

IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS
MAHARASHTRA EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME
A STUDY

VOLUME I

Sponsored by
Employment and Development Department
International Labour Organisation
Geneva

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M-1, Kanchenjunga, 18 Barakhamba Road
New Delhi, July 1979

Geneva,
December 1979

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VOLUME I

Chapter

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 - a) Employment Guarantee Scheme Maharashtra-Preamble.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Shri R.N. Azad, formerly Joint Secretary in charge of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India I owe my first expression of gratitude. It was he who mentioned to me the ILO's interest in Public Works Schemes and their impact on women. He then helped me not only to design the Study, but also to get the support of the Government of Maharashtra for carrying out the field investigation.

My next thanks are to the Government of Maharashtra. From leaders such as Shri V.S. Page, officials such as Shri Venkateshan, Secretary and Shri Hakeem, Dy. Secretary, Planning to the local engineers on the sites from whom we have received excellent support for our field work as well as our desk analysis of data.

My next thanks are to Madame Béguin, Chief of the Employment and Development Department of the ILO in Geneva, and her colleagues in the Emergency Employment Schemes Branch. They have been sympathetic and accommodated all the difficulties that we have faced in completing the field survey as well as its analysis.

I cannot fail to mention here the role played by Miss Emma Broisman, the former Deputy Director in the ILO area office in Delhi who negotiated the Study with us and engaged us to undertake it.

Others who have helped us with their experience and information are Shri R.K. Dhar, formerly of the Planning Commission, P.E.O. Division and Dr. J. Krishnamurthy, Consultant, Employment Planning Division, Planning Commission, Government of India.

Shri V. Ramachandran, Secretary, Khadi and Village Commission, Bombay kindly allowed us to have the services of Smt. Sandhya Naik, Junior Economist in the Economics and Research Division of KVIC for one year to do the field work. Shri Ramachandran and Dr. V. Pandit Rao, Head of the Research Division accommodated the various difficulties faced by us by releasing Sandhya beyond the time earlier stipulated. To them my deepest gratitude.

As explained in Chapter I, undertaking a field investigation of a special employment programme, generating employment for millions of persons per month was not a simple task. While doing the Study, I found that I had grossly under-estimated the kind of resources, financial and human, that such a Study inevitably entailed. If, in spite of all the impossible hurdles, a report has still been produced, the credit must go entirely to Smt. Sandhya Naik who travelled through many villages and project sites to collect information, with extraordinary determination. Sandhya, coming from the background of a Socialist

youth movement had a strong motivation to find out about these workers. Her letters from the sites make a remarkably interesting diary on the problems of field work in India. To her our largest measure of gratitude.

Smt. Nalini Singh, Research Assistant in the Institute, has been associated with all aspects of the Study. To her and to Smt. Sunanda Krishnamurthy, Lecturer in Economics, Delhi University, my deepest gratitude.

The report could take a tangible form in this short period due only to the tireless typing and composing done by Shri P.G. Nair. To him my enormous thanks.

Devaki Jain

New Delhi
July 1979

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 One of the interests of the Employment Emergency Schemes Unit, Employment and Development Department of the ILO is to investigate the impact of public works and other emergency employment schemes on rural women, in order to develop some recommendations to be canvassed with Governments with respect to the condition of such women.

From the findings of such investigations it is then hoped to develop policy recommendations/guidelines by which the condition of women on such schemes can be ameliorated.

This study of the women affected by the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme, Maharashtra State, India is one such investigation.

Aims

1.2 The Department spelt out some of the aspects they were interested in. The Institute then designed its study, whose aims were modified after a field trial period of three months. This sequence of aims is given in Volume II, Chapter I.

1.3 Summarized, the aims of this study are:

- i) To assess the impact of such an employment scheme on;
 - a) Women's work: Type of work, nature of availability, hours, wage payment systems, physical load.
 - b) Women's domestic/household life: costs in terms of health of self, others in the family, gains.
 - c) Workers' social/extra household behaviour and participation.
- ii) With this knowledge;
 - a) to assess the designing and implementation of the scheme - its appropriateness, given women's needs and constraints
 - b) to scan the environment to see if there was any machinery which was supporting women's interests currently.
- iii) To develop recommendations by which the scheme could be made more suitable to the kind of women who participated in it.

- 1.4 The details of the methodology with which the investigation was conducted is given in Volume II, Chapter 5, (which was also submitted as part of Progress Report 2).

Methodology

- 1.5 Summarized, the procedure was as follows;

Eight work sites scattered in three districts of Maharashtra were visited between June 1978 and January 1979. Chart I gives the breakdown in terms of type of work etc. Data was collected or identified from official sources - Planning Commission, Census, Maharashtra Government, State/District/Taluka/ Site level as well as from the Institute's field survey. Questionnaires were canvassed (see Appendix 7, Volume I), at all these levels. Women were interviewed with Schedule VI covering 86 aspects of their socio-economic condition and attitudes.

- 1.6 Some of these sites were visited twice during the Pilot Field Study and during the formal Field Study, (see Volume I, Appendix 4 and 5). They were visited by a field officer, a woman economist working for a development agency and a team of interviewers recruited locally for each district, mostly students and social workers (see chart 2 giving names of those who did field survey).

80 of the women were interviewed while on the site, but 100 were interviewed in their homes after work. They did not appreciate being interviewed on site as it reduced the gang's output, cutting into their collective earning capacity. The profile of those interviewed is given in Chart 3. Twenty three were sugar cane migrant workers.

