uttar Pradesh	38.8	40.1	33.7	41.6	29.3	32.8	27.2	36.3
West Bengal	63.8	55.6	53.9	52.7	52.5	55.6	47.5	50.8
Delhi	47.3	55.7	62.2	65.4	46.1	51.9	60.8	54.3
All India	30.5	32.2	35.9	35.1	26.2	29.4	32.5	31.9
Services(overall)								
Andhra Pradesh	24.8	23.6	27.3	28.8	22.5	21.2	24.5	26.8
Bihar	27.0	24.4	41.8	38.0	23.1	25.3	38.3	33.0
Gujarat	31.7	37.6	50.1	43.3	28.4	35.9	42.1	39.8
Haryana	49.0	65.2	49.0	59.1	36.6	44.2	34.6	38.6
Karnataka	19.6	16.8	28.5	30.0	18.3	17.4	26.4	28.5
Kerala	40.0	43.6	35.4	35.2	25.4	35.9	29.1	28.8
Madhya Pradesh	24.2	33.0	36.9	23.4	22.1	30.2	35.2	22.3
Maharashtra	32.7	38.0	43.1	43.9	30.1	35.8	42.1	42.5
Orissa	26.6	38.8	40.6	29.7	25.7	31.6	33.8	25.8
Punjab	60.7	63.4	72.7	57.7	37.9	33.2	51.1	37.4
Rajasthan	14.6	21.4	33.5	31.7	11.3	16.8	27.4	22.7
Tamil Nadu	25.0	25.7	27.2	29.4	21.8	22.7	25.4	27.9
Uttar Pradesh	39.3	41.3	35.2	42.5	29.9	33.7	28.3	37.0
West Bengal	64.8	57.1	56.0	54.0	53.2	56.7	49.3	52.1
Delhi	48.4	64.7	68.4	70.8	47.1	64.1	66.8	58.6
All India	31.5	33.6	38.2	37.9	27.0	30.6	34.3	34.4

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

In our discussion of the all-India trends we have found that the banking and real estate segment of the service sector has a very small proportion of employed females. It is the other segment, i.e. public administration and other services that includes education, health, personal and community services etc. that has a major proportion of urban employed females. From the table 3.4 we find that apart from Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and Delhi, most states registered very small proportion of women workers engaged in banking and real estate sector. In Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and Delhi the shares range between 4 to 5 percent. But the table

also reveals that this share has increased over the period in most of the states except Madhya Pradesh.

The actual pattern of female employment in services becomes clearer as we analyse the employment trends in public administration and the other service sectors. It is evident that in all the states a major proportion of urban women workers is engaged in these sectors. We find that for most of the states despite an over all increase in the share of women workers in this sector till the 50th round there is a decline in next round. This is similar to the pattern exhibited in the national average, although in states like Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and UP there has been a steady increase in the shares over this period. The trend in urban female employment in services is easier to understand when we look at the rate of growth of urban female employment in this sector. Table 3.5 gives the details of the rate of growth of urban female employment in services. There is a tremendous amount of volatility in the rate of growth of employment in the service sector in most states. Such fluctuations are observed specifically in Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar and Punjab, which do not reveal any clear-cut patterns of employment. In the states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Delhi, where the proportion of urban women workers in services is quite substantial, there was a decline in the rate of growth of female employment. Among these, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh experienced a negative rate of growth in the last period denoting an absolute loss of employment for women. Among the states under consideration only Tamil Nadu and UP registered an increased rate of growth of employment of urban females. Thus from the table we find that there is no fixed pattern of employment among the urban women in services, although the fluctuations seem to indicate an environment of insecurity in terms of the availability of job options. While this high degree of volatility is observed in the rate of growth of employment for urban females in banking and real estate for almost all the states, in public administration and community services the pattern is similar to that of the overall service sector. It is however interesting to note that, in the sector where the proportion of females employed in the urban areas is quite miniscule; the rate of volatility is higher. There has been no steady trend of an increase or a decrease in the rate of growth of female employment in any of the states in the banking and real estate sector. The analysis of the 14 major states in fact show a wide range of disparity and a mixed pattern of urban female employment in this sector.

So while we can conclude that in services as a whole the employment situation has been deteriorating since 1993-94, this cannot be said for the banking and real estate segment. What can be said about banking, real estate and other related activities sector is that there has been a slight increase in the share of urban women workers in this sector, although it is still a very small proportion of the women workers. This sector is necessarily one that requires specific skills and a basic level of education, which naturally excludes the vast proportion of the poor illiterate women workers. But the rise in the share of employed and relatively higher rates of growth of employment in some of the states do indicate a betterment of the situation for the urban educated women workers. This we have seen in our earlier chapter as well. But the high degree of volatility also indicates instabilities in terms of employment generation in the sector, which is not desirable for an economy.

Table 3.5: Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Services

Status	UPS			UPSS		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
States/Year	88	94	00	88	94	00
Banking and real estate						
Andhra Pradesh	-3.7	19.7	19.5	2.7	13.5	22.1
Bihar	42.1	-10.2	27.3	39.9	16.7	2.6
Gujarat	10.2	1.1	20.4	4.7	0.7	24.6
Haryana		9.5	-1.8		13.3	-3.5
Karnataka	-10.4	24.3	11.6	-9.7	23.0	14.3
Kerala	26.1	-10.5	16.9	29.6	-7.6	15.6
Madhya Pradesh	8.5	33.6	-23.6	-0.3	42.9	-22.9
Maharashtra	7.3	13.3	5.9	9.2	11.4	8.6
Orissa	40.9	-4.0	-17.5	30.6	-1.2	-17.3
Punjab	-9.5	8.2	-3.9	-13.9	12.4	-4.5
Rajasthan			0.3			5.1
Tamil Nadu	8.0	14.7	11.4	9.6	13.8	13.3
Uttar Pradesh	22.4	8.0	-4.2	15.3	4.6	-3.0
West Bengal	15.7	7.2	-5.1	14.3	11.1	-3.2
Delhi	67.7	-1.9	1.9	83.6	-7.6	-1.4
All India	10.9	11.7	6.3	12.5	10.7	7.6
Pub Admn and others						
Andhra Pradesh	2.7	5.1	1.7	2.4	5.1	2.2
Bihar	-0.5	13.2	0.4	4.2	9.8	0.1
Gujarat	6.9	8.1	-0.4	8.6	5.7	1.1
Haryana	9.8	-1.4	7.8	7.6	-0.8	6.4

Status	UPS			UPSS		
	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00	1983 to 1987- 88	1987- 88 to 1993- 94	1993- 94 to 1999- 00
States/Year						
Karnataka	0.0	11.0	2.3	2.4	9.1	2.4
Kerala	5.6	0.6	-0.6	12.3	0.2	-0.6
Madhya Pradesh	11.2	4.3	-3.7	11.6	5.0	-3.9
Maharashtra	7.0	4.8	3.0	7.4	5.7	2.5
Orissa	11.9	3.9	-2.2	7.8	4.3	-1.6
Punjab	4.4	5.1	-0.6	0.4	10.4	-2.0
Rajasthan	12.8	10.6	1.9	13.1	11.5	-0.5
Tamil Nadu	2.3	3.2	4.8	2.7	4.3	5.0
Uttar Pradesh	4.2	0.3	6.7	6.0	0.1	8.0
West Bengal	-0.2	2.0	1.7	4.2	-0.1	3.2
Delhi	7.9	6.1	5.1	6.8	6.9	2.3
All India	4.6	5.0	2.4	6.1	4.8	2.5
Services(overall)						
Andhra Pradesh	2.6	5.3	2.5	2.4	5.3	3.1
Bihar	0.5	12.4	1.1	4.8	10.1	0.3
Gujarat	7.0	7.9	0.3	8.5	5.6	1.8
Haryana	10.6	-0.9	7.3	8.2	-0.3	6.0
Karnataka	-0.8	12.1	3.6	1.5	10.0	3.9
Kerala	7.0	-0.3	0.8	13.3	-0.4	0.7
Madhya Pradesh	11.2	5.4	-4.7	11.4	6.1	-4.7
Maharashtra	7.0	5.5	3.3	7.5	6.1	3.2
Orissa	12.2	3.8	-2.4	8.0	4.2	-1.7
Punjab	3.6	5.2	-0.8	-0.4	10.5	-2.1
Rajasthan	12.5	11.2	1.9	12.8	11.9	-0.3
Tamil Nadu	2.5	3.6	5.2	2.8	4.6	5.5
Uttar Pradesh	4.6	0.5	6.3	6.2	0.3	7.7
West Bengal	0.1	2.2	1.4	4.4	0.1	3.0
Delhi	11.0	5.1	4.8	11.4	4.9	2.0
All India	4.9	5.3	2.7	6.3	5.1	2.8

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

Recent Developments

Thus we find that the employment situation has been one of deterioration and increased insecurities in the manufacturing sector with a high degree of volatility in services for urban women in almost all the states under consideration. We have found in our earlier chapter that the loss of employment in these two sectors have been compensated by women crowding into trade. A similar trend is also observed among the states (ref. Table 3.6a). Barring Bihar, all the other states have experienced a

significant increase in the share of urban female workers in trade. A substantial rise has been observed in Punjab and Haryana, where the figures stand quite above the national average. The others except Rajasthan have registered shares that more or less are equivalent to the all-India estimates. Surprisingly, Rajasthan shows a quite lower proportion of urban women workers employed in trade as compared to the other states.

Table 3.6a: Share of Trade in Urban Female Employment

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999
Year/State	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Andhra Pradesh	16.6	17.0	14.0	20.2	16.5	15.1	13.9	21.3
Bihar	22.6	12.6	13.7	19.5	19.9	10.9	12.9	18.0
Gujarat	7.4	13.8	11.6	15.6	8.1	11.7	10.0	16.5
Haryana	5.3	2.8	5.5	25.2	3.9	3.1	3.8	20.5
Karnataka	9.3	11.1	9.5	15.3	9.6	10.1	8.7	16.0
Kerala	7.1	8.7	7.2	18.6	4.7	6.5	6.5	25.1
Madhya Pradesh	8.5	8.0	9.2	15.5	8.4	7.7	9.3	16.0
Maharashtra	10.0	9.9	13.0	19.1	9.7	9.8	13.7	20.1
Orissa	6.6	6.5	5.0	11.9	7.3	7.4	7.6	12.2
Punjab	6.8	3.4	10.7	13.7	5.3	5.1	8.2	24.9
Rajasthan	3.3	6.2	6.6	7.6	3.5	5.1	5.0	6.8
Tamil Nadu	10.2	11.7	11.8	16.6	10.1	11.3	11.4	16.5
Uttar Pradesh	12.0	11.4	8.8	11.3	10.4	8.9	7.1	10.6
West Bengal	4.1	8.6	5.3	12.9	4.5	7.9	4.7	12.9
Delhi	13.8	12.1	13.0	10.7	16.8	11.6	13.0	9.7
All India	9.9	10.9	10.7	16.2	9.5	9.8	10.0	16.8

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

A look at the annual average rate of growth of urban female employment in trade (Table 3.6b) in these states reveals that while half of them, i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and UP register a significantly increased rate of growth of female employment in the period 1993/00, in other states the results are quite fluctuating, especially in Bihar, Haryana, and Punjab. The growth rates of urban female employment in these states have been extremely volatile, although it is notable that in these states the proportion of women workers employed in trade has been substantially high. It has also been noted that including the subsidiary activities these employment growth rates have been higher compared to the figures according to the UPS indicating increased incidence of subsidiary activities in these sector for the women workers in these states. The table also depicts that in West Bengal the rate of growth of urban female employment has declined by

UPS although it has increased by the UPSS over period hinting at similar observations.

Table 3.6b: Annual Average Growth Rate of Urban Female Employment in Trade

Status	UPS			UPSS		
	1983 to 1987-1988	1987-1988 to 1993-1994	1993-1994 to 1999-2000	1983 to 1987-1988	1987-1988 to 1993-1994	1993-1994 to 1999-2000
States/Year	88	94	00	88	94	00
Andhra Pradesh	4.3	-0.5	7.9	1.7	1.4	9.0
Bihar	-9.8	4.2	9.0	-10.0	5.7	8.6
Gujarat	18.4	0.0	7.9	11.9	0.2	11.6
Haryana	-9.9	16.4	33.9	-1.6	7.5	37.9
Karnataka	6.7	0.0	11.2	3.8	0.1	13.6
Kerala	9.8	0.0	18.1	12.9	3.2	26.2
Madhya Pradesh	2.4	5.9	12.1	2.0	6.5	12.7
Maharashtra	3.3	8.0	9.8	3.6	9.3	9.8
Orissa	3.1	-1.4	18.7	3.4	3.7	11.2
Punjab	-12.3	24.7	7.5	1.7	11.5	24.0
Rajasthan	18.9	4.4	5.2	12.4	2.8	8.1
Tamil Nadu	5.0	2.8	9.9	4.3	2.8	10.5
Uttar Pradesh	2.4	-1.3	7.5	0.0	-0.6	10.0
West Bengal	21.3	-5.5	18.5	16.6	-5.8	20.6
Delhi	1.0	5.5	0.9	-4.2	6.2	-0.7
All India	5.6	2.7	10.2	4.1	3.5	12.1

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

This kind of hypothesis can be substantiated in a better manner as we look at the data on urban women's employment by the type of contract. The basic pattern of urban female employment as revealed by the data on contractual status in Tables 3.7a and 3.7b is one of an increase in the share of regular employment among urban women and a decline in casual employment. Although the share of self-employment among the urban women workers shows stagnation, this category is dominant among the urban women workers. This pattern is true according to both UPS and UPSS. In fact, if we consider subsidiary activities then the category of self-employed women constitutes nearly 50 percent of urban women workers for most states. Looking at the different states we find that in Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal the regular share of employment exceeds the share of self-employment. In states like Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, UP, and West Bengal, where there have been indications of increased subsidiary activities there have also been increases in the

share of self-employment among the women workers over the period. Apart from Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat, where there has been a drop in the share of self-employment among urban women workers, there is also a substantial share of casual employment of over 30 percent. Among the other states, those that show substantial proportions of casual workers are Madhya Pradesh and Orissa— states that are dominated by self-employment and casual employment and have shown tendencies towards increased subsidiary activities. We also find that in Rajasthan, where the rate of growth of urban female employment in manufacturing has increased, there is a significant proportion of self-employed women workers. What we infer from these revelations is that the states which have shown a decline in the rate of growth of employment in both manufacturing and service sectors, like Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, show a high presence of casual employment among the women workers. We also find an increased incidence of self-employment (as in Karnataka, UP, and West Bengal) or a combination of self-employment and casual employment (as in MP and Orissa) where there has been an increase in subsidiary activities among women. A very different observation is made about Maharashtra where there is a clear indication of increased subsidiary activities among women, yet, this state has one of the highest shares of regular employment among urban women workers. Maharashtra has the highest share of employment for urban women in the regular and salaried category. This indicates the emergence of a different kind of subsidiary, yet, regular employment opportunities for urban women in Maharashtra.

