

Participation of Women in MGNREGS: Impact on Their Socio-Economic Empowerment

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DECLARATION


This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled “Participation of Women in MGNREGS: Impact on their Socio-Economic Empowerment” is a bonafide effort of independent research work done by me under the supervision of Prof. Amaresh Dubey and is in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy on Jawaharlal Nehru University. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree in this University or any other University.

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Abbreviations

GoI	Government of India
GP	Gram Panchayat
IHDS	India Human Development Survey
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MGNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PRI's	Panchayati Raj Institutions
SSR's	Standard Schedule of Rates
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
WPR	Workforce Participation rate

Chapter-1

Introduction

Objectives, Methodology and Review of Literature

1.1 Introduction:

Indian society, being a highly gender stratified society has given women a low and subordinated place in almost every sphere of life in comparison to men. Huge gender disparity has been prevailing in terms of gender roles, rights and obligations¹. In this growing country which have done lots of reforms to improve literacy level, poverty level, infrastructure, health and employment level, the condition of women is still worse which is visible with large gender gap. India ranked 108 out of 145 countries in World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index² stated under the 'The Global Gender Gap Report-2015'. While according to Gender Inequality Index India ranks 129 out of 187 countries with the value 0.617 which indicates the significantly higher level of gender discrimination (Human Development Report, 2011). Even after almost seven decades of development the gender gap is reluctantly persistant which is really a matter of grave concern.

Women work force participation is very low in India in comparison to men and are often motivated by the poverty especially in rural India. Persistence of gender gap is mainly due to social and economic factors. More often it is the social factors which force women to behave like a subordinated creature; further only these social factors are the reasons of their exclusion from the productive economic activities; as these social customs and traditions treats men and women in a completely different way and generally unbiased against women. Emancipation of women from the clutches of these social and economic barrier can be possible only through their empowerment. Batliwala has given the most comprehensive definition of empowerment stating it as "the process, and the outcome of the process, by which

¹Gupta, Kamala and Yesudian, P. Princy. "Evidence of women's empowerment in India: a study of socio-spatial disparities".

²The Global Gender Gap Index 2015 ranks 145 economies which identifies how well they are leveraging their female talent pool, based on economic, educational, health based and political indicators.

women gain greater control over material and intellectual resources, and challenge the ideology of patriarchy and the gender-based discrimination against women in all the institutions and structures of society" (Kishor and Gupta, 2004). Being employed is always seen as a major instrument in making women less dependent of their families and frees them from the suppressing influence of the traditional patriarchal ideology which emphasizes on a subordinate position of women. Further empowerment of women would mean that she has got the more choices together with the liberty to exercise those choices i.e. independency in deciding important matters of her own life. Access of credit and employment can be seen as an economic liberty which also reduces social boundations indirectly.

Though education can be seen as the best possible way to emancipate the women from these social evils, lack of good schooling infrastructure with the given patriarchal traditional norms and values blocks the possibilities of their social and economic upliftment process. Further rural women are heavily burdened by household activities which restricts their time and mobility to engage in productive work and limits their time for schooling, training and economic activities.³

Taking this into consideration MGNREGA's basic objective of providing employment opportunity to rural poor households should empower the women participants at least to some extent if not fully by unleashing them from the invisible barriers of patriarchal and narrow mindset of society by providing easy to access work. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), is the flagship programme of the Government which has been implemented by the Ministry of Rural Development since 02 February 2006 with the aim of enhancing livelihood security of households in rural areas (especially to the most vulnerable section of the society) of the country by providing at least hundred days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every household whose adult member is volunteer to do unskilled manual work; to address causes of chronic poverty like drought, deforestation and soil erosion which in turn helps in encouraging sustainable development. It is most likely meant for lean agricultural season when most of the agricultural labour are seasonally unemployed.

³ ILO (2010). "Empower Rural Women End Poverty and Hunger: Unleashing the Potential of Rural Women". pp. 1-4. (web pdf)

It was implemented in a phase manner. In the first phase in the year 2006 it was implemented in 200 most backward districts while in phase second 130 more districts had been covered in 2007-08 later it was expanded to all districts. It is the bottom-up and self-targeting scheme which also strengthens the decentralization process and deepens Indian democracy as it provides an important role to PRI's in planning, monitoring and implementation of the scheme. Any adult member of rural area who is willing to do unskilled work is eligible to apply for registration to receive MGNREGA scheme through the prescribed written form or orally at local Gram Panchayat (GP) for the work and is entitled to be employed within 15 days of application. After proper verification of documents GP issues the job-card⁴ which has the names and the photographs of all the adult members who are interested in working under the scheme. Even the members who are already employed have the right to demand work under the scheme. The registration and other application procedure does not incur any cost to household i.e. it is free of cost. Household members can share the entitlement of hundred days of work. More than one person in the household can be employed simultaneously or at different times. It is the duty of state to provide them public work under scheme within 15 days otherwise state would have to compensate them by providing unemployment allowances. It is stated in the act that the work should be provided to the applicant within 5km of his/her residence, if they work beyond 5km then he/she is entitled to get 10% additional wages considering transport and living expenses. Women and older people are given preference nearer to their village which increases the chance of women to work under the scheme.

It has various unique features which makes it distinct from other poverty elimination and employment generation programmes viz. self-targeting, right-based approach, time bound employment guarantee and wage payment within 15 days, provision of unemployment allowance whom the state is incapable of providing MGNREGS job-cards due to lack of work availability, crèche facilities⁵ for younger children, 33% mandate for women participation, and the most important one is the creation of public assets (can be regarded as social capital) like construction of water

⁴ A Job Card is the basic legal document, which enables the registered household to demand guaranteed employment.(PIB).

⁵The Act has the provision of engaging a person to look after the children below the age of six years provided that more than 5 such children happens to be at worksite.

conservation and harvesting structures, roads, irrigation canals including micro and macro irrigation works. It also focuses on improving existing assets viz. drought-proofing, flood control, preparing land for agricultural improvement, renovating traditional water bodies, rural connectivity to provide all weather access and any other work which may be notified by central government in consultation with the state government which helps in reducing the development gap between rural and urban areas (PIB, GoI). A 60:40 wage and material ratio has to be maintained and contractors are not allowed in MGNREGA works. It was primarily implemented during the agricultural slack season so that rural poor could be given support in times of financial emergency/ crisis, and can continue their consumption pattern. The hour of work are also clearly stated under the NREGA provision i.e. 8 hours which prevents workers from harassment.

But the flipside is that many of the problems are also being realized in the whole process which gives way to ineffectiveness of the scheme like lack of public awareness about the scheme and its related provision; presence of contractor at the working place; delay in receiving wages and job-cards; unemployment allowance, corruption etc. and these are the problems which can only be wiped out through effective administration. However, MGNREGA being regarded as a major policy reform in India, it should have resulted as positive influence on rural people and the society they are living in. Rural areas faces the problem of ‘Distress Migration’⁶ because of lack of economic opportunities for a dignified living. Poorest strata and most disadvantaged social groups especially SC, ST and Muslims who are least educated generally prefer to migrate to urban areas and get indulged in vulnerable occupations often exploitative and poor quality of work environment. Keeping all these in consideration we may assume that the Act which is also intended to curtail distress migration gives women an opportunity to earn subsidiary income. The women section of the village society should have gained out of it as most of the male members of the slightly better off households generally prefer to migrate because they have the possibility of earning more than MGNREGA wages which is on an average rupees 100-150 on daily basis. Provisions of MGNREGA has been designed to

⁶Distress Migration refers to the movement of individual and/or the family from one’s usual place of residence because of lack of possible options (usually economic options) to survive with dignity and migration becomes their last resort.

encourage households of poor strata to allow the women section in order to get subsidiary income (Reddy et al, 2014). MGNREGS wages are paid in terms of piece rate which is linked to the “Standard Schedule of Rates” (SSRs) of the public works Departments of different State governments which considers the issues of fairness of rates, fair timely measurement and other. Further MGNREGA which provides decent work⁷ is especially meant for poor vulnerable section of society who are mostly engaged in less productive jobs⁸ and hence this earning can give women some benefits which they are deprived of otherwise. This has encouraged me to explore the potential of MGNREGA in improving women’s capability and status.

1.2 Literature Review:

Women situation in India is quite complex to understand and it requires great deal of work to improve the conditions of women especially the rural women; they are mostly illiterate or have very low level education; they are mostly dependent on family and have a status which is socially and traditionally bounded which gives them a little say in important decisions at household which includes even their own important life decisions. Various scholars have analyzed the different aspects of MGNREGA and its impact on rural people which provides us the inkling regarding its potential to improve rural women’s status in society in order to help to contribute in developmental activities.

1.2.1 Socio-Economic condition of Women in India:

Unemployment in developed countries is mostly open/frictional/structural and a specified minimum income is provided to pull them out from unemployment. However, the situation is quite different in developing countries like India where there is no concept of specified minimum income and poor people try hard to get engaged in all kinds of activity which included low paid jobs to earn a household income (Kamath, 2010). MGNREGA is a boon under these circumstances as it is a right

⁷ Decent Work comprises productive and secure employment, social protection, rights and social dialogue. (ILO, 2010).

⁸ Desai, Sonalde, Prem Vashishtha and Omkar Joshi. 2015. *Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act: A Catalyst for Rural Transformation*. New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research.

based demand driven programme which guarantees employment with timely payment of wages.

Ideologically, males and women are considered to have a very different task. Males are viewed as 'Producers' whose main task is to provide material needs to their women and children while the women on the contrary are viewed as 'Consumers' whose place in the household is to perform socially defined roles of cooking and caring of children (Ray and Phukan, 1999). This perception has given a second class status to the half of the population i.e. women. Rural people who are mostly engaged in agricultural sector faces disguised/seasonal unemployment; women generally assigned the most tedious and tiring agricultural work but are low paid hence their contribution is less in the economy. This has been found out by Ray and Phukan where women from the Bhubaneswar community development block of Orissa were mostly involved in either household activities or were engaged in primary sectors like – agricultural which includes uprooting and seedling, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, carrying the harvest, parboiling, husking and threshing, rearing and feeding cattle and keeping poultry, goats on their own fields but their participation in market activities are negligible. They contribute to the economy however their contribution is not evaluated accordingly. The reasons for women's non contribution to economic activities are quite orthodox viz. - limited exposure, tradition, superstition, dormant roles in decision making, social evils, inaccessibility to current affairs, lack of courage, confidence all together limiting them to come forward prominently to set, plan and achieve goal.

ILO (2012) also have stated that rural women are resourceful and they contributes in family income and community growth by working as entrepreneurs; farm and non-farm labourers and exposed to many precarious works but mostly remain unpaid or gets low pay. They normally get 25% less wages in comparison to men however their contribution are limited because of unequal access to resources, persistent discrimination, gender norms, family and inheritance laws and practices gender norms. This confines them to lower wage and low status work reducing their training skills and advancement; this further perpetuates their lower status reinforcing their traditional roles and responsibility. One striking point has been put forward by Debbie Budlender (2005) that it is women who spend more time in productive work than men but their work are not counted and hence they are not paid at all. De Nathan

(1987) have rightly pointed out that it is the gender based division of labour which limits the primary work of women only to the household and domestic activities lead to lower wage payment.

Institution of early marriage can be regarded as another important factor which deprives the women to attend high status. Further 61% Parents expects more care from son than daughter because of the patrilocal marriage system in which daughters are expected to leave their home after marriage and expected to live with her husband and his family [Maertens, 2003]. So it implies that daughters could not give financial support to their parents in old age because her income would become the part of her husband's family and this gives a boost to the ideological perception where women are considered as dependent identity.

Realizing all these factors parents are less ambitious to provide education and skill training to their daughters increasing the non-participation of women in labour market. Further it is the patriarchal mindset of people which gives less consideration to female decisions including important decision regarding their own life. Before marriage most of her decisions are taken by her parents and after marriage the decision making power shifts to her husband and his family. So, even if a girl has attained higher education, the decision of her career is taken by her husband and his family.

Kingdon and Unni (1998) share the same view that schooling has an important effect on labour market outcomes in terms of higher LFPR (Labour Force Participation Rate) and earnings of women. It talks about the U-shaped relationship between education and wage work participation for women. But in Indian context, we finds that women acquire less education than men. LFPR and wage earning both are considerably lower to female in comparison to men. If we look at the employment status, women are mostly engaged in low productivity jobs. Most of them are engaged in self-employment agricultural and casual employment while their share is very less in the service sector whose nature is more productive and income generating.

Area backwardness can be regarded as another factor as access to labour market is highly important for the participation of both rural and urban people. The poor areas are fallen short of basic infrastructure like lack of road access. This affects the labour market on the regular basis and it also makes the work impossible for

women in these situations having the responsibilities of the household and child care simultaneously (India Labour and Employment Report 2014). MGNREGA helps in reducing these barriers by creating assets which could be beneficial in providing greater access of women to education and labour market. It is the enhancer of the rural people's capability (Amartya Sen, 2009).

Other crucial factor of women backwardness is failure of government policies to accommodate women as labour force. Rekha Mehra (1997) has rightly pointed out in one of her papers that government invests much on the reproductive policies rather than the productive policies for women. No doubt that women are now-a-days coming forward in the formal employment and are contributing and providing their services. But the apathy of Government to invest in the skill development of women; it is quite less investment and mostly belongs to knitting and sewing. It is pertinent to ask why Government is not able to provide the recognized status to women? Why they are still being seen outside the ambit of economic development? Why they are still believed as a domestic creature having domestic duties as their single goal of life? The UNDAF report titled "Women in India: How Free How Equal" has also stated that even in television most female lead actors perform feminine roles, they fulfill household chores, take care of husband\children\family etc. This specific perception of women as 'angle of the house' is disturbing questioning to their productive contribution in the society. This has to be addressed by giving open opportunities in productive and formal employment. MGNREGA can be considered as one such opportunity because women are given the same status as men in terms of employment and wage distribution.

1.2.2 Work force participation of women:

Employment has always being considered as a positive indicator of economic prosperity and economic growth. Employed people enjoys greater benefits which helps in achieving the benefits of economic growth and gets the better chance of economic prosperity and better living conditions than the one who is unemployed. Work force participation rate indicates us the percent of employed people out of total population. People who has been engaged in gainful economic activities are called 'employed' and the activity whose value has been included while calculating National Product are usually considered as 'Gainful Economic Activity'. IHDS considered

people as employed if they are engaged in gainful activity for at least 240 hours during the preceding year.

Increasing work force participation of women has always been a challenge in India. It is continuously declining due to the socio-cultural aspects in India. Though the socio-cultural aspects cannot be examined thoroughly by numbers due to their subjectivity but many scholars have concluded that these aspects influences women's work participation. The theories which suggests that women work participation increases with the accessibility and attainability of higher level of educational growth does not fit in Indian context. In India female labour force participation rate (LFPR) has been declining since 2004-05; the condition is worse in rural India as the benefits of economic growth is not reaching to the marginalized and poor section. Desai (2010) in her paper has reported that the reason behind this could be the negative relationship between education level and work participation. Highly qualified women prefers skilled, white collared, high profile, and permanent jobs which requires continuous period of learning and hence illiterate rural women are the most participants in menial workforce. Women are far behind men in work participation; social indicators like health, education, caste, religion and social norms are the main factors behind this. To achieve full benefits of potential demographic dividend, India requires to have some structural reforms to create more jobs especially for women because of the social structure. It is around 50% in India, widest among G-20 countries according to an IMF working paper⁹.

The persisting gender inequality in Indian labour market is the main reason behind low level of workforce participation of women. In Indian context, women needs flexibility in the labour market norms to suit their lifestyle. Flexible labour market has more strong and positive impact on the female workforce than the male counterparts. This further increases the participation of women in the formal sector. Besides social factors, women are also being paid low wages in comparison to men which pulls them out of the labour force. Family income also has a negative effect with women work participation. One of the working papers of IMF has suggested that the work participation of women tended to decline with higher income level.

⁹ Das, Sonali., et al.,(2015). "Women Workers in India: Why So Few Among So Many?" IMF Working Paper, IMF, pp. 1-31.

Blau and Kahn (2007) in their paper has reported something different than other papers they believed that declining work participation of women has a positive change on gender gap though in America. The similar positive changes can be seen in Indian context as the condition of women in India has also changed to an extent; they are now getting education and job opportunity equal to men and are even competing men in top/reputed/white collar jobs. Like in America, the declining work participation may indicate their preference towards skill based work rather than unskilled one. Further, women in India are too getting involved in job even after marriage. But India has wide disparity on regional basis i.e. there is a huge gap between rural\backward areas and the urban\metro-city. Urban women though to some extent have realized these benefits due to higher education but the rural women are still illiterate or less qualified. By looking into their paper it can be interpreted that rural women still far behind what the urban women has achieved and this change has caused an another gap i.e. a gap between the skilled women and unskilled women. This makes the situation worst for the unskilled women. This derails to some extent the tract of government policies in achieving equality in labour market.

1.2.2 Why should Women go for MGNREGA?

Keeping in consideration of women's socio-economic condition as prescribed earlier, MGNREGA can play an effective role in providing paid non-agricultural job to rural women. It is an opportunity where they can work within 5 km of their residence; contribute to their family income which would make them economically independent. Narayana (2008) finds that MGNREGA has been the only source of income to combat starving to some women. It is indispensable and lifeline to their life. Similarly, Khera and Nayak (2009) highlighted the importance of NREGA in empowering women. They have found the positive impact of NREGA on women workers as many of the women talked positively for the transformative potential of NREGA in enhancing economic and social security because women have very less opportunity to get a paid non-agricultural job. They highlighted the importance by divulging the experiences shared by the women workers during field survey. Many female respondents said that NREGA had given them the opportunity in getting the paid job and changed their life positively, as being in the government work there is regularity and predictability of working hours, less chance of work conditions being exploitative and work is considered socially acceptable and "dignified" (Khera and

Nayak, 2009; Datta and Singh 2012). Social and economic benefits has also been achieved by women workers as two-thirds (69%) of the sample workers stated that NREGA had helped them in avoiding hunger, while 57% stated the NREGA had helped them in avoiding migration and equal proportion of workers also said they had used NREGA wages to buy medicines in the last 12 months which justifies that NREGA helps in fulfilling the role of enhancing economic security against the uncertainty from sudden illness and chronic ailments.

Further, Pankaj and Tankha (2010) also have analyzed the impacts of NREGS on the women workers and focused on the benefits which can be achieved through programme. Categorizing women's needs into practical and strategic¹⁰, their study supports MGNREGA fulfilling practical needs of women workers in the short run and their strategic needs in the long run. This paper has selected two pairs of states- Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh are two states with better implementation while Bihar and Jharkhand are two states with poor implementation records. Through consumption effects; Intra-household effects (decision-making role); and Enhancement of choice and capability, this paper tries to find out the transformed position of women by paid employment under NREGS while to analyze the social effects on empowerment it considers women process participation; wage-equality & its long-term impacts on rural labour market conditions; and changes in gender relations. Empowerment of rural women has been emerged as an unintended consequence of NREGS. Women have benefited more as workers than as a community. The NREGS has helped women in converting some unpaid hours of work into paid hours of work with significant effects, especially for those women for whom NREG is a primary work opportunity outside the home. ILO (2015) in its paper has also stated that social protection programmes which provides regular cash benefits especially intended for the poor people in rural areas does have strong positive impact on the various dimensions of human development. Providing decent and productive employment opportunities to poor people helps in reducing their averse conditions of poverty, hunger and social status.

¹⁰ Practical needs are hereby meant for the needs which are related to food, clothes, housing, etc, while the strategic needs are meant for the needs related to long-term issues which develops the ability in individual to change their position of subordination and discrimination (Pankaj and Tankha, 2010).

MGNREGA has the provision of providing facilities of drinking water, resting place, first aid and child care facility but while on the flipside these are not being provided in efficient manner. It has been come up in the paper of Bishnoi et al. (2015) which has studied about the constraints related to MGNREGA in Punjab and Rajasthan that except drinking water facility no other facilities are available at worksites. Further no proper distributive system has been found which raised the issues of delays in payment and illiteracy among the rural people also barred them in attaining the benefits which are meant for them. In their study women are found less satisfied in getting worksite facilities. Many other scholars have also talked about the looming constraints and inefficiency in the MGNREGA scheme and its implementation like working hours for women have increased; leisure time has vanished; and there are physical and emotional strains related to such work. But these physical and emotional strains has been taken into consideration which led to have the provision for the same and which in turn helps in wiping out these strains by providing proper crèche facilities so that they are not needed to keep their young children at home; toilet facilities; and by introducing innovations in work instruments so as to reduce work drudgery. Apart from implementation issues, there are social and cultural contexts that restrict women's participation in some places.

