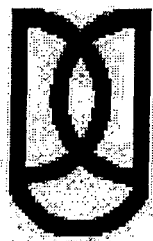


**Implications of Female Labour Force Participation -Worker
Vulnerability and Domestic Adjustments: A Case Study of
Noida Export Processing Zone**

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Certificate

Certified that the dissertation titled “**Implications of the Female Labour Force Participation – Worker Vulnerability and Domestic Adjustments: A Case Study in Noida Export Processing Zone.**” submitted by **Sharmila Singha** is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of ‘ **Master of Philosophy** ’ of this university. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other university and is her own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. Deepak Kumar

(Chairperson)

Dr. Binod Khadria

(Supervisor)

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Place: *New Delhi*

Date: 29/07/02

Sharmila Singh
Sharmila Singha

for my Parents,

*Mrs. Archana Singha &
Mr. Syamendra Mohan Singha*

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Chapter -1

Introduction

In main stream economic analysis, gender has not been perceived as a central concept. Until recent past, women's role as economic agents have not attracted much attention. With the new wave of feminism in 1960s, not only economics, but also other social science disciplines like - sociology, anthropology, history etc have started considering gender as an important variable for any kind of analyses. Economics incorporates and analyses the effect of any variable in terms of market and its exchange value. In economics therefore most often the implications of gender differences are understood in terms of market - mainly through labour market analysis. Women's labour force participation have been influenced by mode of capitalist development. But their rate of participation, nature of job that they perform as well as the earnings they receive have continued to be different from that of men. Even their labour-market decisions are governed by factors, which are completely different from that of the male workers. This is mainly due to the inseparability of women's role as economic agent is the labour market and their reproductive role within on the household.

Traditionally due to social and cultural reasons Indian women for a long period of time are concentrated in agriculture

and /or other home-based activities. Most of the time their contribution in total production remained unaccounted and unnoticed, because rather than marketing their labour power, they are engaged in family based production where their work remained either unremunerated or under remunerated. As compared to figure of 1961, in 1971 there was a massive fall in the participation rate of women. This was believed largely due to the gender bias of Green Revolution. Due to definitional and methodological inflexibilities women's contribution as a worker has largely remained obscured. Apart from agriculture in industrial production also women's participation has remained restricted it is mainly due to several socio cultural factors which leads to poor education background, low technical skills etc. Starting from the year 1983 which is prior to the liberalization period till 1999/2000 data shows that there was not any significant change in the trend of women's work. Any definition of work participation shows that actually for Indian women it has infact gone down. However, for urban women there has been considerable risk in favour of regular employment at the cost of both self employment and casual labour. In the secondary sector also for urban women regular service job has increased considerably.

Therefore contrary to the predictions of Standing (1989), Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) have failed to leave any great impact upon women's work participation. It was assumed that with massive increase of the inflow of foreign direct investment and rapid growth of foot loose export-oriented industries, employment of cheap, docile and flexible laborers like the women of third world countries will automatically rise. Hence 'feminization' of manufacturing labour will take place.

But in reality though these export-oriented industries employed a large number of women labourers, but for a vast country like India it has failed to leave any significant overall impact.

1.1 Objective of the Study

In India Export Processing Zones are emerging as an integral part of export oriented growth strategy. Not only for attracting foreign investment and promoting international trade, but also it is believed to work as a panacea for solving the unemployment problem. There are demographic as well as gender dimensions to employment in these zones. Experiences of other countries as well as across the EPZs within our country since

1980s suggests that gender, age, marital status and other social cultural factors are vital determinants of the composition of the workforce of these zones.

In these context the study seeks to examine the followings -

- The stability and predictability of the export performance of Noida Export Processing Zone (NEPZ) and the reactions of the employees (mainly, labour management strategies) to incorporate the volatility of the export market in its production process.
- The working condition and employment relation within NEPZ- particularly in electronics and ready-made garment industries.
- Motivational factors for women to enter the labour market and how it is identified as their vulnerabilities and how the employers make appropriate use of it.
- Whether there exists any renegotiation of the household division of labour, viz. division of labour among the household members and the family dynamics which are helping them to make these invisible adjustments.

In brief, the study has attempted to highlight the labour-management strategy of the industries operating within NEPZ and

its effect on the workers – especially the women workers working in garment and electronics industries. The study has tried to analyse the motivational factors of these women to participate in the labour market activities and it has also tried to locate the roots of their vulnerabilities using their socio-economic /background. The study has incorporated their family dynamics as well, which gives an overview of their inter –household division of labour and possible outcome of this divisions of labour on the most generation women.

1.2 Scheme of the Study

The first chapter consists of a general introduction and it also deals with scheme and methodology of the study.

Chapter - 1 consists of a general introduction and it also deals with Scheme and Methodology of the study.

Chapter - 2 presents an overview of the literature.

Chapter - 3 highlights the government policies and the objectives behind the establishment of Export Processing Zones. It discusses the export performance and conditions of labour of Noida Export Processing zone.

Chapter-4 Discussion the socio-economic profile of the women labour working in government and electronics industries within

Noida Export Processing Zone. It talks about worker vulnerability and their domestic adjustments.

1.3 Methodology and Techniques Used.

The required information of this study has been collected personally from the primary and also from the secondary sources. For the collection of data from the primary sources samples were selected from the identified locate of the study.

1.4 Selector of Location and Sample

The present study is on empirical based on information collected from the Development Commissioned office of Noida Export processing zone. According to the report issued by the Development Commissioners office (as an 31st October 2001) among is units of ready made garment units have stooped production and for electronic hardware among 15 operating units, 2 such units have stooped production.

Ready-made garment is employing 2034 women workers and that of electronic (hard work) industry is 262. For our primary survey we have randomly chosen 40 worker of the garment and 20

workers from the electronic hardware industry, for garment industry 5 units were identified among their 5 units -3 units are large units and 2 units are medium sized. (Comprising their Contribution in total employment figures). Proportionate number of loomer workers will selected. The same procedure has been repeated for electronic hardware industry as well. At first 3 units were chosen which are engaging loomer workers in comparatively large numbers, thus accordingly samples are randomly chosen.

1.5 Primary sources of data Collection

1.5a) Questionnaire

The questionnaire contains items mainly based on the objectives of the study. Most of the questions were framed with structured multiple choice answers and a few of them were open ended questions. The questionnaire was finalized after conducting pilot survey. The workers are mainly coming from the nearby by villages. Like Bhangal, Salarpur, Barolla etc. The interviews were taken mostly at their residences while collecting the data through interview schedule, some of the instructed interviews were also made.

1.5b) Data Analysis and Statistical Tools

In this study attempts have been made to quantify the qualitative attributes. Wherever required, statistical techniques like correlation, regression were applied.

Chapter – 2

Literature Review

Among many unequal and hierarchical relationships in our society, man-woman relationship is a common, controversial and sensitive one. Like other social scientists, economists have also tried to explain and explore the reasons and economic consequences of this asymmetrical relationship. There exists a considerable amount of economic literature that tries to analyze the implications of "gender-based discrimination" in the labour market. These studies mainly focus on issues like - level of participation, occupational segmentation and wage differentials.

With global restructuring of the production process taking place since the early 1990s, New International Division of Labour is rediscovering the third world women as a potential working class in export oriented production units. To analyze this emerging trend, one needs to pay attention not only to the economic reasons but also to a range of social, historical and cultural attributes of the third world women that make them "attractive" labour for the international capital. Standing (1989) argues that structural adjustment and stabilization policy brought in the concept of "flexible" labour, who are cheap (thus cost competitive) and who can be hired and fired depending upon the fluctuating market demand and this "flexibility" in the in the labour market is achieved through "informalization" and "feminization". According to

Amartya Sen "...the importance of gender as a crucial parameter in social and economic analysis is complementary to, rather than competitive with, the variables of class, ownership, occupations, income and family status" [Sen, 1990: p.123]. Over the years worker's sexual identity has played a vital role in economic decision-making. In order to understand how gender identity influences the labour market outcomes, one need to consider the process of construction of identity – historically with the changing needs of capitalism by complex interplay of capitalism and patriarchy.

Most often women's function in the production is defined by biological determinism or "nature". Production of new life is thought to be part of "nature" and it is thus separated from the realm of production of daily requirements which is described as a part of "social" production. According to this definition, women's work for giving birth, raising children and other domestic work is never termed as work or labour in economics, rather they are termed as natural "activity". Under capitalist system, work which produces surplus value is counted as labour or "productive work. The labour that enables the survival and sustenance of capitalist productive labour mostly remained obscured. The sexual division of labour which projects women's sexual identity is needed to be

analyzed in light of the appropriation of nature by both men and women with respect to the dynamic production relation.

Caste, class, race, ethnicity and stage of life cycle have strong influence on women's identity both within the family as also in the world outside. But as a whole the construction of identity of women labourers follows a historical path. It has been influenced by –

- a) Qualitative difference between men and women with respect to the appropriation of nature,
- b) Process of industrialization,
- c) Technological advancement, and
- d) Changing pattern of capitalist development

2.1 Appropriation of Nature

Right from the primitive stages of human history “appropriation of nature” (expression used by Marx¹) is the basic characteristics of human beings. To meet their human requirements they started depending upon nature. But this dependence on nature was qualitatively different for men and women. Since production of new life is inseparably linked with

¹ . Cited in Maria Mies, 1986, p.45.

women in order to feed their children and for daily sustenance, they emerged as the gatherers of food from nature. It is believed that the women are the early agriculturists. On the other hand, men appropriate nature through invention and control of certain technology. They accepted rather aggressive and risky way of gathering food i.e. through hunting. But women's productivity remained precondition of male productivity since bulk of the daily staple food was still produced by women. The nature of tools used by the hunter was coercive and destructive rather than productive. Thus their production relation was that of dominance. The monopoly of men over arms is one of the main causes of dominance of man not only over nature but also over women and other women who were not having access to such technology. The productivity of women as agriculturists was appropriated by men and it was rather predatory form of acquisition of labour power by means of arms.

With the increase in the population density, there was competition for land, water and other natural resources – rather than the incipient use of land there emerges need for the permanent use of land. For more extensive use of land, men started operating animal-driven equipment while women continue to prepare land with their hand tools. This discriminatory use of

technology continues to persist even in the advanced stage of development. This is supported by the traditional, cultural and local beliefs. The differential access to new technology has left a far-reaching impact on the construction of women labourers and their valuation in the labour market.

This predatory and patriarchal mode of appropriation of labour power was never abolished, rather it transformed and reappeared according to the requirement of new mode of production. In feudalism, the peasants were tied to the feudal lords in a specific production relation that restricted their mobility. In feudalism, monopoly of coercive labour relation of the feudal lords appeared to be more vital than the man-woman relation in production. In capitalism, women's role was redefined - initially they were relegated from "social" production where male hegemony were established. Women are defined with the new ideological construction of domesticity and maternity. Ideology of gender, family and sexual division of labour were very systematically embedded in capitalist relation.

Thus, from prehistoric age, the relation of man and woman with "nature" has undergone transformation with the changing mode of production. The dynamic process, through which the "role", "responsibility", and "work" of women in society has evolved,

is also closely linked with process of industrialization. With industrialization, the traditional role of domestic responsibility – infact, the whole the “identity” of women labourers underwent transformation.

2.2 Industrialization and Women Labourers

With the emergence of industrial capitalism, the ideology of two separate spheres for women and men was popularized. It must be recognized that the development of such ideology viz. separation of a masculine world of work and production from the feminine world of family and reproduction was essential as it served particular purposes of the emerging capitalist system. With the establishment of wage labour system and separation of home from the work place – there was a reallocation of work effort between men and women. Household no longer remained unit of production and consumption; rather its sustenance relied mostly on the exchange of labour power of the household members for wages. Thus labour becomes the commodity that has a market value i.e. wage. “Work” for such waged activity is to be complemented by non-waged household support system. Family, particularly female members are left to provide this support for the production of labour power but the support that they provide remains unpaid

and thus unaccounted in economics. Following A.K.Sen one can assess the household activities in many contradictory ways. Even though “the sustenance, survival and reproduction of workers” is essential “for the workers being available for the outside work, the activities that produce or support that sustenance, survival, or reproduction are typically not regarded as contributing to output and are often classified as ‘unproductive’ labour”. [A.K.Sen, 1990:p128]

Though this cost of producing the labour power remained obscured but by mobilizing this unpaid labour capitalism ensures the supply of labour power for itself. Therefore the value of the labor power should not only include quantity of labour necessary to reproduce it i.e. necessary subsistence of the worker but also that of the other household members who support his subsistence. Reproductive work of women is not merely housekeeping – it is the work that takes place outside the market sphere; but it integrates the worker and her family with market and without which capital cannot appropriate surplus. Thus women’s “reproductive” work not only serves the interest of men but also that of capital.

Edholam, Harris and Young² have elaborated the production function of women as biological reproduction, reproduction of labour force and social reproduction. "While biological reproduction strictly refers to the physical development of human beings, reproduction of labour force refers to the process through which they become workers" and the social reproduction "refers to the reproduction of the conditions sustaining a social system." [Beneria, 1979: p.205-206] Though biological reproduction is specifically linked with women's reproductive function; the other two aspects of reproduction also universally assigned to women. These functions restrict their mobility and confine them to domestic world, isolated from the work opportunities – which ensures their economic and social dependence on individual men who are the "primary" workers or "breadwinners". Thus, the ideology of "superior" male worker originates not in the labour market rather it is ensured by the powerful social institutions like family, religion and state where male dominance are shaped [Beneria, 1979: p.307]

Given the other priorities of capitalism i.e. cost minimization objective the workers are paid the lowest possible wages. This made the sustenance of workers family by means of earnings of the

² Cited in L.Beneria (1979) world development: page 205

“breadwinner” inadequate and impossible. Thus women had participated in waged activity in order to complement the family wage bill. But they are always viewed as the “secondary” workers and their participation in social production is always defined as intermittent. Women’s participation is also conditioned by their stages of life cycle – in most of the cases their participation is discontinuous and interrupted because of their reproductive responsibilities. They are considered as temporary and uncommitted work force –thus they are defined as the “secondary” workers. When men and women work they do so under different conditions and constraints –they also tend to do different jobs that are relatively low paid, low skilled and which ask for low “productivity”; therefore in most of the cases there exist hardly any possibility of upward mobility.