While all these variations are noted, when we look at the data by type of activity for urban women workers broadly we can infer that self-employed workers constitute almost 50 percent of the urban women workers in most of the states and there has been an increase in the share of regular employment, as is evident from the table. From the increases in self-employment along with increases in subsidiary activities we can thus infer that these activities, as we have already found from our all-India analysis, generally take the form of home-based work among the urban women. It has already been specified earlier that such kind of work is generally situated at the lower end of the production chain and is generally bereft of any kind of non-wage remuneration for the workers. We have also seen from the analysis of the type of contract that there has also been a tendency of increasing casual employment in some states where subsidiary activities have increased. This suggests that the form

of activities may be of a casual nature and this has been prominent in the manufacturing sector.

Table 3.7a: Distribution of Urban Female Workers by the Occupational Status as per UPSS

Category Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1993- 94	55th 1999- 00	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1993- 94	55th 1999- 00	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1993- 94	55th 1999- 00
Andhra Pradesh	46.4	47.3	46.2	39.3	18.2	15.5	17.4	28.5	35.4	37.2	36.5	32.2
Bihar	51.1	45.5	42.6	51.3	17.9	21.3	26.9	25.2	31.0	33.2	30.6	23.5
Gujarat	47.8	40.0	42.5	41.9	22.3	28.9	24.3	26.4	30.0	31.0	33.2	31.7
Haryana	55.5	43.9	57.4	53.5	31.3	36.4	20.6	33.0	13.2	19.6	22.0	13.5
Karnataka	37.4	36.0	46.0	41.5	23.5	15.5	25.3	32.6	39.1	48.5	28.6	25.8
Kerala	52.0	51.4	45.8	50.9	26.3	31.1	26.6	31.9	21.7	17.4	27.6	17.2
Madhya Pradesh	42.9	54.2	44.9	50.4	29.6	21.9	24.2	17.2	27.5	23.9	30.9	32.4
Maharashtra	33.6	35.5	36.5	37.4	29.3	36.7	38.9	41.0	37.0	27.8	24.6	21.6
Orissa	42.9	50.1	37.9	46.1	20.4	17.6	29.2	21.2	36.8	32.3	32.8	32.7
Punjab	56.5	58.4	49.8	49.1	34.7	31.4	41.4	43.4	8.9	10.3	8.9	7.6
Rajasthan	78.7	69.7	63.7	65.3	7.0	17.6	20.3	20.9	14.3	12.7	16.0	13.8
Tamil Nadu	40.6	45.5	39.6	39.4	22.2	29.8	30.2	40.7	37.2	24.7	30.2	19.9
Uttar Pradesh	58.0	63.5	65.8	66.1	24.9	23.8	19.9	25.7	17.1	12.7	14.3	8.1
West Bengal	35.1	44.5	36.4	43.6	45.9	42.6	43.8	40.1	19.0	12.9	19.8	16.3
Delhi	36.4	30.4	24.9	36.4	53.3	66.7	57.2	59.1	10.3	2.9	17.9	4.6
All India	45.8	47.1	44.8	45.4	25.7	27.5	29.2	33.3	28.5	25.4	26.1	21.4

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

Hence, what one can conclude is that there has been a tendency of deteriorating work conditions for urban women in the manufacturing sector. For the services sector there have been wide fluctuations in the growth rates. Most of the states have shown trends of declining growth rates of employment of urban females between 1993/00. As far as the increases in the employment growth rate in the trade sector are concerned, generally the type of activities includes crowding in petty-retail trade in the form of hawkers, street vendors, etc., which are also included in self-employment. Thus, the dominance of self-employment in the 1990s among urban women workers does not necessarily indicate betterment of their conditions in terms of employment opportunities in the era of liberalization. While with a rise in the share of regular employment among the urban female workers we cannot definitely conclude that there has been a general collapse of employment situation for the women, as it gives obvious indications for the improvement of working conditions for a subset of urban women workers, yet, the extent of the share of regular employment is also not an evidence of excellent employment opportunities for the urban women.

Table 3.7b: Distribution of Urban Female Workers by the Occupational Status as per UPS

Category Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1999- 94	55th 1999- 00	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1999- 94	55th 1999- 00	38th 1987- 1983	43rd 1993- 88	50th 1999- 94	55th 1999- 00
Andhra Pradesh	43.6	46.4	41.9	35.5	20.3	18.9	20.1	31.2	36.1	34.7	38.0	33.4
Bihar	46.2	36.2	35.6	45.6	22.6	28.0	32.7	29.6	31.2	35.8	31.7	24.8
Gujarat	41.3	35.1	32.1	37.2	26.8	36.6	34.4	30.5	31.8	28.3	33.4	32.4
Haryana	42.0	21.2	28.3	33.4	42.3	68.0	43.4	53.0	15.8	10.8	28.3	13.7
Karnataka	31.6	29.3	37.9	38.4	27.5	18.5	31.5	34.8	40.8	52.1	30.6	26.8
Kerala	26.1	32.6	32.4	38.6	42.3	45.1	35.6	40.6	31.6	22.4	32.1	20.8
Madhya Pradesh	37.5	48.1	41.4	49.2	34.9	25.9	28.1	18.5	27.7	26.0	30.5	32.3
Maharashtra	29.0	26.4	28.8	32.7	33.0	43.2	46.1	44.4	38.0	30.4	25.1	22.9
Orissa	39.4	37.9	33.5	35.8	22.0	26.8	38.3	27.3	38.6	35.3	28.1	36.9
Punjab	30.0	25.3	25.0	18.7	59.6	66.2	65.4	71.2	10.4	8.5	9.5	10.0
Rajasthan	73.7	62.9	54.3	54.3	10.0	23.4	28.2	30.1	16.3	13.6	17.5	15.6
Tamil Nadu	31.8	40.4	34.9	35.6	26.6	34.4	33.6	43.8	41.5	25.2	31.5	20.6
Uttar Pradesh	49.9	55.5	55.5	55.7	35.4	32.5	28.7	34.9	14.7	11.9	15.8	9.5
West Bengal	18.8	29.4	27.4	39.4	60.3	58.8	51.7	42.8	20.9	11.8	20.9	17.8
Delhi	31.9	22.9	21.7	20.9	57.9	74.1	59.7	74.9	10.2	3.0	18.7	4.2
All India	37.4	38.6	36.5	38.4	31.7	34.7	35.9	38.5	30.9	26.7	27.6	23.1

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

In these circumstances, the overall situation for the urban women workers is observed when we look at the open unemployment rates for the urban females by the three criteria of usual status, weekly status and daily status (table 3.8). Following the all-India pattern of declining unemployment rates by the weekly and the daily status in almost all the states there is a drop in the open unemployment rates for urban women. In fact, the picture of 14 states as is evident from the table below shows that unemployment rates have declined by all three criteria in most of the states. However in Bihar and Maharashtra there have been significant increases in these rates by all three criteria; in Bihar specifically the rate has increased from 1 percent in 1983 to approximately 9 percent in 1999-00. In Rajasthan and UP we find that the trend is similar to the all-India pattern where the rates have increased by the usual status but have declined by the other two criteria.

Table 3.8: Open Unemployment Rates for Urban Females

Rounds	UPS				CWS				CDS			
	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th
Year	1983	88	94	00	1983	88	94	00	1983	88	94	00
Andhra Pradesh	5.1	9.2	4.3	4.4	6.7	9.2	6.3	6.0	12.1	13.2	9.5	9.7
Bihar	2.0	4.0	11.2	9.4	2.4	4.7	11.1	11.8	5.5	7.0	12.3	13.5
Gujarat	3.7	1.7	6.2	2.6	2.3	2.2	6.1	3.4	5.2	6.0	7.8	5.4
Haryana	8.0	9.5	8.0	4.6	8.2	8.3	5.3	3.9	9.7	9.2	7.2	4.9
Karnataka	5.5	4.0	7.5	4.7	6.0	3.9	6.9	4.7	9.3	10.9	8.9	5.9
Kerala	25.7	34.0	24.4	26.4	23.3	33.1	22.0	23.5	29.0	40.3	27.8	28.2
Madhya Pradesh	1.6	6.0	4.6	1.5	3.1	6.7	5.9	3.8	4.9	7.8	5.9	5.7
Maharashtra	4.5	5.4	5.8	7.8	7.1	7.0	6.6	8.1	10.4	9.2	7.8	10.0
Orissa	6.3	14.2	7.8	6.7	8.3	11.7	7.7	7.3	10.9	14.3	9.3	8.2
Punjab	9.5	15.2	8.5	3.6	8.1	11.1	4.9	4.3	9.4	12.2	5.8	5.3
Rajasthan	1.3	1.6	0.8	3.7	2.1	3.4	1.2	2.7	4.1	4.2	1.5	3.5
Tamil Nadu	8.3	8.9	8.5	5.8	10.0	9.3	8.5	6.0	16.1	13.2	12.7	8.6
Uttar Pradesh	3.6	2.3	1.7	4.6	3.5	2.7	5.6	4.2	5.6	2.9	4.8	5.0
West Bengal	18.5	21.0	19.6	11.1	15.0	17.9	17.5	11.5	17.8	20.0	20.8	13.9
Delhi	4.9	10.2	6.5	5.3	4.3	10.4	5.3	3.9	5.7	10.9	6.1	4.2
All India	6.9	8.8	8.2	7.1	7.4	8.9	8.4	7.3	11.0	12.0	10.4	9.4

Source: NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key results, Various Rounds

Another significant observation is that although the open unemployment rates are moderately high for the all-India level by all the three criteria, the rates have been significantly higher by the daily status. Such a pattern of higher unemployment rates by daily status as compared to the usual and weekly status is visible for almost all the states. What is noteworthy is that by the usual status, most of the states register rates lower than the national average.

It is also observed that the highest rate of unemployment of the urban females is in Kerala followed by West Bengal. Although in West Bengal over the years the unemployment rates have declined to come somewhat nearer to the national average, in Kerala the rates have been as high as 26 percent. For Kerala, in our discussion we have found declines in the overall rate of growth of female unemployment as well as declines in female employment growth rates in the manufacturing and the service sectors. While, we have also found that the share of self-employed workers among the urban women has been dominant in Kerala and the share of casual employment has been substantially lower than the national average, yet, the high unemployment rates in the state becomes a matter of concern. Even as we look at the urban female employment elasticity of output growth in the state we find that there has been a decline from 3.0 in 1983/88 to 0.21 in 1993/00 (ref. Table 3.9). Such elasticity figures

do indicate a deceleration in employment generation for urban females with respect to the rate of growth of output. In the meantime, for West Bengal we find that these elasticity figures have improved between 1983 to 1999/00. From an employment elasticity of 0.6 in 1983/88 it has increased to 1.3 in 1993/00 indicating a relatively better situation.

In spite of being a low-income state, Madhya Pradesh in 1999/00 has been the state registering the lowest unemployment rate for urban women at only 1.5 percent. Given the discussions about Madhya Pradesh in the earlier sections we find that the share of casual and self-employed workers has dominated among the urban women in this state. While such observations denote worsened employment conditions, it is surprising that Madhya Pradesh registers such low unemployment rates. Often in the Indian context the unemployment rates are not good indicators of the actual level of job availability as the material circumstances and absence of public social security systems force the workers to anyhow find some sort of employment. If we look at the urban female employment elasticity figures for Madhya Pradesh over the period we find that there has been a decline in the elasticity from 1.3 in 1983/88 to 0.8 in 1993/00. Although the elasticity figures are quite high and are in tandem with national average of 0.8 in 1993/00, yet, a decline definitely signifies deceleration in employment creation.