Desai (2010) has also given an important place to MGNREGA because it is a public work programme which provides productive works to the rural poor households, further, public employment are believed to be less biased and gender discriminating. Though we cannot expect MGNREGA to wipe out gender discrimination from Indian labour market out rightly but it provides better opportunity through its equality based provisions which helps in encouraging women to participate in workforce.

Though it has also been cited by many scholars that MGNREGA has adversely affected Agriculture as it raises the agricultural wage rates which in turn increases cost of production of agricultural products and distorts agriculture labour market but T. Haque (2011) discloses a different aspect and stated that these effects are considered bad or have negative impact only in short-run. In the long run when the assests created under the scheme starts giving its positive externalities by increasing the productivity, agriculture sector would boost up. Further both agricultural and non-agricultural wage rates has already seen a tremendous increase due to MGNREGA

and have benefitted many vulnerable sections of society including women. Mathur (2007) and Azam (2012) also have stated that the participation of women in MGNREGA has significantly increased which led to sharper increase in labour force participation of women. Being remained paid low wages earlier to females, MGNREGA has led significant impact on wages of casual women workers as compared to male workers where wages has only been marginally increased (Azam, 2012 ; Mahajan, 2015; ILO, 2012). MGNREGA proved a positive scheme in raising the average casual wage rates and this positive increase in casual wages is primarily because of increase in casual wage rates for women. This has helped in reducing the prevailing wage gap or labour market inequality gender-wise.

According to the paper by Pellissery and Jalan (2011), that there are quite a less number (less than 30%) of married women who takes part in decision in their day to day household affairs which creates ambiguousness if the decision of their participation in MGNREGA was not forced by men. It has also been realized by many scholars that MGNREGA has increased the economic independency of women by providing them paid job which in turn gives them independency in deciding their life events and raises their say in household decisions. Bishnoi et al (2015) in their paper has also stated that MGNREGA has positively raised the economic empowerment of women and helps in providing greater independence. But income cannot be recognized as the only factor associated with economic empowerment of women members in household (Datta and Singh 2012). Stringent social norms, delayed payments, equal wages ignoring the differences in physical strength of men and women, illegal presence of contractors, lack of crèche facilities and lack of awareness about the scheme are some of the important factors which limits the full scale participation of women.

Distress migration is also being dealt by Government of India through MGNREGA scheme to some extent. Distress migration is also one of the major problem India need to deal with. The people who migrates to urban region are less skilled, less educated, and belongs to lowest and poorest strata. The reason behind their migration is generally the unavailability of economic incentives and opportunities to maintain the subsistence level of living. Migration to urban area too cannot provide the better opportunities of living because rural migrant people possess less skills and qualifications and hence end up living like vendor, mason, etc. this in

no sense going to provide any benefit both to urban areas as well as rural areas but if they have been provided better incentives in rural areas itself that would benefit in development of rural areas and its economic sectors. MGNREGA is providing the same. By providing the hundred days of secured employment with better wage rates it is trying to renovate the rural areas by engaging the people in productive works. Further it has also raised the agricultural wages to a great extent to attract more labour in farm activities (Prasad, 2014). This would discourage migration to some extent rather than migrating with family, one or two people would migrate especially male members for income earning while MGNREGA's work provisions encourages women members of family to work in it to obtain supplementary income. But all this needs proper implementation of scheme i.e. work supply, wages and worksite facilities should be provided timely and effectively otherwise incentive to stop migration would be distorted.

So the literature provides us ample knowledge about the MGNREGA positive and negative aspects of work status as well as the social and economic constraints which refrain women from participating in any work. Keeping in consideration of both flexibility of scheme towards rural women as well as prevailing socio-economic status of rural women this paper tries to find out the impact of MGNREGA on rural women in different categories of states having different socio-economic conditions. Most of the work on MGNREGA and women have either done to identify the impact on one particular state or group of state but no one to my knowledge have tried to grasp and differentiate the impact in terms of prevailing socio-economic conditions in states.

1.3 Research Questions:

1. How is the participation of women under MGNREGS distributed in different categories of state? Does the level of human development of state influences the participation?
2. What are the major factors which influences the participation of rural women under the scheme? How much these factors does influences the participation under MGNREGS?
3. Does MGNREGA participation impacts on the women empowerment in terms of decision making power, financial autonomy, and social boundedness?

1.4 Objectives:

The main aim of this study is to examine the changes in the life of rural women after the scheme implementation. It also tries to put emphasis on the impact of level of human development of state on the outcomes of MGNREGA. It is believed and assumed in this paper too that the society and its norms and principles in socially and economically backward states are more biased against the women and their work environment. Being an only paid job to most of the rural women, it empowers them socially and economically by changing their dependent status to independent one by giving economic power i.e. money and it has the potential to pull them out from the invisible social barriers in which they face in society. As rural women are more socially bounded and face various visible as well as invisible barriers of society, it has been tried to find out how MGNREGA which is being considered as a holistic and flagship programme and can be helpful in reducing these barriers and helps in enhancing woman's capability. Thus objectives of the paper are as follows-

1. To examine the participation distribution of rural women under the MGNREGA scheme in consideration with social and economic factors in different categories of states?
2. To examine the factors which influences the MGNREGA scheme participation and the magnitude at which they can influence.
3. To find out the positive or negative relationship of participation under the scheme with various socio-economic variables.
4. To examine the change in the financial autonomy, social boundedness and decision making power of the rural women.

1.5 Hypothesis:

In order to address these objectives, following null hypothesis has been undertaken to analyze and examine the core issues of the study. The hypothesis of this paper is as under-

1. There is no difference between the gender gap in overall work participation and work participation under the scheme in particular.
2. There is no difference on the participation level of rural women under the scheme due to differences in the level of the human development of state.

3. Participation under MGNREGA does not influence the empowerment level of rural women in terms of their decision making power, financial autonomy and social boundedness.

1.6 Data Source and Methodology:

In this paper IHDS-I and IHDS-II has been used, as IHDS-I has been surveyed in 2004-05 just before the implementation of MGNREGA scheme while IHDS-II has been surveyed in 2011-12. So, this data is of great help in demonstrating the situation prevailing before and after the scheme. IHDS-I is the nationally representative sample covering 41554 households while IHDS-II covers 41152 households. IHDS is a collaboration between the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and the University of Maryland and has some unique features which increases its usefulness. It is a panel survey as it tries to re-interview same households after five year of gap. Being a largest survey of India, re-interviewing same household is in itself a great achievement (around 83% household were re-interviewed) and this achievement is worth of because it is of great help in policy evaluation and to examine the changing life of same individual and household. It is the survey which is more representative and more informative too. One of the most important reason of using IHDS data is that it tried to re-interview same households including eligible women in IHDS-II plus it has more social variables on which my study is based on, so, for the policy evaluation it deemed me fit for my study. For analyzing the position of same individuals and households it is worth the data source which provides great source of information and is helpful in impact evaluation.

Here for analyzing the women participation under the scheme I have used IHDS-II data including household file, individual file and eligible women file. Merging of all these files are required to get a combined data source. My study of women participation and its determinants is based on 1,40,652 observation. While to get the social and economic impact on same women during the time has been done by merging eligible women files of both the rounds with the help of link file together which has given 24,301 observations of eligible women who are interviewed in both the rounds after deleting missing values and observations which is not useful for my study. This is to find out the change in social and economic position of women who are participating in MGNREGA. I further specified the women into consideration as

the scheme is self-targeting it may possible that the well-off people are getting benefited by the scheme just to get supplementary income but not because they are bounded by poor economic conditions. So I tried to filter it out by taking my sample from the lowest 40% of wealth quintile so that the impact of the scheme on the poorest can be captured. Further only those people are being considered here who are working more than 240hr annually under working age group of 15-59. State categories has also been made on the basis of HDI index in order to find out the differences in impacts of the scheme in different categories of states having different level of human development.

Bivariate analysis has been done in order to find out the percentage distribution of women participation under MGNREGA both from total population and total participants (Intra-MGNREGA). While logistic regression has been used to find out the determinants that influences the women participation under MGNREGA. Further, to find out the impact of MGNREGA participation of women on their say in decision, financial autonomy and social boundedness, net changes has been found out by comparing participant to non-participant. Degree wise analysis has also be done in a similar way.

1.7 Chapter Scheme:

The present study has been divided into five chapters. The *first* chapter gives the introduction of the study which includes literature review along with the objectives and research questions which explains the basic purpose of my study. Research hypothesis and data source with methodology has also been incorporated in this chapter. *Second* chapter talks about the percentage distribution of women aged 15-59 who works under the MGNREGA scheme for at least 240 hours and comes into below 40% of income quintile so that only those women can be captured who are poor and for whom this scheme is in some sense life saving . The participation has been analyzed on the basis on caste, religion, education, education and caste combined, poverty, and landholding. In the *third* chapter, major determinants of participation under the scheme has been analyzed through logistic regression which also helps in examining the relationship between MGNREGS participation for at least 240 hours and the different variables like – state category based on HDI, caste, religion, education, wealth quintile, poverty, social boundedness, decision making

power, financial autonomy and the household's main income source. *Fourth* chapter is basically trying to examine the impact of participation of women under MGNREGS on their say in deciding household's important decisions, on their financial autonomy and on their social boundedness. Chapter *fifth* summarizes the complete findings of this study and postulates it with some reasoning.

Chapter-2

Women Work Participation and Economic Empowerment

2.1 Introduction:

Planning commission has stated that participation of women in productive economic activities is one of the major factor of economic empowerment of women. Rural women basically faces the problem of low literacy level; lack of awareness about the global ideas and the capability of their economic contribution to society; low decision making power even for their own important life changing decisions. All these issues acts as barriers\hurdles in developing their individual personality. These barriers confines them to do either household chores or to the best can only give them low paid jobs which in turn gives them dependent and subordinate status. Rural women are mostly engaged in agricultural activities and there also they find huge gender disparity. They are usually being paid low even if the male counterpart are doing the same work within same time. More importantly they are excluded from the productive economic activities. Considering the work participation as a positive factor of women's economic empowerment this chapter analyses the overall work participation with participation under MGNREGS with respect to various social and economic factors because these factors do influences the participation pattern.

2.2 Work Force Participation:

Work force participation rate is defined as the percentage of total number of people employed (unlike labour force participation which also includes the people who are seeking for jobs) to the total population. Work force participation has always been higher for males in India and this gender inequality can be easily grasped by looking at some facts related to the work force participation of male and female. Women work participation is quite low not only in general but also in particular with respect to age group, education, place of residence, income, social group. It is easily discernible from the table-2.1.

Table-2.1

Work force participation (WPR) for Men and Women aged 15-59 years

Categories	RURAL		URBAN		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All India	77	43	73	21	76	36
Age						
15-19	34	19	24	6	31	15
20-29	76	33	68	16	74	28
30-39	92	55	91	28	91	46
40-59	89	55	88	26	89	46
Education						
None	89	56	87	33	89	52
1-4 std	90	51	87	30	89	45
5-9 std	77	36	78	18	78	30
10-11 std	66	24	67	12	66	19
12 std/some college	62	22	57	13	60	18
Graduation	70	28	76	27	73	27
Place of Residence						
Metro City	-	-	73	16	73	16
Other Urban	-	-	73	22	73	22
Developed Village	76	45	-	-	76	45
Less Developed Village	78	41	-	-	78	41
Income						
Lowest Quintile	80	43	76	25	79	41
2nd Quintile	78	42	79	22	78	38
3rd Quintile	76	43	76	22	76	36
4th Quintile	75	44	73	20	74	34
Highest Quintile	73	42	69	19	71	30
Social Group						
Forward Caste	73	34	71	17	72	27
OBC	75	45	73	23	75	39
Dalit	80	48	76	25	79	42
Adivasi	81	55	71	32	80	52
Muslim	78	27	75	15	77	22
Other Religion	68	34	72	26	70	29

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Work force participation of both male and female has declined since 2004-05. It is evident if we compare the difference between the WPR calculated by IHDS-I (2004-05)¹¹ with the one calculated by IHDS-II (2011-12). Female WPR has gone down with a strikingly high number. The all India level female WPR has declined up to 23% from 47% in 2004-05 to 36% in 2011-12. In the rural India, female work force participation has declined around 26% from 58% to 43% while for male counterpart the decline is only 6%. But in the urban India female WPR has gone rise to 5% from 20% in 2004-05 to 21% in 2011-12. Here in table, work force participation has been given for both male and female aged 15-59 years in consideration with age groups, education, place of residence, income and social groups. It is evident from the table that WPR for females is strikingly less in terms of its male counterparts, it is not even close to half of male WPR which shows huge gender inequality prevalent in labour market in India.

Here the table clearly depicts that the WPR increases with the increase in age group but the increase rate is much higher for male WPR which means men are more likely to be engaged in gainful economic activity as they grow old. Till the age group 30-39 WPR increases for both male and female in rural and urban India but in the year group 40-59, male WPR declined slightly while female WPR becomes stable. In terms of education the result is quite paradoxical because education is being considered as a way to increase employment level. Here in Indian context, the WPR even declines with the increase in the level of education till both male and female attains education up to 12th standard. While it is in graduation period that the WPR increased. Comparing urban and rural India the variation is higher in case of rural females where WPR is 56% for illiterate women which decreases to 22% when they attained education up to 12th standard. While for graduates the WPR is slightly higher at 28%. Urban female WPR though can be considered as better because it has increased slightly than the year 2004-05 but the trend of declining with education level is almost similar. Illiterate men and women are more likely to work. Women especially from rural background are more participating in work force due to poverty where share of illiterates are higher among them. They mostly engaged in agricultural/farm and casual work activities. Srivastava et al (2010) and Desai (2010)

¹¹See appendix table- A.2.1 for the WPR table for the year 2004-05 (IHDS report)

both have stated about the U-curve theory as the reason behind the negative relationship which in Indian context suggests the lower level of employment with higher level of education because educated women are less interested in doing agricultural and casual work and prefers more skillful jobs.

In terms of place of residence also it is quite evident that rural women are more participating to work. Their share is 45% and 41% in developed and less developed villages while in metrocity and other urban area it is only 16% and 22% women who are working. The male WPR in terms of each categories are more or less same but the variation is quite large for female workforce participation rate. Income also do have the dampening effect on the work force participation of women, table also depicts the same, the more the poorer strata more is the work participation from that strata. Though the difference is low between urban male and rural male WPR but it is higher in rural India as compared to urban India and it decreases with the increase in income level. While the share of rural women is more in work participation than urban women and the tendency is to decline with rise in income level in urban India but the variation among different income level does not change much in female WPR of rural India.

According to social group wise it is Adivasi and Dalits who are more participating in work. Around 80% men and 52% Adivasi females are employed followed by Dalits with 79% and 42% for men and women respectively. Here also the share of employed in urban men and rural men are quite similar but there is visible difference between the share of women of rural and urban India. By analyzing the table it can be depicted that the rural females are more likely to participate in work than the male counterpart but their share is quite small in comparison to male counterpart be it a rural or urban area, this suggests various things like the gender biasness in labour market, lack of economic opportunity to women, inherent cultural and social traditions in society, patriarchal mindset etc. Negative relationship of female work with spouse's level of education also impact much on the work force participation rate of female (IMF working Paper, 2015).

2.2 MGNREGA and Work Participation of Women:

Work Participation under public work policy highly depends on the institutional framework of scheme\programme, how these are implemented and what are the other

economic alternatives available to people. In case of India, more the work flexibility, more would be the women's participation. MGNREGA is unique in its kind as has been stated earlier giving employment and livelihood security to about **24.74%** of total population. It has been found out by many scholars that participation of women under MGNREGA is higher comparatively to any other scheme. From the total MGNREGA participant male workers constitute about **49.48 %** while female workers constitute about **50.52 %** which is a significant achievement in the country like India where poverty spreads its legs to a great extent and where gender inequality is still a serious issue to the economy and society. Poverty in India is about 21.9% for the year 2011-12 according to Tendulkar committee. Further labour market in India is of very peculiar kind as it is by no means homogeneous and uniform. At least 92% workers are employed in informal sector and Majority of workers are employed on a casual basis or in low productivity jobs with limited or no social protection, Which means the benefit is not reaching to all the workers equally and wage gap between casual and labour worker is also very substantial. Further huge disparities has been seen in Indian labour market in terms of religion, caste and sex. Females are everywhere far behind the men in getting the job opportunity and wage earnings because of patriarchal mindset of people. Labour force participation rate of female is on one hand lower than male both in the rural and urban India i.e. 25.3% in rural India and 15.5% in urban India as compared to male participation which is 55.3% in rural India and 56.3% in urban India (68th round, NSSO). The point to be noted is that the female participation in rural India is significantly high in rural India the reason behind is the poverty which drags female to get engaged in casual employment where they earn to maintain their consumption pattern and to secure their livelihood, this is more often common to the households where male members migrate to earn larger share from urban areas (Chakraborty, 2014).

MGNREGA helps in this situation to those rural women who remains in household either because of their child's education or to fulfill other domestic duties. Further having provision of equal wages, they are encouraged to work in MGNREGA rather than for any other casual employment. This can be easily depicted from the facts that from about total MGNREGA participants female constitutes 50.52% while male constitute the remaining i.e. 49.47% more or less equal which is highly appreciable. It is around 25.11% of total women population under the age group of

15-59 are engaged in MGNREGS. This shows the urgency and need of rural female to have such types of policies which helps in poverty on one hand while develops their personality and empowers them on the other. MGNREGA has that potential which can have the long term effects of changing social attitudes toward women.

2.3 Position of women Participation under MGNREGS:

This study has taken into consideration of women of poorest 40% of income strata of the working age group 15-59 years who works at least 240 hours annually under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural employment Scheme so as to get to know the participation pattern of poorest and most backward women in terms of various economic and social aspects.

Table: 2.2

Percentage distribution of MGNREGA participants of all income group and income group of below 40% of wealth quintile

State	Percentage distribution of MGNREGA participants across states in India			
	(All people)		(Below 40% income people)	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Advanced States	17.46	17.51	19.05	19.07
Himachal Pradesh	35.02	31.68	45.83	43.66
N-E excl. Assam	38.81	36.82	49.72	48.97
Tamil Nadu	34.81	37.58	48.14	49.74
Karnataka	6.13	5.49	6.18	5.62
West Bengal	13.06	11.00	15.15	13.72
Andhra Pradesh	18.59	19.03	23.42	23.41
Assam	8.29	7.97	10.25	9.43
Backward States	13.53	12.98	14.62	14.33
Rajasthan	29.83	30.43	38.52	37.97
Uttar Pradesh	10.15	9.91	13.34	12.91
Jharkhand	6.99	6.26	6.80	6.43
Madhya Pradesh	15.00	13.63	14.77	14.16
Bihar	7.48	7.18	8.81	9.25
Orissa	7.17	6.69	7.36	7.49
Chhattisgarh	29.93	30.42	30.49	31.29
Total	15.12	14.71	16.01	15.72

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Here table-2.2, which represents percentage distribution of rural women participating under the scheme. It has two sections, *First*, it is showing the distribution of all people no matter how much their income level is. While the *Second* section shows the distribution who belongs to only lowest 40% of income strata just to show if the participation increases with the level of poverty. Further through categorization of states according to HDI ranking, it would be easy to compare and analyze the participation and other impacts of MGNREGA on women because it is believed that the better the human development index better would be the work culture for women; and lower the index lower would be the empowerment level because of the presence of socially and culturally bounded norms for women. Here from the two categories women participation from the advanced states are relatively higher than the backward state categories. It is also good to note that women's share on an average is relatively higher in comparison to men in advanced states. It is around 17.51 percent for women and 17.46 percent for men in all income group while on an average in backward states 13.53 percent of (total population) males are participating with only 12.98 percent of females. This suggests that women's share under the scheme increases with the increase in the level of human development. It may be due to the lower social boundations from society in states with higher HDI level, which is the result of higher education, scientific reasoning based attitude, cultural acceptability of women at work etc.