However it must be recognized that even though industrialization has opened up opportunities for women to participate in the labour market activities – it has failed to address the problems of women across all the classes and across all the ages. Whereas young women are drawn into industrial employment and educated women are increasingly finding their places in white collar jobs; for the older women seeking and securing jobs in the modern sector has become all the more difficult and challenging.

Capitalist development therefore sometimes breaks down social rigidities oppressive to women but simultaneously it often brings in another new form of subordination.

In capitalism, in the wage-labour system preexisting gender distinction are reproduced – women’s work is valued in relation to their subordinate position within the gender hierarchy. Elson and Pearson described the use of gender ideology by capital in terms of “a tendency to intensify the existing forms of gender subordination; a tendency to decompose existing forms of gender subordination; and a tendency to recompose new forms of gender subordination” [(Elson and Pearson, 1981) cited in, Chhachhi and Pittin, 1996: p.96]

2.3 Technological Advancement and Women Labourers

The impacts of technological advancement on women labourers need to be understood in the light of –

- a) Immutable sexual division of labour both in the household as well as the production process.
- b) Changing social and economic constraints those hinder the access to such technology. Because technology is not “merely

the relationship between, say raw materials and final products, but also the social organization that permits the use of specific techniques of production” [Sen, 1990: p.128]

Technological advancement has left remarkable impact upon women’s work (both productive and reproductive). It has strong influence in their nature of work, their work participation as well as working conditions depending upon the changing production processes. With the advent of new timesaving devices women’s domestic chores have become less time intensive. But this benefit is class specific. The women who are seeking places in the production sphere as their survival strategy are hardly in a position to reap the fruits of the new technology which lessens their burden in the reproduction sphere. Technological progress leads towards skill polarization – handful of jobs are created which demands workers with considerable degree of technical education and the vast majority of semi-skilled and un-skilled workers. Since traditionally improved techniques are monopolized by men over time there was widening gap between the skilled level of men and women.

Human capital investment consists of two elements:

- Training of young generation in the necessary technical skills

- Transmission of traditional cultural norms, which ensure the working of existing social system. Traditionally even when boys get systematic training for craft and other specialized operations; girls are often denied access - sometimes due to resource crunch, sometimes due to other sociological and cultural reasons. Therefore job discrimination regarding their recruitment and advancement becomes inevitable outcome of traditional sex discrimination in training.

With technological progress taking place over time, production processes have become more and more mechanized. Though a section of job has become highly capital intensive, majority of jobs have remained labour-intensive – which are becoming deskilled, mechanical and repetitive in nature. To minimize the cost of production, capital seeks cheap and flexible labourers. With the development of technology and the consequent changes in the labour processes capital started employing labourers with “slight muscular strength” and whose limbs are all the more supple” [Marx, 1954: p.372].

For this deskilled and repetitive nature of job, women and children are rediscovered, as they are the profitable combination of low wage and ‘high productivity’. These dull, labourious and monotonous jobs demand high degree of manual dexterity,

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capacity and willingness to work for long and concentrated application of monotonous and repetitive tasks and also capacity to learn quickly. Women, specially from the third world countries with poor educational background and weak economic are socialized in patriarchal culture to be docile and subservient. All these factors actually weaken their bargaining power in the labour market and with deteriorating economic conditions they are compelled to accept low wages. With the restructuring of labour processes the role of women has undergone massive change but gender division of labour has hardly reconciled. Labour power of women is always valued in relation to the existence of their family and their dependency within it.



Women labourers are often described as part of the "industrial reserve army" – whose existence put constant pressure on wages making it downward flexible. In seasonal and cyclical fluctuations therefore gets affected first. However this analogy tends to overlook the social, political and ideological factors which keeps women's wage lower than that of the men workers even when they are doing same work as men.

Along with these factors several other cultural, religious and class specific factors play crucial role in determining the women workers' position in the labour market. It is interesting to see how

international division of labour is effectively utilizing the pre-existing gendered labour market and how it convinces women workers to undervalue their contribution in the production spheres.

2.4 International Division of Labour and Women Labourers

In the 1980's there was a major shift in the pattern of planning, both in the developed and developing countries. Following the economic crisis, which had initially emerged as a result of oil shock, many developing countries adopted "structural and stabilization strategies". The aim was to reduce balance of payment deficit, to control inflation and revive the economy from the state of stagnation by reducing public expenditure through tighter monetary policies, devaluation of currency, commercialization of public enterprises and financial institutions, rationalization of tax structure and also through improving incentives for the production on internationally tradable goods by switching resources away from non-tradable goods. For greater integration with the global market both developed and developing countries concentrated on export promotion rather than import.

substitution. For promoting exports these countries relied on the commodities in which they were having comparative advantage.

With globalization the whole notion of production has undergone radical change – it no longer remains a process of combination of land, labour, capital and enterprise that takes place within a given location. With global restructuring and international division of labour, production processes have got fragmented – labour intensive operations are carried out in countries with abundance of cheap labour. In developing countries Export Processing Zones (EPZs) emerged as a major way of “attracting direct foreign investment in export oriented manufacturing resulting from industrial relocation” [Lee, 1984: p.1]. Apart from the objective of attracting Foreign Direct Investment by providing a wide range of investment incentives for accelerating industrial growth and exports – EPZs are thought to be the panacea for ameliorating the problem of unemployment in the developing countries. Mostly, as the type of industries within the EPZs tend to be labour intensive they absorb more labour per unit of investment than other types of Direct Foreign Investment [Lee, 1984: p. 5].

In these zones, the host government has an explicit commitment as well as a vested interest³ in providing cheap and placid labour force for the foreign investors. In the third world countries, specific constellation of class and gender relations, interplay of new sexual division of labour and international division of labour ensures a large pool of cheap labourers in the form of women labourers who are “best suited” for the assembly line production of export oriented products.

To analyze the emerging trend of employment structure of Export Processing Zones one needs to understand it in light of global trend. The global strategy of “structural adjustment and stabilization” has brought radical changes in labour relations. According to Standing (1989) erosions of labour regulations, growth of low wage jobs, increasing casualization and contractualization is accompanied by “feminization”.

The decade 1980's is marked by over emphasis of trade liberalization and export-led industrialization. The economy, as a result, has become vulnerable to the fluctuating world market scenario. The producers not only have to produce cost competitive products; they have to reduce fixed cost of labour. Employment security legislations, labour market regulations are viewed as

³ the vested interests are – attracting foreign direct investment, earning foreign exchange etc.(detail discussion chapter-3)

rigidities, which need to be removed as it calls for labour market distortions. These moves are believed to facilitate quick response to the fluctuating market demand. As a result there emerges increasing reliance on casual or temporary and contractual and/or sub-contractual labourers. According to Diane Elson “flexibility” argument enables the firm to enjoy “functional”, “numerical” and “financial” flexibility⁴. Functional flexibility allows the employers to call upon workers for varied tasks and skills, numerical flexibility refers to the flexibility of labour time, number of workers etc, and through financial flexibility firm escapes from huge fixed cost on labour in the form of pension, sickness benefit, maternity benefit etc. Thus these flexibilities are designed to serve the interest of export oriented production units.

With fast technological progress, the job structure as well as the skill required also have also started changing at a very rapid pace. The labourers are expected to acquire skill from short-term courses from the external labour market – thus the firms relegate their responsibilities of on-the-job training. This results in the polarization of skills – high skilled specialized technique has remained within the access of elite when the majority have to compete for the semi-skilled and subsidiary work. In this later type

⁴ Cited in Elson Diane(1996): Page:39

of job there exists hardly any scope for upward mobility and 'firm-specific return'.

In this era of globalization and liberalization, deregulation and decentralization of production process is accompanied by dismantling of collective bargaining. With multiple exit options the capital has become highly volatile which actually weakens workers bargaining power, as they are inadequately informed about the global dynamics of international capital. Unstable employer-employee relation, casualization contractualization and informalization of labour relation are restricting the trade unions from mobilizing and organizing labourers.

All these developments of labour market strategies actually suited the poor, third world women who are precariously participating in the labour market. They are the most vulnerable class – firstly, for being poor and secondly, for being women. These women having low "aspiration wages" are inducted into the export oriented factories, where there is high demand for the cheap but docile labourers, who have high degree of concentration and patience but who are less assertive so far as their "right" are concerned. The labour processes are highly fragmented and deskilled – which enables educationally and technically poorer labourers to find their places. Yet they are made to underestimate

their worth and contribution, which helps to weaken their bargaining power.

Sexual division of labour, which is mostly governed by tradition and culture of any society, channelizes women workers into some very specific sectors like-agriculture, textile garment and traditional handicrafts, and recently in the electronics sector. These sectors are mostly overcrowded. As a result, employers exploit this easy labour supply phenomena by offering lower average wages and poor working condition. As Beneria has rightly said, "while the promotion of female employment may be desirable but this is not the way to achieve this" [Beneria, 1989: p.1082]. This is nothing but the "distress sale" of their labour in response of their economic hardship. We find replication of this trend in the Export Processing Zones. Lim argued that there existed hardly any comparative standard to "judge the conditions of female intensive export factories". According to him as far as age, educational background, economic background and marital status of the women workers working in these factories are concerned the experiences across the countries are highly diversified (Lim, 1990: p.105, 106 & 107). Yet, the ILO reports and the primary surveys conducted at the national level reemphasize that more or less the employment in these zones follow a general trend.

Export manufacturing production units are engaged in preferential recruitment of specific groups of women – especially young unmarried women of age group 13-24 years. The work participation of young women labourers are typically limited to the period between leaving school and getting married when “voluntary” withdrawal from the workforce takes place – thus it does not give them any lasting benefit. But the employers get rid of them without accommodating married women for their domestic responsibilities and giving them maternity benefit. Because of the high rate of “voluntary” turnover the workforce normally remains young and inexperienced. Since they are not part of the industrial labour for the lifetime, their commitments are also lacking. As a result, it becomes difficult to organize them and at the same time the employers feel hesitant to invest in their training and skill upgradation. As a result, these labourers have to accept truncated careers.

Added to this since the nature of job does not offer them any transferable skills-the outgoing labourers hardly have any competitive edge in search for the alternative employment. The high intensity of work, long hours per day and high number of working days per year and unrelenting pace of work under demanding productivity norms lead to productivity decline within a

few years of work participation. A very high rate of “voluntary” turnover also helps the employers to replenish the workforce constantly with new recruits. The “learning curves” of most of these jobs are very small, it takes only couple of days to peak up the desired pace by new comers.

The productions of the Export Processing Zones are targeted towards the world market and therefore the demand for their products are highly affected by the fluctuating export markets. The employers also use the above excuse to shed off “exhausted” workforce. Therefore, third-world women who are cheap, flexible, and “disposable” have become the ideal labour pool in the new global economy.

Therefore, EPZs’ jobs that are integral part of the employment generation program of developing countries are offering jobs which are exploitative – and rather than being economically and socially emancipating. As a result EPZs’ workers have become the victims of new form of subordination. Specially, the women workers’ contribution are devalued using the traditional notion of gender hierarchies. International capital is actually accumulating profit by its strategic use of sexual division of labours in the third world countries.

However the burden of the women workers are two-fold as the new form of structural adjustment policies are prompting them to undergo lot of adjustments even within the household. Workplace and family are two important elements to leave the most profound impact on an individual's life. These two are also very closely interacting institutions. Therefore, in order to analyze the impact of changing international division of labour one needs to consider its ramification in both these spheres. Changing international division of labour is opening opportunities for the women workers in the labour market.

- One needs to analyze these opportunities in the light of –
- Whether it is integrating them with development or it is just a survival strategy which ensures that their state of underdevelopment persists and perpetuates
 - Qualitative change of workers lives
 - Changes taking place in the relation between productive and reproductive roles

Most often Structural Adjustment policy or any other macroeconomic policies are understood and analyzed in terms of

monetary variables – like Gross Domestic Product, interest rate, investment and savings, balance of payment, inflation and unemployment and so on. By and large these by passes the private or domestic spheres and operations of the household. Reallocation of resources from internationally non-tradable goods to tradable ones incurs huge social costs. Only “an increase in unpaid labour in the household made it possible to treat the switching from one form of paid labour to another as costless”. [Elson, 1992: p.31] If the household successfully cushions off this cost it is less likely to leave any impact upon other macro economic variables. Since traditionally women are assigned the task in the domestic sphere, any macro economic crisis actually intensifies their role in compensating for the changes in the other markets. But in macroeconomics there is hardly any attempt to include the gender implications of policy. In most analysis the household is taken as a unit - which is cooperative and altruistic in nature. Its internal dynamics, distribution of wealth and consumption, allocation of responsibilities thus remain obscured and unaccounted for.

Gary Becker has theorized that within the household an ‘implicit’ market mechanism operates. Household members allocate their time which maximizes their joint utility - which is nothing but family welfare defined in terms of total consumption of goods and

services. Hereby neoclassical theory tends to ignore individual taste and preferences by arbitrarily aggregating individual utility to derive joint utility function. According to Becker within the family “benevolent dictator” will ensure that no one can actually act as ‘free rider’ – he/she will ensure deployment of labour according to the marginal productivity of individual members. However the question remains when the individual is entirely selfish in the market why they will behave as perfect self less in the household – for that he/she will only be concerned about the collective interest of the family. [Folbre, 1986: p.247]

“Bargaining model” often captures intra-household dynamics⁵ in terms of the differential bargaining power of the individual members. It says individual members cooperate because cooperative arrangements make them better off. So long as cooperation ensures better outcome than the “breakdown position” this arrangement will continue. However members may have conflicting interests as well. Even within cooperation there may be conflicting interest – then the relative well being of the individual members will depend upon number of other variables –

⁵ Cited in Bina Agarwal (1997)

- Their own perception of interest and well being⁶. According to A.K.Sen sometimes personal interests are combined with a great concern of family welfare and the individual tends to accept the legitimacy of unequal order.
- Fall back position of the individual members. In a society where social norms and extra household agencies like community and state doesn't ensure equal rights over the property ownership individual's bargaining power is likely to be threatened because of discriminatory fall back positions
- Person's ability to survive physically outside the family also contributes for consolidating the individual's bargain position.
- Social norms and traditions tend to leave its strong influence on individual's relative bargaining power and fall back position.