Table 3.9: Urban Female Employment Elasticity of Output

States	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Andhra Pradesh	0.97	0.43	0.44
Bihar	0.71	2.06	1.36
Gujarat	1.48	0.51	0.64
Haryana	1.26	1.25	2.36
Karnataka	0.61	0.66	0.63
Kerala	3.00	0.60	0.21
Madhya Pradesh	1.24	0.73	0.86
Maharashtra	0.96	0.41	0.61
Orissa	0.32	0.71	1.08
Punjab	0.58	1.44	3.18
Rajasthan	1.57	0.74	0.66
Tamil Nadu	0.38	0.74	1.21
Uttar Pradesh	2.24	1.77	1.52
West Bengal	0.66	1.08	1.26
Delhi	0.90	0.82	0.70
All India	0.83	0.81	0.82

Source: calculated from CSO and NSSO, GOI, Various Years

However, given the high unemployment rates by the daily status definitely there is a need to create more employment opportunities for urban women. Since the

daily status criteria is the most inclusive and gives an idea of chronic unemployment as well as intermittent unemployment, the high rates by such a criterion calls for concern. Even the usual status criterion registering an unemployment rate of 7.1 percent for the national average and almost similar rates at the level of the states is a cause for worry.

In the era of liberalization clubbed with policies of reduced state control over major sectors of employment by following various deregulation, disinvestment and privatization policies the situation that has been arrived at with regard to urban female employment at the level of different states show a mixed pattern with tendencies of betterment of employment opportunities for the urban females (as per the overall urban female employment elasticity of output growth given by table 3.9) at the surface. Nevertheless, as per our earlier discussions, the rate of growth of employment of urban females in various sectors calls for some discussion. Although it has been noted in our discussion that there has been a rise in the share of regular work that gives an impression of improvement of the working conditions, the overall picture portrays a definitely aggravated situation for female workers in the manufacturing sectors in terms of employment availability as well as working conditions. In case of the service sector, the declining as well as extremely volatile situation signifies growing job insecurities. The tendencies of crowding in the retail trade do not reflect an improved situation for the women workers. The reversal of the Keynesian demand management policies and their replacement by policies of reduced state control, to some extent can be blamed for the inadequacies in the growth of urban female employment in the post-reform period. While, it has been experienced in the context of India that public investment have generated better employment opportunities for both males and females, the reduction of such government initiatives, despite the economy being on a path of low output growth, with a view to encouraging private participation has actually led to a worsening of the present situation. Although private participation in the organized sector has increased, yet, it has failed to compensate the drop in the public sector initiatives. Hence, we find that even though the average rate of growth of the country's GDP in the 1990s has been more than 5 percent, yet, employment did not increase commensurately.

For urban female workers, given such volatility, insecurities and deteriorating working conditions it has become the need of the hour to immediately set up social security policies to benefit them as well as to protect their rights in an environment where there is a pressure for more labour 'flexibility'. The framing of such policies, in the current context, calls for a reversal of some of the current strategies being followed by the Government of India.

4 | A FOCUS ON ANDHRA PRADESH AND MAHARASHTRA

In this chapter, the discussion is mainly focused on employment patterns of urban women in two particular states, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Given the use of secondary data, the study has obvious limitations and constraints.

The basic reason for selecting these two states for a detailed analysis of the employment patterns of urban women is that both the state governments embarked on the reform path soon after the central government resorted to liberalization policies, although the extent to which they have pursued these policies has been different. Referring to Table 3.1, Chapter Three, a significant observation is that both the states in the nineties experienced a drop in the annual average rate of growth of urban female employment. While the annual average rate of growth of urban female employment in Andhra Pradesh decreased to only one percent in the nineties from 4.3 percent in the eighties, the same for Maharashtra has decreased from about 4.8 percent to 3.1 percent. But while the urban female employment growth rate according to the occupation status/activity type reveals a fall in casual labour category for Andhra Pradesh, it shows a rise for Maharashtra over the period (Ref Tables 2.16 and 2.17, Chapter two). This chapter is divided into three sections; the first two deal separately with the two states and the third section contains some concluding observations.

Andhra Pradesh

Although employment in Andhra Pradesh is largely rural, unorganized and non-industrial in nature, there has been a significant decline in the work participation rates, i.e. worker-population ratio of persons aged between 15 and 59 years, in both rural and urban areas over the nineties (Ref Table 4.1), i.e. between 1993-94 and 1999-00. While it has been noted that the WPRs in AP are generally higher than the national average in both rural and urban areas over the period, it has been more so for the rural females. Also the urban female WPRs have been higher than the national average over the period. However, Table 4.1 shows that while approximately 50 percent of the women in rural areas are engaged in economic activities, in the urban areas it is on an average only 20 percent. In fact in 1999-00, the rural female WPRs in AP have been the highest in the country. Such disparity between the WPRs of urban and rural females points to the poor industrial development process in the state that failed to create adequate employment opportunities for urban women. This is discussed in the later part of the chapter.

Table 4.1: Work Participation Rates according to UPSS: Andhra Pradesh

Year	Rural	Urban
Male		
1987-88	59.5	50.3
1993-94	63.1	54.4
1999-00	60.5	51.1
Female		
1987-88	47.0	21.5
1993-94	52.0	19.9
1999-00	47.8	17.8

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

We also find that over this period the urban workforce has experienced a decline in employment growth rates (Ref Table 4.2). Although the urban share of population is not very high (around 27 percent as per the last Census), nearly two-thirds of the urban population of the state resides in the small towns. The major cities in the state (Hyderabad, Vishakhapatnam and Vijaywada) account for only 35 percent of the total urban population of AP. Hyderabad alone accounts for 25 percent of the total urban population. Although the urban sector provides employment to approximately 30 percent of the total workers in the state and the share of total workers engaged in non-agricultural activities is around 37.8 percent, the share of

urban workers to total non-agricultural workers in the state is approximately 51 percent⁴ signifying that around half of the non-agricultural activities take place in and around these urban centres.

In this study our main concern is with the nature of urban female employment. Presently, the urban female workers constitute approximately 13 percent of the urban female population of the state and around 20 percent of the total urban employment in the state⁵. However it is important to note that although half of the non-agricultural activities take place in the urban areas, the share of urban female workers to total female non-agricultural workers in the state is about 42.2 percent, which is actually less than half. This indicates a lesser participation of women in the workforce in urban areas.

Table 4.2: Urban Employment Growth Rates: Andhra Pradesh

Year	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Male	3.5	2.5	1.2
Female	4.3	2.9	1.0
Total	3.6	2.6	1.1

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

This section of the chapter is divided into three subsections, the first one being an introduction to the industrial structure of the state. Subsection two gives the details of the economic reforms strategy pursued by the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the last part is an assessment of the nature of the female employment problem in Andhra Pradesh and a detailed analysis of the recent changes in the urban female employment pattern over the period.

The Industrial Background

As stated in the beginning, in Andhra Pradesh the urban areas are the centres for industrial activities. In AP, the industrial infrastructure was built by the state in the sixties, as part of central planning after independence to build an infrastructural base suitable for industrialization in the country. AP did not have its own separate industrial policy for a long time. The PSUs like the BHEL, Vizag Steel plant, Hindustan Petroleum Refinery at Vishakhapatnam, ECIL at Hyderabad, which had been set up as a part of the central planning process, accounted for a major part of the

⁴Calculated from the Census Population estimates, 2001

⁵Calculated from the Census Population estimates and NSSO estimates of 2001.

output and capital investment in the state in the industrial sector. It was expected that the growth of industries in AP would be propelled by the PSUs through the forward and backward linkages created by these large scale industries and this would help to step up private investment. Contrary to these expectations, the process of industrialization has been quite slow in the state. This is clear from the steadily declining growth rates of the industrial sector of the state (Ref Table 4.3b).

Although in 2001-02 the manufacturing sector comprised of the major share of about 63 percent of the industrial sector, this sector showed a trend of decline (Ref Tables 4.3a and 4.3b) in the growth rates of the GSDPs in the nineties. The important industries in AP had been the basic metals, non-metallic mineral products, beverages and tobacco, food products, chemical products and textiles along with drugs and pharmaceuticals. But all these industries in the state could not increase their share of GSDP till the end of the eighties due to various factors.

Table 4.3a: Sectoral Share to GSDP at Factor Cost (in percentage, constant prices, Base 1993-94): Andhra Pradesh

Year	Share of Industry to GSDP at factor cost	Share of Manufacturing to GSDP at factor cost	Share of manufacturing to Industry
1980-81	17	10	58
1987-88	19	12	61
1993-94	22	14	66
1996-97	23	15	67
1999-00	23	15	63
2001-02	23	14	63

Source: Calculated from NAS and CSO time-series estimates of gross SDPs for the sectoral composition of the states

In the eighties, though there was an emergence of a class of entrepreneurs from the large landholders in the state, investments from the agricultural surpluses were channelised mainly into tertiary sector activities like hotels and restaurants, trading and the production of films. In the year 1992, the 'New Industrial Policy' statement announced by the GoAP, was essentially of an incentive type focused on developing the backward regions of the state like Telengana (North and South) and Rayalaseema. But the declining growth rates make it clear that little could be achieved by the state through these policies. This policy essentially marks the beginning of the reform policies in the state. In this policy, the agro-based industries alongwith the electronics and the software-based industries (mainly the export-based industries) were given the status of priority industries. While a lot of incentives were extended to

these industries in the form of investment subsidies, deferment of sales tax, concessions on power and water tariffs, etc., the state government at the same time invited and encouraged foreign equity in these industries in consonance with Central Government's New Industrial Policy.

Table 4.3b: Rate of Growth of Sectoral GSDP: Andhra Pradesh

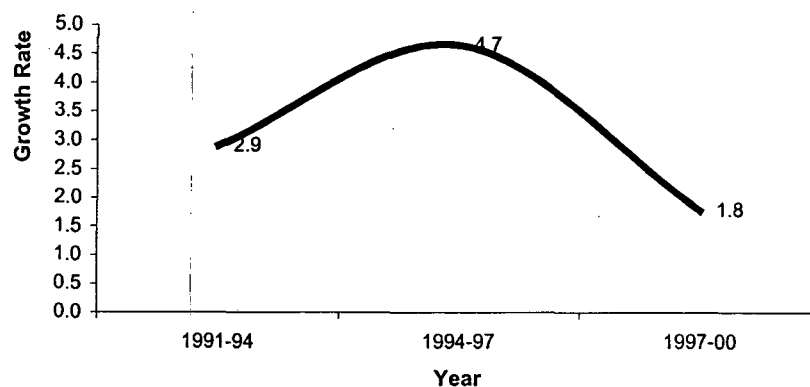
Year	Industry Manufacturing	
1983 to 1987-88	10.2	11.1
1987-88 to 1993-94	9.2	10.8
1993-94 to 1999-00	6.7	5.9

Source: Calculated from NAS and CSO time-series estimates of gross SDPs for the sectoral composition of the states

In the later years of reform i.e. in 1998-99, AP formally adopted the structural adjustment programme, as prescribed by the World Bank, with a view to develop the industrial base of the state, thus becoming the first state in the whole of Asia to initiate reforms at a regional/sub-national level. In this context, the text prepared by the GoAP, *Vision 2020: Swarna Andhra Pradesh*, in 1999, emphasized on building more export-intensive industries like garments, leather products and software. Accordingly, new garment manufacturing units were set up in the late nineties in and around the urban hub of Hyderabad. In 1999, an apparel export promotion park near Hyderabad, IT parks and other industry-wide parks were set up in the urban areas, particularly in Hyderabad, as has been suggested in the document.

In the post-liberalization era, initially there was a boom in the manufacturing sector, which was too short-lived, and the sector is now facing a recession (Fig 4.1).

Fig 4.1: Trends in manufacturing sector growth rate of GSDP after 1991: Andhra Pradesh



It now appears that the service sector has achieved more prominence in the nineties in line with the national trend. In fact in the urban areas more than 50 per cent of the activities are concentrated in the service sector. The tertiary sector produced nearly 45 percent of the total GSDP of AP in the year 1999-00. The rise in the share of employed urban females in this sector, as per the NSS estimates for the four quinquennial rounds (from the 38th to the 55th rounds) in AP, reflects the increasing importance of this sector as an employment-generating sector for women. (Ref. Fig 4.2a).