Filtering it to only lowest 40 percent income strata the important thing to note is that the percentage distribution is more under lower income strata than the all income group which suggests that the poorer people are participating more under the scheme than the well off. It is visible not only in the category on an average but also if we look at the states individually except Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh where the share of men has declined but still women's share has increased in every state with lower level of income. This also suggests that poor women are more inclined towards work though unskilled one due to less educational qualification and skills. It has gone rise to 19.05 percent for men and 19.07 percent for women in Advanced State Category while it has increased to 14.62 percent and 14.33 percent in Backward State Category foe men and women respectively. Further the table clearly depicts that the gender difference in participation is strikingly low under the scheme which suggests

that women are equally participating under the scheme. We have not got any particular state in which the difference is striking against women.

One more thing to note is that in some states the distribution share under the scheme is quite large as compared to other states especially in the states with high HDI value i.e. those included in the Advanced State Category. States like Himachal Pradesh, North-east excluding Assam and Tamil Nadu has around 45 to 50 percent of participation both from male and female. It may be due to higher awareness level of the scheme in these states further the human development index is higher in these states which means women are more empowered in these states and are more active. The reason for more participation of women under these states can also be due to higher literacy rate among women and due to high level of human development that even the remotest area of the state has much awareness about the ongoing schemes and provisions. Further the women of advanced states are more connected through SHG and are more financially active and empowered and because of that they are more aware about the wage and its disbursement related issues under MGNREGA and hence are more actively involved in the scheme. While in Backward State Category, it is Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh where the proportion is relatively large this may be due to government policy to increase scheme related awareness. Rajasthan has been appreciated for doing its job in increasing the rural awareness about MGNREGA and its related provisions. Further the participation depends upon the implementation level of the state, those states which are less corrupt and efficiently doing their business would have more participation.

It is also striking feature of the scheme that within MGNREGA too i.e. intra MGNREGA distribution is more or less same there is hardly the difference of 2 or 3 percent but not more than that this may be due to the provisions of the scheme which gives flexibility of work and encourages rural women too to participate.

It has been found out and is clear in table-2.3 that on an average the backward state has higher participation of women compared to the advanced state but in all both these categories women's share is higher than men it is about 52.02 percent in backward states for all income group while slightly higher in lower income group with 52.65 percent in total participation. In the Backward State Category out of seven states, five states are having relatively higher participation of women than men. These states are Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Orissa in both the section

of the table. While there are only three states of advanced state viz. Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh which has higher participation of women in relation to male counterpart. Higher share in backward state can be regarded as the requirement of such schemes to empower women and to include them in productive economic activities.

Table: 2.3

Intra MGNREGA sex-wise percentage distribution of participants in India working at least 240hr annually

State	(All Income Group)		(Lowest 40% Income Group)	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Advanced States	49.28	50.72	49.2	50.8
Himachal Pradesh	46.35	53.65	46.68	53.32
N-E excl. Assam	51.08	48.92	50.54	49.46
Tamil Nadu	46.12	53.88	45.12	54.88
Karnataka	52.36	47.64	50.91	49.09
West Bengal	53.9	46.1	52.38	47.62
Andhra Pradesh	48.25	51.75	47.97	52.03
Assam	53.24	46.76	53.91	46.09
Backward States	47.98	52.02	47.35	52.65
Rajasthan	48.03	51.97	49.16	50.84
Uttar Pradesh	46.02	53.98	46.24	53.76
Jharkhand	51.59	48.41	50.07	49.93
Madhya Pradesh	51.88	48.12	50.28	49.72
Bihar	45.95	54.05	43.98	56.02
Orissa	49.92	50.08	47.49	52.51
Chhattisgarh	47.53	52.47	46.81	53.19
Total	48.58	51.42	48.02	51.98

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

2.4 Socio-Economic Dimension and Women participation under MGNREGA:

Though economic empowerment of women happens when they are getting access to productive economic activities, however, various social factors and economic conditions affects the participation rate of women because these places both visible and invisible barriers in women's life and challenges their work environment and hence participation. The factors like caste, religion, education, poverty background,

landholdings has been taken into consideration. The analysis and explanation of all these are given individually as under-

2.4.1 Caste:

Social dimension in India can be captured by looking at the caste structure, religious structure and the attitude towards education. Caste structure in India is quite peculiar and complex and it determinant to the individual's action and behavior in the society towards each other. Though it has been contended by many that in present time caste is losing importance when it comes to employment allocation as the caste gap is narrowing down through education and reservation. However the percentage of scheduled caste participation in education does not provide a positive picture of change especially in rural area.

MGNREGA has been a successful flagship programme as depicted in the reports of the government in generating employment. However, this is only the supply side and the gap cannot be plugged unless we consider the demand side. Currently there are studies that reflect many aspects of this flagship programme which is other than success. But this study focuses on the women participation. Rural areas are believed to be more attached to social norms and tradition which has been followed for long. Caste hierarchy is still a practice in Indian society; the social values and work culture attached to these castes are still relevant in the present times. The hierarchized patriarchal society does not allow women to acquire an independent status through employment. Mostly they are allowed or forced to work in the absence of male financial support. Specifically in reference to SC people who are poorest and most deprived among all; possess low literacy level and are mostly engaged in low paid job in rural areas. This is the condition of SC in general hence the condition of women stands a level below.

The participation distribution of rural women under the scheme has been shown in table-2.4 on the basis of caste categories. The average distribution of women from the total population is highest from SC category followed by ST, General, OBC and Others with 23.98 %, 21.14% 15.81%, 15.55% and 1.91% respectively in Advanced State Category. It is good to note that the participation share is higher in advanced state on an average than the Backward State Category which may be due to

general cultural acceptability of working women, more awareness level, relatively prop implementation of the policy, active population etc.

Table: 2.4
Women Participation within MGNREGA of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually in terms of Caste Category

State	All India percentage distribution					Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution				
	General	OBC	SC	ST	Other	General	OBC	SC	ST	Other
Advanced States	15.81	15.55	23.98	21.14	1.91	22.99	17.87	45.55	13.42	0.18
Himachal Pradesh	38.25	44.70	51.40	21.15	NA	39.55	14.09	44.94	1.42	NA
N-E excl. Assam	86.06	22.40	41.38	48.54	NA	13.61	3.11	4.84	78.44	NA
Tamil Nadu	NA	30.45	66.99	29.66	NA	NA	26.14	72.32	1.54	NA
Karnataka	12.35	3.49	6.16	6.20	NA	30.05	27.14	27.25	15.56	NA
West Bengal	16.79	2.30	12.29	17.56	NA	48.58	1.26	39.93	10.23	NA
Andhra Pradesh	29.70	22.02	22.59	35.72	NA	7.57	44.07	37.27	11.09	NA
Assam	8.98	3.66	8.37	14.33	3.17	48.19	1.75	10.81	36.81	2.44
Backward States	7.88	12.79	20.47	14.94	NA	6.55	43.74	33.55	16.16	NA
Rajasthan	48.06	31.46	43.59	35.20	NA	11.82	32.27	45.19	10.71	NA
Uttar Pradesh	3.76	12.84	18.52	5.29	NA	4.38	55.92	39.09	0.6	NA
Jharkhand	3.77	1.26	12.34	7.99	NA	6.04	5.29	30.51	58.16	NA
Madhya Pradesh	16.28	15.28	12.81	12.75	NA	13.06	42.72	15.79	28.43	NA
Bihar	5.84	5.26	20.59	15.14	NA	8.05	34.69	54.46	2.79	NA
Orissa	3.39	6.75	7.36	12.18	NA	5.41	42.11	21.29	31.19	NA
Chhattisgarh	5.31	38.40	30.60	25.26	NA	0.26	53.93	10.22	35.59	NA
Total	11.77	13.22	21.84	16.45	1.65	12.38	34.55	37.81	15.19	0.06

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

It is quite striking that the share of General women in MGNREGA increases as the socio-economic status of state increases which is quite paradoxical in sense. Though there has been increased proportion of SC and ST and OBC too but the

difference between backward and advanced category of general women participation conveys something else. It may be due to less caste biasness among society. While in the Backward State Category the distribution follows the caste hierarchy. SC women being considered as the deprived section are having highest share with 20.27 percent on an average followed by ST women with 14.94 percent, OBC women with 12.79 percent and 7.88 percent of general women from the total population. This can suggest that the deprived caste are more participating and willing to do unskilled work while the forward caste are less likely to be indulged in such activity but as the human development index increases caste gap reduces. The pattern is somewhat different under Intra-MGNREGA distribution with OBC women being highest among other categories with 43.74 percent followed by SC women with 33.55 percent, ST with 16.16 percent and General Women with 6.55 percent. It may be because of higher proportion share of SC and OBC people which reduces the share of ST population under the scheme who are less in number

Another statement which can be stated for the higher proportion of SC people from the total population compared to the other caste categories is that it is a good sign because it justifies that the scheme is being benefitting the most deprived caste as the women's empowerment level is very low in these categories.

2.4.2 Religion:

Religion again changes the participation level especially of women. It is argued that Muslim women do not have enough freedom to work, freedom to manage household affairs, to decide number of children and financial autonomy etc. Though we cannot base our point on this view because some theories negate this aspect too like Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) in their paper did not find this relationship significant, further they found that it is the region which influences the autonomy of the women rather than religion. Though India has majority of Hindus, it is obvious that Hindu participants would be more in intra MGNREGA distribution. The participation rates of women according to religious category who are at least doing work 240hrs annually and comes under lowest 40% of wealth quintile has been given in table-2.5 below-

Table: 2.5

Women Participation in MGNREGA in terms of Religious Category of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution			Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution		
	Hindu	Muslim	Other	Hindu	Muslim	Other
Advanced States	20.46	12.54	27.30	77.62	14.62	7.75
Himachal Pradesh	44.25	11.48	NA	99.52	0.48	NA
N-E excl. Assam	68.01	NA	40.19	45.99	NA	54.01
Tamil Nadu	51.07	NA	26.62	97.6	NA	2.44
Karnataka	6.29	0.72	NA	98.47	1.53	NA
West Bengal	12.25	14.55	31.58	58.28	32.61	9.11
Andhra Pradesh	23.16	33.01	5.02	87.86	11.49	0.65
Assam	9.16	8.96	13.42	44.16	43.6	12.24
Backward States	15.10	8.45	10.80	92.02	5.45	2.53
Rajasthan	38.88	29.75	NA	93.75	6.25	NA
Uttar Pradesh	13.25	10.83	NA	88.35	11.65	NA
Jharkhand	6.99	NA	8.69	64.64	NA	35.36
Madhya Pradesh	14.09	20.06	NA	97.89	2.11	NA
Bihar	10.23	1.49	NA	98.19	1.81	NA
Orissa	6.81	NA	27.18	87.04	NA	12.96
Chhattisgarh	31.12	53.01	NA	98.68	1.32	NA
Total	16.47	10.49	17.41	86.91	8.71	4.38

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Here in this table, the result is quite striking because rather than Hindu who are in the majority in India, it is the 'Other religion' category women whose proportion in the participation is higher than Hindu and Muslim women in Advanced State Category. The participation is 27.30% on an average for 'Other religion' category which includes- Sikh, Buddhist, Tribal, Jain and others. West Bengal and Assam are the states where the proportion of 'Other religious' women is high in their respective

state, it is around 31.58% and 13.42% respectively. While in the Backward State Category the proportion in Hindu women is highest although the share is less than the Advanced category, it is only 15.10% followed by Other religion and Muslim women with 10.8% and 8.45% respectively. While in all-India proportion distribution it is Hindu women who are highest participant followed by 'Others' and 'Muslim' women with 16.47%, 17.41% and 10.49% respectively. Percentage all-India distribution of Hindu is highest in North-East states excluding Assam followed by Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. Women from Other religious category comes second followed by Muslims with 17.41% and 10.49% respectively. The main point to note here is that Advanced states are having more participation in all categories than the Backward category which suggests that the states with higher Human Development Index are capable of providing benefits to more people in comparison to the Backward states. The reason could be more from both the demand side and supply side. From demand side- higher awareness level among women, more cultural acceptability of working women, higher literacy level and low level of strictly bounding norms in society could be the main reason. While from the supply side- it is the efficiency level of the state, less connectivity gap between well off and the remotest area in the state due to better infrastructure facility could be the major factor behind this.

2.4.3 Education and MGNREGA:

Lack of education is a great hurdle in women's empowerment and social status. India has achieved 74.04% of literacy rate (census 2011) which is still not quite high but nevertheless it has improved. Though there has been a marked increase in female literacy rate of India, the male literacy rate which is about 82.14% is much higher than the female literacy rate which is 65.46%. In backward states on one hand the literacy rate is quite low i.e. even below the national average while on the other hand the difference between male and female literacy rate is quite striking like in Bihar which has lowest literacy rate of 61.8%, where male literacy rate is 71.2% and female literacy rate is 51.5%. Similarly we can see this striking difference in other states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan,

Table: 2.6

Women Participation in MGNREGA in terms of Education of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution					Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution				
	Illiterate	Up to Primary	primary to Secondary	secondary to Higher secondary	College & above	Illiterate	Up to Primary	primary to Secondary	secondary to Higher secondary	College & above
Advanced States	21.48	18.03	17.40	15.05	11.89	49.13	17.7	27.92	3.78	1.25
Himachal Pradesh	49.07	44.36	41.01	39.95	39.03	29.96	21.1	34.82	11.11	3
N-E excl. Assam	52.49	57.46	45.64	32.99	12.58	27.46	34.9	33.58	3.29	0.77
Tamil Nadu	59.45	39.79	51.78	28.97	25.36	48.18	10.26	33.39	5.02	3.15
Karnataka	7.41	6.92	3.45	4.74	1.63	52.99	19.59	22.24	4.57	0.61
West Bengal	16.02	13.13	10.69	18.27	NA	51.83	24.57	21.08	2.52	NA
Andhra Pradesh	26.38	20.48	22.56	4.47	NA	63.35	8.84	25.38	1.03	NA
Assam	9.10	18.40	8.18	5.43	NA	40.87	24.32	30.56	4.25	NA
Backward States	15.02	17.64	12.39	7.99	7.53	57.82	18.18	20.44	2.51	0.91
Rajasthan	38.85	38.28	34.68	33.24	19.62	73	12.33	12.28	1.72	0.44
Uttar Pradesh	13.73	18.24	11.17	4.94	6.25	55.04	19.24	21.36	2.54	1.5
Jharkhand	6.99	7.75	4.02	10.29	NA	60.34	17.57	14.66	7.42	NA
Madhya Pradesh	12.66	19.05	13.62	19.39	15.70	49.93	22.85	22.91	3.19	1.13
Bihar	10.12	11.40	7.17	1.77	NA	70.77	13.11	15.4	0.72	NA
Orissa	8.49	5.48	7.73	4.51	10.22	46.43	16.17	33.87	1.65	1.87
Chhattisgarh	27.04	40.70	34.69	21.89	25.99	43.56	24.95	27.48	3.16	0.86
Total	16.62	17.78	14.13	10.14	8.95	54.74	18.01	23.09	2.96	1.03

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. It can be seen that the states with lower HDI ranking has larger level of illiteracy especially amongst women. Further, Education plays a significant role on the work status.

Higher the education, more qualified would be the people with more skills and technical knowledge. It is believed that education helps in increasing work force participation but the people are less willing to do unskilled and manual work if they are more qualified, they would rather prefer to get white collar job. But in rural society, people possess less educational qualification, most of them are illiterate especially women's work force participation. Taking this into consideration women should be more participants under MGNREGA with low level of education. In order to look what it's pattern in 2011-12, tabulation has been done for those working age women who comes under the low income strata as is given below-

Here, in the table-2.6, it is clearly discernible that in the advanced states viz. Himachal Pradesh, North-east excluding Assam, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, there are lowest participation of women from the total population whose education is equal and higher than college level. It is Tamil Nadu which has the highest participation of illiterate women with 59.4 percent, followed by Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka having 49.07 %, 26.38 % and 7.41 % respectively. While North-East states have highest participation from the women who are educated up to primary level. Though West Bengal tells a different story with higher participation of women who have secondary to higher secondary educational qualification. Under Intra-MGNREGA distribution of women participation in advanced category it is the illiterate women who are the major participant with 49.13 percent on an average while the participants of higher education are lowest at 1.25 percent on an average.

One point to make here is that in the backward category, illiterate women and women having education up to primary level are highest participants under intra-MGNREGA distribution. It is around 57.82% for illiterate women (higher than 49.13% in Advanced State Category) and only 0.91% women are participants who are highly qualified (lower than 1.25 percent in Advanced State Category) one reason for this can be considered to literacy level of the state. Backward states have lower level of literacy level due to their social and economic backwardness and participation of unskilled and low qualified women suggests that MGNREGA is providing helping

hand to those for whom it is meant for i.e. illiterate and less qualified women. Under the backward states Rajasthan state has the highest participation than other states. Further the relationship between education level and MGNREGA participation is quite complicated to explain for these states because mostly it is not the illiterate one who are more participant but the women who attained some level of education viz. except Rajasthan all other backward states viz. Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh has lower participation from illiterate women than the other educated women, this may be due to the social culture where females are primarily assigned household work and responsibilities of taking care of household members. In simple words, backward states are considered more socially and culturally bounded.

2.4.3.1 Caste and Education together:

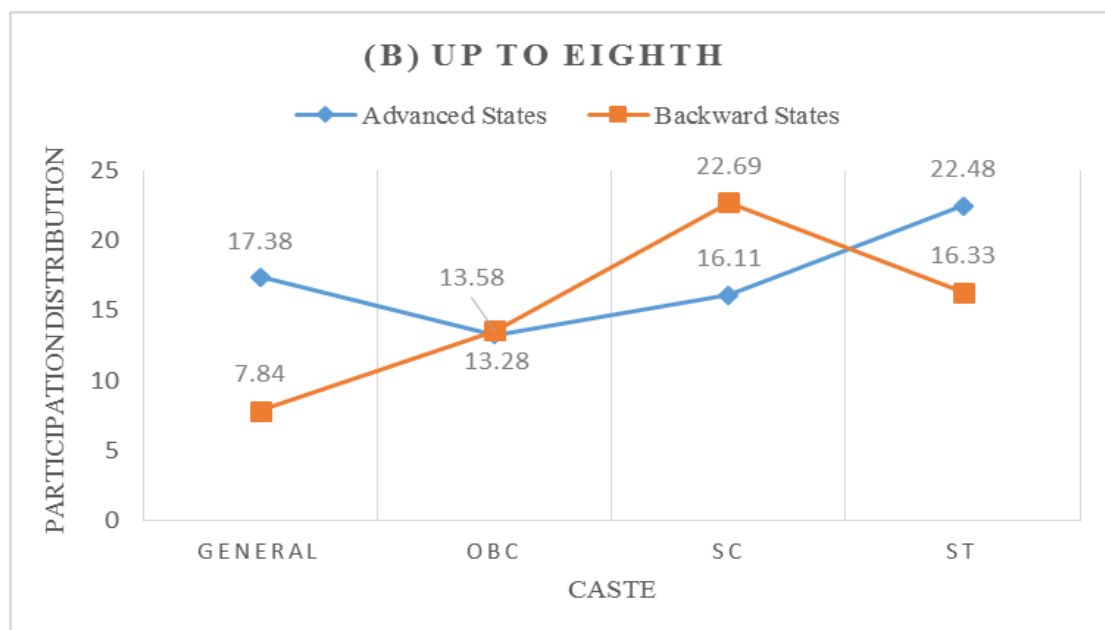
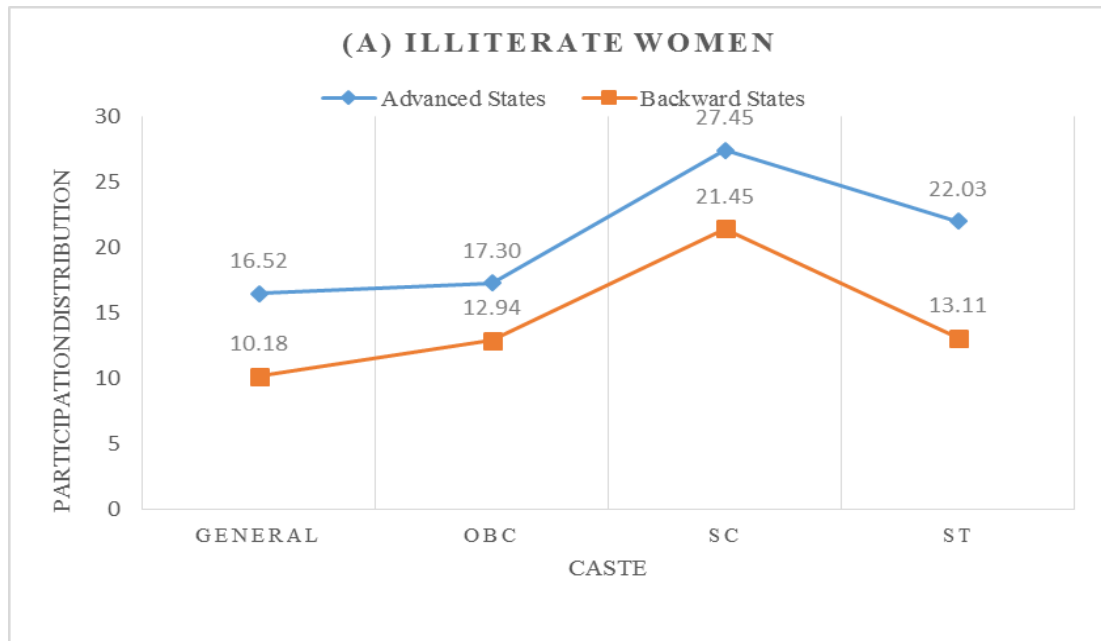
Caste factor also plays an important part in educational attainment of people especially for rural women in India where the caste hierarchy still predominantly present and the rural people are socially and traditionally attached to them. Women's education is always low in relation to men and in these circumstances caste places another bar on their educational qualification in rural India. So, to get the better picture and understanding of MGNREGA participation of rural women, different caste and educational level has been considered together. Here the 'Other' category people are not being considered because of lack of data and less number of people are left uncategorized in other four categories. The figure-2.1 (A-C) depicts participation pattern of women in advanced state and Backward State Category on the basis of caste and education. As in the rest of the study, only those women are taken into consideration who are participating under the scheme in the age group of 15-59 and are in below 40% of wealth quintile.