Without addressing the above issues "bargaining model" is very unlikely to provide any legitimate result.

On the other hand Marxists also consider household as an undifferentiated unit, which is primarily governed by altruism.

⁶ Cited in A.Sen (1990) Page:125

Each individual members' primary aim is to survive and subsist. In their analysis of class, where the conflict is actually between the ownership of the means of production and control over labour processes; any conflict between the household members is not taken into consideration. Marxist theories rarely refer to the household inequalities as 'exploitation'. Inequality of the rates of exploitation in the family is viewed in terms of the "purely voluntary material sacrifices, related, perhaps, to the intangible and emotional aspects of family life" [Folbre, 1989: p.323]

However reduction in the quality and quantity of basic public and social services – which is one of the key feature of the current Structural Adjustments programs; is inevitably affecting household members. In order to compensate for the low family income women are participating in the labour market even though it is offering them deteriorating working condition. All the patriarchal cultural norms which used to prohibit women from working outside the home are disregarded. In the presence of strong religious and social norms that factory work is demeaning for women, it is likely that economic pressure is seen as the only socially acceptable reason for their participation in such work. However patriarchal norms do not allow them to relinquish their domestic responsibilities while coping with the time pressure. Most

of the time they do not control the finance but they have the obligations to clothe, feed, house, take care and rear the other household members. These added responsibilities make them incompetent in the labour market. They can not claim; rather they are not offered equal wage as their male colleagues are getting even when they are doing the same type of jobs. Mechanism of adjustment are reflected in women's daily lives in the form of excessive number of hours worked in order to provide and distribute the limited resources vital for the family survival.

High-income families can reduce these responsibilities by buying substitutes for their own unpaid work. But the women of the poor household have to work double day. Otherwise it is the other female members who have to shoulder these responsibilities. In the nuclear family setup most often it is the older daughters who are assigned these jobs. Thus even the second-generation women end up sacrificing their future prospect in the labour market while serving the current needs of the family.

Concluding remarks

The above literature survey provides us a broad idea about how women are doubly incompetent in the labour market to favour the interest of capital. They are treated as "cheap and flexible

labour” as they are the “secondary workforce” and because of their low skill and poor educational background. On the other hand, since they are valued less in the labour market in the absence of state provision it is most likely they will be more deprived within the family- even though they are treated as the “safety valve” at times of crisis. Against this backdrop we have attempted to address the following:-

- The working condition and employment relation within Noida Export Processing Zone - particularly in electronics and readymade garment industries.
- Motivational factors for women to enter the labour market.
- Whether there exists any renegotiations of the household division of labour, viz division of labour among the household members.
- The family dynamics which are helping them to make these invisible adjustments.

Chapter – 3

*Export Processing Zone:
Objectives and Government Policies. An Evaluation
of its Performance – With Special Reference to Noida
Export Processing Zone.*

Immediately after independence in order to achieve self-sufficiency and economic development Indian policy makers concentrated on inward looking import substituting development planning. In an apprehension of losing its ground while facing fierce competition of international division of labour, Indian policy makers rather decided to reserve foreign exchange even by providing protection to the domestic firms. Licensing, quantitative restrictions, tariff barriers and other forms of protection actually aborted the possibility of competition even among the domestic producers. As a result, there was a general fall in the quality of product and the prices were also not cost competitive in the global markets. In view of the gravity of the situation, the Government of India started offering various incentive packages for promoting exports and in the 1970's they gradually started relaxing the trade barriers. Among various incentives offered – cash compensatory support, duty drawback, import replenishment, advance licensing, pre-emption of sales tax on goods going into export production were popularized. However, these also failed to leave any significant impact on India's export figures.

In the wake of foreign exchange crises of 1991, the Government offered a comprehensive trade policy – which showed its clear inclination of curtailing and dismantling licensing, quantitative restrictions and discriminatory controls and lessening of administrative controls. Exim policy during (1992-97) and that of the subsequent years, were announced with an ambition of integrating the domestic economy with the rest of the world.

The principal objectives of this policy were –

- To facilitate sustained growth in exports
- To stimulate sustained economic growth by providing access to essential raw materials, intermediates, components, consumer and capital goods required for augmenting production and providing services.
- To enhance technological strength and efficiency, thereby improving the competitive strength with the generation of new employment opportunities.
- To provide consumers with good quality products at internationally competitive prices

These objectives were expected to be met through coordinated efforts of the State Government and Central Government. For attracting foreign investment and promoting international trade, establishment of Export Processing Zones were thought to be one of the best policy options.

Though there was a lack of conceptual framework and objective clarity for Export Processing Zones, as a whole these were delineated industrial estate which constitutes a free trade enclave in the customs and trade regime of the country and where foreign manufacturing firms producing mainly for export, benefit from certain number of fiscal and financial incentives. However the conventional concept of EPZ as a

geographical entity is losing its ground for some practical reasons like diffusion of export oriented activities or other institutional barriers etc.

The terms Export Processing Zone, Foreign Trade Zone, Free Zone, Industrial Free Zone etc are used to describe more or less the same concept. Even though developing countries are endowed with cheap labour, they lack capital, technology and skill that make international markets inaccessible. On the other hand, developed countries are richly endowed with technology and capital. Rapid technological progress is enabling fragmentation of production processes, which allows developed countries to utilize the comparative advantage of developing countries (cheap labour). In response of such industrial relocation, EPZs have emerged as a major instrument by which developing countries can attract direct foreign investment in export oriented manufacturing.

In India so far there are 7 EPZs: at Kandla (Gujarat), Santa Cruz (Mumbai), Falta (West Bengal), Noida (Uttar Pradesh), Cochin (Kerala), Madras (Tamil Nadu) and Vishakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh). Kandla Free Trade Zone is the first EPZ set up in Asia. Currently, the Ministry of Commerce has decided to set up eight more EPZs. Other than Mumbai, all EPZs are multi-product zones and the main items manufactured there are electronics, engineering items, chemicals, gems and jewellery items, readymade garments, plastics and rubber products, drugs and chemicals etc. Incentive packages offered by the Government of India includes infrastructural, fiscal as well as administrative support.

Liberal package incentives for EPZs include -

- Exemption from customs duty on raw material, machinery components, consumer goods, spares, tooling, packaging material etc.
- No license required for import
- Exemption from Central Excise Duty on goods brought from Domestic Tariff Area for export promotion
- Simplified approval procedures
- Attractive tax incentives
- No restrictions on foreign shareholding and free remittance of profits and dividends
- Facility to sell up to 50% of FOB value of exports in the domestic market

Some other fiscal taxation incentives include -

- Corporate tax holiday for a period of 10 years on graded basis.
- Subcontracting of production processes in the DTA
- Positive NFEP (Net Foreign Exchange Percentage for Units) with investments of 5 crores or more
- Flexible provisions for de bonding

Utilizing these incentives EPZs are expected to fulfill the following *objectives* -

- Attracting foreign investment
- Earning foreign exchange
- Generating employment
- Facilitating transfer of technology
- Upgrading skills

It also aims for -

- Creating linkages between domestic markets and EPZ
- Aiming regional development
- Playing an important role as “demonstration areas” for the domestic economy

3.1a. Foreign Investment

In industrialization strategies of a country EPZs are expected to act as a catalyst for attracting foreign investment. In case of initial phase of outward looking industrialization EPZs can be used as “physical policy enclave which permits free trade and export promotion policies to be pursued without disturbing the given trade regime and the structure of protection applicable to the industrial sector as a whole” (Lee, 1984: p6). Thus, it can also serve the purpose of “testing grounds” for free trade

policy. Within EPZs all the obstacles, which seem to reduce the ability and willingness of the foreign investors to utilize a country's comparative advantage are removed. Therefore, EPZs are expected to utilize a country's comparative advantage without creating it.

In India however mobilizing foreign investment has never been a sacrosanct objective – rather considerable emphasis has been given on mobilizing domestic investment. A distinctive feature of Indian EPZs and other Export Oriented units is that - it looks for stimulating domestic investment as well. However there is need to identify potential investors groups and formulate policies for attracting foreign investment. Experiences from other countries suggest that non-residential citizens, due to their cultural and ethnic links, do invest substantially and as EPZ starts acquiring its own image other multinationals also crowd in.

3.1b. Foreign Exchange Earnings

Earning foreign exchange is one of the main objectives of EPZs. The export earnings are expected to ease out the problem of scarcity of foreign exchange and its depletion due to high import bills. However the volume of Net Foreign Exchange Earnings depends upon the nature of units within the EPZs. In India, most of the EPZs are multi product zones. These zones as mentioned earlier concentrate in the production of - electronic software and most of the other industries like gem and jewellery, engineering, electronic hardware etc. But the problem is these

industries are highly import intensive in nature - as a result net foreign exchange earnings from such product are not at all appreciable.

3.1c. Employment Generation

The industries of the EPZs are mostly labour intensive in nature and they absorb more labour per unit of investment than any other form of foreign direct investment and that is the reason for developing countries to continue to pin their hopes on EPZs for leaving a significant impact on countries employment structure scenario. However for a vast country like India it is less likely to contribute as it was envisaged. Table 3.1(Appendix) gives as an overview of the total contribution of EPZs in this frontier with particular mention to Noida Export Processing Zone. It shows that over the period employment generation has multiplied by manifold. However, if we consider the national statistics, then it fails to leave any quantitative impact. But in the developing countries like India ,with chronic unemployment problem, at the individual level there is positive welfare. As long as the shadow price of labour is less than the wage the host economy will continue to gain from it. In India, in spite of low real wage EPZs have failed to give any good quantitative result.

In the Export Processing Zones developing countries offer foreign capital a large pool of cheap laborers. Interestingly a significant portion of this workforce is actually young and unmarried women - who are socialized to be docile, subservient and their socialization procedure ensures that they undervalue their contribution both inside the

household and in the workforce. Patience, concentration and nimble fingers are the qualities those are needed for the fabric based and assembly line production of these export oriented units. But they are not adequately paid for acquiring these skills - rather it is explained as their innate qualities. These women are doubly exploited- firstly, for being poor and secondly, for being women. They are less vocal and not conversant with the social security and industrial laws. The “double burden” i.e. the household chores and industrial jobs spare no time for them to go for collective bargaining or join trade union activities.

High rate of technological change as well as for dwindling international market EPZ requires labour with low skill and low wage that can be hired seasonally. Women workers with low aspiration wages readily accept such offer as it leads to net increase in their family income even though temporarily. The “truncated career” options hardly have any scope for skill up gradation or upward mobility. As a result, it doesn't help to increase women's mobility in the workplace. According to Kumar (1989) on the other hand, it is leading towards adverse sociological impacts. Given the traditionally perceived role of women and men, increasing unemployment of men accompanied by widening opportunities for women (even though in adverse terms) may lead to enormous social tension. Trade union movement, which is traditionally led by men, is actually apathetic towards their women colleagues - rather they think it is women's presence, which is diluting any movement for workers' right. Since the women workers are willing to

accept low wage for the same nature of work that they used to do earlier, the average industrial wage is facing a downward pressure.

It is the deliberate government policy to curb any labour movement that may make the zone a hostile place thereby deterring foreign investors from investing. In India, EPZs are given public utility status under Industrial Dispute Act; 1947 which prohibits strikes without recourse of reconciliation proceedings. The working condition in EPZs is generally poor - the workers are obliged to accept high intensity work under demanding productivity norms, high number of working days per days, long hours per day and this lead to their productivity fall within a couple of years-so the workers suffer from severe psychological disorder. While emphasizing on the quantitative aspect of employment generation objective of EPZs one should also consider its other qualitative aspects.

3.1d.Facilitating transfer of technology and upgrading skills of workers

Transfer of technology is one of the desirable externalities, which remains implicitly included in the decisions regarding the establishment of EPZs. However, this objective is far from being achieved because in the EPZs only the labour-intensive production processes are shifted which utilize the traditional skills (mainly for gem and jewellery). In India since most of the units within EPZs are domestically owned the question

of transfer of technology does not arise. Moreover the capacity of the host country to adapt and absorb and indigenize sophisticated technology depends upon its own stage of development.

3.1e. Creating linkages between domestic markets and EPZs

EPZs are also expected to provide dynamic benefits in the form of both forward and backward linkage effects to the developing countries. Backward linkages are established by the procurement of raw materials and also by sub-contracting a part of the manufacturing operations. On the other hand forward linkages are established if EPZs' firms are allowed to sell their product even within the Domestic Tariff Area (DTA).

However, due to high import intensity the backward linkages derived from it - is miniscule. Though as a result of the incentive packages, the infrastructural facilities surrounding the zones have improved considerably; but the domestic firms fall far below the expectation as far as the quality of the product is concerned. They also fail to fulfill their commitments regarding the delivery time of the raw materials. All these failures actually make the products incompetent in the world market therefore no firms are actually willing to take risk of it. In India, the exposure of the EPZs' firms to the domestic market is restricted through policy invention. One of the main features of EPZs' schemes are - the units have to export at least 75% of their production

and rest 25%(with exception to agricultural product) can be sold in DTA and rejects up to 5% or so (which may be fixed by the Board of Approval) may be sold in DTA, which is subjected to the payment of appropriate duties. However, the same scheme offers product specific relaxation.