Fig 4.2a: Share of urban employed females in services: Andhra Pradesh

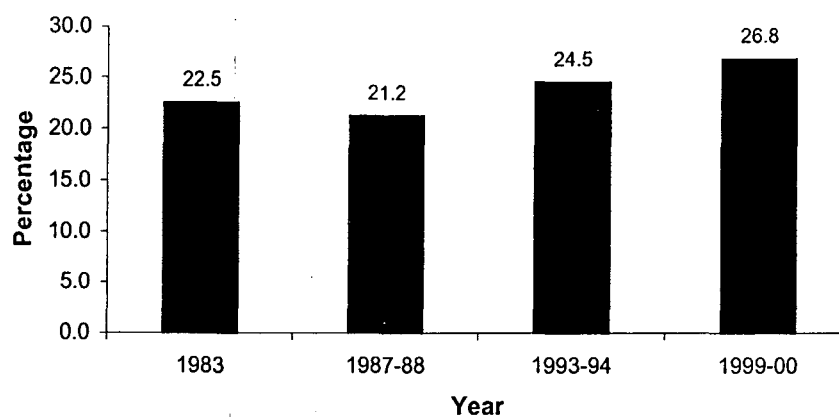
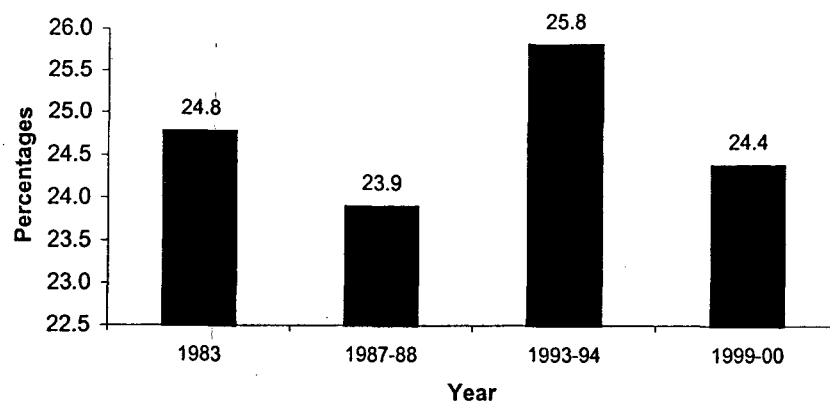


Fig 4.2b: Share of urban employed males in Services: Andhra Pradesh



Some Details of the Reform Programme Carried Out in the State in the Mid-Nineties

AP has been among those states in India which embarked on the path of liberalization soon after the central government took to the path of following the second-generation reforms in the early nineties. When the reform programme started sometime around 1995-96, the state's budgetary situation was under severe stress like in many other states in the country. The development of the state was below potential and the rate of growth of output was 5.9 percent, lower than the national average of 7.3 percent. Given such a situation, the state took major initiatives to introduce macro policies to control the fiscal deficit and improve the output growth rate of the state. The reform strategy included management of infrastructure in areas of power and irrigation as well as in the IT sector. In fact, fiscal reforms package included power sector, governance and institutional reforms. AP had been one of the pioneering states of the country to earnestly initiate and follow the economic and fiscal reform at the state level in the country.

In the initial years of reform, the significant changes that took place were in the form of agricultural subsidy cuts through a partial pruning of the rice subsidy provided by the government. Under the public enterprise reforms, a separate autonomous Commission was set up to plan and implement the policies of identifying and privatizing the state enterprises. The first large public enterprise, Hyderabad Allwyn, was privatized in the year 1996-97 under the supervision of DFID, India. The Committee in the initial phases of the reform programme identified 19 small and medium scale PSUs for restructuring, privatization or closure. These 19 enterprises included the AP State Irrigation Development Corporation and the AP State Agro Industries Development Corporation, along with a large number of Co-operatives. In the second phase of the reforms in the later part of the nineties, the AP State Road Transport Corporation and AP Seeds Development Corporation were added to the list of PSUs undergoing reforms alongwith 10 co-operative sugar mills and a number of spinning mills. Also a Staff Review Committee was formed by the government in 1997-98 to minimize fresh recruitment and reduce government employment with a view to controlling the salary bill and hence the expenditure of the state. In this period, over 5000 employees of the PSUs were retrenched through the VRS scheme. As part of the expenditure control reform policies, prohibition with regard to the State

Excise was partially rolled back to improve the excise revenue of the state in the year 1996-97.

The effects of these reform policies were felt in the health and education sectors as well, where the state in order to curtail its own expenditure, encouraged private players. In the education sector, the share of public expenditure on education as a percentage of the state budget declined from 19.6 percent in 1980-81 to only 16 percent in 1995-96. The share of the health sector in the state budget declined to only 5.2 percent in the 8th Five-Year Plan (1992-97) from 5.8 percent in the 7th Five-Year Plan (1985-90)⁶. There was also a drop in the share of public expenditure on the health sector in the SDP. Prior to SAP, in the 7th Five-Year Plan (1985-90), this share was 1.29 percent, which fell to 0.94 percent in the 8th Five-Year Plan (1992-97).

Apart from all these changes, power sector reforms were initiated in the year 1996 and by 1998 a separate AP Electricity Regulatory Commission was formed by the state and power tariffs were raised by as much as 9 percent. Also the irrigation rates were raised upto five times by 1997-98, as part of the infrastructural reforms. According to the suggestions and recommendations of the World Bank, the reforms in AP, with a view to controlling the fiscal deficit of the state and improving the state finances, took the shape of cutting down vigorously on public spending, reducing subsidies, increasing participation of private players in the major sectors like power, irrigation, infrastructural facilities like roads and port sectors and even in social infrastructure like education and health. Since then the state has been dependent on World Bank loans for the development of all these sectors and has framed policies to attract private investment to these sectors.

The major changes that took place in the industrial sector, specifically in the manufacturing sector, as part of the reform policies, have been already stated in the previous section. Despite the increased number of manufacturing units being set up in the urban areas producing export-oriented products like garments, leather products and software, the share of industry has not increased substantially in the post-reform era, (Table 4.3a). Meanwhile, there has been an increasing prominence of the service sector evident from its rising share in the gross SDP and an increase in the economic activities in this sector.

⁶ GoAP, Budget estimates, Detailed Demand of Grants

However, in order to analyse whether the changes that have been brought about by the reforms in the AP economy benefited the masses, some key factors such as the effects on output and employment need to be assessed. With this perspective we turn to our major point of study, that is regarding the pattern of the female employment in the urban regions of AP and the impact of the changes in female employment that have occurred in the urban industrial and service sectors due to the neo-liberal policies followed in the state.

Nature and Trends of Female Employment: Impact of the Reforms

In this section the focus would be to try to look at the changes that have taken place in female employment in the post-reform period using secondary data sources. The focus is mainly on two points: first, to compare the rate of growth of output and the rate of growth of employment of the urban women in the manufacturing and the services sector; and second, to look at the question of casualisation of the urban female workforce as a result of the market-oriented reforms.

From the regional analysis done in the previous chapter, a significant part of the urban female employment trend has become visible. In order to avoid repetitions we have used references to the tables and figures of Chapter Two, wherever necessary, throughout this chapter.

While the distribution of urban female employment across sectors for AP, provided by the NSS for the one-digit classification of the industries as per the NIC codes, constitutes an ample proof of the fact that the manufacturing and the services sectors along with trade (which is a part of the broader tertiary sector) together constitute around 70 percent of the economic activities in the urban AP for women workers in 1999-00 (Ref Table 4.4a), it is actually less than the national figures that is around 75 percent (Ref table 2.3a, Chapter Two). What is remarkable is that unlike the all-India pattern, the urban females in AP show a significantly increased share of employed in construction. Such increase in the share of employed in construction is visible for the men at both the national level as well as in AP (Table 4.4b) but such high proportion of women engaged in construction in AP is really surprising. From the table it is also evident that the tertiary sector i.e. the trade and services sectors have become more prominent over the years with increased share of employment for the urban females. Again manufacturing (1), which consists of the agro-based industries including textiles, garments, leather and leather-products, beverages and

food products, tobacco, paper and paper products, etc. according to the NIC classification and therefore has a higher share of women employed in the urban areas, depicts a fall in the share of employed over the period both by the UPS and UPSS. It is however notable that there have been marginal increases in manufacturing (2), that comprises of all non-agro based industries: specifically chemicals, rubber and plastics, basic metals, non-metallic mineral products and manufacturing of other electrical and electronic as well as transport equipments. The increases have been more by the UPSS, denoting increased subsidiary activities in this sector. This point is substantiated in a better manner when we look at the employment pattern by the type of contract. Meanwhile in the services sector there have been an increase in the share of employment of the urban females in the banking and real estate segment of the service sector that includes financial intermediaries, banking, insurance, real estate and business activities. This is also true for the urban males in AP. Similar increases are observed for both males and females in the trade sector. The pattern of employment among the males and females becomes clear when we analyse the rate of growth of employment in the different sectors.

Table 4.4a: Distribution of Urban Female Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Andhra Pradesh

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Agriculture	27.5	24.7	27.8	15.1	30.4	30.4	30.8	16.8
Mining	0.2	1.1	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.9	0.1
Manufacturing (1)	22.4	24.3	18.9	19.0	22.1	23.9	19.4	18.3
Manufacturing (2)	2.2	4.0	2.7	2.7	2.6	4.1	3.3	3.9
Electricity		0.1	0.2	0.1		0.1	0.2	0.1
Construction	5.2	3.9	6.9	12.3	4.7	3.7	5.9	11.1
Trade	16.6	17	14	20.2	16.5	15.1	13.9	21.3
Transport	1.2	0.7	0.7	1.6	1	0.5	0.6	1.5
Banking and real estate	0.5	0.3	0.8	2.1	0.4	0.4	0.7	2.1
Pub admn. and others	24.3	23.2	26.5	26.7	22.1	20.8	23.8	24.7
Services	24.8	23.6	27.3	28.8	22.5	21.2	24.5	26.8

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

Table 4.4b: Distribution of Urban Male Employment According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Andhra Pradesh

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1983	43rd -88	50th 1993 -94	55th 1999 -00	38th 1983	43rd -88	50th 1993 -94	55th 1999 -00
Agriculture	10.3	9.7	10.9	7.1	10.4	10.0	11.3	7.1
Mining	0.8	1.8	2.3	1.0	0.8	1.8	2.3	1.0
Manufacturing (1)	14.0	12.7	9.4	9.4	14.3	13.2	9.4	9.4
Manufacturing (2)	7.2	7.9	8.6	9.1	7.3	7.8	8.4	9.1
Electricity	0.5	1.2	1.4	0.7	0.5	1.2	1.4	0.7
Construction	6.5	7.9	8.6	11.6	6.4	7.7	8.6	11.6
Trade	21.8	22.3	21.7	24.5	21.7	22.1	21.8	24.5
Transport	13.4	12.5	11.7	11.9	13.4	12.3	11.6	11.8
Banking and real estate	2.9	3.4	3.6	4.8	3.0	3.4	3.5	4.8
Pub admn and others	21.5	20.3	21.6	19.9	22.4	20.6	21.4	20.0
Services	24.4	23.6	25.1	24.7	25.3	24.0	25.0	24.8

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

We have already looked into the fact that the average rate of growth of urban female employment in AP has experienced an overall decline (Table 4.2). But as we look at the growth rates in the different sectors for the urban males and the females in AP it becomes evident that although there has been a decline in the employment growth rates for urban females in the manufacturing and service sectors, yet there has been a significant rise in the employment growth rates for urban females in the trade sector (Ref Table 4.5). Interestingly, the construction sector has experienced a significant increase in the rate of growth of employment for urban females as compared to the other sectors. For urban males it becomes obvious from the reduced employment growth rates in all the sectors that the employment scenario has absolutely deteriorated. But what is notable from the table below is that for all the sectors the rate of growth of employment for the urban females is higher when the subsidiary activity is included. This again hints at the growing incidence of subsidiary activities in the urban areas among the women workers. These increased subsidiary activities among the women workers have generally taken the form of self-employment or casual employment as we have observed from our all India analysis in Chapter two. A detailed study of the employment shares of women workers by their activity status in different sectors substantiates the hypothesis in AP.

Table 4.5: Rate of Growth of Employment of Urban Males and Females In Different Sectors: Andhra Pradesh

Year	Males			Females		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
UPS						
Manufacturing	3.1	0.4	1.8	7.1	-1.7	1.6
Trade	4.3	2.3	3.3	4.3	-0.5	7.9
Banking and real estate	7.0	3.9	6.4	-3.7	19.7	19.5
Pub admn and others	2.5	3.8	-0.03	2.7	5.1	1.7
Services (overall)	3.1	3.8	1.0	2.6	5.3	2.5
Construction	8.5	4.2	6.6	-2.5	12.9	11.9
UPSS						
Manufacturing	3.2	-0.1	2.0	6.7	-0.7	1.2
Trade	4.2	2.5	3.3	1.7	1.4	9.0
Banking and real estate	7.1	3.5	6.6	2.7	13.5	22.1
Pub admn. and others	1.9	3.4	0.1	2.4	5.1	2.2
Services (overall)	2.6	3.4	1.2	2.4	5.3	3.1
Construction	8.2	4.7	6.5	-1.7	11.1	12.9

Source: calculated from Census Population totals and NSS employment unemployment figures, various Years

Given the indication of increased subsidiary activities among urban women in AP, we find from Tables 4.6a and 4.6b that in AP there has been a decline in the share of self-employment and casual employment among the urban women workers over the period both by the UPS and the UPSS. But the Tables also point out that the share of self-employed and casual labour in the state dominates the pattern of employment among the women workers. Although the share of regular employment has increased among the women workers in the state over the period, which indicates some improvement of the employment pattern, yet nearly 70 percent of the women workers are either self-employed or casual labourers in the state. Another significant observation from the tables is that the share of casual employment in the state has been significantly higher than the national average. The sector-wise distribution of women workers by the type of contract reveals certain facts.

In the manufacturing (1) sector, where the proportion of women's employment has been quite high, there has been an increase in the share of regular employment. Yet the incidence of self-employment is also very high in this sector. It constitutes around 50 percent share of females employed. Interestingly, the trends suggest that in the initial period of the liberalization process, i.e. in the early nineties, there was a huge increase in the self-employed category that dropped in the late nineties. Now,

the nature of the classification done on the basis of the questions asked in the NSS surveys categorizes home-based workers in the self-employed status. By now, it is a well-known fact that the increase in the export-oriented production units, specifically in garments manufacture, in the liberalization period was a kind of outsourcing/subcontracting of the production done by the big companies engaging mostly women workers on a piece-rate basis. Women engaged in this kind of work were classified as self-employed in the NSS surveys. Traditionally, large concentrations of women workers have also been found in some of the urban centres in the *beedi* industry⁷ where the activities are generally home-based. All this had led to an increase in the share of female employment in this category in 1993-94. But incidentally there has been a drop in this category in the next period (1999-00) that is compensated by a rise in the regular employment. This indicates an improvement of the employment situation for the urban women as regular work is a sign of permanent and better paid jobs for the women in urban areas. But simultaneously we also find that there has been a decrease in the share of females employed in this sector. So it becomes difficult to draw any such conclusions.