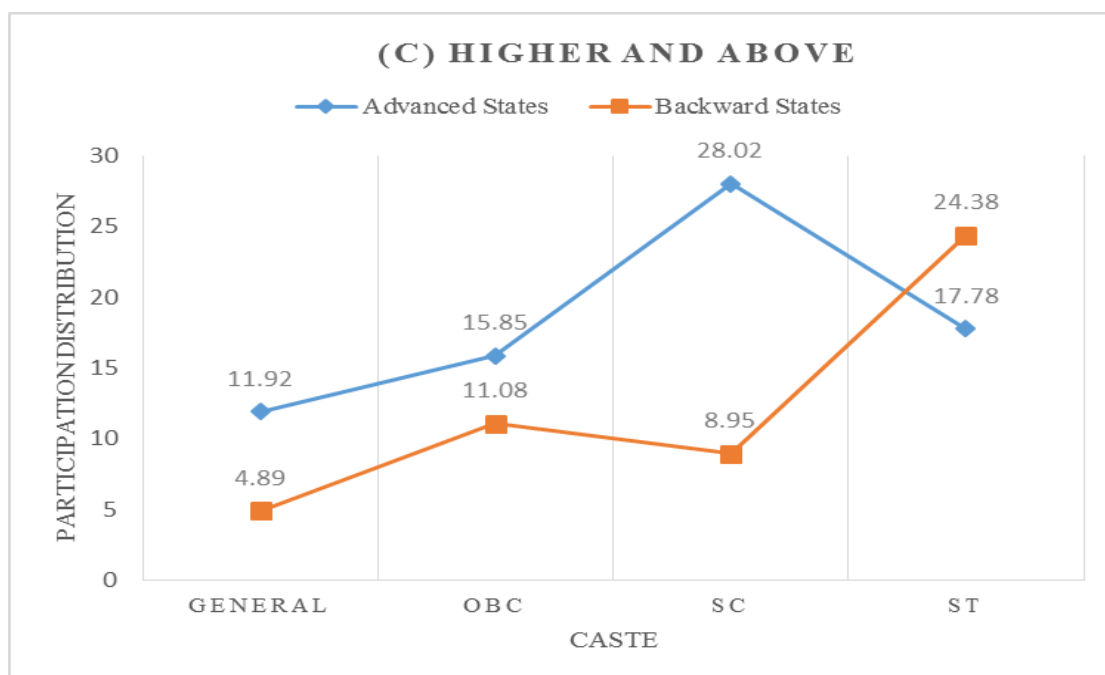
In the figure-2.1 the participation of rural illiterate women out of total population has been shown who are under the age group of 15-59 and are in below 40% of wealth quintile. Here it is evident that the pattern is almost similar in both Advanced and Backward State Category. SC illiterate women are highest participants under the scheme. Pattern being the same it is the Advanced State Category which has higher proportion of participants from amongst all the caste as compared to the participants from the Backward State Category. It can be depicted from the figure that

the benefit is though going towards the right direction, it is the Advanced State Category where the proportion is high as compared to Backward one. Women who are illiterate are lack of other economic alternatives, being unskilled they are given only low paid jobs.

Figure: 2.1

Caste-wise Percentage distribution of women under MGNREGA out of total population at various levels of education:





Gender disparity and the traditional societal norms further increases the chances of their exclusion from the economic activity which leads wastage of human resources. It happens especially in rural India where women are still not considered as an economic agent. This may be one of the reason behind the high participation in the states having better human development indicators.

The pattern changes for the women who are educated up to Eighth standard in Advanced State Category. Here in figure-2.1 (B) the proportion has been lower for OBC and SC category at 13.28% and 16.11% respectively while the share of General and ST women is comparatively higher at 17.38% and 22.48% respectively when women get education up to eighth. But the pattern is remain same in Backward State Category SC women are highest with 22.69% followed by ST, and OBC and General caste with 16.33% , 13.58% and 7.84% respectively. The figure 2.1 (C) explains about the women who have educational qualification more than eighth standard. Here again the proportion of SC women becomes highest among other castes in Advanced State Category at 28.02% followed by ST, OBC and General caste category with 17.78, 15.85% and 11.92% respectively. While in the Backward State Category ST women has become the highest participants. Further there is not much difference between the proportion share of OBC, SC and ‘General’ women. This may be because

the higher education is still confined to higher caste people who possess more income and good economic background. Further, the SC people are slower to attain the higher education benefit and they do not realize the importance of education and their problems related to socio-economic status until they attain higher education themselves (Choudhry, 2007) and hence self-willingness and self-realization also plays an important role in attaining higher education which the lower caste people lacks. Hence, low participation rate of SC women at higher level of education.

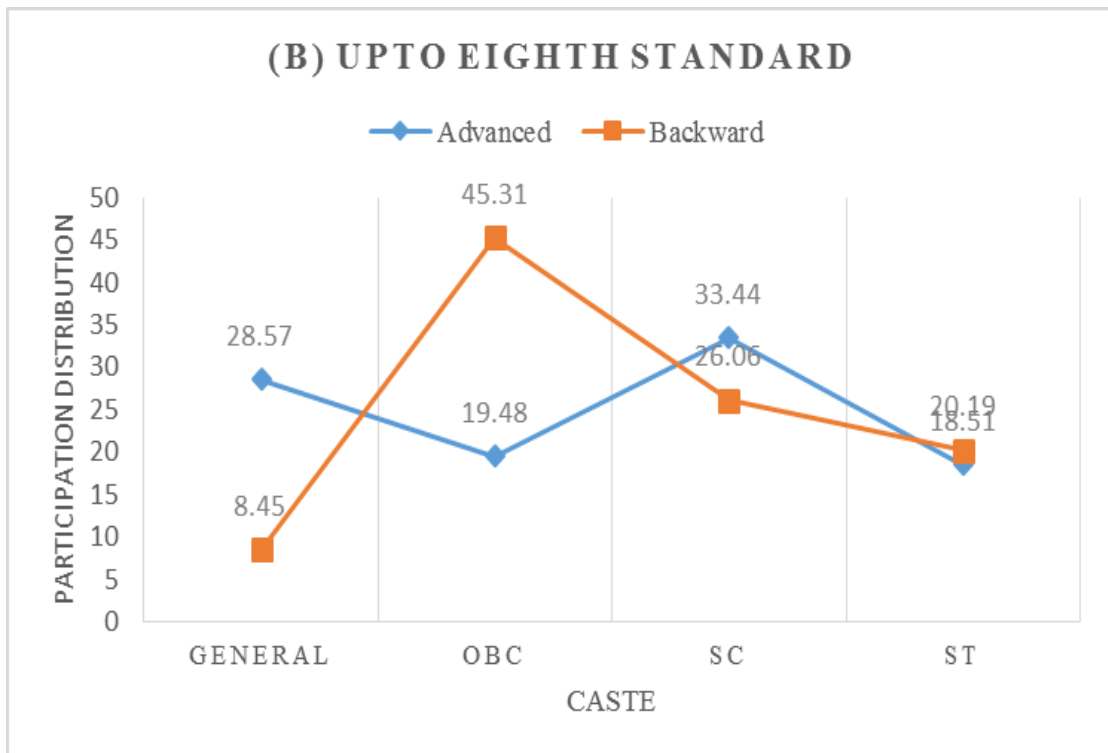
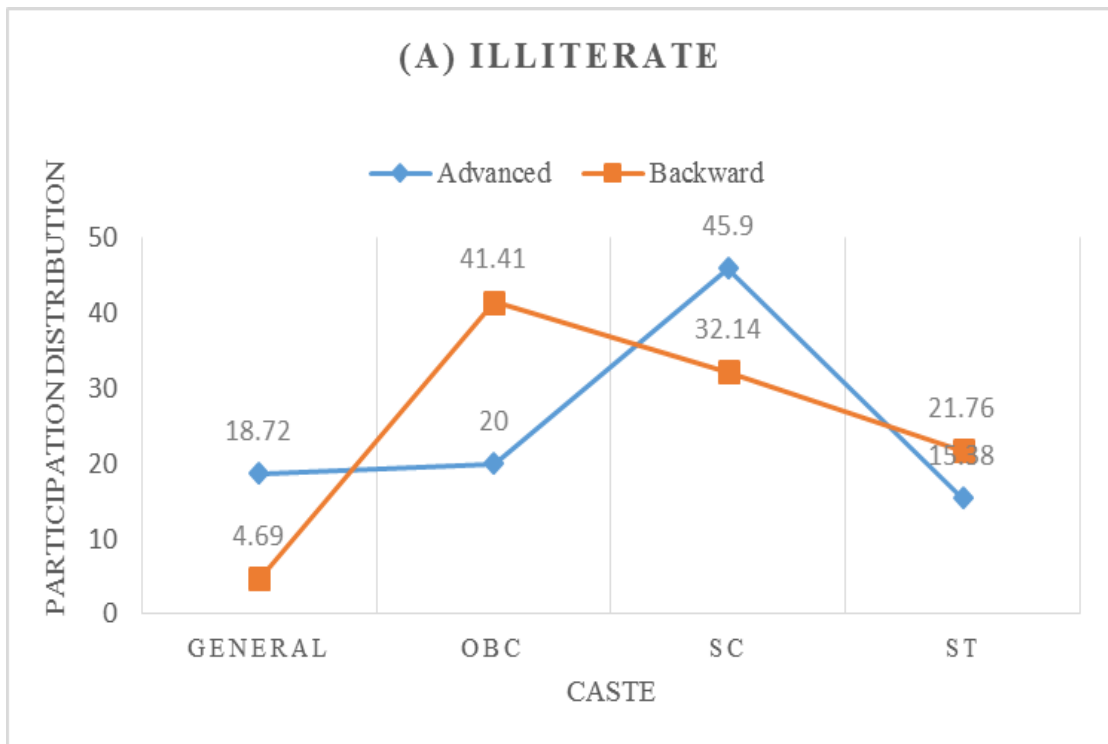
One thing is important to note here, that the proportion share of General caste category (being included Forward caste and Brahmins) under the scheme has been declined continuously in Backward State as the level of education increases which may be due to better position in the society among other caste, we can also say that the forward caste are less interested in doing unskilled work after achieving higher education due to their self-consciousness of their superiority among other castes.

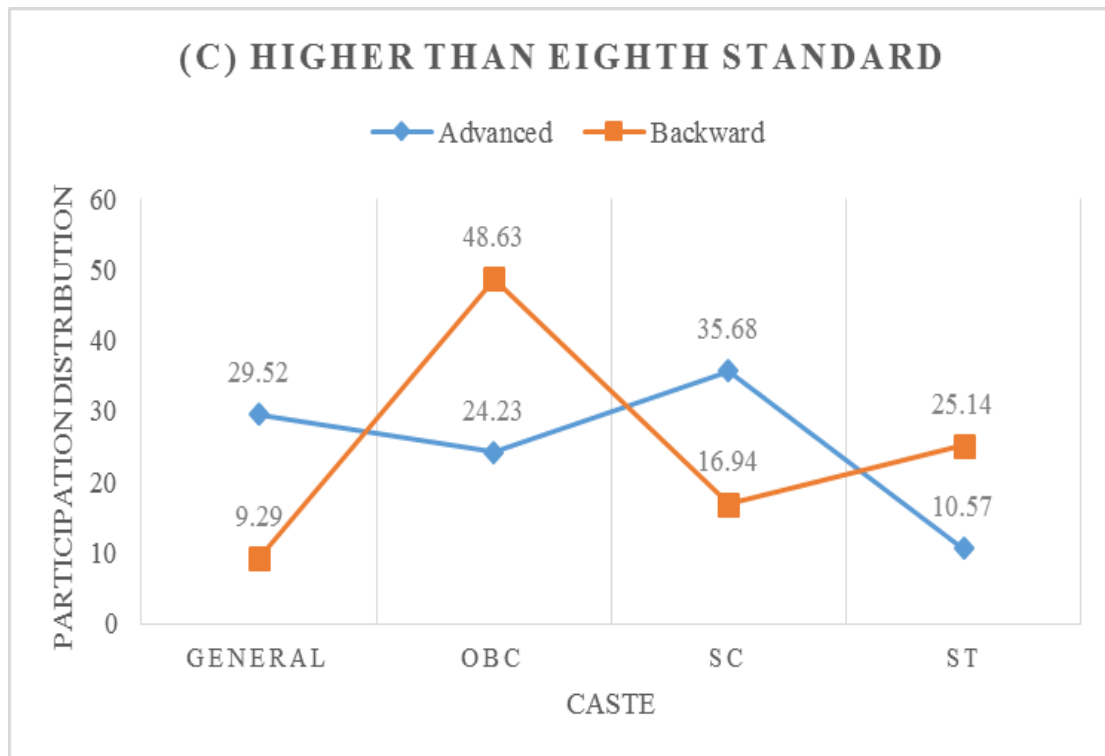
Further, if we look into the distribution pattern within MGNREGA scheme than it would be clear to identify which caste women are more concentrated in the scheme at different levels of education. This has also been explained through figure-2.2 (A-C) where women who are under working age group of 15-59 and comes under lowest 40% income quintile and are working under the scheme for at least 240 hours has been considered. Here the pattern shows different view unlike the previous series of figures for the proportion taken from the total population. Here in Backward State Category it is OBC women who are highest participant than the all other caste categories no matter what the level of education is. This shows a complete different picture from what was depicted earlier. One reason behind this has been given to the large concentration of people of OBC caste category and hence larger would be the number of them in total participation. But this reason is not justifiable because there are various cases where the SC women population is strikingly high even then it is OBC women who are more concentrated.

In the figure-2.2 (A) participation of illiterate women has been shown both for Advanced and Backward states category. Here in Advanced State Category, around 45.9% of SC women are engaged in MGNREGA work while the participation of women from all other caste category is hovering around to 15 to 19 percent.

Figure: 2.2

Intra-MGNREGA Caste-Wise percentage distribution of women at various levels of education:





It is 18.75% for General class category, 20% for OBC caste and 15.38% for ST women. In the Backward states category OBC women and SC both constitute larger share by having 41.41% and 32.14% participation respectively, followed by ST and General with 21.76% and 4.69% respectively. While in figure-2.2 (B), the women having education up to eighth standard has been considered and it is depicting that the share of SC and OBC has been less for these women as compared to illiterates but it cannot be depicted from this that it is due to the negative relationship between education and employment because education up to eight cannot provide anyone a professional job because the share of General women and OBC has increased. They are still lacking the qualifications and skills which is required to have a good employment especially for women.

The reason could be the lack of awareness among these social strata. It can also be suggested that in the more developed areas the caste stratification reduces which led the share of SC less in comparison to illiterate women. Though it is still higher at 33.44% in Advanced State Category but it is OBC women has gone rise with the attainment of higher level of education while the share of SC women has declined in Backward State Category. This may be due to higher OBC people in the poorer states

like Jharkhand, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. Interestingly, these are the states which we have considered in Backward category. But, the SC and ST people are has also have almost half of their population in these states but their share in these states are quite low¹² which suggests that the benefit is not reaching to the most deprived section this may be due to poor infrastructure which affects the access to basic facilities like school and hospitals; poor sanitation which affects human capital; socially more boundedness of rural women; poor governance. Further, SC people who possess higher education are very less in number especially women. This also has reduced the share of SC women.

2.4.4 Poverty:

According to the literature those people who are poor are more entitled to participate under the scheme because this would help in reducing the poverty and providing them sufficient income for their survival by making them engaged in manual unskilled but productive work. In most of the cases if the household is poor then men mostly migrate to earn family income while women gets participated under this scheme and earns supplementary income. Here participation distribution has been examined under table-2.7 where the participation of rural women who aged 15 to 59 years of age and comes under 40% of wealth quintile has been shown on the basis of poverty. Those who are above the poverty line according to Tendulkar Estimate 2012 are considered as non-poor while those who are below this line is considered poor. Here all India percentage distribution clearly depicts the poor women are more participants than the non-poor one.

The participation is more in Advanced State Category with 16.47% of non-poor women participation while 22.67% of poor women participation. Though the participation share in Backward State Category is lower as compared to Advanced one but it is the poor women (16.16%) who are on an average are more participant than the non-poor one (12.88%).

¹² See Appendix table- A.2.4

Table-2.7

Women Participation in MGNREGA in terms of poverty from the lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution		Intra MGNREGA Distribution	
	Non-Poor (%)	Poor (%)	Non-Poor (%)	Poor (%)
Advanced States	16.47	22.67	50.18	49.82
Himachal Pradesh	39.94	49.60	56.26	43.74
N-E excl. Assam	46.97	50.83	46.16	53.84
Tamil Nadu	40.35	59.76	41.9	58.1
Karnataka	5.90	5.36	50.74	49.26
West Bengal	10.92	18.11	48.56	51.44
Andhra Pradesh	21.85	29.20	73.43	26.57
Assam	8.47	10.35	43.98	56.02
Backward States	12.88	16.16	50.07	49.93
Rajasthan	37.58	38.47	56.21	43.79
Uttar Pradesh	9.16	18.62	42.77	57.23
Jharkhand	9.40	3.15	76.68	23.32
Madhya Pradesh	14.91	13.26	57.75	42.25
Bihar	6.68	12.66	41.2	58.8
Orissa	5.69	9.51	40.18	59.82
Chhattisgarh	40.39	24.79	53.77	46.23
Total	13.96	17.99	50.11	49.89

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Tamil Nadu has the highest proportion of Tamil Nadu has the highest proportion of poor women working under MGNREGA where the share is 59.76% followed by North-East excluding Assam and Himachal Pradesh with 50.83% and 49.60% respectively. It is Rajasthan in backward state which has higher poor women participation, it is around 38.47% followed by Chhattisgarh with 24.79%. Other states have participation rate lower than 20%. This also suggests that the participation is more in the states comparatively with higher Human Development Index value. Overall participation is around 18% for the poor while around 14% for the non-poor women. Under intra-MGNREGA distribution, it is the non-poor women participant whose share is relatively higher than the poor women participation both in Advanced as well as the Backward states category. States like North-East, Tamil Nadu, West

Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha (Orissa) has comparatively higher share among the poor women.

2.4.5 Land Holdings:

Land holding can be considered a good indicator of economic well-off especially in rural sector. Households possessing a land of their own are well off than those who do not possess land. So it is supposed that the households or individuals possessing no land at all would more likely to participate under the public work programme owing to their economic circumstances, but the case for MGNREGA scheme is somewhat different. MGNREGA has the provision of improving individuals land of farmers especially of deprived section who have the MGNREGA job-card and at least one adult member of his family should be interested in doing unskilled work under the scheme.