- 1.7 The sample covered several variations such as district and nature of work differences, single and multiple occupations, asset ownership etc., (described in Methodology of field survey Volume III).

- 1.8 Discussions were also held with official and non-official spokesmen/women of the scheme at Central, State, District, Block and Site levels. (See Appendix I, Volume I).

- 1.9 A similar scheme which recently started operating in Karnataka (another State in Southern India) was also visited to check some of the hypothesis that were emerging from the sites (Appendix 2).

Limitations

1.10

There were serious limitations in data collection. Firstly, the sample of 180 respondents is extremely small compared to the magnitude of the size of the universe, i.e. about 10-15,000 women workers per day in any of the three districts. This would make any kind of statistically meaningful generalisation impossible. However, the quality of the data collected in the field sufficiently compensated for the small size of the sample.

Since the selection of sites and respondents was taken at random, many of the answers relevant to the main focus of the study, namely worker's needs, availability of amenities etc., seemed to provide adequate basis for generalisation.

1.11

Secondly, due to financial limitations, the field survey had to be narrowed in its coverage, both in extension and in intensity. More sites should have been visited, investigators should have stayed longer on each site, perhaps some sets of site-specific labour should have been followed from the open site period to the closed site period. Men should also have been interviewed to make the analysis of women's interest, as opposed to 'class' interest, much sharper.

This study, therefore, can only be the introduction to a wider, deeper study of the performance from the point of view of the unemployed classes.

Chart-1 - Distribution of sample according to District, Block, Worksite

District	Block	Worksite	Type of work	No. of Respondents		No. of house holds
				Workers	Non workers	
1. Ahmednagar	Parner	Ranzangaon (Masidiche)	Percolation Tank	19	1	20
"	"	"	"	19	1	20
"	"	Palve Budruk	Nala Bunding	3	-	3
"	Rahuri	Rahuri	Sugar Cane worksite	15	-	15
"	Rahuri	Rahuri	Sugar Cane Campsite	8	-	8
2. Dhulia	Shahada	Katharde Parlwardhe	Road work	31	2	33
"	"	Vajjali Karmali	Road work	7	-	7
3. Bhandara	Sakoli	Lakhori	Past (Percolation tank)	40	6	46
"	Salekana	Kawade	Past (Percolation tank)	25	3	28
				Total		180

Chart-2 - Site Visits

District	Block	Sites Villages visited	Date/period of visit	ISS's Senior Field-cum-Research Officer	Name of the investigators and institutional application
<u>I Pilot Study</u>					
Aurangabad	-	-	27.4.78 to 7.5.78	Smt. Sandhya Naik.	Not available
Ahmednagar	Nagar	Arengao (P.T)	"	"	"
Dhulia	Dhulia	Vani-Vadgaon Shirdane road work	"	"	"
Aurangabad	Vaijapur Gangapur Khuljabad		"	"	"
Poona	Shirur	Shikhrapur Nala bunding	8.6.78 to 10.6.78	Smt. Davaki Jain (Director) and Smt. Sandhya Naik	
<u>II Formal Study</u>					
Ahmednagar	Parner	Palve Budruk Nala bunding Ranzangaon (PT)	24.6.78 to 4.7.78	Smt. Sandhya Naik	Smt. Bhagawati Bajaj Student, Poona and Smt. Mangala Rani, Lect. Phil., Poona.
Dhulia	Sahada	Katharje Pariwardhe road work Vaijali-Karmade road work	14.11.78 to 21.11.78	"	Shri Prakash Dalvai, Student, Bombay.
Ahmednagar	Parner Rahuri	Ranzangaon (PT) Rahuri sugar cane camp site	23.11.78 to 112.78	"	Shri A. Bhaneshwar
Bhandara	Sakoli Salekasa	Lathori Kavade	14.12.78 to 21.12.78	"	Smt. Tyoti Chembarkar Shri D.B. Galabhiya Shri R.V. Nagarkar Shri L.G. Mahajan Shri S.S. Bhaskar all from Poona, National Post Graduate College

ECONOMIC PROFILE OF SAMPLE

Site	Total Respondents	Non-worker (Def. 1)	Non-EGS (Def. 2)	EGS Workers
Ranzangaon	40	2	-	38
Palve	3	-	-	3
Katharde	34	2	1	31
Vaijali	7	-	-	7
Lakhori	45	4	15	26
Kawade	28	2	-	26
Total	157	10	16	131

	S. No. of non-workers (Def. 1)	S. No. of non-EGS (Def. I)
Renzangaon	2	Katharde 82 (She is sealdar and also works in cane)
Katharde	27	
	74	Lakhori 108
	101	132
		109
		137
Lakhori	143	112
	144	138
	145	113
	146	139
		115
		141
		116
		142
		117
Kawade	171	119
	172	120

Non-workers Def. 1 Those respondents who are not engaged in a gainful activity on a usual status basis.

Def.2 Those respondents who are casually employed, voluntary or involuntary.

EGS worker Def.1 Those respondents who are either casually engaged in EGS work or have engaged in such work at any time in the past.

Def.2 Those respondents who have worked in EGS, excluding those past EGS workers who have dropped out of EGS work and been engaged for 8 months of the last reference year in a non EGS gainful employment.

Non-EGS
worker

Def.1 Those respondents who have never worked in EGS, but engage in a non-EGS gainful occupation.