3.1f. Aiming regional development

Initially it was recommended that the locations of the new zone will be decided keeping in mind the proximity of an international airport and seaport, industrial and financial infrastructure insurance and ware housing facilities, communication, housing and health facilities, potential linkages with the hinterland for the supply of domestic inputs and outputs. In India, Kandla Export Processing Zone was built to enhance regional development of the nearby states. Cochin, Chennai, Vishakhapattanam, Noida - these four EPZs conform to these criteria as well. But Falta's location lack adequate industrial and social infrastructure. It has also failed to improve it too. As a result regional development has remained more or less restricted. (Cited in Kundra.2000, p: 132)

3.1g. Role played as a demonstration area

In the era of liberalization, continuing tariff reduction, duty free import of capital goods and raw materials; the significance of such industrial enclave is loosing its foot. For sustaining their relevance over the period of time EPZs are needed to be restructured continuously. It

should be able to respond to the external challenges. According to Basile and Germidis the life span of EPZ can be divided into four stages (cited in Kundra, 2000.P: 133) -

- In the first phase there will be development of infrastructural facilities and other facilities.
- In the second phase, there will be sharp rise in the foreign investment and thus there will be steady export promotion.
- In-coming foreign exchange will gradually fall and export performance will be less appreciable
- In the fourth stage foreign exchange will stop coming

However the duration of the each phase depends upon the country's own development. There is an ongoing debate on whether low wage, low productivity and minimal social security are the pre-conditions for the success of the EPZs' units. Experiences across the country suggest that actually in India, little effort have been made to bring in big export houses rather the operating units are either medium sized or small sized firms. Therefore they are neither in a position to exploit economies of scale nor do they have any bargaining power in the international market. Therefore the only option that they have to remain competitive is by cutting the workers wage.

The performance of the EPZs should be judged taking into account both their export performance and employment performance as also with respect to the other objectives that were initially set. In this regard since the experience of Indian EPZs are really gloomy. The demonstration effect which it could have, has also failed to meet any expectations. With reference to this general experience of EPZs at the national level we will analyze the performance and employment issues of Noida Export Processing Zone.

3.2 Noida Export Processing Zone

Noida Export Processing Zone (or “Boundary” as it is locally known as) was established in 1985 on a 310 acres plot, adjacent to phase - II of Industrial Township of Noida. According to Ashoke Kumar Kundra, the ex-development commissioner of NEPZ “the EPZs were set up with the objectives of earning foreign exchange, developing export oriented industries, stimulating domestic and foreign investment and generating employment opportunities”. An internationally competitive duty free environment for production, hassle free day to day operations, comparatively less labour – management disputes are the main assets of Noida Export Processing Zone. Hence the Development Commissioner for the units of NEPZ has announced some special incentives.

3.2a. Special Incentives

- Corporate tax holiday for the period of any consecutive five years within the first eight years of operations.
- Duty free import of capital goods, raw materials and other components.
- Exemption from the central excise duty and other levies on products manufactured in the zone and /or procured from the Domestic Tariff Area.(DTA)
- Central Sales tax reimbursement on purchases made from DTA
- Deemed export benefits on supplies received from DTA.
- No restrictions on foreign share holding and 100% convertibility of export earnings at the market rate.
- Access to domestic market up to 25-50 % of total production on payment of applicable duties.
- Exemption from sales tax on purchase of inputs from the U.P state
- Public utility status for the units inside this enclave

1. Apart from these, there are other infrastructural and administrative support and for future prospect different promotional schemes are also taken up. Infrastructural improvements are like-development of another 32 units of SDF (Standard Design Factory)

blocks, improving nearby banking facilities, construction of ESI hospital etc.

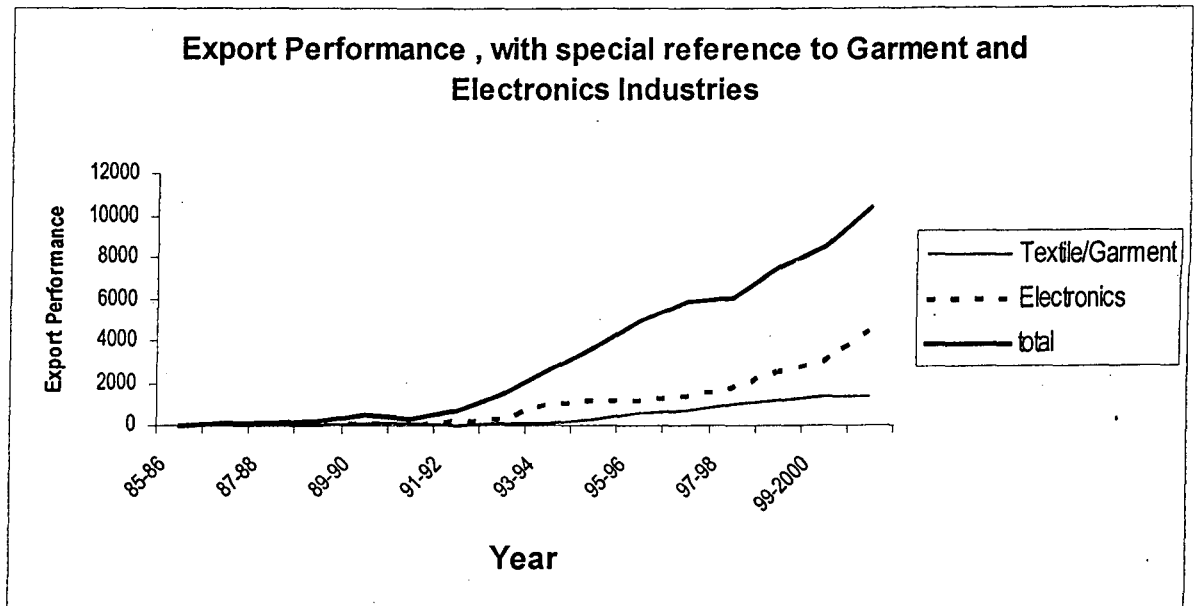
The zonal units are engaged in the production and export of low volume and high valued tradable goods like-jewellery, electronic software, leather goods, ready-made garments, medicines etc. But the performance of all these industries has not been of similar kind. As mentioned in the earlier section EPZs were thought to serve diversified purposes in country's development process. But here we are mainly limiting our analysis on its export performance and labour relations, with particular mention to garment and electronics industries (the figures include both software and hardware industry).

3.2b. Export Performance

As compared to other Export Processing Zone operating within India the export performance of Noida Export Processing Zone is believed to be better. Figures of the sectoral growth of exports of NEPZ (Table-3.2) show that within the first 4 years in 1989-90 the total export figures increased many folds (almost 7.57 times). Therefore the industries took very little time to pick up its growth. But then there was a sudden fall in total export performance; this poor performance can be due to contemporary economic crises. However, the total export figures started

rising from the following financial year. If we plot the export figures of the subsequent years we get the following graph.

Graph-3.1 Yearly Export performance, with special reference to garment and electronics industries



Source: Based on Table – 3.2(appendix)

Starting from the financial year 1986-87 the export figures of Noida Export Processing Zone grew almost 37.52 times of it. There has been constant rise in the total export figures (Graph – 3.1), for garment and electronics industries also, export figures show upward trend. For Garment industry up to 1992-93 the total export figures shoot up by more than 2 times of its previous year's record. However this boom didn't persist in the following financial year. But the situation improved in 1994-95 and 1995-96. But here onwards the performance of this industry is actually showing a negative trend. In recent times i.e. in the

years 1999-00 and 2000-01, it is having single digit growth rate¹. Especially in the financial year 2000-1 it is barely managing a positive growth rate. (Table – 3.5, Appendix)

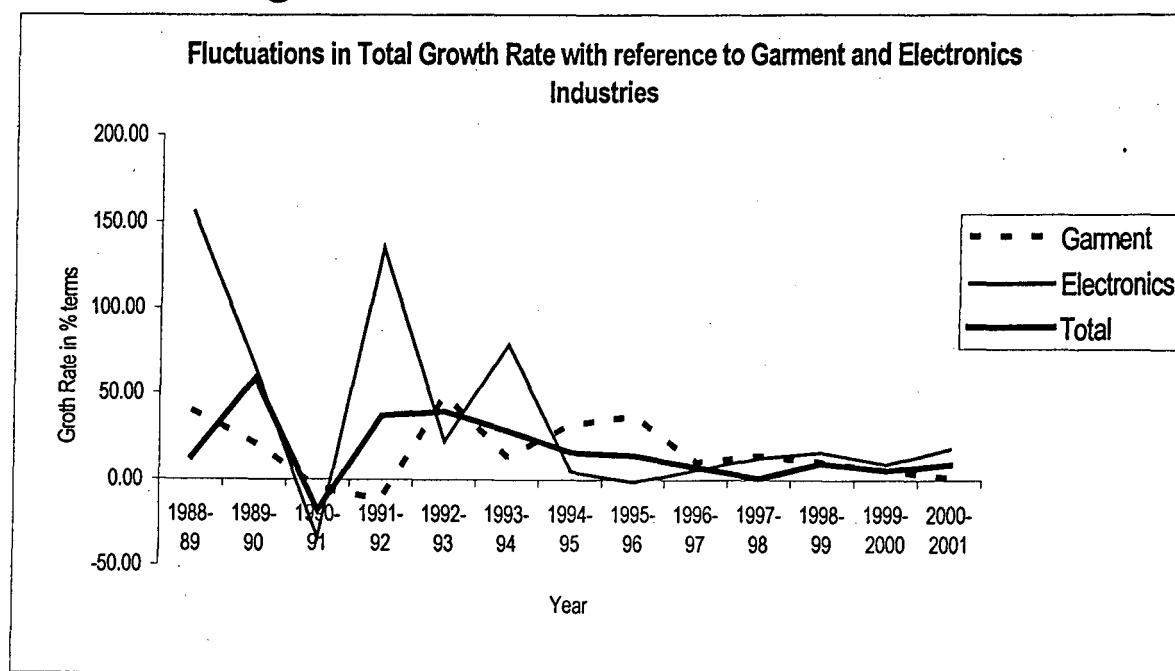
The following Graph – 3.2 shows that though the export figure of garment industry has remained far below than that of electronics, but this performance is highly fluctuating. There is hardly any pattern of development, which can be used to forecast the future prospect of this industry. It is to be noted that electronics and garment are not the only industries, which are susceptible to fluctuations like this. Rather this is the common feature of most of the industries operating within Export Processing Zone – the line segment that shows the fluctuations of the total export performance substantiate our argument. This actually shows the volatility of the export market.

As compared to garment the performance of the electronics industry has been far better off. The gestation gap for this industry was little longer than the garment industry. But 1991-92 onwards contribution of this industry in total export figures has always remained higher than that of garment. The growth rate for this industry had a massive fall in the year 1990 –1, but immediately it recovered in the following years. It is the only industry - operating within NEPZ, showing considerably steady growth rate and it has been better than the other operating industries even in the recent time.

¹ For calculating the growth rate we have compound rate of growth formula.

Apart from garment and electronics the performance of the gem and jewellery industry has been very fluctuating. It had a very high rate of growth in the initial years, but it suffered a massive setback in the years 1989-90 and 1990-91. But immediately in the following years it recovered and once again recorded a very high rate of growth, though it also didn't last for a long time. In the last financial year it has shown an upward trend but it is difficult to suggest the future growth prospect of this industry. The growth rate of chemical industry has also not remained very impressive in the sense that, neither it had experienced an enormous growth rate like garment, electronics or gem and jewellery, nor it had a very consistent growth rate.

Graph - 3.2 Fluctuations in total growth rate with reference to garment and electronics industries



Source: Based on Table - 3.4 (Appendix)

Table3.4a. shows even in the direction of export there exists hardly any pattern. Though U.S.A has remained the major importing country of the NEPZ's products, their share has never remained stable .As compared to this share of U.K and Germany has remained more or less stable. This once again gives us a hind about the importance of research and development to explore and ensure a new and more stable market Research and development is needed to understand the tastes and pattern of the foreign consumers, which may help the producers to specialize in the products, which have high demand in the international market.

Table3.4a. Direction of export in percentage terms

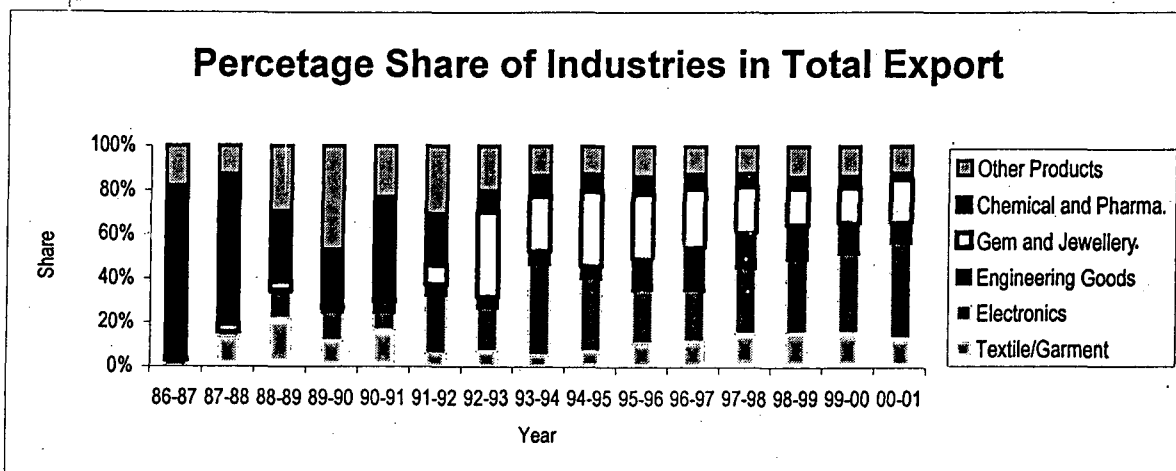
Country	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01
U.S.A.	29	16	27	43	24	29	35	41	n.a	35.2	38.8
U.K	8	13	19	15	16	14	16	11	n.a	9.5	10.2
Germany	7	8	8	10	6	7	6	6	n.a	6.5	4.2
U.A.E.	3	11	12	9	14	11	5	4	n.a	5.7	11.1
Others	53	52	34	23	40	39	38	38	n.a	43.1	35.7

Source: Cited in A.Kundra, 2000.P: 98. & NEPZ's Profile, issued from Development commissioner's office, NEPZ 2000-01

If we now take into account the contributing share of each industry in the total export, even there we find one can hardly follow any trend. In the initial years of establishment chemical and pharmacy had

the leading share, but in the recent years this industry is hardly managing to contribute in the total export basket. On the other hand, electronics industries are having a rising share in it, but in the initial years their contribution was not so high. For the last couple of years gem and jewellery industry is more or less maintaining its share in spite of showing a negative trend in its growth rate. The contribution of textile garment has not been very high but it has managed to hold a more or less stable share in recent time. Similarly the contributions of the other products like -cosmetic brushes, glass smoking system, packing material, stuffed toys, nylon bags etc. are maintaining its share, but that of the engineering industry is showing a reverse trend. Therefore it follows that in recent time NEPZ is emerging as a multi-product zone and it has been able to diversify its export basket but even the share of the industries in total export has not remained stable. The following Graph - 3.3 highlights these points further.