In the table-2.8 we have two sections as earlier, one is dealing with all-India participation distribution i.e. total number of participant out of total population of a particular category. While the second section deals with intra MGNREGA distribution i.e. how much share a category of land holding have (say women with marginal holding) out of total categories. Here also those MGNREGA participant has been considered who at least work for 240 hours annually under the age group 15-59 and who are under 40% of wealth quintile. Here in the first section, under Advanced State Category medium and semi medium land holders are participating more under the scheme. The percentage proportion of these out of their total population is 41 % and 36% respectively followed by marginal, no land, large and small with having 31%, 19%, 18%, and 13% respectively.

The important point here is the proportion under Backward State Category, the women who possess marginal and small land holding are participating more while those having large and medium land holding are comparatively less in proportion to their population. The percentage proportion for Small, marginal, semi-medium, no land, large and medium (in ascending order) are 21%, 17%, 15%, 11%, 11%, and 9% respectively. The overall India (both categories combined) has larger share from marginal land holders followed by small, semi-medium, no land, large and medium with 19%, 18%, 15%, 14%, 13% and 12% respectively.

Table-2.8

Women Participation in MGNREGA in terms of land holdings from the lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution						Intra MGNREGA Distribution					
	No Land	Marginal	Small	Semi-medium	Medium	Large	No Land	Marginal	Small	Semi-medium	Medium	Large
Advanced States	19	31	13	36	41	18	52	18	16	2	2	10
Himachal Pradesh	55	100	NA	43	41	53	11	2	-	35	50	1
N-E excl. Assam	51	28	61	100	-	-	47	9	43	1	-	-
Tamil Nadu	48	58	76	100	-	29	72	23	2	-	-	3
Karnataka	4	11	-	-	-	5	26	42	-	-	-	32
West Bengal	13	20	11	-	-	48	55	1	28	-	-	16
Andhra Pradesh	16	31	-	-	-	26	31	50	-	-	-	18
Assam	7	-	11	-	-	-	31	-	69	-	-	-
Backward States	11	17	21	15	9	11	23	33	20	10	3	12
Rajasthan	33	40	39	43	-	-	21	18	51	10	-	-
Uttar Pradesh	10	8	18	14	29	16	18	12	28	25	1	17
Jharkhand	7	4	-	-	-	8	48	6	-	-	-	45
Madhya Pradesh	12	15	19	-	100	12	25	57	12	-	1	5
Bihar	10	15	1	-	8	9	40	27	1	-	19	12
Orissa	6	9	-	-	10	7	23	52	0	-	1	24
Chhattisgarh	29	33	100	-	-	24	13	79	0	-	-	7
Total	14	19	18	15	12	13	33	27	19	7	3	11

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: Blank space (-) is for non-availability of data.

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Another point to note is that though the proportion pattern is different but the share under Advanced category for all land holding type is higher than the Backward State Category. It can be interpreted that in the states with higher level of human development value, more women are likely to participate under the scheme. In the

few cases like in Himachal Pradesh, North-East excluding Assam, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh where in few landholding categories the proportion is complete 100%, like in Himachal Pradesh have 100% participation of those who has marginal land holding. Similarly North-east excluding Assam and Tamil Nadu has 100% participation who have semi-medium land holding, medium holders in Madhya Pradesh and small holders in Chhattisgarh also shows the same thing. This may be because of less observation in the data and hence cannot be interpreted with surety.

In the second section, intra-MGNREGA distribution has been shown where it is quite visible that the share of women who possesses no land or marginal land are highest among the participants. It is on an average 52% for no land holders and 18% for the marginal land holders in case of Advanced State Category while 23% and 33% for the Backward State Category. Over all, it can be said that the women who have large and medium land holdings are less among the participants in comparison to the other land holding categories. It can also be suggested that poor women coming from background where they do not have enough land can be considered as more deprived and hence they are in great need to participate under the scheme.

2.5 Summary and Conclusion:

In, conclusion, we can say that differences in participation persists with respect to caste, religion, education, poverty, and size of land-holding. In our analysis, MGNREGA participants who works for at least 240 hours has been taken under consideration so that only those women could be studied who are in great need of this scheme. Further, only those rural women who comes under 40% of wealth quintile are being considered here because the scheme though self-targeting is meant for the poor and deprived sections and hence study of specifically these women would give a better analysis while working on secondary data. This is to analyze whether they are getting the benefit in the way the scheme is being meant for. Here, in this chapter participation distribution has been analyzed and our finding suggests some important points-

First, findings suggests that there is less gender gap in the participants of MGNREGA scheme as was seen in overall WPR of India and hence it rejects our first hypothesis.

Second, it has been analyzed that in the Advanced State Category the participation rate on an average is higher in comparison to Backward State Category with respect to all the factors taken into consideration be it religion, caste, poverty, land-holding, education. All this led us to believe that rural women are participating more in the states which are socially and economically more developed. This may be because of higher awareness level among women, more cultural acceptability of working women, higher literacy level and low level of strictly bounding norms in society. Efficiency level of the state in delivering the benefits of the scheme to rural women and low connectivity gap can also be the reason of more participation of rural women under MGNREGA scheme.

Third, the pattern of participation distribution under the Backward State Category follows the traditional hierarchy such as participation on the basis of caste and religion. It is the SC women who are the major participant under the scheme (given the specific conditions which this paper has considered) followed by ST, OBC, General and Others. Similarly, Hindu women are the major participant followed by Other religious category women which comprises of Sikh, Buddhist, Tribal, Jain and other. These are included in single category because these comes under the minority. Muslims are the least participant under the scheme it may be because low freedom to work, freedom to manage household affairs and their personal important decisions. They are considered more bounded then the Hindu women.

Fourth, the participation pattern is different in case of Advanced State Category (in terms of population distribution), it does not show the traditional hierarchical pattern in participation on the basis of caste and religion rather some of the result are quite striking. Like on the basis of caste category, General caste women's share increases by 101% from the level of Backward State Category from 7.88% to 15.81%, while the increase in share in OBC, SC, ST are less i.e. 21.5%, 3.27%, and 41.49% respectively. Though the share of 'SC' category is highest among the five categories. Similarly there is different pattern in terms of religious category too. Rather than Hindu, it is the 'Other' religious category women who are the highest participant. This may be suggested that the states with higher level of human development, have low level of caste and religious gap or in other words, the

discrimination in term of race, caste and religion is less in Advanced state in comparison to Backward State Category.

Forth, in case of intra-MGNREGA participation percentage distribution, the highest distribution has always been for those who are assumed to be most deprived among all except in term of poverty where the proportion of non-poor are slightly more though more or less. One more exception is that it is OBC women who are the major participant rather than SC women in Backward State Category. Other factors be it in term of education, landholding has shown that the deprived section are the major participants i.e. women with less education and no land at all. Religion-wise it is Hindu who are the major participant followed by Muslim and Other, this may be due to majority population of Hindu followed by Muslim and Other.

In terms of education, the findings supports the theory which talks about ‘U’ shaped curve showing negative relationship between education and work participation. It has been find out that in both the state category as the level of education increases the participation of rural women under the scheme declines. The only difference is that under Backward State Category women who possess educational qualification up to primary level are more participant than the illiterates. But when they achieve higher level of educational attainment then their participation declines. This may be due to increase in economic incentives for more educated and qualified women, further, more skilled and qualified women are reluctant to do unskilled manual work rather they prefers white collar jobs.

It has been suggested by many scholars that women work are driven by poverty level and the scheme is also meant for the poor and deprived section, further the flexible provisions under MGNREGA encourages more women to work under the scheme, all this should led to higher participation of rural women who are poor. Our findings also reveals that those women who are poor are the major participant under the scheme in comparison to those who are not poor. Both category wise and overall participation is higher among the poor rural women. Landholding, being a major factor which influences household work and activities, also plays an important role in participating under the scheme. Here those women who have small and marginal land holding are the major participants in the Backward State Category while in the Advanced State Category women who have medium and semi-medium land holdings

are the major participants. Though by looking at inter-MGNREGA distribution, those women who does not possess any land are the major participants and large and medium land holders are least among them.

Hence it can be said that the flow of benefit is going in correct direction, the neediest and the deprived section are participating under the scheme more but the share is high in Advanced State Category in than the Backward State Category.

Chapter-3

Factors Influencing MGNREGA Participation

3.1 Introduction:

In reference to the work participation rate of women, social and economic factors plays an important role. In the previous chapter we have found out that there are wide disparities in the participation of the MGNREGA scheme on the basis of various social and economic factors but we could not tell exactly how much it influences the participation. Is there any positive or the negative effect of these factors on the participation? In the following chapter, our main focus is on the factors which influences the MGNREGA participation of rural women of working age group 15-59 years. This has been found out by the logistic regression which is the best way to determine the factors that influences the participation. MGNREGA participation for at least 240 hours annually has been the taken as dependent variable here because it is a dichotomous variable while the factors like caste, religion, wealth quintiles, land holdings, household's main income source, poverty level, financial autonomy, decision making power and social boundedness has been considered as an independent variables. Though all these factors plays an important part in the participation, our major focus is on the last three factors because women especially from the rural background are less empowered and her decisions are often based on the choice of their husband\Father\other senior member of family.

3.2 Logistic Regression Modeling:

Here logistic regression has been modelled to IHDS-II data to examine the predicted odds of rural women aged 15-59 years who are participating under the scheme. Here the participation under MGNREGS for at least 240 hours annually (*nreg_part240=1*) has been considered as a dependent variable having binary (dichotomous) outcome of being as a participant or not. The outcome variable is coded as 1 if women are participant otherwise 0 has been coded for no participation under the scheme. The independent variables are – state category of two based on HDI (*state_hdi*), caste (*_caste*), religion (*_religion*), education (*_edu*), wealth quintile (*_wq*), land owned (*land_owned*), poverty (*_poor*), social boundedness in household (*soc_bound*), financial autonomy of women in household (*fin_auto*), say in deciding important

matters in household (*say_dec*) and households main income source (*main_inc*). Logistic regression helps in examining if the dependent variable is subjective or we can say dichotomous in nature. Here in this study, participation of women under MGNREGS is dichotomous i.e. whether rural women are participating or not. Hence the logistic model can be written in equation as-

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Predicted logit } (nreg_part240=1) &= \log ((nreg_part240=1)/(nreg_part240=0)) \\ &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 (state_hdi) + \beta_2 (_caste) + \beta_3 (_religion) + \beta_4 (_edu) + \beta_5 (_wq) + \beta_6 \\ &(_land_owned) + \beta_7 (_poor) + \beta_8 (soc_bound) + \beta_9 (fin_auto) + \beta_{10} (say_dec) + \beta_{11} \\ &(main_inc) \end{aligned}$$

3.3 Factors influencing MGNREGA Participation:

Table-3.1 here represents the likelihood of certain variables, which impact the participation of rural women under the MGNREGA scheme by caste, religion, wealth quintiles, land holdings, household's main income source, poverty level, financial autonomy, decision making power and social boundedness of women.

3.3.1 State Category:

In this research there are two categories of states as has been specified under previous chapter based on Human Development Index namely, Advanced State Category and Backward State Category. The former comprises of the states viz. Himachal Pradesh, North-East states, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh while the latter category comprises of the states viz. Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh. It can be interpreted from the result that the women from the Advanced category are more likely to participate under the scheme. They are preferring more to work under this flagship programme than the Backward State Category. Though it is the general perception that the people who are more backward are more likely to participate in the safety net. But the situation changes when we talk about the women participation because poor families are more attached to the social norms and traditions.

Table: 3.1

Logistic Model: Dependent Variable – MGNREGA participation

Independent Variables	β	S.E.
state_hdi		
Advanced States®	-	-
Backward States	-0.453***	0.043
_caste		
General®	-	-
OBC	0.073	0.101
SC	0.420***	0.157
ST	0.203	0.155
Other	0.483	0.423
_religion		
Hindu®	-	-
Muslim	-0.371*	0.087
Other	0.395*	0.273
_edu		
Illiterate®	-	-
Up to Primary	-0.174*	0.072
Primary- Secondary	-0.337***	0.063
Secondary-Higher Sec.	-0.745***	0.090
College and Above	-0.982***	0.105
_wq		
Poorest®	-	-
Poor	0.294*	0.176
Middle	0.349*	0.196
Rich	0.287*	0.192
Richer	0.207	0.204
land_owned		
No®	-	-
Yes	0.306***	0.106
_poor		
Non-Poor®	-	-
Poor	0.550***	0.226
soc_Bound		
No®	-	-
Yes	-0.005	0.164
fin_auto		
No®	-	-
Yes	0.347*	0.195
say_dec		
No®	-	-
Yes	0.434***	0.100
main_inc		
Cultivation®	-	-
Allied Agriculture	0.590*	0.541
Agri. wage labour	0.131	0.114
Non-Agri. wage labour	0.315***	0.121
Artisan/Independent	-0.849**	0.135
Petty shop	-0.641***	0.084
Organized Business	-1.179*	0.183
Salaried	-0.703***	0.065
Profession	-2.134*	0.120
Pension/Rent etc.	-0.776*	0.142
Others	-1.233*	0.079
_constant	-2.629	0.020

Source: Calculated from IHDS-II data 2011-12 Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Total number of observations (women): 17914; Log Pseudo-likelihood = -48170659; Pseudo R2 = 0.0592

The study has found that the cultural acceptability of women work is very low. In general the women work participation is motivated by poverty level; their participation is mostly caused by the incapability of husband or male member of family to earn due to illness or if they are not available due to migration\death etc.

Here coefficient has been calculated which tells us how the log odd of success changes with the change in the independent variable by one unit. The coefficient sign represents the direction of relationship i.e. whether it is increasing or decreasing. The coefficient value of state category here depicts that there is negative relationship between Backward states and MGNREGA participation and the result is highly statistically significant at 99.99% level of significance. The coefficient is -0.453 which tells that with the change in the state category from Advanced to Backward the log odds are expected to decrease by 0.453 unit keeping all other independent variables constant. The main reason behind this could be low awareness level, more culturally and traditionally attached, patriarchal ideology towards women and their work, poor infrastructure, implementation level of the programme due to poor governance. Poorer areas are more affected by these issues in comparison to the developed regions because of better development indicators.

3.3.2 Caste:

Caste put no less impact on the work participation of both men and women because they are backed up by the social system where every caste has different norms, traditional and cultural beliefs which gives different position\status in society which strengthens the inequality among men and women because people are accustomed to these norms and adopted these as their culture. Here the results though insignificant for OBC, ST and Others at 95% level of significance because of the higher p-value. But for the SC caste women the p-value is 0.000 (i.e. $p < 0.001$) which means that the result is highly significant at 99.99% level of significance where the coefficient is 0.420 which suggests that with the change in the caste category from general to SC category the log odds of rural women being participating under MGNREGA increases by the 0.420 unit. This means that SC women are more likely to participate in the scheme than the General caste women. This may be the response of their superiority attitude in General caste. In most of the cases even if they lack financial resources,

their culture does not allow women to work. Getting women under the scheme are considered as poor financial status of the family.

3.3.3 Religion:

The coefficient for the religious category suggests that the Other category women which includes Sikh, Buddhist, Tribal, Jain and others are more likely to participate under the scheme than Hindu and Muslim women. The coefficient for the 'Other' religious category is 0.395 which suggest that with the change of religion from 'Hindu' to 'Other' the log odds are expected to increase by 0.395 unit keeping all other independent variable constant. The reason behind high participation is the cultural acceptance of women's work in the religion like Sikhism and Buddhism. The coefficient for Muslim women is -0.371 which means with the change in one unit of religious category i.e. from Hindu (being taken as reference category) to Muslim the log odds of participation in MGNREGA decreases by 0.37 unit keeping all other independent variable constant. This may be because Hindu women are considered as less bounded than the Muslim women. Muslim people has more sets of rules which doesn't allow women to behave in an independent way. Here all the result related to religion is statistically significant at 95% level of significance.

3.3.4 Education:

There is a negative relationship between the MGNREGA women participant and the education level. It is evident through the coefficients; taking illiteracy as reference category, with the attainment of higher education, participation of women is expected to decrease. With the increase in education level from illiteracy to primary, rural women's participation under the scheme are expected to decline by the 0.174 unit keeping all other independent variable constant. Similarly the coefficient value -0.337 shows that with the change in one unit in the category of education from primary level to secondary level; rural women's participation under the scheme are expected to decline by the 0.337 unit unit keeping all other independent variable constant. With further increase in level of education from secondary to higher secondary, the value of coefficient increases to -0.745 i.e. 0.745 unit decrease in women participation with one unit increase in are less likely to be the participant of the scheme. The women who have attained higher education and are in college or above are 98% less likely to

get engaged in MGNREGA scheme. This shows that the women who are illiterate are more likely to be the participant in this scheme. The coefficients goes on declining from -0.174 to -0.982 as we increase the education level of rural women. It suggests that higher the level of education, lesser will be the participation of women under the scheme level increases. Our result is significant at level of significance at 0.001 and 0.05. Hence, can be confidentially interpreted that with the attainment of higher level of education women starts preferring the white collar jobs rather than the blue collar jobs. Attaining higher education means acquiring higher qualifications and skills suitable for the professional and trained jobs. This makes women reluctant to participate under the unskilled jobs because they believe that they have got enough skills to get a permanent employment which is better option than being casually employed to earn subsistence income.

3.3.5 Wealth Quintile:

The findings for the relationship between wealth quintile and MGNREGA scheme participation is somewhat different than expected. The coefficients are showing the positive influence on MGNREGA scheme participation which means that with the increase in wealth quintile women are getting more participated under the scheme. The findings for upper four quintiles are significant at 95% level of significance while the finding of 5th quintile i.e. for the richest category is not statistically significant. Participation of rural women is expected to increases at every increase in the wealth quintile in relation to the poorest women which has been taken as a reference category. The coefficient value 0.294 means with the increase in wealth quintile by one unit, the log odds of participation of women under the scheme are expected to increase by 0.294 unit. However when we move from poorest to middle income group, 0.349 coefficient value suggests that the log odds are expected to increase by 0.349 or 34.9% but after that log likelihood starts declining from rich to richest which suggests less participation in comparison to the above categories. The log odds are expected to increase by 28.7% women with the change in the wealth quintile from poorer to rich category. This shows that rich women are comparatively less participating than the poor and the middle level of wealth quintile. The more likely participation in poor and middle wealth quintile may be because of comparatively more resources available to them. Poorest wealth quintile households lack resources;

non-preference to education especially to women due to shortage of money results in low awareness level about the ongoing governmental schemes reduces the chances of participation of poorest women under the scheme. The households which are slightly better off have relatively more awareness and to get the subsidiary income household may allow women to participate under the scheme. Further, benefit does not reach out to the most backward\remote areas due to poor infrastructure and poor governance. This can be the another reason of exclusion of women from poorest strata from the scheme.

3.3.6 Land Owned:

Land owned is another factor which influences the participation under the scheme. Improving the productivity of the land of the households is also one of the primary objective of the scheme through providing irrigation facilities including dug wells, farm ponds and other water harvesting structures which helps in creating assets. Under the provision of MGNEGA the individual land of farmers especially of SC, ST, nomadic tribes, denotified tribes, other families below the poverty line, women-headed households, physically handicapped headed households, beneficiaries of land reforms, the beneficiaries under the Indira Awaas Yojana, beneficiaries under the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (2 of 2007) and the small and marginal farmers who are not included in the other beneficiaries stated earlier can be used for development purpose (V. Suresh Babu et al, 2014). So the participation of women from those households who have their own land are believed to be more. Here in the logistic regression the coefficient value 0.306 means that there is increase in log odds of participation of women possessing land by 0.306 unit with the unit change in the land holding keeping other independent variables constant. The result is highly statistically significant at the % level of significance.

3.3.7 Poverty:

This result is also highly statistically significant at the 0.001%. Here the coefficient value of poor women is 0.550 which suggests that the log odd of participation under the scheme of the poor women are expected to increase by 0.55 unit with the change in one unit of poverty variable i.e. from non-poor to poor. The coefficient is highly

statistically significant and suggests that there is clearly a positive relationship between the poverty and participation. This explains that MGNREGS work has been actually being demanded and preferred by poor women. This may be because of the flexible norms and suitable work environment towards women. But there is a possibility that this increase is due to extreme poverty. There may have the chances that patriarchal norms and social attitude of people towards women stops the women to work who are from slightly better off households. However, it is evident that the poverty level do impact the participation level of women under the scheme.