An important point that is depicted by the data is that in manufacturing (2) where there has been a marginal rise in the share of females employed, there was increase in the casual employment over the period. Also in trade where there has been a significant increase in the share of urban female workers, though the share of employment is dominated by self-employment, here again there has been a significant increase in the casual employment. But a remarkable observation that is suggested by the table is the large share of casual employment among urban women in construction. We have seen that in AP the share of employed females in the construction sector has increased significantly and the rate of growth of employment for urban women in construction has been the highest among all the sectors. Given a tendency among the women workers in the urban areas to shift to construction, a domination of the casual employment in the share of women workers in construction is but an obvious indication towards an increased tendency of casualisation of the female workforce. At present, over 90 percent of the women workers in construction are casual workers both by the UPS and the UPSS.

⁷ Deepita Chakravarty (2003).

**Table 4.6a: Urban Female Workers According to the Occupation Status
Considering the UPS: Andhra Pradesh**

Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th
	1987 1993 1999				1987 1993 1999				1987 1993 1999			
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Manufacturing (1)	44.9	52.2	71.4	51.1	10.9	5.8	0.8	37.0	44.3	42.0	27.8	11.8
Manufacturing (2)	81.5	53.4	50.7	52.5	13.2	33.4	24.4	28.8	5.3	13.2	25.0	18.8
Construction	1.6	-	-	3.1	7.3	3.9	2.1	2.5	91.1	96.1	97.9	94.4
Trade	90.1	91.8	84.4	76.6	4.2	2.1	6.4	12.1	5.7	6.1	9.2	11.2
Banking and real estate	-	-	27.0	27.9	100.0	73.9	73.0	70.5	-	26.1	-	1.6
Pub admn and other services	26.0	24.6	25.4	16.9	63.1	59.6	62.1	65.5	10.9	15.8	12.4	17.6
Total	43.6	46.4	41.9	35.5	20.3	18.9	20.1	31.2	36.1	34.7	38.0	33.4

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

**Table 4.6b: Urban Female Workers According to the Occupation Status
Considering the UPSS: Andhra Pradesh**

Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th	38th	43rd	50th	55th
	1987 1993 1999				1987 1993 1999				1987 1993 1999			
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Manufacturing (1)	47.6	56.0	72.1	54.3	10.1	5.3	0.7	34.6	42.3	38.7	27.3	11.1
Manufacturing (2)	82.7	47.4	57.2	70.9	9.7	25.8	17.2	17.6	7.6	26.8	25.6	11.5
Construction	1.5	-	-	3.5	7.1	3.3	2.1	2.5	91.4	96.7	97.9	94.0
Trade	90.0	91.2	86.2	78.9	3.7	2.8	5.5	10.9	6.3	6.1	8.4	10.2
Banking and real estate	-	32.1	27.0	32.6	100.0	50.2	73.0	65.9	-	17.7	-	1.5
Pub admn and other services	26.5	30.9	28.1	17.9	61.9	53.9	59.8	64.5	11.6	15.2	12.1	17.6
Total	46.4	47.3	46.2	39.3	18.2	15.5	17.4	28.5	35.4	37.2	36.5	32.2

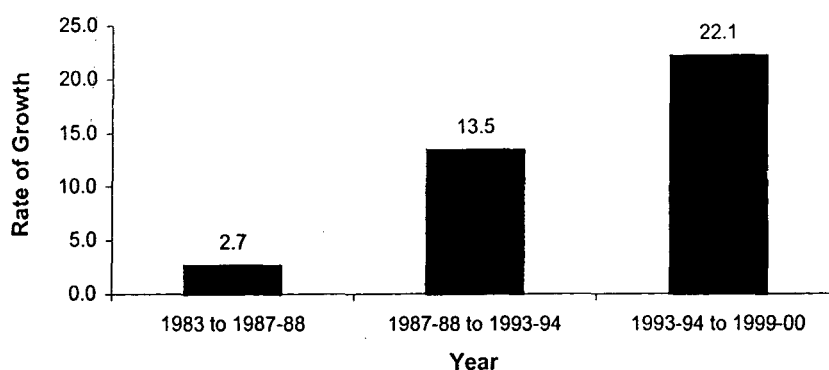
Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

Also one can say that although home-based workers are classified by the NSS in the self-employed category, these women workers are engaged in regular activities but are not attached to any particular factory and receive wages on a piece-rate basis. Again a major concentration of women workers in the *beedi* manufacturing industry engaged in the rolling of *beedi*, are also paid on piece-rate basis. These kind of jobs, though classified by the NSS as self-employment, are nothing but casual employment for women, which do not have a fixed nature of payment, lack continuity with no social security benefits for the workers and in which the work conditions are pathetic.

Again as we look at the service sector, it is the financial intermediaries, insurance, banking and other related activities sector that includes computer and related activities that show an increase in the growth rates of female employment (Ref Fig 4.3). But we find declining rates of employment growth (Fig 4.4) and share of employment in the other divisions of the service sector, which include education, health and personal & community services. As a result, the overall service sector

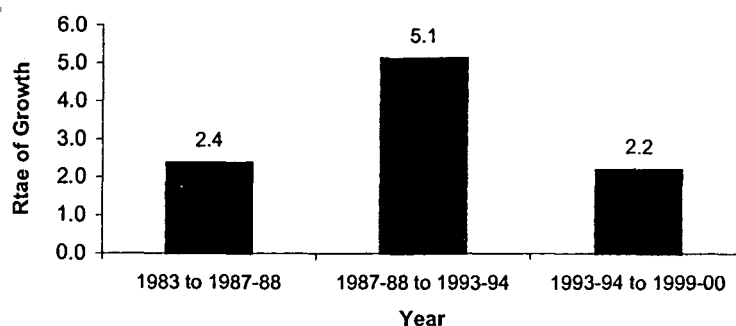
registers a fall in the rate of growth of female employment as this segment constitutes a major proportion of the share of employment in the service sector.

Fig 4.3: Rate of Growth of urban female employment in the banking, real estate, etc.: Andhra Pradesh



But compared to the other sectors, in both the divisions of this sector there is a predominance of the regular employment. Over 60 percent of the employed females in this sector fall in the category of regular employment. Although, as stated earlier, regular employment denotes better quality employment for women, yet what is notable in this sector is the low employment elasticity of output growth for urban females in both banking and real estate as well as in public administration and other services. The figures for employment elasticity of output growth for urban females in the different sectors give an idea of the pattern of employment generation pattern in the state.

Fig 4.4: Rate of Growth of urban female employment in the Pub Ad. & other services: Andhra Pradesh



Post reforms, in AP, we have seen in our earlier section (Table 4.3b) that there has been a decline in the growth rate of the manufacturing sector, yet it has registered a rate of growth of around 6 percent approximately between 1993/00. Yet the rate of growth of urban female employment in this sector has been quite low. The urban female employment elasticity of output in the different sectors reveals that although there has been an urban female employment elasticity of 0.40 between 1993/00, which is an increase over the years of reference, yet the rate of growth of output in unregistered manufacturing was not matched by the rate of growth of employment of urban females (Ref Table 4.7). The urban female employment elasticity of output growth also shows a sharp decline over the period for the unregistered manufacturing sector, which also indicates that there have been inadequate employment generation for the urban women in AP. This is because, from the policy perspective, the small firms in the unregistered sector in AP have been better at employment generation for women. In 1999-00, in AP, the percentage of women workers in the unregistered small-scale sector had been approximately around 37 percent⁸. For the urban males too there has been a drop in the elasticity figures. Such declines in the elasticity figures may be attributed to the economic policies that were pursued in the state. The privatization and deregulation policies that were part of the reform strategy systematically worked against the interests of most of the small producers, who accounted for a large part of the unregistered but labour-intensive forms of urban production. The output growth thereafter has been more capital-intensive rather than being a labour-intensive one, thus failing to create adequate employment opportunities in this sector.

Table 4.7: Employment Elasticity of Output for Urban Males and Females in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Females			Males		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Manufacturing(Registered)	0.22	0.25	0.43	0.20	0.20	0.31
Manufacturing(Unregistered)	0.63	0.27	0.34	0.56	0.23	0.24
Manufacturing (Total)	0.30	0.25	0.40	0.27	0.21	0.29
Trade, hotels and restaurants	0.24	0.42	0.40	0.22	0.35	0.28
Banking and real estate	0.37	0.50	0.28	0.33	0.42	0.20
Pub. Ad and others	0.38	0.40	0.31	0.34	0.33	0.23
Services (overall)	0.37	0.44	0.30	0.33	0.37	0.21

Source: Calculated from CSO and NSSO, GOI, Various Years

⁸ Calculated from Informal sector in India, 1999-00, NSS.

We also find that in the service sector, specifically in the banking and real estate sector, the female employment elasticity is very low, only about 0.28 and it decreases over the period. Hence although the share of regular employment for the urban women workers in this sector is very high, the rate of growth of employment generation has not been that successful for both males and females. This is evident from the low elasticity figures. In fact for the service sector as a whole there has been a deceleration in employment generation both for urban men and women, as we find that employment elasticity for the overall service sector for the urban females and males stands at only 0.3 and 0.2 respectively. To a great extent this drop can be attributed to the decline in the overall public sector employment in the state as part of the reform programme. The public services offered by the state were converted in a major manner into an e-governance pattern where the administration was computerized, thereby reducing the government staff size. In the nineties public sector employment grew at an average of less than 1 percent compared to over 3 percent per annum prior to the reform.

As we look at the trade sector, the employment elasticities have improved for urban females but registers very low figures for urban males. The employment elasticity of output growth for both males and females gives an impression of the inadequacies involved in the overall employment generation in the state. From our discussion we find that the general employment growth rate has suffered a setback in the states as a result of the reforms process. While employment opportunities have reduced to a large extent for both males and females, there has also been a tendency towards casualisation of the female workforce. Although the employment growth rates as well as employment elasticities have been higher for women in the state as compared to the men, this does not indicate better employment options for the women.

In fact the employment scenario for women in the urban areas of Andhra Pradesh becomes apparent when we look at the open unemployment rates for the urban areas in the later part of the nineties (Ref Table 4.8). Unemployment rates as given by the NSS are defined as ratio of unemployed to the labour force. These rates are given by the usual status, the current weekly status and the current daily status. Although it is noteworthy that the unemployment rates for urban females in AP are lower than the national average both according to the usual and the current weekly criteria and somewhat similar by the daily status, the open unemployment rates for

urban females in AP have been higher than that for urban males by all three criteria. It is also observed that the unemployment rates have been significantly higher by the daily status than by the usual or the weekly status.

Table 4.8: Open Unemployment Rates in Urban Andhra Pradesh

Year	UPS		CWS		CDS	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1983	5.4	5.1	6.5	6.7	9.4	12.1
1987-88	6.4	9.0	6.9	9.2	10.1	13.2
1993-94	3.5	4.3	4.8	6.3	7.5	9.5
1999-00	4.3	4.4	4.8	6.0	7.7	9.7

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, NSS, Various years

The daily status criterion of unemployment gives the volume of unemployment on a day during the survey year and is the most inclusive among the unemployment criteria. It includes chronic as well as intermittent unemployment and also includes the unemployment days of those who have been classified as employed by the weekly status criterion. The high estimates of unemployment rates by this criteria among both men and women, specifically among urban women in 1999-00, even after the implementation of the several policies, points to the fact that the reform measures could not be generate enough employment opportunities for the men and women of the state.

In fact the declining rates of growth of employment in between 1993/00 point to the worsening employment scenario. What we find from our discussion is that for the urban females there has been a general decline in the WPR alongwith a simultaneous degeneration of the employment situation for the existing workers. Although such an observation holds true for males too, the higher unemployment rates for the women as compared to men and the domination of self-employed and casual workers in the share of women workers indicate a worsened employment pattern for the women workers in the urban areas in the state. Since a considerable period has passed since reforms were initiated in the state, it can therefore be said that the various policy measures adopted by the GoAP as part of its reform strategy can be blamed for such situations or one can be of the opinion that these policies are yet to prove their worth in terms of improving the employment situation in the state.

Maharashtra

Maharashtra has always been an industrially advanced state of India from the pre-independence period reflecting its strategic geographical position on the west coast along the Arabian Sea. Being more urbanized than most states in the country, almost 43 percent of its population, much of it consisting of migrants, lives in towns and cities, especially in Mumbai and surrounding cities like Thane. In fact Mumbai, Thane and the urban areas in Nagpur and Pune constitute nearly 50 percent of the urban population of the state. Maharashtra derives most of its income from the secondary and tertiary sectors and it is not yet self-sufficient in foodgrains. The state has consistently done well in terms of growth rates of the GSDP till the early nineties, after which there has been a decline in the growth rate of GSDP in the state. Between 1980/91 the rate of growth of GSDP in Maharashtra was 5.85 percent, which fell to 5.75 in the period 1993/00 and its ranking dropped to the sixth place in 1993/00 from the third place earlier⁹.