Graph - 3.3 Percentage share of industries in total export



Source: Based on Table - 3.3 (Appendix)

From the above discussion it becomes clear that to expect a stable growth of the industries operating within EPZ the production techniques have to be flexible enough to accommodate and adopt the changing international demand. Other wise the expectations of a substantial contributions of EPZs in country's total foreign exchange earnings is most likely to remain unfulfilled - not only that this will have its negative impact in the employment issues also.

Even though Noida Export Processing Zone is among the better performing EPZ within our national territory, but the workers hardly cherish the fruits of this development. The export oriented growth strategy because of its dependence on the vicissitudes of the international markets is less likely to provide any stable and continued foundation for economic growth and employment. Rather in reply of the fluctuating world demand the employers rely on the cost minimization objective attained by lowering of workers wage bill. They clamor for flexible labour management strategy. Interestingly there is hardly any attempt from the part of the employers to update the production technique, neither there exists any research and developmental activities to respond to the changing market demand. The in-house training and skill development opportunities are also limited.

In this context we should therefore concentrate on the conditions of labour, which gives us an overview about the impact of these labor management strategies on them.

3.2b. Conditions of labour

NEPZ has been given public utility status under the Industrial Dispute Act 1947, For which legally workers can not go for strike prior to six weeks notice and it is also banned during the period of conciliation proceedings. The aim was to curb unnecessary labour management conflict and to ensure cordial relation between the two. However this has only strengthened management's power to inhibit any form of collective bargaining within this industrial enclave. Within NEPZ, entry is restricted and the workers have their own passes only at the behest of the management of companies. Even when any worker is illegally dismissed or victimized he/she cannot approach the management to lodge any form of protest.

Minimum wage act, Equal remuneration act, regulations regarding the length of the working day and leave all are applicable within this industrial enclave – but they are flagrantly violated and the workers in absence of any proper trade union activities fail to complain or take any action against the management. The official figures for 2000-1 show that almost 73% of the total workforce is actually permanent and 23% of them are casual- among male 56% are permanent and rest are casual but in case of female majority of them are casual and only 19% are permanent. (Calculated using Table – 3.6, Appendix)

But they hardly get any benefits for being a part of it. Most of them rarely enjoy provident fund, gratuity, retirement or many other benefits. The workers are not even aware of the method of deciding yearly increment – according to them it depends upon the management's discretion. The employers in very limited number of cases apply proper risk management strategy for health hazardous jobs. NEPZ's workforce is exceptionally young - one finds hardly any mention of the senior workers of age group 40-45 years and above. The management shirks off their responsibilities for compensation for their loss of productivity, which are bound to happen due to their nature of job that they perform. They are replaced with the fresh recruits at ease without facing any hassle whatsoever.

Unlike other industrial job where age is considered as the reflection of experience hence paid for it, in EPZs' the assembly line production with age productivity declines sharply. Here the type of work the majority of them perform hardly needs any skill. Therefore aged workers are really burden for the EPZs' units. They are also considered as the threat for the unit – for being in one particular unit for a long time the workers tend to have friendly relation with their colleagues, which may encourage them to unite for collective bargaining or other form of trade union activities. To inhibit any labour movement, management likes to discourage any communication between the co-workers and they use various obnoxious strategies to control labour movement. They are

skillfully using the Public Utility status, which are given to them to inhibit workers' right.

Our primary survey highlights some of the issues of this exploitative nature of work, which are taking place behind the high brick walls of NEPZ. We cannot deny that these jobs at the individual level, are in fact allowing the workers to get rid off their economic vulnerabilities though not fully and forever, but at least partially for the present. Given the incentive package, which is offered by Government of India, this is high time to take into account the performance of EPZs and the cost that we are paying to achieve this and how and among whom the benefits are distributed.

Chapter – 4

Socio-Economic Profiles of Women Workers in Noida Export Processing Zone – Worker Vulnerability and Their Domestic Adjustments

Noida Export Processing Zone (NEPZ), like other Export Processing Zones within the national territory, is engaged in the production of labour intensive commodities – like ready-made garment, software and hardware products, gem and jewellerys, chemical and different engineering products etc. According to the data available from the Development Commissioner's office, as on 31st October 2001, in total 149 units are operating within NEPZ. But among that almost 17 units have closed down. The closure rate is highest for the ready-made garment industry – among 18 such units, 6 units have stopped production. According to the report issued by the Development Commissioner for the year 2000-1 (Table – 3.7) -garment industry absorbs maximum number of workers and a significant proportion (36.96%) of these workers are women. Within NEPZ, taking all the industries together, 73.27% of the total population is permanent and 34.28% are casual workers. Within this industrial enclave, the notion of being permanent worker is different from the regular and popular norms. Here, most of the workers are claimed to be permanent even though they were not given any written contract – neither do they compulsorily get any benefits like- provident fund, gratuity, retirement benefit etc.

Integration of the women workers with such “social production” has made them susceptible to much vulnerability. The employers on the other hand are tapping this vulnerable group in order to meet the challenges of fierce international competition. They are the profitable combination of high

productivity and low wage labourers. From our primary survey of the women workers working in the garment and electronics industries of the Noida Export Processing Zone, we can identify how the employers have been enabling themselves to utilize the comparative advantage of constant supply of cheap labourers. These workers are convinced to undermine their contribution in the production – which has made their task of weakening the workers bargaining power easier. In response to the increasing economic hardship, educationally weaker and technically less skilled and mostly migrant workers are actually allowing “distress sale “ of their labour power under the deteriorating working conditions. In order to analyze this worker vulnerability one needs to take into account their socio-economic background. In our primary survey we have randomly selected samples from the garment and electronics (hardware) industries to explore the working conditions and the relations of productions. An attempt is made to analyze the relative costs and benefits that these workers and their families are incurring and enjoying as a result of their work participation.

4.1 Social Background

4.1a. Religion

In most of the cases, the employers’ do not encourage religion or caste based discrimination. However, their religion and caste identities do affect women’s work indirectly. In our sample survey we have randomly selected 40

women workers from the garment industry and 20 from the electronics industry. We have come across 11 workers who are from the Muslim community and 49 workers from the Hindu community. The following Table - 4.1 gives us the distribution of women workers on the basis of their religious identities.

Table 4.1 Distribution of women workers on the basis of their religious identities

Religion \ Industry	Hindu	Muslim	Total
Ready-made Garment	29	11	40
Electronics	20	----	20
Total	49	11	60

Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ

The reason for this asymmetric participation can be due to the weaker educational background and other pre-market discriminations (like, experience, technical knowledge etc.) of the Muslim women. Within NEPZ for most of the jobs there is no proper recruitment procedure. The new workers are recruited through the exiting workers and through the personal contacts of the employers, agents etc. Because of several sociological and cultural reasons the representation of the Muslim women workers in the industrial jobs are less, so they can not use their contacts even when they actually want to seek an industrial job like this. Table – 4.2 gives the distribution of women workers by their religion and literacy and the following graph, Graph – 4.1 gives an overview of the percentage

distribution of the women workers by their religion and literacy. From the sample survey data, we can thus substantiate our above argument which explains the absence of women workers in the electronics industry.

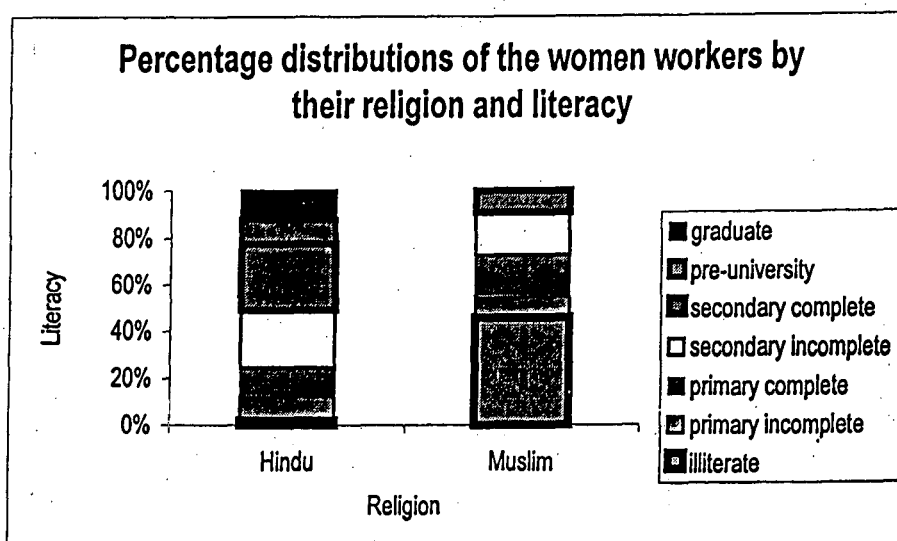
Table 4.2. Distribution of women workers by religion and literacy

Literacy \ Religion	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre-university	Graduate .	Total
Hindu	1	5	6	12	14	5	6	49
Muslim	5	1	2	2	1	0	0	11
Total	6	6	8	14	15	5	6	60

Source: primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Apart from this, the other reasons cited are, sometimes the women workers prefer to work in those establishments where they already have their community members; this gives them a sense of security. Since from the primary survey the Muslim women are seen to have poor educational background and the average level of literacy of the women workers working in the electronics industry is higher than that of the garment; in our sample we didn't have any representation of this particular religion.

Graph – 4.1 Percentage distributions of the women workers by religion and literacy



Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Based on : Table 4.2a (appendix)

4.1b. Caste

Apart from the religious identities caste identities are also indirectly linked to the work participation and the nature of job that workers are doing. For the wage level determination the caste identity of the workers may not be important; but majority of the backward caste, SC/STs and in some cases even the minorities are believed to be economically as well as educationally poorer. Therefore for their poor educational background they seem to suffer in the labour market and their participation is normally restricted in low skilled and semi-skilled job.

Table – 4.3 gives the distribution of women workers on the basis of their caste.

Table 4.3 Distribution of the women workers on the basis of their caste

Caste \ Industry	Upper	Backward/ Minority	SC/ST	Total
Ready -made Garment	11	18	11	40
Electronics	14	2	4	20
Total	25	20	15	60

Though in garment and electronics industry – in highly deskilled and assembly line production, the workers are having very little scope to utilize their educational knowledge; but it has a significant role in the valuation of their labour power. It determines the nature of job that they are performing, hence their income level too. Table – 4.4 highlights the impact of caste on literacy.

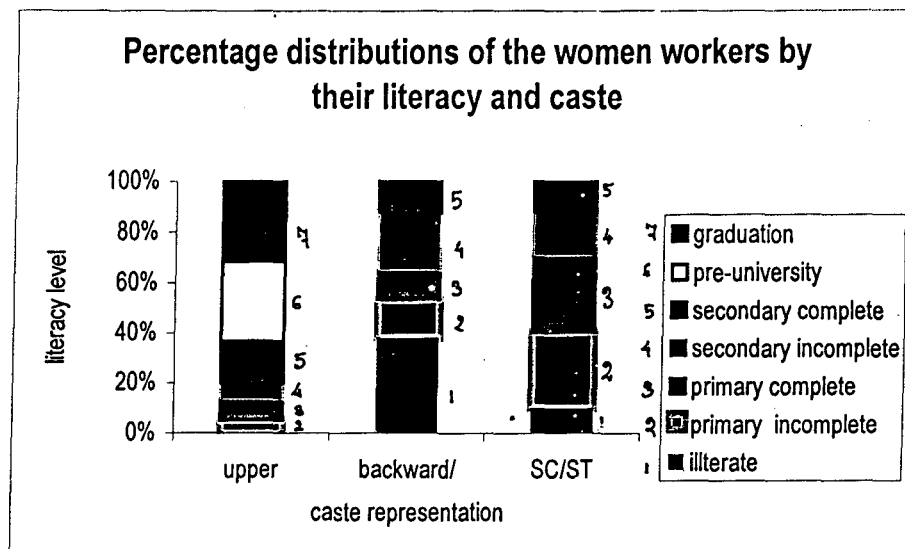
Table 4.4. Distribution of the women workers by their literacy and caste

Caste \ Education	Upper	Backward/ Minority	SC/ST	Total
Illiterate	0	5	1	6
Primary incomplete	1	2	3	6
Primary complete	2	2	4	8
Secondary incomplete	3	7	4	14
Secondary complete	8	4	3	15
Pre-university	5	...	...	5
Graduation	6	...	...	6
Total	25	20	15	60

Source: Table 4.3 and 4.4, Primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Graph – 4.2 gives us in percentage terms the distributional pattern of the workers according to their caste and literacy. The available data gives us a clear indications that the higher caste people have the higher literacy rate, but the data gives us ambiguous trend for backward and minority groups. It shows that their literacy level is very low. But in our data set we have their representation even with slightly higher educational background like- secondary incomplete and secondary complete. In case of SC/STs also, one can hardly follow any such trend other than their complete absences in the pre-university and graduation level.