Def.2 All respondents covered by Def.1 plus all those who have abandoned EGS work for another non-EGS gainful occupation in which they have spent over 8 months in the last reference year.

If definition 2 is used, then

non-workers becomes	11
and non-EGS	36

CHAPTER II

The Tables Speak

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Name of the table</u>	<u>Comments</u>
A-1	Daily labour attendance-percentage of women workers, (District level). Source official.	As mentioned in Chapter I, the percentage participation of women in the total labour force on the EGS sites is slightly higher than the State average. For 1978, the Government of Maharashtra had given the percentage of 43 as the overall average for the whole State of female share in the total labour on EGS*.
	* 43% is for Jan-March 1978. Another figure of 57% emerges from the data of the Project Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, Government of India. The P.E.O. data is based on a sample of muster rolls of 25 works in 4 districts some-time in 1978.	Looking at the months it will be noticed that there is a trend in all the districts but specific to each district, in other words, the peak period in Bhandara is not peak in Ahmednagar or in Dhulia.
A-2	Women on site and percentage of women.	Again, as mentioned in Chapter I, the site figures reveal a higher percentage of female participation than the official State level figures. This is not surprising as most observers and field workers have noted that there are many more women workers on the site than men. Shri Tungare (Appendix I, Volume I) has explained that men seldom work more than half a day on the site
A-3	Rate yielded by field survey by Institute of Social Studies.	The gang percentage, as reported by the women is higher than that of the site report. There is also a consistency that always Ahmednagar is the highest. The official district data gives 49%, the sites give 72% and the gang gives 80%. The equivalent figures for Dhulia is 36%, 56% and 53%. The Bhandara figures are 39%, 50% and 49%. There seems no relationship between the type of work and perception of women in the gang. For example Ranzangaon gives 80% participation whereas Bhandara gives 49% and both are percolation tanks.

- A-4 Labour attendance (in lakhs) under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme at the end of each month 1975-1979. The attendance record under the EGS shows substantial expansion in the four year period between 1975-1976 and 1978-1979. The month by month analysis of attendance when compared with the attendance in previous years in the same month reveals that there is a steady increase. The aberrations are minor and occurred in a limited period during 1977-1978. The numbers reporting for work showed a significant decline over the previous year. There is no ready explanation for this aberration but the attendance in the same month in the following year showed that the increase in attendance was maintained, indicating the need for such an avenue of employment.
- A-5 Illustrative calculation of the wage hike under EGS after 23rd October 1978. The increased scale of wages became operative from October 23rd, 1978. Before that date, if a worker earned Rs.18/- during the week, he would be paid Rs. 16.50 and 2kgs of wheat by coupon. After that date he would receive Rs. 16.20 in cash and 6 kgs of wheat by coupon. Valuing the wheat at a fair shop price of Rs. 1.30 per kilo, the cash value of this old and new wage would be Rs. 19.10 and Rs. 24/- respectively. From December 1978 the effects of the wage hike is obvious.
- B-6 Distribution of EGS worker respondents' landholding by worksite. Of a total sample of 131, 67 (a little over 50%) of the workers are amongst the landless. Small marginal farmers owning up to five acres, account for another 30% of the workers. These facts show that principally their labour supply comes from the categories i.e. landless, small and marginal farmers, whom the programme intended to serve. In this respect, the objective of the programme is fulfilled.
- B-7 Size of holdings and duration in EGS. The sites attract an assortment of workers, single and multi-occupational. In terms of duration of work under EGS, landless workers are small and marginal farmers, having similar family circumstances, showed more or less the same trend.

B-8 Respondents participation in EGS in the latest year of participation and occupation of head of respondents household in that year.

Only 12% of all EGS workers are pure EGS workers, i.e. depend only on EGS work. The majority of EGS workers in EGS, work for less than six months in the year. These women account for 62% of the sample.

The evidence corroborates the earlier picture that the workers who come to sites are basically from the category of casual agricultural labourers and marginal farmers. Those who have any skill like artisans, or any assets like live stock, do not appear to be interested in this type of labour at the price/wage rate.

B-9 Age of EGS worker respondents and land holding size.

Consistently, on all sites, it is the women between the age group of 30-50 who are the bulk of the workers. In these rural areas most of the reproductive activity of women is over by the time they reach 30. It seems that the women past child-bearing and perhaps child rearing of small infants find working on the sites more attractive than the newly married.

It is, however, noteworthy that among the landless, women in the age group 50-59 can be found working on the sites, which emphasizes the pressure of poverty put on women from the landless classes.

B-10 EGS worker respondents relationship with head of household and land size of respondents household.

An interesting finding is that while wives, daughters and daughter-in-laws belonging to landless rural households offered to work in EGS projects, women workers coming from landowning classes happen to be mostly unmarried daughters. In the land-owning class, holding 10-20 acres, 5 out of a total of 7 women workers were unmarried daughters.

Another noteworthy observation is that among the poorest a high percentage of women happen to be the headwinners and heads of households. 23 out of 131 workers i.e. 18% are heads of households. Also 16 out of 38 married women, or roughly 40% are heads of households amongst the landless.

C-11 Awareness of wages on EGS by respondents and age.

The majority of the women in the sample belong to the age group 30-59 (84 out of 131 respondents). The majority of women are not aware of wage rate schedules and of the provisions of the Equal Remuneration Act.

C-12 Receipt and use of coupons by EGS worker respondents.