The growth in SDP has come essentially from the non-agricultural sectors, specifically in the regions like Mumbai and Thane. Maharashtra suffers from regional imbalances and disparities in terms of income growth rates and the poverty levels. Much of its income comes from the Greater Mumbai region, which has been a huge industrial base for the state. Mumbai, the capital of Maharashtra, has been the icon of national industrialization and is now the principal financial centre and a major commercial hub of India.

Table 4.9: Work Participation Rates by the UPSS: Maharashtra

Year	Rural	Urban
Male		
1987-88	54.6	49.6
1993-94	55.1	52.6
1999-00	53.1	53.2
Female		
1987-88	46.2	15.9
1993-94	47.7	16.9
1999-00	43.4	13.7

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

Yet, in such a state we find that the work participation rates for both rural and urban females have declined in the nineties. Though the work participation rates for urban males have increased significantly both by the UPS and the UPSS, the same for

⁹ S. Mahendra Dev and C. Ravi, 2003

urban females have declined (Ref Table 4.9), despite the fact that for the year 2001, about 47 percent of the total urban population of Maharashtra and about 17 percent of the total urban workers have been women¹⁰. Similar to AP, in Maharashtra too the rural WPRs of the females are higher than the urban ones. Despite being a state where 75 percent of the non-agricultural activities take place in urban areas, the rural-urban disparity in the WPRs and the low WPR of urban females are an indication of the fact that even in Maharashtra the development process was not able to generate enough employment for the women.

The trends of urban employment in Maharashtra have been a bit different from the all-India trend in the sense that while Maharashtra has experienced an overall increase in the WPRs of urban males between the age group 15-59 years over the period according to the UPSS, the all-India trends show a stagnation for the same (Ref Table 2.2, Chapter Two). Again, a notable point is that the extent of decline in the WPRs of the urban women in Maharashtra has been more than the decline at the all-India level, signifying the acuteness of the female employment problem in the state. This revelation is interesting as it suggests some sort of gender discrimination in the urban labour market such that while the male WPR rises, the female WPR falls from the already low figures. The gender discrimination appears all the more prominent when we find that while 75 percent of non-agricultural activities are concentrated in the urban areas, the proportion of urban females in non-agricultural activities is only 13 percent¹¹.

In line with the national trend of reduced employment growth rates, Maharashtra also shows a decline in the annual average urban employment growth rates (Ref Table 4.10) in the nineties. However, yet again it is noteworthy that while the growth rate of employment for urban females at an all-India level has stagnated at 4.4 percent (Ref Table 2.1, chapter two), in Maharashtra the rate of growth of urban female employment has declined, and that too even more sharply than that of urban male employment¹².

¹⁰ According to Census population totals, 2001

¹¹ Calculated from Census Provisional Population Totals, 2001

¹² While the WPRs refer to worker-population ratios in the age group 15-59, the employment growth rates have been calculated for the total population. Therefore while urban male rate of growth of employment show a decline, the WPRs for the same depicts an increase.

Table 4.10: Urban Employment Growth Rates: Maharashtra

Year	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Male	3.2	3.1	2.9
Female	4.8	4.1	3.1
Total	3.4	3.2	3.0

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

In the light of the above, it is evident that the trends in the employment pattern in Maharashtra are not similar to that of the national trends. In Maharashtra while there has been a rise in the male WPRs a simultaneous fall has been observed for the urban female WPRs. To analyse this decline in the employment growth rates and the developing trends in the employment patterns of urban females in the nineties, it is necessary to study the development of the different sectors and their growth processes in the state. This section of the chapter would thus be divided in two sub-sections, the first being an attempt to provide a brief outline of the changes in the sectoral shares over the period under the impact of the macro policies initiated by the state in the nineties and the second providing an analysis of the trends in urban female employment in Maharashtra.

***Predominance of the Tertiary Sector in Urban Maharashtra:
An Overview of the Sectoral Compositions and the Changes
Occurring in the Nineties***

Maharashtra has always been in competition with Gujarat to be the most industrially advanced state of the country. The growth process of Maharashtra is characterized by periodic fluctuations across the sectors. Yet the economy of the state grew at 4.73 percent per annum till 1999-00. Over successive Plan periods, the non-agricultural sectors, i.e. the secondary and the tertiary sectors have played a major role in the development of the state's economy.

As regards the secondary sector, manufacturing in both registered and unregistered segments, electricity, gas and water supply have showed sustained growth over the decades. The share of the secondary sector as a whole to the GSDP had increased from 26 percent from 1960-61 to 34 percent in 1980-81 and has remained almost the same in the nineties (Ref Table 4.11a). Manufacturing, which constitutes about 70-80 percent of the secondary sector, has also registered an

increase in its share of GSDP. The basic metals and engineering industry and the chemicals and the pharmaceuticals industry are the important contributors to this sector besides the many ancillary industries. The Mumbai port supports the industries dependent on imported raw materials like crude oil, etc. Till the eighties, textiles had also been one of the major contributors to this sector. But with the closure of the textile mills in Maharashtra during the late eighties, it was the tertiary sector that began experiencing an increase in the sectoral share. However, there has been a decline in the sectoral share as well as the rate of growth of output in the secondary sector as well as the manufacturing sector (Ref Table 4.11b) in the nineties, which is a cause of concern.

In Maharashtra, the tertiary sector experienced an exceptional increase in share of GSDP since the eighties. It has been the tertiary sector, which has grown consistently at a pace higher than the average for the economy. Its sectoral share has increased from around 30 percent in the sixties to over 50 percent at the present. Trade, transport, banking and real estate dominated the scene with regard to this sector. The banking and real estate segments of the services sector alone constitute around 40 percent of the tertiary sector¹³. The service sector has registered a rise in the share in GSDP to 30 percent in 2001-02 from about 22 percent in 1980-81 (Ref Table 3.9a). The activities in this sector in and around Greater Mumbai have been one of the major reasons for this increase in the sectoral shares. In fact, 62 percent of the income of Greater Mumbai comes from the tertiary sector. Also, the pre-eminence of Mumbai in Maharashtra has been one of the primary reasons behind the increase in the share of the tertiary sector in the GSDP. The location of the headquarters of the RBI and the Mumbai stock exchange has attracted a large number of financial institutions and banks to the state. In fact in 1999-00, Mumbai alone accounted for about 25 percent of the State income¹⁴. The Mumbai Airport handles the major share of the country's international passengers and cargo, which has added to the expansionary process of the tertiary sector.

In the context of the liberalization policies, the location of new investment in industry and infrastructure in the form of FDIs post-1991, has been the highest in Maharashtra. Between 1991 and 2002, Maharashtra has garnered around 18 percent of the total FDI coming to the country, much of which has been located in and around

¹³ Calculated from the CSO time-series data for the sectoral GSDP

¹⁴ Maharashtra Human Development Report, 2002

Greater Mumbai (comprising of Mumbai, Thane and Raigad region)¹⁵. Mumbai's share has been around 10 percent of the total FDI coming to the country between 1994 and 2002¹⁶. Mumbai has been recognized as a 'global city' with a huge potential of growth and development. Yet, the rate of growth of GSDP in the secondary and the tertiary sectors that together constitute more than 80 percent of the share to GSDP showed a declining trend in the later part of the nineties (Ref Table 4.11b).

Table 4.11a: Sectoral Share to GSDP at Factor Cost (percentage, constant prices, base 1993-94): Maharashtra

Year	Share of Secondary sector to GSDP at factor cost	Share of Manufacturing to GSDP at factor cost	Share of Tertiary sector to GSDP at factor cost	Share of Services to GSDP at factor cost	Share of Trade to GSDP at factor cost
1980-81	34	25	38	22	12
1987-88	33	24	43	24	12
1993-94	33	25	47	28	11
1996-97	34	26	46	25	13
1999-00	32	26	51	30	12
2001-02	30	22	54	33	13

Source: Calculated from NAS and CSO time-series estimates of gross SDPs for the sectoral composition of the states

Table 4.11b: Rate of Growth of Sectoral GSDP: Maharashtra

Year	Secondary	Manufacturing	Tertiary	Services	Trade
1983 to 1987-88	6.3	6.0	8.3	7.9	6.5
1987-88 to 1993-94	9.1	10.1	11.2	12.4	8.2
1993-94 to 1999-00	5.9	6.4	7.4	7.5	6.7

Source: calculated from NAS and CSO time-series estimates of gross SDPs for the sectoral composition of the states

Given this industrial background, a brief analysis of the reform policies adopted by the state in addition to the macro policies initiated by the central government in 1991 provides information about the significant changes that have taken place in the economy of Maharashtra. We have already noted in our earlier chapter that the first phase of the economic reforms initiated in the country in 1991 brought about a paradigm shift in the approach to economic growth, industrialization and income distribution. Control regimes were dismantled in the areas of industrial policy, taxation, exports-imports and foreign investment. De-licensing of industry, de-reservation of the public sector, easing of competition controls, reduction of import

¹⁵ O.P. Mathur, August 2003, UPF.

¹⁶ *ibid*

tariffs, deregulation of interest rates and opening up of the capital markets were among the reforms undertaken by the government to encourage investment and capital formation. Following these policy measures, the Industrial Policy of Maharashtra 1993 mainly aimed at simplification of procedures and rationalization of rules. It was followed by the Industry, Trade & Commerce Policy 1995, expected to empower people at all levels with special focus on infrastructure development with private sector participation. A comprehensive Information Technology Policy was announced by the GoM in 1998, keeping in view the importance of the IT sector for employment generation, and its implications for industry and trade, the financial sector, media and entertainment, and health, education and research. Through these policies high-tech, knowledge-based and biotech industries along with export-augmenting industrial units were given priority in the state. In the last few years specialized industrial infrastructure has been developed by state agencies for various sectors including IT, chemicals, leather, gems and jewellery, etc. More recently, the establishment of textiles and food processing zones has also been taken up by the state government. Taking into account the potential and requirements of agro industries in different parts of the state, the MIDC also proposed to set up new complexes for this sector including 'grape wine park' in Nasik and Sangli, 'orange city park' for orange processing, floriculture complexes and biotechnology parks at suitable locations. Apart from this the state also implemented power sector reforms, public sector reforms and banking and financial sector reforms.

The power sector reforms were initiated in the initial years of the reform era as there was a growing requirement of power by the developing industries. By 1998 MERC, an autonomous and independent regulatory body was set up by the GoM, which envisaged a reform process requiring the government to withdraw from the regulation and operation of the power sector and eventually loose absolute control over some of the segments of the sector. The reform process comprised of internal reform, an independent regulatory framework and structural changes, which included division in the operational processes of transmission, generation and distribution. However, in this context, a brief mention about the impact of the Enron debacle becomes important. The deal with Enron in the Dabhol project was countersigned by the state as well as the central governments, counter-guaranteeing compensation for any losses that Enron would incur. The collapse of Enron within a few months led to a difficult fiscal situation for the state. The state ended up paying for the large losses to

the company, which essentially led to reduced investments in all the other sectors of the economy.

Apart from this there have been indications and preference of the state government to encourage private players in the transport as well. The MSRTC in the recent years have been seeking private participation to build roads in the state. In the health sector the share of expenditure has decreased to only 4.5 percent in 2000-01. It has also been observed that the state has increased its allocation to elementary education in the post reform period but only at the cost of reduced allocations to higher education (Prabhu, 2001).

Given this background of the sectoral composition and the reform strategies in Maharashtra, we turn to the next subsection to study the peculiarities in the employment scenario of the state, as has been pointed out earlier in the discussion.

Trends of Urban Female Employment in Maharashtra: An Analysis

In this section of the chapter, we look at the changes that have occurred in the urban female employment pattern in the state. The female employment growth rates in urban Maharashtra have declined and there has been a drop in the WPRs of urban women. A closer look at the distribution of the workforce reveals that in the nineties, there has been a drastic decline in the share of employment of urban women in the manufacturing sector. The sectors experiencing remarkably increased share of employment of urban women have been the banking and real estate and public administration and other services and the trade sectors (Ref Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Distribution of Urban Female Workers According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Maharashtra

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38 th 1983	43 rd 1987	50 th 1993	55 th 1999	38 th 1983	43 rd 1987	50 th 1993	55 th 1999
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Agriculture	29.8	21.5	17.5	15.2	31.1	23.9	19.1	15.4
Mining	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.8	0.1
Manufacturing (1)	16.1	15.2	10.9	8.3	18.8	17.4	11.5	9.1
Manufacturing (2)	5.3	6.4	6.8	6.5	5.1	5.8	6.3	6.6
Electricity	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1
Construction	3.5	4.9	4.4	4.2	3.2	4.1	3.8	3.7
Trade	10.0	9.9	13.0	19.1	9.7	9.8	13.7	20.1
Transport	1.7	2.8	3.0	2.7	1.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
Banking and real estate, etc	2.2	2.6	4.6	5.4	2.0	2.5	3.9	5.4
Pub admn and others	30.5	35.4	38.5	38.5	28.2	33.3	38.2	37.1
Services	32.7	38.0	43.1	43.9	30.1	35.8	42.1	42.5

Source: *Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years*

In the urban areas, though the industrial and the tertiary sectors increased their respective shares in GSDP, yet employment generation in these sectors could not be matched accordingly. Although Maharashtra has been among the industrially more advanced states of India, yet, the state, in its urban sector, has been dominated by the tertiary sector, specifically the services and the trade sectors. In Maharashtra, it has been the service sector, which has been the most important sector of employment for urban women from the eighties, as is evident from Table 4.12. The trade sector has grown in importance in terms of urban women's share of employed in the nineties.