Graph – 4.2 Percentage distributions of the women workers by caste and literacy



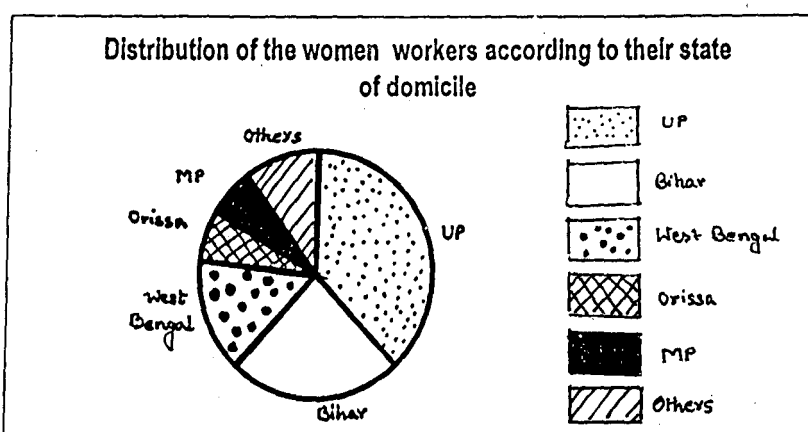
Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Based on Table – 4.4.a (appendix)

4.1c Migration

Among the 60 workers majority are migrants who have come from different parts of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and also from the states like Nepal, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh etc. The following pie chart gives us an overview of the distribution of the women workers according to their state of domicile. There are large number of labourers who have migrated from Bihar and even other parts of Uttar Pradesh.

Graph-4.3 Distribution of the women workers by their state of domicile



Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ.

In most of the cases the reasons for migration cited are - for searching new jobs and for accompanying the family. In most of the cases the primary decision for migration was taken by the male members (like father, husband etc) of the women workers family. Therefore, it is the prospect of getting job of the male members, which has played a vital role in migration decision-making. But while

the male members' income seem to be inadequate for the survival of the family; the women in order to complement the family wage bill have participated in such industrial jobs. However, the unmarried and young women sometimes in order to ensure their economic independence participated in the workforce.

This migration however is not a permanent one. Due to fragmentation of landholding and other properties, limited options of getting industrial jobs a large number of rural residents actually have migrated to this new industrial area. But these industrial jobs don't offer them a life long and permanent nature of jobs. With age as their productivity declines they are thrown out of their jobs, hence they are compelled to go back to their state of domiciles, which assure them to provide a meager sustenance. Thus age is another very important parameter for analyzing the worker vulnerability.

4.1d.Age

NEPZ's workers are exceptionally young. The average age of women workers in electronics is less than that of the garment industry. More than the technical knowledge for the assembly line production of NEPZ - pace, perfection and patience are needed. These attributes actually determine the productivity of the worker. With age, such productivity declines sharply. In many other industrial jobs where age is considered to be the index of experience and it actually enhances workers productivity; thus with age their income also rises. But for EPZ with age the productivity of the worker falls sharply, hence the employers don't like to take the hassle of keeping older workers. The following table gives us the distribution of the

women workers on the basis of their age .Table 4.5 Distribution of the women workers on the basis of their age.

Age \ Industry	20-24	25-30	31-35	36-40	Total
Ready-made garment	9	16	8	7	40
Electronics	12	6	2	....	20
Total	21	22	10	7	60

Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ.

Surprisingly the workers above the age group 36-40 years are absent for both garment and electronics industry. Workers who are comparatively young can meet the high productivity norms; beyond that level normally they find themselves unable to face the work pressure. So sometimes they themselves leave the jobs, otherwise the employers throw them out on some pretext or the other. The age workers are also the real threat for the unit – because for being in one particular firm for a long time they tend to have better interpersonal relations with the fellow workers. This actually increases the chances of forming trade union. So in order to curb any labour movement, sometimes the workers are discouraged to stay in one particular time for a long time.

Another interesting trend which is very common in NEPZ is that, the employers of both the garment and electronics industry prefers unmarried women

or the women of the age group 31-35 or more than that. They prefer unmarried women workers because they are not likely to work for long time and they are also less burdened with their other domestic responsibilities, like household chores etc. The workers, who are in between of these two age groups most of the time are working as the casual labourers. Thus the employers are not obliged to give them any maternity benefits or crèche facilities (these facilities involve extra expenditure for the employers) along with that the employers have not to bear the trouble of irregularities of the married women workers due to their added domestic responsibilities.

4.1.e. Educational Background

As mentioned earlier in the chapter educational qualification of the workers also depends upon the other sociological variables-like caste, religion etc. EPZs jobs are highly deskilled – it hardly allows the workers to apply their educational or any other technical skills. But for the income level determination or for the determination of the nature of job in which the workers are employed, education has a significant role to play. Especially for the workers of the electronics industry a minimum education is necessary. Like, for quality control or checking the average literacy level of the workers are higher than the worker who are working in assembly line . But the workers having pre-university degree or the graduation degree are believed to be over qualified for these types of jobs. It is obvious that

the workers having higher qualification but less pay are less likely to stay in one particular unit for a long time , once they get better option they leave the job immediately. Thus the employers have to take the trouble of looking for their replacements. The workers with higher education are likely to be less docile and submissive. Thus the employers can't put as much pressure as they do for the workers who are from poor educational background. Thus, over-qualification actually considered as disqualification for them. Table 4.6 gives us the distribution of the women workers on the basis of their literacy level and the following tables give us the distribution of the women workers by their income level and literacy in garment and electronics industry respectively.

Table 4.6 Distribution of the women workers on the basis of their literacy level

Literacy \ Industry	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre-university	Graduate	Total
Garment	6	6	5	10	9	2	2	40
Electronics	...	...	3	4	6	3	4	20
Total	6	6	8	14	15	5	6	60

Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Table 4.7 Distribution of the women workers by their income level and literacy in garment industry

Literacy Income	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
1200-1600	4	4	2	5	...	....	...	15
1601-1850	1	2	1	2	3	...	...	9
1851-2050	1	...	....	1	3	1	1	7
2051-3000 & above	...	...	2	2	3	1	1	9
Total	6	6	5	10	9	2	2	40

Table 4.8 Distribution of the women workers by their income level and literacy in electronics industry

Literacy income	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre-university	Graduate	Total
1601-1850	1	3	4	1	....	9
1851-2050	2	1	....	2	1	6
2051-3000 & above	....	.....	2	....	3	5
Total	3	4	6	3	4	20

Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ. (Table- 4.7,4.8)

The data shows that the workers having very low educational background like, illiterate or primary incomplete or so – are mostly engaged in unskilled or very low skilled jobs like thread cutting in the garment industry and this job is the lowest paid job in the garment industry. On the other hand, for electronics industry the average level of education of the workers is higher .Our sample survey shows that there is no worker below primary complete level in the electronic industry. Therefore, if we consider primary complete is the minimum level of education of the workers here, we find these workers are once again are in low skilled jobs. Taking all the 60 workers together the distribution of the women workers by their literacy and nature of job gives the following graph using the Table 4.9

Table 4.9 Distribution of the women workers by their literacy and nature of job

Literacy Nature of Job	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
Unskilled	4	3	4	6	4	1	....	22
Semi- skilled	2	3	4	6	7	2	1	25
Skilled	.....	....	....	2	4	2	5	13
Total	6	6	8	14	15	5	6	60

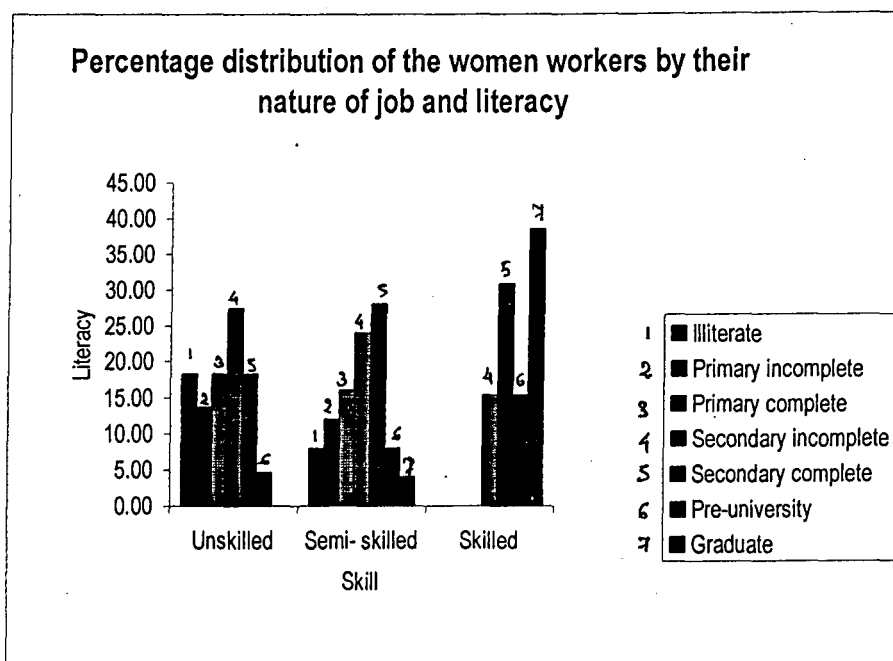
Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ.

Table -4.9a
Percentage distributions of the women workers on the basis of their nature
of job and literacy

	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
Skill								
Unskilled	18.18	13.64	18.18	27.27	18.18	4.55	0.00	100
Semi- skilled	8.00	12.00	16.00	24.00	28.00	8.00	4.00	100
Skilled	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.38	30.77	15.38	38.46	100

Based on Table 4.9

Graph:4.4 Percentage distributions of the women workers on the basis of their nature of job and literacy



Source: Primary survey conducted within NEPZ.
From Table- 4.9a.

4.2 Economic Background

In most of the cases women workers are accepting the industrial job to face the economic challenges. So rather than ensuring economic independence, their work participation is actually a reflection of their economic compulsions. Our data of migration shows the workers are mainly migrants. But the migration decision is not taken on basis of the probability of getting job of the women; rather it is in the time of crisis that they are forced to participate in the labour market. On going economic onslaught, dwindling income of the “bread winners” are actually

accept the jobs without even considering the other consequences of this work. These women workers even though they are not earning much, they are actually contribute a significant share in the total family income. Table-4.10 gives us the distribution of the women workers on the basis of their contribution on the per head family income

Table 4.10 Distribution of the women workers on the basis of their contribution on the per head family income

Per head family Income Share	400-650	651-900	901-1100	1101-1500	1500 & above	Total
Up to 25%	...	6	2	3	2	13
More than 25% but less than 40%	2	7	6	5	3	23
More than 40% to 50%	0	3	5	4	1	13
More than 50%	1	3	2	5	....	11
Total	3	19	15	17	6	60

Source: Primary Survey conducted within NEPZ

Given the socio-cultural tradition of India, educational attainment of women largely depends upon the family's economic condition. If we assume that

for married women there is no hypergamy, then their current family economic situation gives us some reflection about their parental income too. Though the assumption is little strong one, but it gives us an idea about the relation between their literacy and family income. Table 4.11 gives the distribution of women workers on the basis of their per head family income and literacy level.

Table 4.11 Distribution of women workers on the basis of their per head family income and literacy level

Literacy Per head income	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
400-650	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	3
651-900	4	2	4	1	8	...	...	19
901-1100	1	1	2	5	3	2	1	15
1101-1500	...	...	1	7	3	3	3	17
1500 & above	...	1	1	1	1	0	2	6
Total	6	6	8	14	15	5	6	60

Source: Primary Survey conducted within NEPZ

Along with the family members even the women workers themselves perceive their work as “secondary” and temporary. They share the view that - soon as the male bread winner/s of the family will be able to earn enough for the survival of the family they will quit their jobs. Sometimes without even looking

for other opportunities they accept the jobs, which are nearest to their current residences, so that they can spend maximum possible hours for their household and families

Although working may have more economic, social and psychological meaning to individual woman with children than even before, they always assume that work is ultimately dispensable. The social and economic organization of our society channelizes men and women into separate roles, which make it hard for men to reduce their emphasis on work in order to invest more in the family and for women to relinquish some of their responsibilities in the family to invest more in the work. Men's role as workers implicitly includes their responsibility for maintaining their families - thus they identify themselves as the principal breadwinners of the family. On the other hand, women identify themselves strongly as wives or mothers. Many women themselves are quite resistant to sharing roles at home. Family responsibilities are deeply internalized in women's identity. As a result, men's relationship with work is generally defined through their job characteristics and work related features; while women's relationship with work are explained in terms of their responsibilities within the family and sex role stereotype. Therefore, along with social and economic vulnerabilities the women's role in the workforce is circumscribed by their domestic responsibilities. Their attitude to work and their performances at the workplace to a large extent judged in relation to their roles and responsibilities within the family very less in terms of the working conditions, working hours, nature of job, kind of skill and

relative autonomy etc. Therefore household dynamics is another key variable for any decision regarding their work outside the domestic sphere.

4.3 Family Structure and Household Dynamics

Given the social, cultural and historical development of our country, women workers work participation is not always appreciated by the society as well as by the other family members; as very often it is viewed as the inability of the breadwinner to earn adequately for the sustenance of his family. Our survey experience shows that for these migrated workers, their struggle for existence sometimes becomes so vital that they disregard such believes. Migration however makes it easier for them to do so. The example of the other workingwomen actually motivates them to undermine the existing gender prejudices.

Analyzing the responses of NEPZ's women workers one can follow that their participation, position and performance are also conditioned by their stages of life cycle. It varies accordingly with the age and family responsibilities that they share. Most of the unmarried women look forward to the end of their working day – when they escape from work and to the end of work when they can escape into marriage and having children. Thus, it is becoming very easy for the employers to exploit these obvious attitudes of the young unmarried women. The employers are treating them as temporary and uncommitted work force, on this

ground they are paying less. But in reality these young workers are actually helping them to achieve a very high return in production. Their patience, perfection and pace are actually much higher than the others. Thus, the employers for the sake of their own interests of cheap but productive labour supply, are using the existing gender norms and prejudices.

After marriage, when these women once again re-enter into the labour market their relationship with work is redefined and this time they are identified with their families and family responsibilities. Thus once again they are discriminated and they become less able to enter the labour market on the same terms as men. Now their work is more of a reflection of their economic vulnerabilities. Women's responsibilities for the planning and execution of housework and childcare make them reluctant to take an extra responsibility in the workplace. It deters them from doing work of demanding and complex nature; it also restricts their geographical mobility.