Out of the total of 131 respondents 72, or about 56% reported having received coupons, whereas 32 i.e. about 26% said that they received no payment in coupons. A total of 27 did not answer this question. A large number of workers at Lakhori and Kawade stated that they are not receiving coupons while a large majority of workers in Ranzangaon, Palve-Budruk and Katharde Pariwardhe did receive payment in coupons.

None of the respondents favour payment in kind only. An overwhelming number prefer payment in both cash and kind, while about 15% would like payment of wages in cash only.

C-13 Size of landholding and outstanding debt of respondents.

Out of 79 respondents of the landless class as many as 23 did not reveal the extent of their indebtedness. Out of the remaining 56, 35 have stated that they have no debts. Of the balance of 21, 14 have debts ranging between Rs. 50-500. A similar pattern is reported between those who have a small piece of land, namely 0-2.5 acres. Among those having land of 2.6 acres, 12 out of 19 respondents admit to being in debt. In other words, amongst the landless and other economically distressed groups, there is a reluctance to reveal indebtedness.

Taking this table along with table 14, the picture becomes even more obscure. The majority, i.e. 75% of those who borrow within the land class group, 0-2.5 borrow from banks and cooperatives. Landless workers obviously borrow from sources other than banks or cooperatives, i.e. possibly money-lenders.

C-14 Outstanding borrowing (source and amount) and land size.

This table endorses the views that the indebtedness cannot easily be surveyed. It requires far more participatory techniques of data collection than a "one time visit" survey. The majority of the landless do not have any outstanding debts, yet when sites were visited off the record, workers reported that they were not only in debt, but were in debt to the shop-keepers, whilst the men were in debt to the local liquor shop owners. (See Appendix 405).

- C-15 Duration of respondents' employment in EGS in the latest year and of her employment in other gainful occupation in the reference year. Non EGS workers in Lakhori account for the major proportion of non EGS workers. These women are mainly engaged in "Bidi rolling" and seem to have steady employment throughout the year in that occupation. Only about 12% of the sample respondents of EGS workers worked for eight months and more. The majority of the EGS workers work between 1-8 months.
- C-16 Respondents daily wages in EGS (cash only) and/or in any other wage earning occupations. Some respondents did mention that they also receive coupons, but no account has been taken of this. There was doubt as to whether an imputed value of the coupons was taken into account by some respondents in reporting the cash wage. Wage rates vary between Rs. 2 to Rs. 3.50 for EGS workers and between Rs. 1 to Rs. 2.50 in non EGS works.
- Inclusion of coupons in the effective EGS wage may considerably alter any conclusion based on this table regarding wages in EGS in relation to other occupations (see Table 4 and Table 5 for effect of increased wage on labour supply).
- D-17 Basis of group formation. Of a total of 123 respondents who answered this question, 74% gave the village as the basis for the gang, i.e. came from the same village. Family and caste seemed relevant in formation only in the case of some 11% of the workers.
- D-18 Reasons for joining EGS and size of landholding of respondents' household. The majority of the workers, i.e. 79% of a total sample of 144 respondents gave non-availability of other jobs in the village as the primary reason for seeking EGS job. Many strongly support the aim of the programme as designed by the initiators. While other reasons, such as equal wages for men and women, higher wages than elsewhere and a time bound work are also reported as reasons. It is lack of employment opportunities that predominates as the main reason.
- Again, the landless not only form the majority of the respondents but approximately 50% of the total respondents in each column.

D-19 Reasons for not joining EGS by non-workers and non-EGS worker respondents.

Most of the answers in this table are derived from the respondents in Lakhori as the sample in this site had a greater concentration of Bidi workers. Amongst the non-workers, there seems to be no specific and predominant reason for not joining EGS. Whereas amongst the non-EGS workers, namely Bidi workers, household work as well as laboriousness of EGS work seem to be the basic reasons.

D-20 EGS respondents' status in respect of registration with EGS site authorities by land classes.

Of a total of 104 respondents, 58 i.e. 55% comes from the landless classes. Again, this is explained by the predominance of the landless in the sample and on the sites. Out of 104 respondents, 15 did not respond to this question. However, the majority seem to have heard from the public announcements of Sarpunch and the Gramsevika.

Shramik Sangattan naturally is the source of motivation for 31% of the landless workers. Again, it is those on the Katharde Pariwardhe site who formed 45% of this group who heard about the EGS from the public announcement. Amongst the unregistered, once again "no response" predominates, followed by the 'gangman' as the source. Even though the numbers are small, this makes sense, as it is the unregistered who would normally be mobilised by labour contractors or the gangman. Looking on the gang formation table it could be seen that sites in Ahmednagar area are more vulnerable to this kind of private labour gang formation. It is difficult not to suspect that in such 'gang formation' some of the workers' wages may have to be paid as commission to the gangman.

D-21 EGS worker respondents' age and registration/non registration with EGS site authorities.

Of a total of 104 respondents to this question, it is interesting to note that 41, i.e. 39%, have no response to the question of motivation. Of those who are registered, namely 53, 12 i.e. 22%, could not answer the question of motivation. 13 of these i.e. 24% learnt about this programme from the public announcement and 8 from the Sarpunch. It is interesting to see that out of the 33 people interviewed in Katharde Pariwardhe, 7 heard about the scheme from the local peasants organisation namely "Shramik Sangattan". Again the workers from Katharde side predominate all the columns. For example 7 out of 8 reporting registration through Sarpunch came from Katharde Pariwardhe, 8 of the 13 who heard from the public announcement come from Katharde Pariwardhe and 4 out of 6 who heard from the Gramsevak came from .

the same site. In contrast the majority of those who have no response to this question did not acknowledge any motivator and came from the non Katharde Pariwardhe i.e. Ranzangaon, Lakhori and Kawade.