As we have already found, male WPRs in the urban areas have increased over the period. Hence it becomes important to look at the male employment distribution in the urban areas. Table 4.13 describes this in detail. Here we find that the manufacturing, trade and the service sectors together constitute more than 70 percent of the male share of employed in urban Maharashtra, which is similar to urban females. However, it should be pointed out here that although the urban male WPRs show an increase in the nineties, apart from the trade sector, both manufacturing and the service sectors register a decline in this share in the nineties. A closer look at the table also reveals that the increase in the share of employed in urban males in Maharashtra in the trade sector has not been as high as that for females in the nineties. While the share of employed in trade in 1999-00 has almost doubled for the females since 1983, that for males has increased from 19.7 in 1983 to 24.3 in 1999-00. It is however notable that unlike for women, there have been significant increases in the share of employment of urban males in construction. While there has been a significant increase in the share of males employed in the urban areas in the construction sector from 4.7 in 1983 to 8.8 in 1999-00, that for urban females increased from 3.2 to 3.7 percent according to the UPSS. Therefore, for urban males the increases have been concentrated in construction, trade and transport.

Table 4.13: Distribution of Urban Male Workers According to the Ninefold Classification of Industries Given by the NIC: Maharashtra

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999
Agriculture	7.2	6.1	6.2	3.5	7.7	6.6	6.4	3.5
Mining	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Manufacturing (1)	16.3	16.4	15.6	15.4	13.3	13.2	12.8	12.8
Manufacturing (2)	14.7	14.6	14.1	14.0	13.9	13.8	12.4	12.4

Rounds	UPS				UPSS			
	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1983	43rd 1987	50th 1993	55th 1999
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Electricity	1.1	1	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.9
Construction	4.8	5.3	6.1	8.8	4.7	5.2	6.1	8.8
Trade	19.7	18.3	21.1	24.3	19.7	18.5	21.3	24.3
Transport	12.4	11.6	11.4	13	12.3	11.6	11.3	13
Banking and real estate, etc	3.8	4.1	5.3	5.8	3.8	4	5.3	5.9
Pub admn and others	19.3	23.2	20.9	18	19.4	23.2	20.9	18
Services	23.2	27.2	26.2	23.9	23.2	27.2	26.2	24

Source: *Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years*

Also some significant results are obtained when we look at the trends in the employment pattern of urban males and females in the manufacturing sector. While the share of employed in manufacturing (1) has reduced for both urban males and females in the nineties, it has decreased more for females than for males implying an increase in economic activities by males in this sector. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 further show that while there has been a marginal increase in the share of females employed in the non-agro-based manufacturing sector, for males the shares have stagnated. In case of females there has been an increase in the share of employed between 1993-94 and 1999-00 by the UPSS and a decline between the same period by the UPS in this sector thus indicating an increase in subsidiary activities for urban females in this sector. For the urban males in this sector the percentage involvement by UPSS is lower than that by UPS, which indicates continuous employment for the urban males and hints at a better employment situation. We have earlier noted the tendency of possible gender discrimination in the urban workforce of Maharashtra. This notion can be substantiated as we analyse the employment growth rate of both males and females.

Significantly, a look at the employment growth rate of both urban males and females in the manufacturing sector shows a drastic decline in the rate of growth of employment of urban females but a rise in the employment growth rate of urban males (Ref Table 4.14). In Maharashtra, there has been a decline in the employment of urban females in absolute numbers in the manufacturing sector in the nineties, which is evident from the negative rate of growth of urban female employment in this sector in the last two periods by the UPSS. In fact the increased share of males in this

sector in the late-nineties suggests that the women losing their jobs in the nineties may have been replaced by men.

However, there have been sectoral disparities in the rate of growth of employment in the urban areas of Maharashtra. The service sector, where the female share of employment has been significant and increasing, registered a drop in the annual average rates of growth of urban female employment. The male employment trends also reveal the same pattern for this sector (Ref Table 4.14). Notably, the public administration and other service segment of the service sector, which registered a drop in the share of employed for both males and females by the UPSS, though marginally for the females, registered a drastic decline in the rate of growth of employment for both. The extent of decline in the rate of growth of employment in this sector is more pronounced for urban males than for females. This has been possible due to the fact that in Maharashtra various levels of government and quasi-government bodies have been more hospitable to women in terms of employment. There has been an increasing trend in female employment at various levels of government employment in spite of a decline since 1996 in total employment because of the privatization policies. More than 16 per cent of government employees in 1999-00 were women. Of these, local government employed around 49 per cent, the rest almost equally divided between the State and Central governments. Quasi-government organizations of both the Centre and State employed around 22 per cent¹⁷. This becomes all the more substantiated as we look at the data relating to the occupational contract of the urban women in Maharashtra, which reveals that more than 70 percent of the women workers in the sector have regular employment. Apart from this, among the large proportion of urban women workers engaged in the personal, community and other services sector in Maharashtra, approximately 46.5 percent who have been engaged in domestic services in the urban areas also contribute to the economic activities in this sector.

The trade sector has shown a significant rise in terms of the rate of growth of female employment in the nineties (Ref Table 4.14), which is consistent with the increased share of females employed in this sector. However the male employment growth rate in this sector showed an increase since the eighties but has remained almost the same thereafter.

¹⁷ Employment-unemployment survey, 55th round, NSS, 1999-00

Table 4.14: Rate of Growth of Employment in Various Sectors: Urban Maharashtra

Year	Males			Females		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
	UPS					
Manufacturing	2.2	1.6	1.7	3.8	-0.1	-0.1
Trade	1.6	5.6	5.4	3.3	8.0	9.8
Banking and real estate	4.5	7.8	4.7	7.3	13.3	5.9
Pub admn. and others	7.5	1.4	0.5	7.0	4.8	3.0
Services (overall)	7.0	2.5	1.4	7.0	5.5	3.3
UPSS						
Manufacturing	2.0	1.6	1.9	2.8	-1.2	0.9
Trade	1.7	5.6	5.3	3.6	9.3	9.8
Banking and real estate	4.6	7.8	5.1	9.2	11.4	8.6
Pub admn. and others	7.3	1.4	0.5	7.4	5.7	2.5
Services (overall)	6.9	2.5	1.5	7.5	6.1	3.2

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

Given such a pattern of rate of growth of employment for males and females which denotes a tendency for the replacement of female workers by male workers in the manufacturing sector and a relatively better situation of women in the service sector, a look at the employment elasticity of urban males and females with respect to output growth gives a better picture. The employment elasticity of output for urban males and females in Maharashtra has been higher than the national figures and quite high when compared to AP. The table below reveals two significant points. First it shows that female employment elasticities are higher than the male employment elasticities and secondly it shows that for most of the sectors the elasticity figures have increased in 1993/00 compared to the previous period, 1987/94. The first observation indicates a better situation in terms of employment generation for the urban females as compared to the males. The second points out that the situation has improved for both males and females between 1993/00.

While the increasing urban male WPRs and high employment elasticity in most of the sectors reveal better employment situation in Maharashtra for the males in the post reform period, for the females it becomes difficult to draw any unambiguous conclusion given the previous observations made regarding both male and female employment in the manufacturing as well as the service sectors.

Table 4.15: Employment Elasticity of Output for Males and Females in Different Sectors: Maharashtra

Year	Females			Males		
	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00	1983 to 1987-88	1987-88 to 1993-94	1993-94 to 1999-00
Manufacturing (Registered)	0.77	0.42	0.66	0.49	0.30	0.55
Manufacturing (Unregistered)	0.82	0.31	0.48	0.53	0.22	0.40
Manufacturing (Total)	0.78	0.38	0.59	0.50	0.27	0.49
Trade,hotels and restaurants	0.71	0.49	0.55	0.45	0.35	0.47
Banking and real estate	0.64	0.23	0.55	0.41	0.16	0.46
Pub admn and others	0.49	0.49	0.39	0.32	0.35	0.33
Services (overall)	0.57	0.29	0.49	0.37	0.21	0.41

Source: calculated from CSO and NSSO, GOI, Various Years

However when we look at the data on women workers according to their type of contract we find that the share of employment of the urban females as per the occupation status in different sectors reveals interesting facts. While the share of employment of the urban females in the self-employed category in 1999-00 has been 33 percent, the share has been around 44 percent in the regular category, which is one of the highest in the country. This by itself signifies better employment opportunities for urban females as compared to the other states. A deeper analysis becomes possible when we look at the share of urban women workers in the different sectors of Maharashtra.

Table 4.16a Urban Female Workers According to the Occupational Status Considering the UPS: Maharashtra

Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00	38th 1983	43rd 1987-88	50th 1993-94	55th 1999-00
Manufacturing (1)	46.7	39.6	48.9	55.8	16.5	39.6	33.4	33.6	36.7	20.8	17.7	10.6
Manufacturing (2)	28.4	22.1	13.0	20.5	50.2	51.2	75.4	66.2	21.4	26.8	11.6	13.3
Trade	87.2	85.2	77.2	77.3	10.6	11.3	17.1	13.3	2.2	3.6	5.7	9.5
Banking and real estate, etc	9.3	1.7	12.1	16.0	82.6	98.3	87.9	82.0	8.1	-	-	2.0
Pub admn and others	7.9	6.8	16.5	15.6	74.5	79.3	72.8	70.6	17.6	13.9	10.7	13.8
Total	29.0	26.4	28.8	32.7	33.0	43.2	46.1	44.4	38.0	30.4	25.1	22.9

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

**Table 4.16b: Urban Female Workers According to the Occupational Status
Considering the UPSS: Maharashtra**

Rounds	Self-Employed				Regular & Salaried				Casual			
	38th 1987	43rd 1988	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1987	43rd 1988	50th 1993	55th 1999	38th 1987	43rd 1988	50th 1993	55th 1999
Year	1983	-88	-94	-00	1983	-88	-94	00	1983	-88	-94	-00
Manufacturing (1)	53.1	47.5	54.5	61.4	12.7	32.4	27.1	28.7	34.2	20.1	18.4	9.9
Manufacturing (2)	28.0	26.7	16.7	30.6	46.1	47.0	69.8	57.8	25.8	26.3	13.6	11.6
Trade	88.4	85.0	80.8	79.6	9.6	9.8	14.8	11.5	2.0	5.2	4.4	8.9
Banking and real estate, etc	9.3	7.5	15.1	20.3	82.6	89.8	84.9	77.9	8.1	2.7	-	1.8
Pub admn and others	8.9	16.5	27.1	19.0	72.5	70.3	61.8	67.9	18.6	13.2	11.1	13.1
Total	33.6	35.5	36.5	37.4	29.3	36.7	38.9	41.0	37.0	27.8	24.6	21.6

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

The above tables show that in the manufacturing (1) sector, which includes the agro-based industries, textiles and garments, leather and leather products, food processing, tobacco and beverages, etc., there has been a rise in the self-employed category as per the UPS and UPSS. The table also shows that over 50 percent of the women workers in this sector are self-employed. This implies that there has been an increase in economic activities around home-based work for women in the urban areas in this sector. For all the sectors apart from trade, there has been a rise in both the self-employed and the regular and salaried category. In the trade sector, although casual employment has increased, yet it is a very small percentage of female workers. From the figures it is clear that trade is dominated by self-employed workers. We have already discussed that the kind of economic activities pursued by the self-employed in trade are nothing but a crowding in the petty retail trade sector, i.e. being engaged as street vendors, hawkers, etc.

In Maharashtra the most interesting observation with regard to female employment has been that the share of regular employment is more than the share of self-employed workers. We have seen that in the post reform period there has been an increase in the share of self-employment among the women workers in the urban areas both in most of the states as well as at the all India level. The employment pattern in Maharashtra therefore depicts a different situation whereby regular employment dominates the employment pattern. Also Maharashtra has registered quite high female employment elasticity figures, which indicates that employment generation has been better in Maharashtra as compared to the other states. Yet we find

that the female WPRs in the urban areas of Maharashtra have declined while that of males has increased.

However, while the increase in the share of regular employment for the urban women workers indicates an improvement of the working conditions for the existing female workforce, it also shows that regular workers have retained most of their jobs. Yet we find that the average rate of growth of regular employment of urban female workers in the state has declined drastically implying lack of regular job opportunities (Ref. Table 4.17).

TABLE 4.17: Rate of Growth of Urban Female Employment by Type of Activity: Maharashtra

Year	Self- Regular &		
	Employed	Salaried	Casual
1983 to 1987-88	1.3	9.9	-1.5
1987-88 to 1993-94	4.9	4.4	0.0
1993-94 to 1999-00	5.2	2.4	1.4

Source: Calculated from Census reports, 1981, 1991, 2001 and NSS employment-unemployment survey: Key Results, Various rounds.

Even when we look at the open unemployment figures for Maharashtra, we find that situation for urban females compared to urban males have worsened (Ref Table 4.18).