3.3.8 Social Boundedness:

The present chapter considers social boundedness as a determinant of work participation of women under the scheme. This variable considers various social variables which shows how much women are socially bounded by traditions and customs. IHDS has some variables which focuses on this aspect. Some of these variables helps in explaining the social barriers towards women and these variables has been used in this study to construct a single variable called social boundedness. These variables are- whether these women need permission to go to local health center, to the home of relatives or friends [in the village/neighborhood, to the kirana shop or to the short distance by train or bus. It has been assumed that the women who are needed to get permission from husband or from any other senior member of the household socially bounded than the one who does not require to get permission. Practicing 'Ghungat' is also being considered as an important variable of traditionally boundedness. The women who are practicing Ghungat in front of both relatives and the family members are believed to be more socially attached. Further if the men takes his meal first also explains the same. These variables explains the orthodox views of society and only happens to be prevalent in the patriarchal society which is believed to be more biased towards men and where women have less autonomy and hence less empowered. Here in the table, tough the result is not significant, but can be interpreted as with the increase in social boundedness by one unit we expect to see 0.5% decline in the log-odds of rural women being in MGNREGA. That means participation in MGNREGS may help in reducing the social boundedness of women in household. But we cannot make any conclusion from this finding because it is not statistically significant.

3.3.9 Financial Autonomy:

The result of logistic regression is significant at 95% level of significance. It shows positive relationship between the financial autonomy of women and MGNREGA participation. The variable of financial autonomy has been constituted with three important variables. First, the cash in hand to spend on household expenditures, Second, having any bank account of their own name, Third, discussion about money spending with husband. All the three variable explains an important aspect and gives a glimpse over the financial autonomy of women. Cash in hand to women for household expenditure explains the financial autonomy of women in household. Those women who does not have cash in hand is believed to have lower autonomy in deciding the household expenditure. Further, having a bank account on their own name suggests that they have a say in financial matters and believed to have higher financial autonomy than the one who do not have any. The discussion of husband on the matters of money spending can also be considered a good indicator of financial autonomy. It is supposed that if the husband is having a talk about spending it would mean that her suggestions is being considered in household on financial matters; hence included in the financial autonomy variable.

Here in the logistic regression model, it has been found out that women who have financial autonomy are more likely to be the participant of MGNREGA. With the increase in financial autonomy of women by one unit, we expect 0.347 increase in the log-odds of getting participation under MGNREGA for at least 240hours holding all other independent variables constant. This suggests that women should already have some financial autonomy for their participation in the scheme.

3.3.10 Say in Household Decisions:

The finding of this study suggests that women's say in household matters also plays an important role in order to get participation under MGNREGA scheme. If they do not have much say in household affairs but are highly participating under the scheme; they would not be considered as willingly employed. Rather there may have the chance that they are being forced to work under such scheme owing to financial circumstances. Here the decisions power of women regarding some important matters in household has been taken into consideration. It includes six variables from IHDS

data 2011-12. These depict women's say in decision like to buy an expensive items like fridge and TV; to buy a land or property; to decide about the number of children they want to have; to spend money on social events like marriage; to decide whom her children should get marry; and finally who has the say in deciding her work. These are the variables which are of great help in deciding the decision making power and it has been find out that the coefficient is 0.434. The result is highly significant at 99.99% level of significance. It states that there is a positive relationship between the MGNREGA participation and the women's say in household affairs. Women who has more autonomy in making important decisions in household is more likely to be the MGNREGA participant. The coefficient of 0.434 suggest the increase in log odds by 0.434 units with a unit change in decision making power i.e. from No to Yes keeping all other variables constant. This is a positive indicator that women are willingly participating and not being forced to participate because forcing them to do unskilled work would show imposition rather than empowerment.

3.3.11 Main Income Source of Household:

Women's work participation under MGNREGA scheme also differs with the difference in main source of income in household. Income from cultivation is a reference category. By looking at the table it can be stated that the major women participants are from the households whose main source of income is from allied agriculture followed by non-agricultural wage labour, agricultural wage labour having positive coefficient values 0.590, 0.315, and 0.131. The coefficient of 0.590 suggests that with the change in the main income source of household from cultivation to allied agriculture the log odds of rural women being participating under MGNREGA are expected to increases by 0.59 unit. Similarly with the change in one unit of non-agricultural wage labour, agricultural wage labour, there is an increase in 0.315 and 0.131 unit respectively.

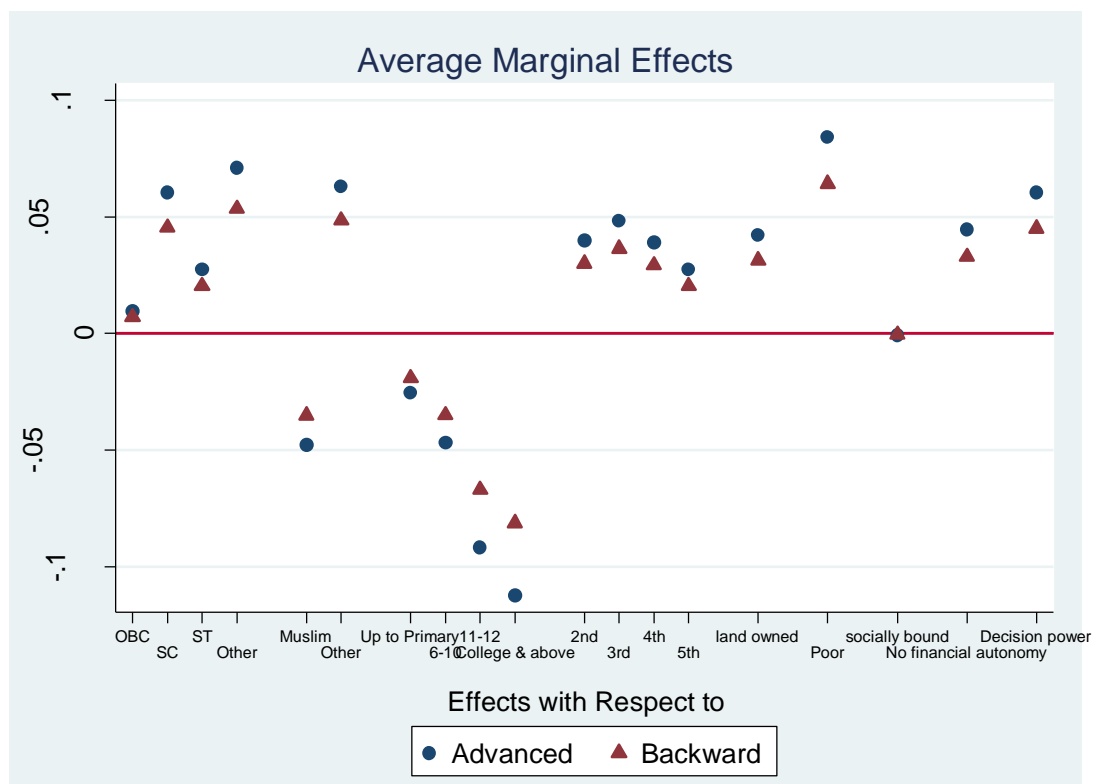
Here the result for non-agricultural wage labour is highly significant at 0.001 level of significance while for allied agriculture, the outcomes are significant at the level 0.05 but the result is not statistically significant for agricultural wage labour. It has also been found out the women from households earning income from other than these four areas are less likely to be the participant under the scheme. These includes households main income through artisan/independent work, organized business, petty

shop, profession, salaried, and pension\rent with the coefficient value -0.849, -0.641, -0.776, and -0.703 respectively. It can be interpreted that the people who works for these kinds of occupations have more economic incentives. They are more secure and safe from the clutches of the poverty. So, they are less likely to be included in public work programmes such as MGNREGA. The coefficients are higher in case of income source from profession, organized business, artisan, independents and others which suggests that women from households earning income mainly from these sources are less likely to be included under the scheme.

3.4 Average Marginal Effect of Factors in terms of State Categories:

Average marginal effect has also been shown here graphically in figure-3.1 to examine the difference in the effect of participation of rural women on the basis of state categories i.e. Advanced State Category and Backward State Category. Average marginal effect shows the probability to be included in the concerned category of dependent variable (Y=1) and effects are averaged after calculating for each observation in the data hence called ‘Average marginal effect’.

Figure: 3.1



Here in every case, the participation of women under the scheme is higher in Advanced category except for Muslims and on education basis where the shows a declining trend. Both the aspects justifies that the participation of women at states with higher level of human development is more in comparison to the states with lower human development index. The decline in participation of women is higher in advanced states because after getting higher level of education, they are having larger economic incentives than what backward region have and are more likely reluctant to do unskilled work under the scheme. The highest average marginal effect has been shown by the factor poor i.e. the probability that a women is participating under MGNREGS increases by 0.08¹³ in Advanced states on an average while this increase is 0.06 for Backward states on an average with a change from non-poor to poor. While the neither decrease nor increase in case of social boundedness of women in both state categories. But we cannot rely on this because the result for social boundedness is statistically highly insignificant. In short, in every sphere, the Backward State Category is lagging behind the Advanced State Category. The reason could be lack of infrastructure, poor implementation, low level of awareness among the masses, corruption etc. Advanced states are relatively better in these aspects.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion:

In this chapter we have analyzed the major determinants which influences the rural women's participation under MGNREGA scheme where we have examined both the direction and magnitude of relationship between the MGNREGS participation and the socio-economic factors viz. HDI based state category, caste, religion, wealth quintiles, land holdings, household's main income source, poverty level, financial autonomy, decision making power and social boundedness of women. Both the odd-ratios and coefficients have been calculated for better analysis and interpretation, where on one hand coefficients tell us the change in the log-odds for being included in the dependent variable category (MGNREGS participation in our case) with the change in one unit of the independent variable. It is a relative measure which also tells the direction of the change or the position of the relationship between dependent and independent variables. In other words, it tells us whether the relationship is positive or negative. On the other hand, odd-ratios are the exponential form of coefficients which

¹³ See appendix for the table representing 'Average Marginal Effects' and their level of significance.

tells the likelihood of being included in the dichotomous dependent variable category for which value 1 is assigned. Average marginal effects are also graphically shown for better analysis and comparative study of these effects on the basis of different state category.

Here in our analysis it has been found out that the rural women participation under the scheme is higher in the developed areas where the human development indicators are better. This also suggests that in order to achieve higher benefits of any scheme the state's social and economic positions should also be developed. That means investment in education, health and employment generation are the bedrock in achieving the higher participation of women because these investments helps in reducing connectivity gap between the rural and the urban areas, increases awareness level of women, creates the cultural acceptance of women's work through higher education and these investments helps in strengthening women's independent status. In our analysis, Backward State Category has on an average a lower participation of women in comparison to the Advanced State Category.

In case of caste factor, it has been figured out that SC women are more likely the participant under the scheme. The result for all other caste categories are not statistically significant and hence cannot base our analysis on that. In terms of religious category it is the 'Other' category women which includes women of Jain, Buddhist, Christian and other religion are preferring more to be included under the scheme. While Hindu women are the second most participant and Muslim women are the least participant among the categories under the scheme.

It has also been found out that there is the positive relationship between the poverty and the participation of women under MGNREGS and hence they are more likely to the participant. But the important here to be noted is that social norms and culture relating to deciding about important affairs of the family and household do influences the MGNREGS participation. Women who have higher decision making power are more likely to be the participant of this scheme than those who do not possess this freedom to make important decisions of their life. Similarly women who have autonomy in deciding financial matters or if they are being considered on financial matters in household are more likely to be the participant under the scheme given the income level and age structure.

Women participation also gets influenced with the family's main income source. That is, it justifies the earlier findings of various scholars that if family income source is not capable of enough earning or volatile in nature like family income based on agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour, allied agricultural activities and on cultivation, has the higher participation of women in comparison to the women belongs to household based on professional and salaried jobs.

Chapter-4

Impact of MGNREGS on Women Autonomy in Household

4.1 Introduction:

The important objective of this study is to examine the impact of women participation in MGNREGS on their socio-economic empowerment. The issue of women autonomy has always been seen with the contentious eyes. The Constitution of India does not see people unequally. It has various provisions which discourages gender disparities in social, economic and political context viz. Economic opportunities, education, voting rights, political representation. Further, India was the first country in the world which gave women the right to vote. Mythological stories also suggests that women in India was highly respected in ancient times. But every coin has two sides and this is only one side of the story. The story becomes quite different when we look around in reality. Though gender equality under the constitution has legal sanction but the emotional and cultural threat are also prevalent in society which has a social sanction (Saxena, 2015). This social sanction has changed the people's behavior towards women which is responsible for gender disparities; the set of norms and rules designed in this social system also favors men and gives women a subordinated status. They are bounded by various illogical traditions which has been followed in our society since a long time. There are various social barriers which influences the women's work and action. Recent incident in Shani Shingnapur temple in Maharashtra is an example which proves how unequally they are being treated. Women were not being allowed in the sanctum of this temple and this practice was continuing for 400 years. Though women has got success in getting entry in the temple but the real problem it has evidently showed is that the society is still based on various traditions and norms which does not look women with equal eyes. These kinds of social issues raises gender inequality and gives subordinated position. Unlike men, women do not have full autonomy to decide their personal own affairs. They have to rely on the decisions of senior family member especially on the decisions of male member of the family. This patriarchal mindset is the main reason of women's exclusion from economic activities.

In the previous chapter we have analyzed and examined the factors that influences women participation in MGNREGS where we considered various variable including factors like decision making power, financial autonomy and social boundedness and realized that these factor has an influences on women participation under the scheme. But in order to examine the impact of participation under the scheme on women's empowerment an effort has been made to find out the empowerment rates through variables on women's say, financial autonomy and social boundedness. But various other programmes has also been implemented and various provisions has been led out by the government to empower women by providing accessibility of education and knowledge through educational institutions, radio, television, newspaper; financial inclusion through SHG model; through other programmes and provisions of government and NGO's for their upliftment etc. In order to nullify these effects, this work has analyzed a panel study from both the participants and non-participants and tries to find out the difference between the two, presuming that the effect of these programmes on women empowerment would be same both on participants and non-participants so that the net effect of MGNREGS participation can be grasped.

State-wise analysis has also been done to analyze the difference in effects at different categories of states. The observation for the participants in the individual states are very low however, categorical state analysis can give us the important picture to analyze its impact on women. Here also only those women are considered who are under the working age group of 15-59 years and who comes in below 40% of wealth quintile. MGNREGS participant are considered to those rural women who at least are working for 240 hours annually. The explanation of findings are given below-

4.2 Impact on Decision Making Power:

Women in India does not enjoy the same level of say in decision making as the men enjoys. In the Rural India women face various visible and non-visible barriers in their life. Right from their birth women are always being considered as a dependent creature in society who needs protection and shelter from others. People do not expect a girl to help them financially, they always seems burden either because of their marriage expenditure especially dowry and for security/protection issue. They are not

believed to have rational thinking about important decisions of their own life and hence thrown out on the decisions of other's. Here it has been analyzed if MGNREGA scheme has led to have any impact on women's say in household.

The variable for women's say has been created by taking three variables from IHDS data into consideration viz. women's say in purchasing expensive items in household; women's say in deciding number of children they should have; and women's say in deciding wedding expense in her children's marriage. All these variables are important household matters and women should have say in deciding these matters if she has the equal status in the household. Degree has also been calculated for better analysis. If the women do not have any say at all or have say in only one out of three matters then they are considered to have 'least say' in decision making while women who have say on at least two matters are considered to have 'most say' in deciding household affairs.

In the table 4.1, two sections has been tabulated, under *First* section percentage distribution of those women on the basis of decision making power are shown who are the participant while the *Second* section shows the distribution of women who are not participant. One important thing to note is that same eligible rural women are considered so that the position of their decision making power can be analyzed in two different period i.e. before and after MGNREGA. Analysis of result involved three steps to reach out to find whether the increase/decrease in decision making power is more in those women who joined MGNREGS or in those who did not join.

From the following table, it is quite visible that average share of rural women who do not possess decision making power is large in case of Backward State Category than the Advanced State Category. It is around on an average 79% in the year 2004-05 in Backward state of those who participated under the scheme who did not have any say in decision making but it has come down to 71% in 2011-12 and it is still greater than the Advanced State Category where it is on an average 70% in 2004-05 and 59% in 2011-12. While the percentage distribution of women who have most say in decision making and who participated under the scheme has higher share in Advanced State Category on an average.

Table: 4.1

Percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant regarding say in decision making before and after MGNREGA i.e. for the year 2004-05 and 2011-

12

State	Participant (%)				Non-Participant (%)			
	2004-05		2011-12		2004-05		2011-12	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	69.76	30.24	59.27	40.73	72.11	27.89	64.94	35.06
Himachal Pradesh	70.26	29.74	59.29	40.71	66.52	33.48	68.08	31.92
N-E excl. Assam	32.61	67.39	44.28	55.72	23.99	76.01	37.27	62.73
Tamil Nadu	53.62	46.38	55.52	44.48	39.69	60.31	52.37	47.63
Karnataka	93.01	6.99	53.96	46.04	81.62	18.38	71.21	28.79
West Bengal	75.75	24.25	62.64	37.36	70.35	29.65	67.40	32.60
Andhra Pradesh	90.66	9.34	70.17	29.83	88.40	11.60	73.35	26.65
Assam	69.85	30.15	42.91	57.09	72.59	27.41	49.30	50.70
Backward States	79.46	20.54	71.13	28.87	78.66	21.34	75.00	25.00
Rajasthan	79.09	20.91	57.85	42.15	87.08	12.92	66.76	33.24
Uttar Pradesh	86.47	13.53	72.81	27.19	87.26	12.74	74.19	25.81
Jharkhand	73.57	26.43	83.57	16.43	64.01	35.99	72.63	27.37
Madhya Pradesh	81.11	18.89	63.74	36.26	84.73	15.27	75.08	24.92
Bihar	60.36	39.64	86.78	13.22	66.20	33.80	80.47	19.53
Orissa	48.94	51.06	68.79	31.21	77.04	22.96	77.83	22.17
Chhattisgarh	89.09	10.91	75.94	24.05	87.37	12.63	66.07	33.93
Total	75.95	24.05	66.83	33.17	76.82	23.18	72.18	27.82

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

It is on an average 30% in the year 2004-05 which has raised to 41% in the year 2011-12 which is higher in both the time period as compared to Backward State Category which has the on an average 21% share in the year 2004-05 and raised to 29% share of total participant in the year 2011-12. Similar is the case with non-participants where the share of women who do not have a say in deciding household's important matters is high as compared to those who have a say. From the sample of our study of 24301 women around 77% women in the year 2004-05 and 72% in the year 2011-12 in India out of total do not have any say in household matters, decisions are mostly decided by their husband or any other senior member of the family. This suggests and gives justification to the assumption that rural women in household do

not have much say in deciding important matters of the household. They are not even being considered.

Another important point to make is that in both the state categories, the percentage of women whether they are participant or non-participant who had no decision making power has declined throughout the time period and those who have decision making power has increased.

This gives us the glimpse or we can say the positive sign of increasing decision making power of women within these five years. Though the decision making power has increased in case of both the participant and non-participant, we cannot assume that it is due to MGNREGA. The reason could be anything. In order to find out MGNREGA's impact on the women's say, the rate of change has been found out and after that difference has been calculated from participant to non-participant or can be called as net empowerment level of women\ net effect of MGNREGA. Whole analysis of this study is depend upon this rate. It is just to control the effect of other factors which influences empowerment level of women. This change has been depicted by the table-4.2 where we have found that the percentage of women, who does not have any say in deciding household affairs, has declined while the percentage of women who have most say in deciding household matters has been raised during the time period on an average both in Advanced states category and Backward State Category no matter whether they are participant or not but the important point is that the decline of women having no say from the year 2004-05 to the year 2011-12 is higher in advanced states as compared to Backward State Category it is 15% on an average in Advanced state and around 10% in Backward of those who are participant while it is around 10% and 5% of those who are non-participant for the concerned category respectively. The women whose say in decision has been raised in 2011-12 is much higher in Backward state if they are participant, it is around 41% on an average while it is 35% in Advanced State Category.