Of the 36 unregistered, mainly from Lakhori and Kawade, approximately 4 gave no response.

This pattern clearly underlines the importance of mobilisation and political awareness, as was mentioned in the sample selection. Katharde Pariwardhe in Shahade block, Dhulia district was mainly selected to see the impact on the local workers organisation on the implementation of the EGS.

In terms of age and its relationship to awareness of registration, rights etc, the age group 40-59 form 39%, in other words this group is more aware, followed by the 30-39 age group with 26% and the 20-29 age group with 21%. This was as expected since it is those in the age group 40-49 who predominate among the workers, followed by the age group 30-39.

D-22 Attitude of Muster Clerk/
Engineer/Supervisor/
Contractor/Mukandan towards
EGS worker cross classified
by landholding status.

There does not seem much difference between land-owners and landless workers in their general satisfaction with equality of treatment in enrolment. On the other hand, both groups find measurement of work and payment of wages unsatisfactory. This is an important criticism of the programme management.

A large number of both groups, more among the landless (33) than the land-owners (27) did not respond to the question on treatment of female workers, those who did respond said they found the treatment poor and unsatisfactory - not one worker had a positive response to these questions.

E-23 Average time disposition
of EGS respondents in gainful
work (single or multi-
occupational).

Out of an effective sample of 128 workers, 84% work at gainful activity for 6-8 hours a day. There are more women single-occupation workers in this category (48%), than there are among the multi-occupation group. Where a minimum of eight hours seems necessary for reaching the output requirement for payment, hardly anyone works less than four hours, or more than eight hours.

- E-24 Respondents age and time disposition in domestic work. Domestic work seems to take up to 4 hours for most workers (62%), whereas 32% report spending 4-8 hours on domestic work. While it would have been expected that those in the age group 15-29, or 50 and above would have done more domestic work, while the 'core group' aged 30-49 go out to work, it appears that the 'core group' also put in 2-4 hours of domestic work.
- E-25/26 Respondents family size and time disposition in gainful work. Since the sample of 124 workers is not evenly distributed in regard to family size, it is not possible to read any relationship here. The majority of the family size group is 3 - 6, and this is the group from where the largest number of EGS workers come from. As seen earlier, more than half of the sample work 6-8 hours a day, and do domestic work for 2-4 hours a day.
- Of those who have a family size of 7-8, 85% are engaged in gainful work for 6-8 hours. In fact, this percentage continues all the way down to those who have family sizes of even above 9-10 members. Domestic work, however, remains in the range of 2-4 hours rising to a maximum of 5 hours, but does not go above this.
- E-27 Comparative allocation of time between domestic and gainful activity of EGS and non-EGS workers according to site. It will be noticed that EGS workers all report working 8 hours regularly on the site, with the exception of those from Lakhori. Comparatively, non-EGS workers report working 6 hours. However, as expected, while the EGS workers spend around 3-4 hours in domestic activity, in Lakhori and Kawadi some workers report up to 6-8 hours of domestic work. Non-EGS workers spend from 4-7 hours in domestic work. From this limited sample, it could be suggested that EGS work does curtail hours that can be spent in domestic work. However, it can also be argued that when there is a pull in gainful work, women themselves reduce hours in domestic work by increased efficiency.
- F-28 Amenities related to
a) household
b) worksite
desired by respondents
classified by landholding
status. There are sharp contrasts in the kind of amenities that are preferred between the landless and the land-owning class of workers. While both sets of workers express the need for a crèche, more women among the landless express this need. In contrast, more women among the land-owners express the need for maternity leave, help for domestic work and help for fetching water home.

Interestingly, in relation to the worksite, there seem to be an equal number of women of both classes who want sheds, drinking water and medical aid, with paid leave etc., at the worksite. In fact an equal number of them ask for all these facilities.

F-29 Household amenities relating to worksite, cross classified by duration of respondents' work in EGS.

When table 28 is further analysed in terms of the respondents' duration on the EGS, there seems no specific trend, whether newly entered or working for two years, there is a strong, clear expression of needs for sheds, drinking water, crèches and maternity leave.

F-30 Respondents perception of impact on EGS on food, health and clothing by land classes.

While most of the respondents, whatever their status, record that the food situation has improved, most of them report that there has been no change in their health or clothing level. There is no marked difference between the land-owning and the landless classes with the exception that the small and marginal farmers report no more significant change than those who are landless, perhaps showing a greater self-confidence and articulation.

F-31 Whether prepared to leave home. Limited only to EGS workers.

Out of a total of 59 EGS workers who responded to this question, 40 said they were prepared to leave home in search of work, while only 19 said that they would not. 31 did not respond to the question. There was some discussion among those who implemented the MEGS as to whether the Zone, within which the right to demand work is granted, should be widened from Village to District Level, thus workers may have to go to whichever district work is made available. When asked if such an arrangement would reduce the number of women workers seeking EGS jobs, many women responded that they would want to work even if far away from home. The Rahuri (Sugar Cane) workers are further evidence to this (Appendix 3).