Table 4.18: Open Unemployment Rates in Urban Maharashtra

Year	UPS		CWS		CDS	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1983	5.9	4.5	7.2	7.1	9.1	10.4
1987-88	6.6	5.4	7.5	7.0	8.5	9.2
1993-94	4.6	5.8	5.3	6.6	6.0	7.8
1999-00	6.1	7.8	6.5	8.1	7.7	10.0

Source: Employment and unemployment survey, Key results, NSS; Various Years

In Maharashtra, open unemployment rates have been higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In fact in 1999-00 unemployment rates in urban Maharashtra are higher than the all-India figures. Looking at the figures of Maharashtra closely we find that the unemployment rates for both males and females in Maharashtra have increased. However, while the trend of increasing unemployment for urban males tallies with the all-India trend, that for urban females differs. In Maharashtra the urban female open unemployment rates show an increase while the all-India pattern shows a drop. The increase in open unemployment rates for the urban females become

all the more significant as we find the extent of increase is more in case of the females than for males, and it is maximum according to UPS, signifying chronic unemployment for urban women in the state. In fact by the UPS we find that till 1987-88 the urban female unemployment rates were lower than the all-India urban female unemployment rates but exceeded the all-India rates in the nineties. Not only this, till 1987-88 the urban female unemployment rates had been lower than the urban male unemployment rates in Maharashtra but exceeded the male rates in the nineties. This phenomenon exists for all the three criteria. These quite high urban female unemployment figures indicate that in the nineties the situation of urban female employment in Maharashtra has deteriorated more than that of males.

In urban Maharashtra some very different trends are observed in the nineties in the employment pattern of urban women. On the one hand we find declining WPRs and rate of growth of employment clubbed with increasing unemployment rates for urban females that indicates a degeneration of the female employment situation, again on the other hand we find high rates of urban female employment elasticities indicating a reverse situation. It has also been observed that while the share of regular employment of urban women workers has increased indicating improved employment situation for a subset of existing women workers, the significant decline in the growth rate of regular employment for urban females denotes inadequacies in such employment creation. In all, the results for Maharashtra have not been very clear. They have been mixed given the fact that while in the manufacturing sector there have been tendencies of women losing jobs being replaced by men which can be a sign of gender discrimination in the manufacturing sector, in the services we have observed better situations for the women as compared to the males.

What one can say is that while for the rural women the GoM had taken initiatives in the form of EGS that actually led to increased participation of women in the rural workforce (Dev, 1997), for the urban women there has been no independent initiative by the government to generate employment. Though there have been attempts by the Maharashtra government at improving the overall urban employment scenario for both males and females by adopting certain state sponsored programmes like the *Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana* aimed at increasing urban self-employment and urban wage-employment for the urban unemployed and the Prime Minister's *Rozgar Yojana* for the educated unemployed in urban areas, no specific targeted programmes have been adopted for urban unemployed women. While the

increases in self-employment among women indicates that work for women has been centered mainly around home-based informal work which is generally at the low-end of the pay-scale with no employment securities or benefits, the overall increases in regular employment points to better work conditions. Yet the high unemployment rates among women shows that with the ongoing privatization policies and the labour flexibility measures adopted by the state government so far, it has been the women who have been rendered jobless.

From the experience of Maharashtra it cannot be definitely concluded that the urban employment situation in the state has suffered tremendously due to the supply side policies adopted by the state in its reform period. Like the national trends, the employment growth rates have declined for both males and females in the state as well but there have been signs of qualitative improvement in the working conditions of the existing female workers in the sense that there have been absolute increases in the number of women workers in the regular category, although relative to a decreasing total employment. As far as male employment is concerned, it has been observed for specific sectors that they are gaining in terms of employment compared to women, as in the case of manufacturing employment.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have focused on the changes that have taken place in the employment pattern of the two states, AP and Maharashtra, in the nineties as an impact of the reform strategies followed by the states.

In AP we have seen that over and above the macro policies of the central government of the form of liberalization of trade and capital markets alongwith increased deregulation and privatization, the state also embarked on a reform policy of its own which took the form of rampant privatization of state-owned enterprise and reduced role of the state in every sector to increase 'efficiency' in the economy and encourage private participation. In fact the state eventually relied on the private forces to operate in the economy to achieve higher rates of growth of output and hence employment and income. But from our study we have found that although in AP the rate of growth of output increased as a result of the reforms in the initial years and continued to be quite high, yet the situation of employment in the state had been precarious. In fact from our study we find an overall deterioration of the employment pattern of both urban males and females. There have been substantial declines in the

rate of growth of male as well as female employment but as far as urban women workers in AP are concerned it has been noted that there has been a general decline in the urban female WPRs alongwith a simultaneous degeneration of the employment situation for the existing women workers. Although such an observation holds true for males as well, the higher unemployment rates for women as compared to men and also the domination of self-employed and casual workers in the share of urban women workers indicate a worsened employment pattern for the women workers in the urban areas in the state.

In Maharashtra similar contractionary policies have been followed beginning soon after 1991. The policies in Maharashtra also included reduced state intervention and increased intervention of the private players in the form of MNCs or the Indian big business houses. But the experience of Maharashtra has been quite different than that of AP. While AP has given clear indication towards a worsening and deteriorating employment situation, in Maharashtra such trends are not so evident from the data. The data in Maharashtra has given different yet mixed results. The pattern of male employment has not been similar to that of the national trends, yet one cannot conclusively say that the trends have been for the better. As far as the female employment pattern is considered, there has been a qualitative improvement among the existing workforce as is evident from the predominance of the regular share of employment, but there has been little quantitative improvement so far as the rate of growth of female employment is concerned. In fact there have been tendencies of worsening employment situation in the state as shown by declining growth rates and high unemployment rates for urban women. Also the decline in the rate of growth of urban female employment in the regular category denotes a deterioration of the employment generation situation of the state. There have also been signs of gender discrimination of some sort in the manufacturing sector where the women have been replaced by the men.

In the context of liberalization, both the states have experienced a greater increase in the share of the service sector and the trade sector to their respective GSDPs, yet there has been not been adequate regular employment generation for the urban females in these sectors. In AP, while female employment has suffered to a large extent due to the retrenchment of the public sector employees as a part of the governance and public sector enterprise reform programme of the GoAP, in

Maharashtra it has been the manufacturing sector from where the women have been pushed out.

Given the constraints of analysis based on secondary data, certain puzzles in this study have been left to be analyzed later. Yet whatever be the pattern of employment, one fact that becomes evident is that women in the post-reforms era have become vulnerable to job losses and employment insecurities. Such a situation essentially requires a social policy to be implemented by the government to protect the rights of the women workers, in addition to the fiscal and monetary policies designed to increase aggregate demand and hence aggregate employment.

CONCLUSION

This present work has been an attempt to study the trends in urban female employment in India in the context to the fundamental shift that has taken place in the economic policy regime in the country since the early nineties. It had been argued in favour of the 'new' economic policies that deregulation and increased competitiveness as well as the adoption of an outward-oriented regime would lead to higher growth which would trickle-down in the form of higher employment and incomes. It was also argued that greater flexibility in the labour market would provide incentives to firms to generate more employment. With specific regard to women workers, the experience of a number of countries that had adopted export-oriented policies showed that their participation in the workforce increased, particularly in units catering to exports.

On the other hand the critics of neo-liberal policies have characterized them as a return to pre-Keynesian doctrines and have warned that they could lead to a worsening of the employment situation through their contractionary effects on aggregate demand. They have also pointed out that the weakening of labour regulations might lead to a worsening of service conditions even for those who find employment. Women may particularly face the brunt of these adverse effects because of the various forms of wage and non-wage discrimination that they can be subject to and because of the fact that the burden of domestic labour that they have to

traditionally bear may become heavier in times of economic recession and the withdrawal of the state.

In the previous chapters we have tried to examine the validity of these contending theoretical arguments by analyzing both the overall trends and the gender differentials in the workforce participation rates, the different measures of unemployment, the occupational distribution of employment and the prevalence of different forms of contractual arrangements at an all-India level and for different states.

We have found that in the nineties there has been an overall worsening of the employment scenario in the urban areas with high open unemployment rates for urban men and women along with declining rates of growth of employment for both urban males and females. The analysis of the urban female employment trends at the national level has revealed certain facts. It has shown increased participation of women in subsidiary activities in the form of involvement in home-based activities, especially in export-oriented units as well as in the traditional home based work of *beedi* rolling, *agarbatti* making, etc., which has also been supported by evidence from micro-studies in the manufacturing sector. The study has also revealed increased subsidiary activity for women workers in the community and personal service sector in the form of increased domestic services and increased participation of urban educated females in the ITeS and BPO operations in the software service sector. Apart from these, another important revelation of the study has been an increase in the activities of women in petty retail trade. It has been observed that the loss of employment by the women workers in the manufacturing and service sector was compensated by a rise in women workers' involvement in the trade sector in the form of crowding into petty trade of the form of hawkers, street-vendors.

The pattern of urban employment thus studied, has shown signs of feminization of the workforce of a particular form. The home-based activities where there have been increased participation of women, has been mainly at the lower end of the value chain involving mainly low paid, inferior work patterns in the manufacturing sector. Also BPO operations and call centres jobs have shown signs of feminization of the workforce in the IT-enabled services.

There has also been a significant increase in the share of regular employment among the urban women workers by the UPSS denoting an increase in some specific kinds of regular subsidiary activity which has been inferred as type of jobs created in

the export-oriented units in the form of outsourced or subcontracted work by the MNCs and local corporates and paid on piece rate basis.

For the nineties, a decade of the pursuit of structural adjustment policies, the situation that has been revealed through the analysis of the 14 major states as regards urban female employment shows a mixed pattern at the surface with tendencies of betterment of employment opportunities for the urban females. A deeper analysis of the situation of female employment in the different sectors, however, paints a picture of an aggravated situation for female workers in the manufacturing sector in terms of employment availability as well as working conditions. In case of the service sector, the declining as well as extremely volatile situation signifies growing job insecurities. The tendencies of crowding in the retail trade that is reflected in almost all the states do not give the impression of an improved situation for the women workers.

The study also involved a focus on two states, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, in order to analyse the changes that have taken place in the employment pattern in these two states in the nineties as an impact of the reform strategies followed by the states.

In AP we have found that over and above the macro policies of the central government, the state had implemented its own set of reform strategies in the form of rampant privatization of state-owned enterprise and reduced role of the state in every sector to increase 'efficiency' in the economy and encourage private participation. In fact the state eventually relied on the private forces to operate in the economy to achieve higher rates of growth of output and hence employment and income. But the Andhra experience has shown that although the rate of growth of output increased as a result of the reforms in the initial years, yet the situation of employment in the state has been precarious. In fact from our study we find an overall deterioration in the employment pattern of both the urban males and the females. There have been substantial declines in the rate of growth of male as well as female employment but as far as the urban women workers in AP are concerned it has been noted that there has been a general decline in the urban female WPRs alongwith a simultaneous degeneration of the employment situation for the existing women workers. Although such an observation holds true for males as well, but the higher unemployment rates for the women as compared to the men and also the domination of self-employed and casual workers in the share of urban women workers indicate to a worsened employment pattern for the women workers in the urban areas in the state.

In Maharashtra, similar contractionary policies have been followed which were initiated soon after 1991. The policies adopted in Maharashtra were similar in nature to those adopted in AP in the sense that they also included reduced state intervention and increased intervention of the private players in the forms of MNCs or the Indian big business houses. But the experience of Maharashtra has been quite different as compared to that of AP. While AP has given clear indication towards a worsening and deteriorating employment situation, in Maharashtra such trends are not so evident from the data. The data analysis of urban female employment in Maharashtra has given different yet mixed results. The pattern of male employment has not been similar to that of the national trends, yet one cannot conclusively say that the trends have been for the better. As far as the female employment pattern is considered, there has been a qualitative improvement among the existing workforce as is evident from the predominance of the regular share of employment, but there has been little quantitative improvement so far as the rate of growth of female employment is concerned. But at the same time we also find that in Maharashtra there has been a greater increase in the regular share of employment of urban women workers by the UPS, which in itself is an indication of better employment opportunities for the urban women. But on the whole, with declines in the urban female employment growth rates, high unemployment rates for urban females and reduced rate of growth of regular employment of urban women, even Maharashtra does not provide a very encouraging picture.

In the context of liberalization, both the states have experienced a greater increase in the share of the service sector and the trade sector to their respective GSDPs, yet there has been a decrease in the regular employment generation for the urban females in these sectors.

Given this caveat, it has become the need of the hour to immediately set up social security policies for urban female workers. This is necessary to benefit the women workers as well as protect their rights in an environment where there is a pressure for more labour 'flexibility'. Although it is not that the government of India does not have such policies, at least on paper, but the fact is that they do not have real operational strength. It should be noted that the government has a plethora of laws and schemes to improve the basic social security in the crucial areas like public health, education, etc. but a combination of poor implementation and declining public

funding have led to a complete erosion of these strategies, in a context of declining availability of productive work in the aggregate.

As long as the employment conditions remain adverse in the aggregate, it is difficult for any targeted social policy to achieve much for any specific group, particularly for women. The nature of social policy should be to create more productive employment, which is one of the basic economic functions of the state given that there is a possibility of generalized market failure in the form of unemployment. It is precisely the relative absence of productive or remunerative employment opportunities that make workers, particularly the women, accept poor conditions of work at low wages and unstable contracts.

In the present context, the policies of the government should be one of an increased public investment emphasizing on the expansionary and employment creating role of the state. This in turn requires reverting back to the Keynesian policies and therefore, easing the demand constraints of the economy.

Finally, given the existing work patterns of female employment, it is important that the double burden of paid and unpaid work that is borne by the women should have effective public recognition. The social protection policies for women should be specifically designed keeping in mind the precarious and inferior conditions of women's work as well as the 'double burden'.

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