In order to get the MGNREGA's impact on women's say in household, a net change has been found out which is also given in table-4.2 where it is clear that the women's say in decision making has been raised by participating under the scheme in both the state category. Overall it has empowered on an average 6% women who earlier in 2004-05 did not have any say in decision making but later throughout -

Table: 4.2

Change in percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant regarding say in decision making during two time periods

State	Participant		Non-Participant		Participant (<i>minus</i>) Non-participant	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	-15.04	34.71	-9.95	25.72	-5.10	8.99
Himachal Pradesh	-15.62	36.90	2.34	-4.66	-17.96	41.56
N-E excl. Assam	35.77	-17.31	55.34	-17.47	-19.57	0.16
Tamil Nadu	3.55	-4.10	31.94	-21.02	-28.40	16.92
Karnataka	-41.98	558.47*	-12.75	56.62	-29.23	501.85*
West Bengal	-17.30	54.03	-4.19	9.93	-13.11	44.10
Andhra Pradesh	-22.60	219.32*	-17.03	129.72*	-5.57	89.59
Assam	-38.57	89.37	-32.09	84.99	-6.48	4.38
Backward States	-10.49	40.58	-4.65	17.16	-5.83	23.42
Rajasthan	-26.86	101.61*	-23.34	157.30	-3.52	-55.69
Uttar Pradesh	-15.79	100.89*	-14.97	102.53	-0.82	-1.64
Jharkhand	13.59	-37.83	13.46	-23.95	0.13	-13.88
Madhya Pradesh	-21.42	91.97	-11.39	63.16	-10.03	28.81
Bihar	43.77	-66.65	21.55	-42.21	22.22	-24.44
Orissa	40.55	-38.87	1.03	-3.44	39.53	-35.43
Chhattisgarh	-14.75	120.45*	-24.38	168.72*	9.63	-48.27
Total	-12.00	37.90	-6.05	20.05	-5.95	17.85

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: * denotes very less number of observation

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

- the period till 2011-12 they are mostly deciding their household's affairs or in other words they are being considered in deciding important matters in household. Further it has also been realized that around 18% women on an average are more empowered under MGNREGA than otherwise.

In case of Backward State Category, around 5.8% women has become empowered who earlier did not have any say. While it is 5.1% in case of Advanced State Category. All these findings also suggests that women are more empowered if they are the participant under MGNREGS, around 23% and 9% more women on an average are empowered while being under MGNREGA than otherwise in Backward and Advanced State Category respectively.

Table: 4.3

Net effect on women's say in household on the basis of degree between two time periods

State	Least Say	Most Say
	(Participant- Non-participant)	(Participant- Non-participant)
Advanced States	2.91	-17.63
Himachal Pradesh	-13.55	225.96*
N-E excl. Assam	-12.88	-17.96
Tamil Nadu	-7.30	8.72
Karnataka	4.41	653.68*
West Bengal	4.57	-29.20
Andhra Pradesh	0.42	-18.72
Assam	6.09	-1.05
Backward States	-1.41	40.96
Rajasthan	1.63	74.41
Uttar Pradesh	0.96	-58.07
Jharkhand	-13.82	249.36*
Madhya Pradesh	0.00	20.39
Bihar	7.02	-115.06*
Orissa	7.16	-81.37
Chhattisgarh	3.65	687.58*
Total	0.13	-10.60

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: * denotes very less number of observation

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

The negative signs for the net change of those who are not having any say in decision making shows that in comparison to non-participants, the rate of decline is more or if in some cases there is rise in number of these cases like in North-East excluding Assam, Tamil Nadu, Jharkhand, Bihar and Orissa, the rise is lesser in comparison to those who are participant. Karnataka has shown the highest positive net impact on women's say on decision. Degree wise analysis has also been done to analyze if participation of rural women under the scheme has raised women's say to high level or low level. It is been given in table-4.3 above.

This table shows that due to participation under MGNREGS the least say has been raised to 2.9% in 2011-12 since 2004-05 in Advanced State Category but it has

declined in case of Backward State Category but this category shows the positive increase of 41 percentage of women who has now got most say in decision making.

4.3 Impact on Financial Autonomy:

Financial autonomy of women under this study has taken into consideration three important aspects. A women is considered to have financial autonomy if she has cash in hand for household expenditure; if she has a bank account on her name; and if her husband discusses with her about how to spend money on. These are the basic personal questions which has been asked in IHDS surveys and has been taken into consideration of this study.

Table: 4.4

Percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant in terms of financial autonomy before and after MGNREGA i.e. for the year 2004-05 and 2011-12

State	Participant (%)				Non-Participant (%)			
	2004-05		2011-12		2004-05		2011-12	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	7.77	92.23	4.84	95.16	18.95	81.05	8.12	91.88
Himachal Pradesh	14.41	85.59	0.36	99.64	12.45	87.55	NA	100.00
N-E excl. Assam	18.06	81.94	4.75	95.25	16.47	83.53	8.71	91.29
Tamil Nadu	3.97	96.03	4.39	95.61	4.97	95.03	6.67	93.33
Karnataka	10.46	89.54	8.84	91.16	19.40	80.60	11.34	88.66
West Bengal	11.65	88.35	6.28	93.72	25.06	74.94	9.48	90.52
Andhra Pradesh	0.80	99.20	4.97	95.03	2.99	97.01	4.32	95.68
Assam	16.44	83.56	NA	100.00	21.22	78.78	5.01	94.99
Backward States	17.06	82.94	4.64	95.36	15.17	84.83	6.36	93.64
Rajasthan	15.66	84.34	5.08	94.92	19.88	80.12	6.72	93.28
Uttar Pradesh	16.28	83.72	4.31	95.69	11.97	88.03	5.21	94.79
Jharkhand	NA	100.00	NA	100.00	10.25	89.75	7.09	92.91
Madhya Pradesh	31.40	68.60	2.34	97.66	25.96	74.04	3.73	96.27
Bihar	6.22	93.78	2.76	97.24	10.52	89.48	6.21	93.79
Orissa	15.42	84.58	26.69	73.31	22.61	77.39	13.05	86.95
Chhattisgarh	25.50	74.50	2.05	97.95	19.31	80.69	2.21	97.79
Total	13.69	86.31	4.72	95.28	16.24	83.76	6.85	93.15

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

While in order to calculate degree out of it, those women who have one of these factor in favor of them or not at all are considered to have ‘low financial autonomy’ while those who have at least two factors in favor of them are considered as ‘high financial autonomy’.

Here in the table-4.4 percentage distribution on the basis of financial autonomy of rural women has been given. Though the observations of my study is very less and hence in some states the observations are very less i.e. below 30 so the interpretation has been done on caution. But state category wise analysis would be fruitful here. Category-wise if we look at the table it is found out that the proportion of women who do not have financial autonomy is quite less either they are participant or not. The percentage of those who lacked financial autonomy was more in the Backward State Category in comparison to Advanced State Category from among the participants in the year 2004-05. But in 2011-12 it has declined and the decline is quite sharp in case of Backward State Category i.e. by 73% in comparison to 38% in Advanced State Category (see table-4.5).

Table: 4.5

Change in percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant regarding financial Autonomy during two time periods

State	Participant		Non-Participant		Participant (<i>minus</i>) Non-participant	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	-37.63	3.17	-57.15	13.36	19.53	-10.20
Himachal Pradesh	-97.50	16.42	-100.00	14.23	2.50	2.19
N-E excl. Assam	-73.71	16.25	-47.12	9.29	-26.60	6.96
Tamil Nadu	10.51	-0.44	34.20	-1.79	-23.69	1.35
Karnataka	-15.48	1.81	-41.54	10.00	26.06	-8.19
West Bengal	-46.06	6.07	-62.17	20.80	16.12	-14.72
Andhra Pradesh	520.55*	-4.21	44.56	-1.37	475.99*	-2.83
Assam	-100.00	19.67	-76.37	20.57	-23.63	-0.90
Backward States	-72.77	14.97	-58.11	10.39	-14.67	4.57
Rajasthan	-67.56	12.55	-66.20	16.43	-1.36	-3.88
Uttar Pradesh	-73.54	14.30	-56.46	7.68	-17.07	6.62
Jharkhand	NA	NA	-30.81	3.52	NA	-3.52
Madhya Pradesh	-92.55	42.36	-85.63	30.02	-6.92	12.35
Bihar	-55.68	3.69	-40.93	4.81	-14.75	-1.12
Orissa	73.07	-13.32	-42.27	12.35	115.34*	-25.67
Chhattisgarh	-91.96	31.47	-88.54	21.19	-3.42	10.28
Total	-65.55	10.40	-57.79	11.20	-7.76	-0.80

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

In order to find out the MGNREGA's impact on financial autonomy of women regarding these important factors, the net change in distribution has been analyzed. But in 2011-12 it has declined and the decline is quite sharp in case of Backward State Category i.e. by 73% in comparison to 38% in Advanced State Category (see table-4.5). While in case of non-participants the decline is relatively less by 58% in Backward State Category and 57% in Advanced State Category respectively.

If we look at the overall impact of MGNREGA on India considering only the concerned states then we find that about 66% women participants got financial autonomy due to MGNREGA. It may be because of provision of direct cash transfer under the scheme which led to have their own bank account and has given them the autonomy to spend. It is worth to note here that women who have participated under the scheme are having more financial autonomy in Backward State Category than in Advanced State Category. That is around 5% women are more empowered because of MGNREGA in states with low level of human development indices. Advanced states though shows a less empowerment through MGNREGA scheme participation i.e. non-participants are having higher autonomy than the participants this may be because of the measures implemented since 2005 for financial inclusion so that poor people can get access to the bank credit. Various policies and measures has been formulated and implemented like SHG-bank linkage program; use of business correspondents (BC's); easing of Know Your Customer (KYC) norms; Direct benefit transfer; use of mobile technology; bank branches and ATMs; opening and encouraging 'no-frill-accounts' etc. all these measures encouraged for opening bank accounts with lesser or no cost. And hence we cannot assume a change in financial autonomy just because of MGNREGA participation. In our case Orissa has shown the worst performance this may be because of the backwardness in the physical connectivity, poor financial inclusion, low level of literacy level etc. Orissa even was considered as the most backward in one of the attempt of calculating backwardness index by Raghuram Rajan which later was not though adopted.

Table: 4.6

Net effect on financial autonomy of women in household on the basis of degree between two time periods

State	Low	High
	(Participant- Non-participant)	(Participant- Non-participant)
Advanced States	6.82	-46.55
Himachal Pradesh	-15.95	93.45
N-E excl. Assam	-18.40	-48.67
Tamil Nadu	-2.05	-6.03
Karnataka	-5.91	25.88
West Bengal	14.72	-30.05
Andhra Pradesh	11.00	-32.71
Assam	25.76	-501.44*
Backward States	-23.27	60.59
Rajasthan	51.79	27.31
Uttar Pradesh	-15.94	28.83
Jharkhand	-12.43	3.41
Madhya Pradesh	0.00	34.18
Bihar	-10.83	5.88
Orissa	12.82	35.18
Chhattisgarh	-9.56	-148.21*
Total	-13.50	26.10

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: * denotes very less number of observation

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

On the basis of degree, in the Advanced state, MGNREGA could only raise the financial autonomy to a low degree (given in table-4.6). It shows a positive outcome in raising the financial autonomy to a low level but in Backward state, MGNREGA has shown a positive outcome in raising financial autonomy to high level. That means it helped women in giving financial autonomy in household by giving them the choice to spend money on household expenditure or by having their bank account of their of name or by making them independent economically so that they are now taking part in the discussions related to spending or expenditure with husband.

4.4 Impact on Social boundedness of women:

Social boundedness of women depicts the attachment towards customs and traditions which leads to patriarchal system in society and gives women a subordinate place from the household itself. Though patriarchy cannot be defined with conciseness but there are some of the practices which a household is supposed to follow which builds up or strengthens the patriarchy. Five variables has been taken into consideration under this study to denote these practices. Out of five three are related to the requirement of women to take permission from their husband or any other senior member of the family to visit nearby health center, to visit friend or relative and even to visit kirana shop. Needing permission to go out bounds the women and suggests that they do not have freedom even to go out according to her own will and hence can be considered as invisible barrier, which is prevalent in society but not easily seen. Further, practicing 'Ghungat' can also be considered as another form of boundedness. If women are practicing 'Ghungat' then they are believed to be more attached to these patriarchal norms of the society and are accustomed to it. People sometimes do not realize that these customs are actually the boundations on women, they just think it as a culture but why the women's face need to be covered in front of other? Why they are not allowed to have equal status? These are some of the issues which needs to be considered. Similarly, in various families women do not have her meal until men eats first. This shows the supremacy of man over women. These practices when happens does not being cared about but these are invisible barriers which bounds women to behave in a particular way and restricts them in one or the other way. i have taken these variables in my study because the practices of today's are the foundations for tomorrow. The condition of women would remain same unless these issues are not considered properly. The table below is showing the percentage distribution of women with regard to the social boundedness they are having for the year 2004-05 and 2011-12.

Table: 4.7

Percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant in terms of social boundedness before and after MGNREGA i.e. for the year 2004-05 and 2011-

12

State	Participant (%)				Non-Participant (%)			
	2004-05		2011-12		2004-05		2011-12	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	13.66	86.34	7.94	92.06	8.74	91.26	7.88	92.12
Himachal Pradesh	3.72	96.28	7.83	92.17	3.03	96.97	9.78	90.22
N-E excl. Assam	41.19	58.81	23.08	76.92	33.76	66.24	36.13	63.87
Tamil Nadu	18.44	81.56	7.16	92.84	25.09	74.91	20.51	79.49
Karnataka	2.35	97.65	3.29	96.71	2.92	97.08	8.20	91.80
West Bengal	10.45	89.55	10.85	89.15	2.86	97.14	8.60	91.40
Andhra Pradesh	7.36	92.64	4.66	95.34	10.49	89.51	3.31	96.69
Assam	20.31	79.69	NA	100.00	24.25	75.75	0.67	99.33
Backward States	1.19	98.81	0.83	99.17	2.06	97.94	1.47	98.53
Rajasthan	NA	100.00	0.26	99.74	0.13	99.87	0.24	99.76
Uttar Pradesh	0.89	99.11	0.58	99.42	1.42	98.58	2.05	97.95
Jharkhand	3.60	96.40	NA	100.00	9.91	90.09	0.25	99.75
Madhya Pradesh	NA	100.00	0.19	99.81	NA	100.00	0.81	99.19
Bihar	2.00	98.00	1.94	98.06	0.20	99.80	1.31	98.69
Orissa	3.29	96.71	3.67	96.33	2.82	97.18	1.11	98.89
Chhattisgarh	2.16	97.84	1.09	98.91	2.82	97.18	3.93	96.07
Total	5.71	94.29	3.40	96.60	3.93	96.07	3.27	96.73

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

This table -4.7 shows that the proportion of both participant and non-participant women who are socially bounded or culturally more attached has increased during the period which is quite striking. 99% of rural women are socially bounded which is indeed a reality. We can infer the reason from this that why rural women are lagging behind men. In the Advanced State Category though it is slightly lower both for the participant and non-participant but covering 90% of rural women under it depicts a different picture. Below in the table-4.8, the real changes and net changes between participant and non-participant has been shown-

Table: 4.8

Change in percentage distribution of rural women participant and non-participant regarding social boundedness between two time periods

State	Participant		Non-Participant		Participant (minus) Non-participant	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Advanced States	-41.90	6.63	-9.77	0.94	-32.13	5.69
Himachal Pradesh	110.45*	-4.27	222.54*	-6.96	-112.09*	2.69
N-E excl. Assam	-43.97	30.79	7.00	-3.57	-50.97	34.36
Tamil Nadu	-61.17	13.83	-18.24	6.11	-42.92	7.72
Karnataka	40.30	-0.97	180.79*	-5.44	-140.49*	4.47
West Bengal	3.79	-0.44	200.62*	-5.91	-196.82*	5.47
Andhra Pradesh	-36.62	2.91	-68.47	8.03	31.85	-5.12
Assam	-100.00	25.49	-97.24	31.13	-2.76	-5.64
Backward States	-30.37	0.37	-28.67	0.60	-1.70	-0.24
Rajasthan	0.00	-0.26	92.85	-0.12	-92.85	-0.14
Uttar Pradesh	-34.47	0.31	44.34	-0.64	-78.81	0.95
Jharkhand	-100.00	3.74	-97.46	10.72	-2.54	-6.99
Madhya Pradesh	0.00	-0.19	0.00	-0.81	0.00	0.62
Bihar	-3.05	0.06	543.71*	-1.11	-546.76*	1.17
Orissa	11.44	-0.39	-60.67	1.76	72.11	-2.15
Chhattisgarh	-49.55	1.09	39.54	-1.15	-89.08	2.24
Total	-40.37	2.44	-16.87	0.69	-23.49	1.75

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: * denotes very less number of observation

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

Being a negative indicator, the negative value of this will have a positive impact on women. This shows that during the time social unboundedness has decreased and suggests that 42% women becomes more socially bounded after participating under MGNREGA scheme i.e. they earlier were not considered to be socially bounded while there has only been around 10% decrease of non-participant women who became more socially bounded during the period from the year 2004-05 to 2011-12 under Advanced State Category. This is quite a paradox that participation has made them more socially bounded. Though the women under the scheme from the Backward State Category did not show much decline. Even the net decline is only 1.70%, further, surprisingly it has showed 0.24% women participant are more socially bounded if they are not the participant.

Table: 4.9

Net effect on social boundedness of women in household on the basis of degree between two time periods

State	(Participant- Non-participant)		
	Least	Relatively More	Highly
Advanced States	-43.86	21.60	-18.21
Himachal Pradesh	54.93	7.98	-5.93
N-E excl. Assam	-39.61	14.93	24.49
Tamil Nadu	-20.83	11.70	-111.35*
Karnataka	-166.62*	79.67	-37.01
West Bengal	-121.97*	-0.86	23.28
Andhra Pradesh	29.06	-6.34	-149.82*
Assam	11.68	52.49	-141.34*
Backward States	32.42	-4.77	-0.80
Rajasthan	200.44*	13.76	-22.04
Uttar Pradesh	-39.47	19.93	-3.87
Jharkhand	30.75	-33.04	3.64
Madhya Pradesh	-443.52*	32.06	8.05
Bihar	-65.98	574.61*	9.31
Orissa	2.65	2.33	3.22
Chhattisgarh	45.49	-2.97	-4.17
Total	-16.00	5.08	-3.33

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: * denotes very less number of observation

N-E excl. Assam means North-East excluding Assam

The reason behind the lesser decline may be that backward regions already had smaller share of women who were not socially bounded and as the social boundedness has increased during the time the change could not be seen much.

The decrease in percentage of women who had earlier social boundedness but after having participated under MGNREGA scheme in Backward State Category is really a positive thing to realize but this does not tell us at how much degree it has raised or decreased. So three categories has been made decompose the magnitude of change where the women are considered 'least bounded' if they are not at all bounded or are bounded in only one variable out of five which we are considering. While if they are bounded by at least two to three variables then they are considered as 'relatively less bounded' and if they have at least four or five variables which denoted social boundedness then they are being considered here as 'highly bounded'. By looking at the table-4.9, the outcomes becomes somewhat easy to understand. It has

been found out that in some cases both advanced and backward state categories has shown some positive outcome. After participating under MGNREGA scheme around 18% women have got some amount of reduction of social boundedness in Advanced State Category i.e. their level of social barriers has gone from higher level to lower level. while the impact on the women of Backward State Category is only lesser. Only 0.8% women's social barrier level has gone decline and around 0.5% from relatively more bounded category.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion:

In conclusion, it can be said that MGNREGA has acted as a balancer, it helps in reducing the gap between the empowerment level of the advanced state and the backward state. It has been shown from the data that the empowerment effect on the basis of raising women's say in decision making within household and financial autonomy has been raised among more women and with greater rate than what it would have been without MGNREGA. But in case of social boundedness, it has been realized that women become more bounded during the time period from the year 2004-05 to 2011-12 no matter whether they are participant or not. Advanced State Category is more likely to help break these social norms and customs because people in advanced or better off regions are less socially attached while the rural people are accustomed to the traditions and customs which were being followed long time ago and hence has a lesser impact of MGNREGA on Advanced states.

Chapter-5

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter gives the overview of the whole study which has been done throughout the previous chapters regarding the major issues of women, their participation under the MGNREGA scheme and its impact on them and finally the major implications and suggestions to our policy makers given the findings of this thesis. Introduction part of this thesis is a bedrock which tries to demonstrate women's position in society and work place at present and introduces the scheme of MGNREGA and its provisions which are designed to lure women to become the participants of this scheme resulting in their empowerment. In the literature review, the position of women in society and household has been depicted which clearly shows a biased status and discriminatory position of women. This research also reflects how MGNREGA scheme have benefitted them in filling those gaps. The literature review done for this study reveals a mixed picture i.e. many of the scholars have suggested that MGNREGA has actually benefitted the rural women through its flexible and supportive provisions while some of them have also showed the other aspect through loopholes and constraints which the women have to face.