CHAPTER III

TABLES

A-1 - Daily labour attendance - percentage of women workers
(District level) - source: Official

		<u>BHANDARA</u>	<u>AHMEDNAGAR</u>	<u>DMULIA</u>
1976	April	46	51	NA
	May	44	53	"
	June	48	57	"
	July	52	58	"
	August	40	54	"
	September	35	55	"
	October	38	51	"
	November	49	54	"
	December	42	50	"
1977	January	43	53	"
	February	36	49	"
	March	42	45	"
	April	45	52	35
	May	45	48	40
	June	47	48	37
	July	41	48	36
	August	32	48	34
	September	31	52	32
	October	32	52	35
	November	29	32	33
	December	38	52	34
1978	January	42	52	42
	February	37	48	33
	March	29	46	42
	April	36	44	31
	May	40	43	41
	June	27	49	58
	July	49	48	37
	August	33	46	41
	September	29	45	41
	October	31	50	33
	November	NA	42	22
	December	"	46	29
		Average :	39	49
1979	January	50	43	41
	February	41	45	51
	March	50	44	51

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the percentage participation of women in the total labour force on the EGS sites is slightly higher than the State average. For 1978, the Government of Maharashtra had given the percentage of 57 as the overall average for the whole State of female share in total number on EGS.

Looking at the months it will be noticed that there is a trend in all the Districts but specific to the Districts, in other words the peak period in Bhandara is not peak in Ahmednagar or in Dhulia.

A-2 : Workers on site and percentage share of women
Source : Field Survey Oct - Dec 1978.

Site	Total		Male		Female		Percentage	
	MR	SA	MR	SA	MR	SA	MR	SA
Katharde								
Pariwardhe	402	389	175	169	227	220	56	56
Ranzangaon	234	226	52	47	182	163	77	72
Lakhorl	NA	24	NA	12	NA	12	-	50
Kawade		-		-		-		-
Palve								
Budruk		-		-		-		-

MR : Muster Roll

SA : Site Attendance

NA : Not available

Again as mentioned in Chapter 1, the site figures reveal a higher percentage of female participation than the official State level figures. This is not surprising as most observers and field workers have found that women are many more on the sites than men. Shri Tungare (Appendix 1, Volume I) has explained that men hardly work half a day on the site.

A-3 - Rate yielded by Field Survey by Institute of Social Studies Oct - Dec 1978.

Site	Work	Size of gang - Range	No. of women in gang - Range	Total No. of respondents	Average percentage of women in gang
Ranzangaon	P.T.	25-35	23-30	10	80
Katharde Pariwar the	Road	35-45	18-30	25	53
Lakhori	P.T.	10-20	5-15	29	49
Kawade	P.T.	20-21	10-11	24	49

Total number of respondents: 88

P.T. : Percolation Tank

The gang percentage, as reported by the women is higher than that of the site report. There is also a consistency that always Ahmednagar is the highest. The official district data gives 80%; the sites give 72% and the gang gives 80%. The equivalent figures for Dhulia is 36%, 56% and 53%. The Bhandara figures are 39%, 50% and 49%. In all cases the closer to the ground the higher the figure.

There seems no relationship between the type of works and perception of women in the gang. For example, Ranzangaon gives 80% participation whereas Bhandara gives 49%, and both are percolation tanks.

A-4 : Labour attendance (in lakhs) under the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme at the end of each months, 1975-79.

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1975-76	3.57	2.76	2.48	2.71	1.90	2.44	3.64	4.93	5.33	5.94	7.16	5.82
1976-77	3.49	3.04	2.94	2.64	3.22	4.39	4.90	5.17	5.99	5.46	6.20	5.67
1977-78	3.91	3.68	3.54	3.47	3.12	2.32	2.32	2.87	4.36	4.53	5.02	4.32
1978-79	3.55	4.24	4.69	3.97	4.39	6.00	7.01	7.10	9.11	-	-	-

The attendance record under the EGS shows substantial expansion in the four years period between 1975-76 and 1978-79. The month by month analysis of attendance when compared with the attendance in previous years in the same month reveals that the increase is steady. The aberrations are minor and occurred in a limited period during 1977-78 than the numbers reporting for work, showed a significant decline over the previous year. There is no ready explanation for this aberration but the attendance in the same month in the following year shows that the increase in attendance is maintained indicating the need for such an avenue for employment.

A-5 : Illustrative calculation of the wage hike under EGS after 23rd October 1978

Weekly Wage	Cash to be deducted from wages		Cash Component of wages		Wheat coupons to be given		Valued at Rs. 1.30 per kg. - cash value of total wages		Valued at Rs. 1.00 per kg. - cash value of total wage	
	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78	Pre. Oct. '78	Post Oct. '78
Rs. 15/-	2.00	1.20	13.00	13.80	2	4	15.60	19.00	15.00	17.80
Rs. 20/-	2.00	11.80	18.00	18.20	2	6	20.60	26.00	20.00	24.20
Rs. 25/-	3.00	2.40	22.00	22.60	3	8	25.90	33.00	25.00	30.60
Rs. 30/-	3.00	2.40	27.00	27.60	3	8	30.90	38.00	30.00	35.60
Rs. 35/-	4.00	3.00	31.00	32.00	4	10	36.20	45.00	35.00	42.00

The increased scale of wages become operative from 23rd October 1978. Before that date if a worker earned Rs. 18/- during the week, he would be paid Rs. 16.50 and 2 kgs. wheat by coupon. After that date he would get Rs. 16.20 in cash and 6 kgs. wheat by coupon. Valuing the wheat at the FPS price of Rs. 1.30 per kg., the cash value of his old and new wage would be Rs. 19.10 and Rs. 24.00 respectively. From December 1978 the effect of the wage hike is obvious.