In this case also the employers are using their economic vulnerabilities for the sake of lowering wage. Due the above factors the degree of mobilization is bound to be low, so the chances collective bargaining is virtually absent. These conditions once again suit the employer's interest of inhibiting any form of labour movement. In these ways the interest of the employers are served without allowing the workers to realize their contribution in the production and profit earnings. The women workers are convinced to believe that the problems that they are facing are actually personal problems, not common or social problems. They

accept the process without any protest. According to Sen. (1990) this lack of protest should not be treated as complete absence of it. Rather it should be identified as the politics of the capitalists to serve their own purposes.

On the other hand this worker vulnerabilities are actually passing on to the next generations, which is actually enabling the employers to ensure constant supply of such labour force. These workers are mostly having nuclear family structure, where both husband and wife both are working. The children are left over under the supervision of their neighbours, private tutors etc. Those who are as old as 10 years or so, are actually taking care of themselves. Otherwise the elder daughter/s, sister/ sister-in-law, mother/mother-in-law are adjusting with the absence of the women (most often who are the mothers) from domestic sites. There exists hardly any example where we find there has been emergence of new sexual division of labour within the household.

Survey experiences suggest that even though these women workers themselves are facing discrimination in the labour market on the grounds of poor educational background and technical know-how, they are not changing their attitude towards the girl children. Within the family to ensure uninterrupted labour supply, the domestic responsibilities are renegotiated mostly among the female members. Though the other male members are cooperating with them, even the other family members do not consider it as mandatory. In spite of the fact that there has been emergence of new division of labour in the workplace, within the

household the scenario has changed very little. It is the women within the family who are taking the extra burden in order to ensure the survival of the family.

Among the 60 workers in 17 cases it is the elder daughter who is looking after the children in the absence of the elder women in the family, in 11 cases the children are taking care of themselves, in 5 cases it is the mother or mother-in-law, 9 cases neighbours and in 8 cases it is the others (like-tutors, Crèche etc) who are taking care of the children of these women workers family; for rest of the cases this is not applicable – sometimes it is due to the fact that there has been no children in the family , sometimes it is also due to the fact that while migrating the children haven't accompanied the family. It is most common to notice that - when their children are very small, either the women workers not participating in the workforce, or while migrating they have kept them behind under the supervision of those who haven't migrated.

In maximum cases the women workers even after working for long hours outside, they share the sole responsibilities of the household. Among 60 workers in 15 cases the elder daughter, in 7 cases mother/mother-in-law and in 5 cases their sister/sister-in-law are actually help them to manage the household chores. A large number of respondents (18) have said even their husbands help them in this. But the primary responsibility passes on to the mothers or wives. However the unmarried workers are less burdened with these responsibilities

In spite of the fact that very often they are contributing a major share in family's income, the reactions of the family members are not always very conducive. Sometime it is bitter; sometimes it is only tolerated by regarding economic compulsions. As mentioned earlier, NEPZ's jobs are not offering the workers a steady and long-term return. After certain age when these workers are thrown out of their job, their families have to accept backward migration. After this backward migration the women workers are once again confining themselves within the household premises – and once again the social and cultural norms that they disregarded during their forward migration, come to play a crucial role in their lives.

Integration of the women workers with the world outside has given them chances to come out of the world in which earlier their lives were restricted to and have access to the monetary resources. But in spite of their wage earning the women workers are not always having the financial autonomy. Thus the women workers are vulnerable on several grounds. The employers of the NEPZ's firms are skillfully using all these attributes of the women workers. Export Processing Zones are envisaged to serve the export market and it was also believed to be the boon for earning foreign exchange. However as discussed in the earlier chapter to serve the highly volatile export market the production processes should be such that it can respond to it quickly and easily. Otherwise the competitiveness of any product will not remain. The employers try to bring in product competitiveness via flexible labour management – for example through casualisation. They are

constantly in search of fresh recruits to whom they can offer very low wage on the grounds of having low skill and low education, less experience and for being in a particular firm for a long time they can't even claim for higher firm specific returns. The following chart gives us an overview about - apart from the wages what are the other benefits that these women workers are enjoying. The chart is based on the responses of our total sample from our primary survey – thus, the numbers that each of the item has below it shows the sample size in that particular group.

	Single	1.5 times	Double		N.A
Overtime Rate:	34	6	9		11
	Flat Rate	Performance of the unit	Performance of the worker	Others	N.A
Increment:	5	13	19	13	10
	According to Government Rule		Management decides	Can't say	N.A
D.A:	9		5	17	19
	8.33% of basic		Management decides	Others	N.A
Bonus:	15		19	10	16
	21-30 days		8-20days	Can't say	No earned Leaves
Number of Earned Leaves:	21		8	8	23
	90 days		Less than 90days	Can't say	N.A
Maternity Leaves:	24		6	17	13

Source: Based on primary survey results

The above chart shows that these jobs are not providing much other benefits. Sometimes the workers are forced to work overtime even though they are not paid their due return always. In most of the units operating within NEPZ there is no fixed rule for the determination of annual increment. In case of casual

workers the prospect for such increment is much less. According to our survey experience most of the time the performance of the workers are one of the major determinants of this. However, it is also subjected to the employers preferences – which once again depends upon whether the worker had any link with trade union activity or not. Thus through this also the employers can actually control the labour and inhibit any form of unrest among the workers.

Though there exists a definite government rules for D.A and bonus, they are flouted overtly within this industrial terrine. For distributing bonus the managements don't consult with the workers or their representatives and the method for its distribution is not very transparent. Within NEPZ very often the workers are deprived of any earned leaves, they are not given even the government declared holidays. In most of the firms the workers are working 6 days a week without being given overtime. The duty hour is also very long and with their additional domestic responsibilities the women workers are finding it difficult to continue their jobs for a long.

Concluding remarks

Therefore, our primary survey results highlights that, though our government is continuing to pin their hopes on EPZs for generating employment, these jobs rather than offering a stable and appreciating benefits for them are actually tending to satisfy the employers demand for cheap and easily “disposable” workforce. We cannot deny the fact that in a country like ours, with

huge unemployment at the individual level there are some strong positive benefits as well. But these also cannot be overlooked that, the costs that these individuals as well as the government is paying (in the form of incentives, tax holidays etc.) are also quite a substantial one. Therefore, the performances of these zones need to be judged not only on the basis of their export performance - with respect to its contribution in earning foreign exchange or employment figures, but we should also consider at the micro level what are the costs and benefits that individual worker and his/her family is paying and enjoying simultaneously.

Chapter – 5

Summary and conclusion

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the major findings of the empirical investigations and also tries to relate these findings with some of the theoretical dimensions on women's work participation.

Chapter 2 gives us an overview of the literature, which actually attempts to explain why women are the cheap labourers - how the construction of gender identity influence labour market outcomes. The literature mainly follows the line - how does the complex interplay of patriarchy and interest of capital, play a critical role in the construction of such identity. Other than caste, class, race, ethnicity and stages of life cycle it highlights on (a) the qualitative difference between man and woman with respect to the appropriation of nature (b) process of industrialization (c) technological advancement and (d) the new international division of labour. The literature review mainly focuses on how the changing needs of capitalism defines and redefines women's role and responsibilities not only in the workplace, but also within the household. Work and family are increasingly becoming institutions of close interaction and for obvious reasons these two social systems have extremely profound impact on individual's live. Capital for its own interest is using the existing gender subordination, sometimes it decomposes it and some times it is also recomposed. To enhance this

decomposition and recomposition of gender hierarchies capital is using the social system viz. family which has historically remained the center of concern for women, this is the sphere with respect to what their roles and responsibilities in other spheres are defined - conditioned to and also constrained by. This literature review shows that the current trend of increasing participation of women in the industrial jobs within the Export Processing Zone, is not a very special case; rather it is the replication of the global trend. Thus, the literature gives us a somewhat brief understanding of what actually facilitates Export Processing Zone to utilize women labourers as flexible workforce to respond to the highly volatile world demand.

In chapter 3, we have discussed the objectives of the EPZs, which were thought to be achieved if the government of our country can provide a conducive incentive package to them. It also tries to highlights the areas where these EPZs have failed to achieve the perceived goals. In this context, later in the chapter we have tried to evaluate the performance of Noida Export Processing Zone - especially its sectoral export performance (with special reference to readymade garment and electronics industry) and the volatility of the export market.

This evaluation is done with reference to the special incentive package that is offered to Noida Export Processing Zone. The experience of the export performance of NEPZ suggests that the export market is highly volatile and thus unpredictable. It will fail to provide any steady

results unless the production processes are made so flexible that it can incorporate this volatility with ease. Rather than technological flexibility the industries operating within NEPZ have mainly focused on the flexible use of labour. For achieving this, they are skillfully using the public utility status to inhibit any sorts of labour movement. Thus the labourers are used to bring in the flexibility in the production processes, but they are not adequately paid for it. Chapter 3 gives us a brief overview of the relations of production via working condition of labour.

Using chapter 3 as a background of our study, in chapter 4 we have discussed our primary survey results. We have limited our study on the women workers of garment and electronic (hardware) industry. Here, we have tried to locate the vulnerabilities of the women workers and how the employers are using these vulnerabilities to ensure a cheap, docile but highly productive labour force. The nature of jobs are such that they do not demand high skill and education; the assembly line production needs patience, pace and perfection. Here, the women workers have been proved to be more profitable. But they are not paid adequate returns for their qualities. We find, for serving the purpose of capital, they are identified as easily “disposable” labour force. Within NEPZ therefore, capital is once again making full use of the existing gender beliefs, simultaneously it is decomposing and recomposing it. Our survey results shows that the work participation of the women workers actually does not reflect the voluntary sale of their labour power, rather most often it is the ‘distress sale’ of their labour power.

When we take education, experience and working years in one particular firm - all these variables actually explain the income level of the women workers. For electronic hardware industry, the average level of literacy of the women workers is higher than that of garment. However education beyond a certain level is considered to be a threat for the firm. Thus, they are not encouraged to work for a long period in one particular firm as their presence can lead to unionization of the work force. Workers with previous experiences find jobs easily because the firms do not want to bear the cost of training of any workers. So the work experience of the workers allows the firm to relinquish its responsibility to train them. Sometimes they also prefer to recruit people with no experience. Because then they can offer the job seekers much lower wage while they are made to work full hours and the same nature of jobs as their seniors. The job structure is such that it does not need a long time to acquire the necessary skill. Therefore, while working with the senior members the workers acquire the skill very easily.

Apart from this, in chapter 4 we have discussed about the household dynamics of the women workers. It highlights the issues like how does the worker herself perceive her work and also what are reactions of other family members towards this. This is taken into account in the context of perceived responsibilities that a woman has to share before and while taking any decision regarding her market participation. In most of the cases, since this participation shows their

compulsions – the family dynamics help us to understand the gravity and origion of these compulsions.

We have choosen only garment and electronic hardware industry. But it should be noted that garment and electronics are not the only industries where female participation is very high. The employment figures of NEPZ (Table 3.7) shows that in total female participation are as high as 23.85%. In garment, female participation is more than that 36.96% of the total population, in electronics it is only 19.65 %. Among other industries in chemical industries it is also as high as 21.99%. On the other hand in gem and jewellery industry their participation is very low (5.20%). All these industries have industry specific issues, which are most likely to affect the women workers differently.

Our study is mainly based on very limited number of sample. According to the report issued (Table – 3.7) from the Development Commissioner's Office total population size for the garment industry women workers is 2034; our sample size is only 40. Hence it is 1.97% of the total population. For electronic hardware industry however, total population size is 262 and our sample size is 20 i.e. 7.63% of the total population. Therefore one can hardly claim this to be representative sample of the total population. However in our study we have tried choose sample at random and from it we have tried to find out the possible vulnerabilities that a women worker is facing before participating and also while working for a firm. We have tried to find out at the individual level what are the impacts of the integration of these

women not only with the world outside their domestic terrain, but also through which they get access to the resources by selling their own labour power and for doing so even at the household level what are the required adjustments that they have to make.

Therefore, in this study we have tried to link the workplace and the household of the individual members. The work participation, the valuation of the workers in the labour market are interpreted in terms of their family background – their economic and social lives. Thus, we have tried to explain labour market outcomes not only in terms of demand and supply of labour; rather we have tried to focus on the issues, which make supply of labour conducive for the employers, but coercive for the employees. We have also tried to trace how NEPZ's industries are managing to utilize the constant supply of cheap labourers. The participation of the women labourers enables them to complement their family wage bill, thus it is their economic compulsion. Utilizing their vulnerabilities the employers manage to undervalue their labour power. On the other hand, their vulnerabilities are also passing on to the next generation, who are sacrificing their future to ensure the uninterrupted labour supply of the family members at present days. Therefore, the domestic adjustments are actually leading towards the perpetuation of the present worker vulnerability to the future generation.

There exists a wide scope for further research to explore and analyze –

- Apart from the common vulnerabilities what are the other industry – specific vulnerabilities that the women workers are facing.
- Possible ways through which these women workers can be mobilized and unionized so that their problems and prospects can also be represented in any labour movement.
- The study has mainly concentrated on women related issues. There is need to carry out a comparative study for both men and women workers which may highlight how the employers are utilizing the gender stereotyping which is already existing in our society and also the implication of female labour force participation on male workers.