Though it is very hard to analyze the MGNREGA's impact on women's social position within household but IHDS (India Human Development Survey) has made it much easier for this study. The data source contains various variables which can depict their role and position in households. Further, the data source is panel because it tries to re-interview same women in the year 2011-12, whom they have interviewed in the year 2004-05. So having same individuals giving information on same question at two different time gives this study a benefit to look into the changes in women's position or status in household during the time.

State Category-wise analysis of Participation under MGNREGA:

This study tries to find out the impact of MGNREGA scheme on women and on their empowerment. The literature review has unveiled that women are not given equal status in Indian society, there is a huge gender gap in terms of education attainment, employment opportunity, decision making in household affairs, autonomy in deciding financial matters, carrier, marriage etc. In every sphere, women are treated as

dependent creature lacking capability of decision making. In this study, state category-wise analysis has been done to identify the difference of the impact of scheme participation on the rural women. State categories has been formed on the basis of HDI value. 14 states has been selected for study dividing them into two categories, each possessing seven states. Those with the lower HDI value are included in 'Backward State Category' while those states which have relatively higher HDI value are included in the 'Advanced State Category'.

The participation of rural women under the scheme has been analyzed on the basis of various social and economic factors which are supposed to influence on the work culture and participation of women. It is presumed that the participation in economic activity leads to economic empowerment. Women participation in work would mean income generation leading to their self-reliance and independence. MGNREGA scheme participation requires team work enabling them in greater sharing of information. This acts as a positive factor in acquiring knowledge which helps them in realizing their potential which otherwise rural women are not exposed to. Sharing of information can provide knowledge of various other programmes and schemes helpful for their benefit. This makes them active and aware about their rights and the provisions related to other programmes.

Our finding suggests that there is persistently high gender gap in workforce participation but MGNREGA shows a relatively different picture. It rejects our first hypothesis, there is equal participation of women as men unlike the overall participation rate where women have comparatively lesser share. But, the participation of rural women under the scheme is higher in the Advanced states as compared to the Backward states out of total population which suggests that the Advanced states are better in delivering their service because of high level of human development indicators. The poorer regions like Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh are considered to have larger share or concentration of SC and ST and Muslims people and it is expected that the SC and ST women from these states should be the largest participant under the scheme (Logistic regression of this study has also proved it and showed positive coefficient for SC women to be the participant of the scheme) though from among the caste categories it has large share in almost all these states except Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh but this share is lower relative to Advanced states like Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu

which have the higher HDI value. Further, intra-MGNREGA distribution shows higher concentration of OBC people from the poorer states than SC's and ST's. All this shows that the benefit is not going to the needy and most deprived section in the backward states.

These poorer regions also have the higher concentration of Muslim population but the share of Muslim women in MGNREGA scheme is quite low as compared to advanced states on an average. It again suggests the failure of poorer states in delivering the benefit of this flagship programme. The low level of awareness, high level of illiteracy of women, low connectivity between developed and undeveloped regions, low cultural acceptability of women's work are the main reasons. Patriarchy treats women as a dependent household character and hence it boosts the failing trend of these states.

Similarly in terms of education, Poverty and Land owning too, advanced states are more efficient in delivering the benefits of this scheme. Either state categories follow the negative trend of participation at higher level of education. The empirical findings through logistic regression have also proved the same. The findings of the study have proved that illiterate women are the highest participants of the scheme but the share is relatively higher in Advanced states. The women population below poverty line is more participant to the scheme. However the women participation in the Backward states is relatively less. India Human Development Report (2011) also explains that in the poorer states the benefits of different development programmes do not reach to the targeted population especially to the economically and socially deprived sections of the society. All these findings has rejected the hypothesis of similar participation in either categories of the states.

Social and Economic Status of Women Do Influences the Participation:

The findings of the study rejects the hypothesis and shows that participation of the women in scheme increases with their capacity of decision making in household affairs and their financial autonomy. Though the main focus of this study is to examine the impact of MGNREGA scheme participation on women's social and economic conditions but this finding suggests that these factors themselves impact the participation of women in any scheme or programme. The benefits to women in terms of raising empowerment level would be more if they already have some level of

independency in order to fully leverage the benefits of any scheme for women empowerment. The government should put efforts on the development of state particular in such a way that the level of awareness increases among the rural poor. It is possible through qualitative education. Qualitative education is required for the better personality/human development and for the empowerment of women. Figure-3.1 also shows that Advanced State Category has larger influence of these factors in comparison to Backward State Category because advanced states has the higher level of awareness and empowerment level as compared to Backward State Category.

Impact on Women Empowerment:

In terms of women's say in decision making within household, our finding gives a positive outcome for the Backward State Category. It has shown a rise of the number of women of those who have most say in their household. Earlier in 2004-05, from among only those women, the percentage was higher for those who did not have any say on household's affairs which in other words, means that women have more say in decisions after participating under the scheme. The positive net effect shows that those who were not participant are having less say in decision making. In terms of degree it suggests that participation has led to empower women by raising their say on household matters to a high degree.

Though in case of Advanced State Category the effect is negative. It may be because of preexistent high level of awareness and availability of economic opportunities other than MGNREGA helps them to attain independent status and raise their decision making power. In poorer areas, the connectivity issue (from developed region to remotest region) is high and the illiteracy among rural female is more acute. The provisions of such scheme in these areas suggests a strong positive impact on women as compared to Advanced states. The reason could be traced in the fact that in Advanced states women already enjoyed a relatively better economic status, hence the change in their position did not see a stark rise. However women from Backward states start form zero level of empowerment to attain a level, hence their empowerment rate shows a sharp rise.

Similar is the case with the impact on financial autonomy of women. Backward state are able to get the larger benefit from the scheme because they lack other incentives which an advanced state enjoys. Around 61% is the net rise of

women who are now financially empowered after participating under MGNREGA scheme. But in this case the Advanced State Category is somewhat better in breaking the social barrier than the poorer states because as stated earlier the rural people are more attached to social norms and these social practices itself are being considered as a culture.

All this has suggested that under social issues, MGNREGA has to some extent acts like a balancing scheme of empowering the women from rural areas and helps in reducing the gap prevalent between the advanced and backward states.

Policy Implications:

Considering the empirical findings of this study, government should focus on improving of human development indicators in rural backward states. The inaccessibility of services like health and education facilities are responsible for wastage of human resources. Poor connectivity of remote area with the developed area creates a barrier towards knowledge flow. Improving infrastructure in poorer states will lead to more exposure of people towards knowledge based society, it will help in reducing the social boundedness of women from society. This would encourage women to participate in public works. Some level of awareness and empowerment is required to encourage women for work participation. So, in rural areas where the empowerment level is very low, qualitative education can give a sharp rise in empowerment level of women by raising their say in important matters in household and by giving them financial autonomy. Further, efforts should be made to provide skill based training to women in rural areas. Overall, the MGNREGA has the potential to increase the status of women but it has not been fully realized due to loopholes in delivering the benefits to poor women due to social stratification, poor implementation and inaccessibility of benefits.

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APPENDIX

Table: A.2.1

Work force participation (WPR) for Men and Women aged 15-59 years for the year 2004-05

Categories	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All India	82	58	71	20	79	47
Age						
15-19	49	34	22	8	41	27
20-29	81	50	65	16	77	40
30-39	94	72	90	26	93	59
40-59	94	68	89	27	92	56
Education						
None	91	69	82	33	90	63
1-4 std	88	59	84	27	87	51
5-9 std	80	47	71	16	78	37
10-11 std	76	37	66	11	72	25
12 std/some college	71	35	58	13	66	23
Graduation	75	38	76	23	76	27
Place of Residence						
Metro City	-	-	71	15	71	15
Other Urban	-	-	71	22	71	22
Developed Village	80	54	-	-	80	54
Less Developed Village	84	62	-	-	84	62
Income						
Lowest Quintile	82	64	60	30	80	61
2nd Quintile	85	63	73	25	83	57
3rd Quintile	85	60	75	25	83	52
4th Quintile	81	53	73	21	78	42
Highest Quintile	78	46	70	16	74	30
Social Group						
Forward Caste	81	52	70	15	77	37
OBC	83	60	72	24	80	51
Dalit	82	59	72	25	80	51
Adivasi	87	72	72	32	85	68
Muslim	79	46	71	17	76	36
Other Religion	69	39	70	18	70	30

Source: Human Development in India Report 2010

Table: A.2.2

Women Participation of Illiterate women in MGNREGS in terms of Caste Category of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution				Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution			
	General	OBC	SC	ST	General	OBC	SC	ST
Advanced States	16.52	17.3	27.45	22.03	18.72	20	45.9	15.38
Himachal Pradesh	39.35	51.72	57.19	25.34	30.38	11.39	56.96	1.27
N-E excl. Assam	NA	38.73	44.94	54.7	NA	3.7	7.41	88.89
Tamil Nadu	NA	38.93	72.91	30.76	NA	32.58	62.92	4.49
Karnataka	20.23	5.75	5.62	8.48	7.32	31.71	34.15	26.83
West Bengal	17.05	NA	16.96	21.8	39.73	NA	49.32	10.96
Andhra Pradesh	46.23	23.07	25.93	36.82	8.06	41.94	38.71	11.29
Assam	10.95	NA	4.66	11.71	63.16	NA	10.53	26.32
Backward States	10.18	12.94	21.45	13.11	4.69	41.41	32.14	21.76
Rajasthan	46.26	33.49	43.99	36.93	6.38	33.56	44.3	15.77
Uttar Pradesh	5.73	12.9	18.17	4.38	4.65	53.49	40.7	1.16
Jharkhand	6.97	NA	13.52	8.13	5.88	NA	29.41	64.71
Madhya Pradesh	9.32	15.08	9.77	12.57	4.86	37.5	12.5	45.14
Bihar	6.59	5.59	21.69	5.16	4.76	36.51	57.14	1.59
Orissa	4.3	10.45	6.78	8.52	5.88	41.18	13.73	39.22
Chhattisgarh	13.41	35.99	31.28	19.58	0.66	53.64	13.25	32.45
Total	13.43	13.46	23.43	14.9	8.94	34.91	36.31	19.83

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.

Table: A.2.3

Women Participation of women who are educated up to Eighth standard in MGNREGS in terms of Caste Category of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution				Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution			
	General	OBC	SC	ST	General	OBC	SC	ST
Advanced States	17.38	13.28	16.11	22.48	28.57	19.48	33.44	18.51
Himachal Pradesh	36.95	40.45	53.11	24.44	35.87	13.04	48.91	2.17
N-E excl. Assam	100.00	32.37	38.74	53.10	14.55	3.64	5.45	76.36
Tamil Nadu	NA	21.40	67.65	65.58	NA	47.17	49.06	3.77
Karnataka	14.20	1.66	4.57	5.58	11.11	33.33	27.78	27.78
West Bengal	17.33	5.90	8.24	13.65	61.67	1.67	30	6.67
Andhra Pradesh	21.55	25.95	12.25	19.90	10	65	20	5
Assam	11.78	4.44	10.53	5.54	60	10	20	10
Backward States	7.84	13.58	22.69	16.33	8.45	45.31	26.06	20.19
Rajasthan	62.37	25.02	44.91	30.17	14.71	27.94	47.06	10.29
Uttar Pradesh	2.81	13.01	23.51	NA	6.02	51.81	42.17	NA
Jharkhand	NA	4.69	13.58	6.56	NA	25	12.5	62.5
Madhya Pradesh	24.55	13.78	16.94	13.54	18.48	39.13	15.22	27.17
Bihar	8.23	4.13	21.35	NA	13.33	33.33	53.33	NA
Orissa	2.27	6.35	9.91	7.97	5.88	50	17.65	26.47
Chhattisgarh	NA	42.75	43.21	33.43	NA	56.35	11.9	31.75
Total	12.69	13.52	19.84	17.97	16.89	34.47	29.16	19.48

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.

Table: A.2.4

Women Participation of women in MGNREGS who have attained education more than Eighth standard in terms of Caste Category of lowest 40% of wealth quintile who works at least 240hr annually

State	All India percentage distribution				Intra MGNREGA percentage distribution			
	General	OBC	SC	ST	General	OBC	SC	ST
Advanced States	11.92	15.85	28.02	17.78	29.52	24.23	35.68	10.57
Himachal Pradesh	38.7	44.8	42.4	16.0	51.14	14.77	32.95	1.14
N-E excl. Assam	72.5	NA	NA	33.0	33.33	NA	NA	66.67
Tamil Nadu	NA	31.4	58.5	NA	NA	49.12	50.88	NA
Karnataka	2.6	2.9	10.4	3.3	10	35	45	10
West Bengal	14.5	NA	8.9	NA	64.71	NA	35.29	NA
Andhra Pradesh	14.3	15.9	18.3	60.5	7.14	42.86	35.71	14.29
Assam	3.5	5.2	11.9	22.9	15.38	7.69	23.08	53.85
Backward States	4.89	11.08	8.95	24.38	9.29	48.63	16.94	25.14
Rajasthan	35.7	30.5	35.0	26.6	11.11	37.04	40.74	11.11
Uttar Pradesh	3.0	12.2	6.1	22.5	12.12	69.7	15.15	3.03
Jharkhand	5.0	NA	NA	13.2	20	NA	NA	80
Madhya Pradesh	12.7	20.7	17.3	11.9	14.29	57.14	14.29	14.29
Bihar	NA	5.3	10.0	80.3	NA	42.86	42.86	14.29
Orissa	4.0	2.7	4.5	34.5	13.33	23.33	16.67	46.67
Chhattisgarh	NA	35.4	6.0	30.5	NA	56.52	4.35	39.13
Total	7.9	12.1	19.3	21.7	20.49	35.12	27.32	17.07

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.

Table: A.3.1

Average Marginal Effect of Independent Factors on MGNREGS Participation (at least 240hr annually) of Rural Women

Variable	Advanced State	Backward State
Caste		
General®		
OBC	0.010 (0.430)	0.007 (0.427)
SC	0.061 (0.000)***	0.046 (0.000)***
ST	0.027 (0.114)	0.02 (0.113)
Other	0.071 (0.097)	0.054 (0.108)
Religion		
Hindu®		
Muslim	-0.048 (0.001)***	-0.035 (0.001)***
Other	0.063 (0.049)*	0.049 (0.057)
Education		
Illiterate®		
Up to Primary	-0.025 (0.038)*	-0.019 (0.035)*
Primary to Secondary	-0.047 (0.000)***	-0.035 (0.000)***
Secondary to Higher Secondary	-0.092 (0.000)***	-0.067 (0.000)***
College and Above	-0.112 (0.000)***	-0.081 (0.000)***
Wealth Quintile		
1st Quintile (Poorest)®		
2nd Quintile (Poor)	0.04 (0.021)*	0.03 (0.023)*
3rd Quintile (middle)	0.048 (0.010)**	0.036 (0.011)**
4th Quintile (Rich)	0.039 (0.044)*	0.029 (0.047)*
5th Quintile (Richest)	0.027 (0.216)	0.02 (0.222)
Land Owned		
No®		
Yes	0.042 (0.000)***	0.031 (0.000)***
Poverty		
No®		
Poor	0.084 (0.000)***	0.064 (0.000)***
Social Boundedness		
No®		
Yes	-0.001 (0.976)	-0.001 (0.976)
Financial Autonomy		
No®		
Yes	0.045 (0.006)**	0.033 (0.005)**
Decision Making Power		
No®		
Yes	0.06 (0.000)***	0.045 (0.000)***

Source: Calculated from IHDS data 2011-12. Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Total number of observations (Rural Women): 17914

Table: A.4.1

Un-weighted Frequency distribution of women on the basis of 'Say in Decision- Making' for both who participated and who did not participated in MGNREGS

State	Participant						Non-Participant					
	2004-05			2011-12			2004-05			2011-12		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
Advanced States	389	190	579	349	230	579	1733	642	2375	1557	818	2375
Himachal Pradesh	126	49	175	104	71	175	155	83	238	159	79	238
N-E excl. Assam	14	32	46	21	25	46	9	31	40	16	24	40
Tamil Nadu	59	62	121	69	52	121	56	78	134	62	72	134
Karnataka	43	6	49	37	12	49	596	150	746	546	200	746
West Bengal	73	27	100	63	37	100	501	206	707	482	225	707
Andhra Pradesh	58	7	65	45	20	65	211	23	234	167	67	234
Assam	16	7	23	10	13	23	205	71	276	125	151	276
Backward States	761	169	930	643	287	930	4147	982	5129	3742	1387	5129
Rajasthan	202	53	255	145	110	255	401	61	462	299	163	462
Uttar Pradesh	172	17	189	136	53	189	1079	184	1263	911	352	1263
Jharkhand	13	7	20	16	4	20	180	85	265	195	70	265
Madhya Pradesh	134	30	164	112	52	164	855	164	1019	767	252	1019
Bihar	29	19	48	41	7	48	496	180	676	547	129	676
Orissa	48	21	69	52	17	69	769	239	1008	757	251	1008
Chhattisgarh	163	22	185	141	44	185	367	69	436	266	170	436
Total	1150	359	1509	992	517	1509	5880	1624	7504	5299	2205	7504

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.

Table: A.4.2

Un-weighted Frequency distribution of women on the basis of 'Financial Autonomy' for both who participated and who did not participated in MGNREGS

State	Participant						Non-Participant					
	2004-05			2011-12			2004-05			2011-12		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
Advanced States	69	510	579	25	554	579	453	1922	2375	181	2194	2375
Himachal Pradesh	27	148	175	1	174	175	31	207	238	NA	238	238
N-E excl. Assam	10	36	46	2	44	46	6	34	40	3	37	40
Tamil Nadu	8	113	121	6	115	121	11	123	134	8	126	134
Karnataka	8	41	49	6	43	49	169	577	746	85	661	746
West Bengal	11	89	100	6	94	100	162	545	707	59	648	707
Andhra Pradesh	1	64	65	4	61	65	10	224	234	14	220	234
Assam	4	19	23	NA	23	23	64	212	276	12	264	276
Backward States	170	760	930	52	878	930	887	4242	5129	329	4800	5129
Rajasthan	37	218	255	12	243	255	79	383	462	30	432	462
Uttar Pradesh	22	167	189	11	178	189	147	1116	1263	76	1187	1263
Jharkhand	NA	20	20	NA	20	20	36	229	265	23	242	265
Madhya Pradesh	44	120	164	4	160	164	274	745	1019	33	986	1019
Bihar	4	44	48	2	46	48	54	622	676	54	622	676
Orissa	9	60	69	19	50	69	206	802	1008	102	906	1008
Chhattisgarh	54	131	185	4	181	185	91	345	436	11	425	436
Total	239	1270	1509	77	1432	1509	1340	6164	7504	510	6994	7504

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.

Table: A.4.3

Un-weighted Frequency distribution of women on the basis of 'Social Boundedness' for both who participated and who did not participated in MGNREGS

State	Participant						Non-Participant					
	2004-05			2011-12			2004-05			2011-12		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
Advanced States	77	502	579	50	529	579	184	2191	2375	208	2167	2375
Himachal Pradesh	8	167	175	15	160	175	7	231	238	24	214	238
N-E excl. Assam	17	29	46	9	37	46	12	28	40	13	27	40
Tamil Nadu	30	91	121	10	111	121	41	93	134	23	111	134
Karnataka	2	47	49	2	47	49	35	711	746	74	672	746
West Bengal	9	91	100	10	90	100	22	685	707	61	646	707
Andhra Pradesh	6	59	65	4	61	65	23	211	234	9	225	234
Assam	5	18	23	NA	23	23	44	232	276	4	272	276
Backward States	12	918	930	13	917	930	112	5017	5129	102	5027	5129
Rajasthan	NA	255	255	1	254	255	1	461	462	1	461	462
Uttar Pradesh	3	186	189	3	186	189	28	1235	1263	35	1228	1263
Jharkhand	1	19	20	NA	20	20	24	241	265	1	264	265
Madhya Pradesh	NA	164	164	1	163	164	NA	1019	1019	6	1013	1019
Bihar	1	47	48	1	47	48	2	674	676	15	661	676
Orissa	2	67	69	4	65	69	40	968	1008	19	989	1008
Chhattisgarh	5	180	185	3	182	185	17	419	436	25	411	436
Total	89	1420	1509	63	1446	1509	296	7208	7504	310	7194	7504

Source: Calculated from IHDS panel data for eligible women

Note: N-E excl. Assam is an abbreviation used for North-East excluding Assam.