B-6 : Distribution of EGS worker - respondent's landholdings by work site

Land Size (acres)	Ranzangaon	Palve Budruk	Katharde Pariwardhe	Vaijali Karmadi	Lakhori	Kawadi	Total
Landless	16	2	25	3	12	9	67
0.1-2.5	1	0	2	1	8	13	25
2.6-5.0	8	0	3	1	5	4	21
5.1-10.0	4	0	1	2	1	0	8
10.1-20.0	6	1	0	0	0	0	7
20.1 and above	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	38	3	31	7	26	26	131

Note: Respondents who have leased out land have been included in the landless category. (Do not agree - not assetless)

Total sample : 157
 Non-workers : 10
 Non-EGS : 16
 No response : 0
 Valid sample : 131

Of a total sample of 131, 67 or 50% of the workers are amongst the landless and not surprisingly there is a clear downward trend as land size increases. Small marginal farmers owning upto 5 acres provide another 30% of the worker.

These facts show that principally their labour supply comes from the categories i.e. landless, small and marginal farmers, whom the progress intended to serve. In this respect the objective of the programme is fulfilled.

B-7: Size of landholding and duration in EGS

Land size (acres)	Less than 1 month	1 - 2	2.1-3.0	3.1-4	4.1-6	6.1-8	Over 8	No response to duration	Total
Landless	11	7	8	11	3	10	11	6	67
0.1-2.5	1	4	3	8	-	-6	1	2	25
2.6-5.0	3	4	3	2	-	5	3	1	21
5.1-10.0	1	4	-	-	1	2	-	-	8
10.1-20.0	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	7
20.1 and above	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3

Note: Respondents with leased out land have been included in the landless categories.

Total sample : 157

Non-worker + non-EGS: 26

No response : 11

Valid sample : 120

Again, it is the landless and the marginal and small farmers who are evenly distributed across the time classes. There is an equal number of landless workers, for example, who work for less than one month, three to four months or over 8 months. In contrast, higher land owners offer to work primarily for larger duration. This would be due to the age/family size/marital status and other such factors operating on the worker's participation in the site, apart from asset ownership. The sites attract an assortment of workers - single and multi occupational.

B-8 : Respondents participation in EGS in the latest year of participation and occupation of head of respondents household in that year

	Self-cultivation (S.C.)	S.C.+ labour (A.L.)	Attached or A.L. work	Non agri. manual work	EGS A.L.	EGS+	Artisan (blacksmith, Sonar, Carpenter)	House hold industry, tryal service, dhobi, salaried fisherman)	Professional	House hold industry	Live stock breeding and/or milk	Trading	Respondent self head of house hold	Collecting grass	Bidi	No response to head of household's occupation	Total
Respondent in EGS for less than 6 months	17	1	24	3	5	3	2	6	3	2	2	-	9	2	2	2	81
Respondent in EGS for 6 months or more	10	3	4	-	12	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	7	-	1	-	44
Response to time spent by respondent in EGS during the reference year	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	30	5	30	3	17	5	3	8	4	2	2	1	16	2	3	2	131

Only 12% of all EGS workers are pure EGS workers i.e. depend only on EGS works. But the majority of women workers in EGS work for less than 6 months in a year. These women account for 62% of the sample. The evidence corroborates the earlier picture that the workers who come to sites are basically from the category of casual agricultural labourers and marginal farmers. Those who have any skill like artisans or any assets like stock do not appear to be interested in this kind of labour at the price/wage rate.

B-9: Age of EGS worker - respondent and landholding size

Land size (acres)	Age of EGS worker respondents						Total	
	Below 15	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59		60 and above
Landless	1	7	14	20	22	3	-	67
0.1-2.5	1	3	3	7	6	5	-	25
2.6-5.0	-	2	7	5	6	1	-	21
5.1-10.0	-	1	1	2	3	1	-	8
10.1-20.0	-	4	1	2	-	-	-	7
20.1 and above	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	3
Total	2	18	27	36	38	10	-	131

Consistently, in all sites it is the women between the age group of 30-50 who are the bulk of the workers. In these rural areas most of the reproductive activity of women is over by the time they reach 30. It seems that the women past child bearing and perhaps child rearing of small infants find working on the sites more attractive than the newly marrieds.

It is noteworthy, however, that amongst the landless women in the age group of 50-59 can be found working on the sites emphasising the pressure of poverty on women from the landless classes.

B-10 : EGS worker-respondents relationship with head of household and land size of respondents household

Land Size (acres)	Wife	Co-wife	Self head of house hold	Unmarried daughter	Daughter in-law	Widowed sister	Widowed mother	Total
Landless	38	-	16	10	3	-	-	67
0.1-2.5	17	-	5	2	1	-	-	25
2.6-5.0	11	-	2	3	4	-	1	21
5.1-10.0	5	-	-	1	2	-	-	8
10.1-20.0	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	7
20.1 and above	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Total	73	-	23	23	10	1	1	131

Total sample : 157
 Non-worker : 10
 Non-EGS : 16
 Valid sample : 131

While there is more of an every sort be it wives, daughters, daughters-in-law amongst the landless working at site, it is interesting to see that it is mainly the unmarried daughter who goes out to the site amongst the higher land classes. In the land class 10-20 acres, 5 out of a total 7 women workers are unmarried daughters.