Appendix

- List of Tables
- Worker's Questionnaire

Table 3.1

Employment figures of NEPZ and total employment in all the EPZs in India

Year	NEPZ				Total
	No. of units	Male	Female	Total	
1980-81	0	0	0	0	6000
1981-82	0	0	0	0	8500
1982-83	0	0	0	0	9700
1983-84	0	0	0	0	13000
1984-85	0	0	0	0	14600
1985-86	0	0	0	0	16200
1986-87	0	850	150	1000	17806
1987-88	0	1725	275	2000	21342
1988-89	24	2120	380	2500	25625
1989-90	40	2950	550	3500	29468
1990-91	50	3350	650	4000	35205
1991-92	69	3800	700	4500	39523
1992-93	90	4150	850	5000	42013
1993-94	105	5070	930	6000	45885
1994-95	113	5700	1100	6800	56376
1995-96	119	7700	1800	9500	61431
1996-97	111	15000	3500	14000	71566
1997-98	117	10875	3625	14500	81146

Source: cited in A.Kundra.2000, p105
Offices of the Development Commissioners

Table - 3.2

Sector wise export performance of NEPZ from 1985-86 to 2000-2001

Sector	85-86	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-2000	00-2001
Textile/Garment	0	0.11	18.54	40.34	62.72	56.21	42.49	105.9	141.6	268.6	550.6	688.7	937.8	1177	1341.3	1387.4
Electronics	0	1.99	2.42	20.99	65.94	25.29	179.9	285.4	1080	1211	1178	1339	1773	2502	3052.9	4482.6
Engineering Goods	0	0	0.74	2.9	11.02	17.7	35.62	80.12	170.1	218.3	744.8	1214	1024	1188	1201.2	1014.2
Gem and Jewellery	0	0.11	4.42	6.26	3.47	1.75	59.37	563.3	638.2	1233	1432	1503	1210	1208	1294.4	1927.9
Chemical and Pharmacy	0	55.1	94.53	59.19	139.2	157.7	162.3	144.4	246.2	293.4	402.4	411.8	384.8	406.8	462.2	329.4
Other Products	0	12.38	17.23	53.53	245.3	75.52	207	290.9	339.4	441.9	661.6	709.2	711.4	1002	1104	1200.5
Total	0	69.69	137.9	183.2	527.7	334.2	686.7	1470	2615	3667	4969	5865	6041	7484	8456	10342

Source: Cited in A.Kundra, 2000.P: 95 & Report on NEPZs' Profile issued from Development Commissioner's Office, NEPZ.2000-2001

Table – 3.3**Sector wise percentage share in total exports for NEPZ industries**

Sector	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01
Textile/Garment	0.16	13.45	22.02	11.89	16.82	6.19	7.20	5.41	7.32	11.08	11.74	15.52	15.73	15.86	13.42
Electronics	2.86	1.76	11.46	12.50	7.57	26.20	19.41	41.28	33.03	23.70	22.83	29.35	33.43	36.10	43.34
Engineering Goods	0.00	0.54	1.58	2.09	5.30	5.19	5.45	6.50	5.95	14.99	20.70	16.95	15.87	14.21	9.81
Gem and Jewellery	0.16	3.21	3.42	0.66	0.52	8.65	38.32	24.40	33.63	28.82	25.62	20.03	16.15	15.31	18.64
Chemical and Pharmacy.	79.06	68.56	32.31	26.38	47.20	23.64	9.82	9.41	8.00	8.10	7.02	6.37	5.44	5.47	3.19
Other Products	17.76	12.50	29.22	46.49	22.60	30.14	19.79	12.98	12.05	13.31	12.09	11.78	13.39	13.06	11.61
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculated on the basis of Table 3.2

Table- 3.4

Growth rate exports with reference to Garment and
Electronics Industries.

Year	Garment	Electronics	Total
1987-88	826.94	8.87	34.50
1988-89	40.16	155.54	13.13
1989-90	21.13	64.40	58.32
1990-91	-4.65	-34.05	-17.99
1991-92	-11.44	134.45	36.72
1992-93	48.68	22.19	39.17
1993-94	13.45	78.24	28.42
1994-95	32.05	5.10	15.82
1995-96	36.58	-1.19	14.11
1996-97	10.21	5.72	7.47
1997-98	14.35	12.97	1.29
1998-99	10.37	16.13	9.75
1999-2000	5.84	9.03	5.45
2000-2001	1.48	18.15	9.14

Source: Calculated on the basis of Table 3.2

Table 3.5
Sectoral growth rates of exports

Year	Garment	Electronics	Gem and Jewellery	Chemical and Pharmacy.	Other Products	Total
1987-88	826.94	8.87	397.30	26.42	15.44	34.50
1988-89	40.16	155.54	16.32	-18.40	63.61	13.13
1989-90	21.13	64.40	-22.60	44.97	93.69	58.32
1990-91	-4.65	-34.05	-25.72	5.57	-40.05	-17.99
1991-92	-11.44	134.45	362.06	1.26	54.95	36.72
1992-93	48.68	22.19	165.69	-4.95	15.93	39.17
1993-94	13.45	78.24	5.57	26.08	6.93	28.42
1994-95	32.05	5.10	33.11	7.91	12.14	15.82
1995-96	36.58	-1.19	6.71	14.71	19.16	14.11
1996-97	10.21	5.72	2.12	1.01	3.06	7.47
1997-98	14.35	12.97	-8.99	-2.90	0.13	1.29
1998-99	10.37	16.13	-0.07	2.44	16.04	9.75
1999-2000	5.84	9.03	3.05	5.70	4.30	5.45
2000-2001	1.48	18.15	18.89	-13.68	3.71	9.14

Source: calculated on the basis of table 3.2

Table - 3.6

Sector-wise distributions of the workers according to their status of jobs

Industry	Permanent male	Permanent female	Casual male	Casual female	Total
Ready made garment	2214	1294	1256	740	5503
Electronics	2424	604	766	174	3959
Engineering products	2255	521	458	102	3356
Gem & jewellery	1621	85	220	16	1942
Chemical & Pharmacy	1243	248	382	210	2083
Others	1313	262	484	330	2389
Total	22140	6028	7132	3144	38464

Source: Official Figures for Employment of NEPZ, 2000-2001
Development Commissioner's Office, NEPZ

Table 3.7

Gender wise Percentage Distribution of the Workers
Across the Industries (Operating Within NEPZ) for
2000-2001

Industry	Total male	% Male	Total female	% Female	Total
Ready made garment	3470	63.06	2034	36.96	5503
Electronics	3190	80.58	778	19.65	3959
Engineering products	2713	80.84	623	18.56	3356
Gem & jewellery	1841	94.80	101	5.20	1942
Chemical & Pharmacy	1625	78.01	458	21.99	2083
Others	1797	75.22	592	24.78	2389
Total	14636	76.10	4586	23.85	19232

Source: Official Figures for Employment of NEPZ, 2000-2001
Development Commissioner's Office, NEPZ

Table – 4.2a.
Distribution of women workers by religion and literacy

Literacy Religion	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
Hindu	1 (2.04%)	5 (10.2%)	6 (12.24%)	12 (24.49%)	14 (28.57%)	5 (10.2%)	6 (12.24%)	49 (100%)
Muslim	5 (45.45%)	1 (9.09%)	2 (18.18%)	2 (18.18%)	1 (9.09%)	...	...	11 (100%)
Total	6 (10%)	6 (10%)	8	14	15	5	6 (10%)	60 (100%)

Source: primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Note: The numbers within the parenthesis have derived from the row total.

Table – 4.4.a
Distribution of women workers by caste and literacy

Literacy Religion	Illiterate	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Secondary complete	Pre- university	Graduate	Total
Upper	...	1 (16.67%)	2 (25%)	3 (21.43%)	8 (53.33%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	25 (41.67%)
Backward/ Minority	5 (83.33 %)	2 (33.33%)	2 (25%)	7 (50%)	4 (26.67%)	...	...	20 (33.33%)
SC/ST	1 (16.67 %)	3 (50%)	4 (50%)	4 (28.57%)	3 (20%)	...	...	15 (25%)
Total	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	8 (100%)	14 (100%)	15 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: primary survey conducted within NEPZ

Note: The numbers within the parenthesis have derived from the column total.

Implications of Female Labour Force Participation-Worker Vulnerability and Domestic Adjustments: A Case study in Noida Export Processing Zone

Date and time:

1. Personal information:

1.1 Nature of the unit:

1.2. Name of the person:

1.3. Age:
(In completed years)

1.4. Religion: Hindu - 1 Christian -2 Muslim - 3 Others - 4

1.5. Caste: Upper - 1 OBC/Minority - 2 SC/ST - 3

1.6. Marital Status: Single - 1 Married - 2 Widow-3 Separated - 4

1.7. Educational background:

1.7.a. General Education:

- 01 Illiterate
- 02 Primary incomplete
- 03 Primary complete
- 04 Secondary incomplete
- 05 Secondary complete
- 06 Pre - university
- 07 Graduate
- 08 Others, specify

2. Migration details:

2.1 What is your mother tongue?

2.2 Where were you born?

2.3 When did you first leave your birthplace? Month: Year

2.4. How long have you been in this place?

2.5. Why did you migrate to the present place of residence?

- 01. Unemployed and Searching employment
- 02. Better earnings
- 03. Better work conditions
- 04. Accompany family
- 05. Better infrastructural and educational opportunities
- 06. Others, specify

2.6 Nature of migration:

- 01 Single
- 02 Family
- 03 Peer groups
- 04 Others, specify

2.7 Previous employment details:

2.7a. Nature of work

2.7.b. No of years worked

2.7c. Reasons for leaving the job

3. Employment and wage details:

Current Employment:

3.1 Specific work in which you are engaged:

3.2. Nature of employment:

- 01 Long-term employee with a written contract
- 02 Long-term employees without a written contract
- 03 Casual daily worker
- 04 Contract worker

3.3. When did you join the unit? Month Year

3.4. No. of days of worked during the last 1 month :

3.5. No. of months worked during last 1 year:

3.6. Average hours of work per day:

3.6.a. Normal period:

3.6.b. Peak season:

3.7 How are wages paid?

01 Piece rate

02. Time rate

3.8 If piece rate, how much wages you receive per shift:

3.9. Total Earnings received during:

3.9.a. Normal months:

3.9.b: Peak months:

3.10. If time rate, what is the basic wage?

3.10. a Gross average monthly wages:

3.10.b Do you get overtime wages, Amount?

3.11. Do you get annual increment? Yes-1, No- 2

3.11. a How is increment decided?

01 Performance of the worker

02 Performance of the unit

03 Relation with the employer

04 Skill and experience of the worker

05 Trade union membership

06 Sex

07 Others, Specify

3.12. What is the duration of lunch and tea breaks?

	Duration	No of times
Tea break		

Lunch		
-------	--	--

3.13. Do you receive HRA, Amount ?

3.14. Do you receive DA, Amount ?

3.15. Do you get Bonus, Amount

3.16 Do you hold an ESI card? Yes -1 No - 2

3.17. If No, are you eligible for Medical allowance, Amount ?

3.18. Are you permitted to take leave? Yes -1 No - 2

3.18.a. Number of Causal leave:

3.18 b. Number of Annual leave:

}

3.19 Is there provision for maternity benefits for female workers: Yes -1 No - 2

3.19 a: if Yes, No. of days and other details

3.20 Any other benefits: Yes -1 No - 2

3.20 a. Specify

4. Skill Acquisition & Job mobility:

4. 1 Did you have the experience/skill to perform this work prior to taking up this work?
Yes - 1 No - 2

4.2 How did you acquire the skill?

01. Formal technical qualification
02. Apprenticeship
03. Training on earlier job
04. Informal training from senior workers
05. Others, specify

4.3. Period of training/apprenticeship in months:

4.4. Is there any HRD department in your organisation? Yes -1 No - 2

4.5. Nature of training (Nature of work, hours of work, wages)

4.6. Are there any in service training? Yes -1 No - 2

4.7. Is there any scope of job mobility in the firm/industry? Yes -1 No - 2

4.8.Explain

4.9 Do workers change units or leave the industry frequently? Yes-1, No-2

4.9a. If yes what are the reasons for changing units:

01 No work

02 Less wages

03 Poor working conditions

04 Less skilled

05 thrown out

06 others ,

5. Gender Issues:

5.1. Do you think there is a preference for female workers :

5.1.a In general Yes -1 No - 2

5.1.b For certain categories of work Yes -1 No - 2

5.1c. If yes, What are the reasons?

5.2 Do you think that there is a preference for unmarried female workers?

5.2.a In general Yes -1 No - 2

5.2.b For certain categories of work? Yes -1 No - 2

5.2c If yes, What are the reasons?

5.3. Do you perceive any change in the composition of work force in favour of women workers?

Yes -1 No - 2

7.4 01 Owned 02 rented'

7.5. If rented how much is the monthly rent?

7.6 No. of rooms in the house:

7.7. Distance from home to work centre in Km.

7.8. Mode of travel:

01 Walking

02 Bus

03 Rickshaw

04 Bi-cycle

05 Two wheeler

06 Others, specify

7.9.If No, do you have alternative sources of income/employment?

7.10.Specify the alternative source of income/employment

7.11 .Do you borrow to meet the expenditure? Yes -1 No -2

7.11.a.If yes, the debt at present?

7.12. Do you save? Yes -1 No -2

7.13a.Number of children in the family

7.13b. Number of grown-ups in the family

7.13c.Age of the youngest children in the family

01) Less than 1year

02) 1-5 years

03) 5-10 years

04) More than 10 years

05) Not applicable

7.13.d. No. of earning members in the family

7.14. Reasons for the work

- 01) Economic compulsions
- 02) To become independent
- 03) To improve social status
- 04) To utilize the leisure time productively
- 05) All the above
- 06) Can't say

7.15. Who controls the finance

- 1) Father/ Father-in-law
- 2) Husband
- 3) Myself
- 4) Not fixed
- 5) Husband & myself
- 6) Others, specify

7.16a. Time spent for the domestic work

7.16b. Nature of the domestic worked

7.16c. Children are looked after by

- 01) Mother/mother-in-law
- 02) Father/father-in-law
- 03) Husband
- 04) Sister/sister-in-law
- 05) Elder daughters
- 06) Servants
- 07) Others

7.19. Domestic sphere is managed by

- 1) Myself
- 2) Mother/mother-in-law
- 3) Elder daughter
- 4) Sister/sister-in-law
- 5) Shared by myself and my husband
- 6) Others

7.20) Given the choice you will like to

- 1) Discontinue your job immediately
- 2) Discontinue your job after couple of years
- 3) Continue your job
- 4) Can't say
- 5) Others

7.21a) For how many years you are working

7.21b) How many years do you think you can continue your job

7.22a) Did you discontinue your job immediately after your marriage?(for married woman)

Yes -1, No—2, N.A--3

7.22b) Do you think you will continue your job after your marriage?

(For unmarried woman) Yes -1, No—2

7.23.How do other family members perceive your work

- 1) Bitter
- 2) Don't mind
- 3) They are happy
- 4) Think indispensable
- 5) Others, specify

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