Another noteworthy observation is that amongst the poorest a high percentage of women are primary bread winners and heads of households. 23 out of 131 workers i.e. 18% are heads of households. Also 16 out of 38 married women are head of households amongst the landless making the percentage 40.

C-11 : Awareness of wages on EGS by respondents and age

Respondents age	Awareness of EGS wages		Awareness of Rate		Awareness of		No response to awareness	
	Awareness of Diff. wages for diff. job		Awareness of Rate schedule		Equal remunera- tion Act.		Diff. wages Rate for diff. job Schedule	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Below 15	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-
15-19	3	9	2	10	4	8	2	2
20-29	7	14	4	16	5	14	2	3
30-39	9	16	2	23	5	19	16	17
40-59	7	25	-	31	3	28	20	21
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response to age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The majority of the women in the sample belong to the age group 30-59 (84 out of 131 respondents) hence the scatter of women workers is large in these age groups-however, what is interesting here is that the majority of women are not aware of wage rate schedules, the Equal Remuneration Act (more than twice as many women say no as yes. And as many as say no, do not even wish to respond to the question. This emphasises the importance of the depth interview and investigation technique for getting any information from rural woman/man far away from system of communications unreached by information.

C-12 : Receipt and use of coupons by EGS worker-respondents

Sites	Whether received coupons in payment		Distance from grain ship 2 km or less		Whether purchase grain		If yes, whether consume or sell		In payment, preference for cash or kind		No res-ponse	
	Yes	No	2 km or less	more than 2 km	Yes	No	Consume	Sell	Cash only	Both		
Ranzangaon	35	2	1	38	3	-	35	34	1	1	6	19
Palve Budruk	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3
Katharde Pariwardhe	19	3	9	31	-	20	1	17	1	13	2	3
Vaijali Karmadi	6	-	1	7	-	-	7	7	-	-	1	1
Lakhori	1	12	13	26	-	1	-	25	1	24	8	5
Kawadi	8	15	3	26	-	8	-	18	8	18	5	6

Total Sample : 157

Non-worker : 10

Non-EGS : 16

Incomplete information

Out of the total of 131 respondents 72 or about 70% have reported as receiving coupons, whereas 32 i.e. about 30% said that they have not received payment in coupons. 27 did not answer this question. A large number of workers of Lakhori and Kawade stated that they are not receiving coupons while a large majority of workers in Ranzangaon Palve Budruk and Katharde Pariwardhe received payment in coupons.

None of the respondents favour payment only in kind. An overwhelming number prefer payment in both cash and kind while about 15% would like payment of wages only in cash.

C-13: Size of landholding outstanding debt of respondents

Size of landholding	Sites	Yes	Outstanding Debt					No out-standing debt	No res-ponse to indebted-ness	Total (yes + rc + no response)
			50-100	100-500	501-1000	1000 & above	No res-ponse to amount			
Landless	R	1	-	-	-	-	11	6	18	
	P	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
	KP	13	6	1	-	3	7	8	28	
	V	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	3	
	L	2	1	-	-	1	8	8	18	
	K	3	2	1	-	-	7	-	10	
0-2.5	R	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	KP	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	
	V	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	
	L	5	2	-	1	1	8	5	18	
	K	7	2	5	-	-	6	-	13	
2.5-5.0	R	4	3	1	-	3	1	1	8	
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	KP	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	L	4	1	1	1	-	1	1	6	
	K	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	4	
5.1-10.0	R	3	-	1	1	1	1	-	4	
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	KP	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	
	V	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	
	L	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	
	K	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	4	
10.1-20.0	R	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	6	
	P	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
	KP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	K	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
20.1 and above	R	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	3	
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	KP, V, L, K	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total		56	11	23	7	8	7	33	157	

Out of 79 respondents of the landless class as many as 23 did not reveal the extent of their indebtedness. Out of the remaining 56, 35 have stated that they have no doubt. Of the balance 21, 14 have doubt ranging Rs. 50-500. A similar pattern is reported by those who have small piece of land, namely 0-2.5 acres. Those who have land of 2.6 acres, 12 out of 19 respondents admit to having debt. In other words amongst the landless and other economically distressed groups there is a reluctance to reveal indebtedness for fear of some kind of retaliation.

Taking this table along with Table 14, the picture becomes even more cloudy. The majority, 75% of these who borrow within the land class group, 0-2.5 take from banks and cooperatives. On what basis can landless labourers borrow from banks even if in the cooperative sector is the question. Hence while not abandoning this table because it still reveals some aspect of the indebtedness. It is doubtful whether it may be used with any effect. Information on indebtedness cannot be collected by short term surveys. They require involved techniques of investigation.

R : Ranzangaon
P : Palve Budruk
KP : Katharde Pariwardhe
V : Vajjali Karmadi
L : Lakhori
K : Kawade

C-14 : Outstanding borrowing (source and amount) and land size

Land size (acres)	Borrowing source and amount					Shop keeper	Source unspecified	Source and amt. unspecified	No. out- standing	No. res- ponsible to borrow- ers		
	Organised source		Co-operatives								Friend	Shop
	Govt. Bank	Co-op bank	Co-op Society	Land lender	Village							
Landless	4	1	5	1	1	-	2	1	35	23		
0.1-2.5	1	1	5	-	-	1	-	-	16	5		
2.6-5.0	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	7	3		
5.1-10.0	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	2		
10.1-20.0	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-		
20.1 and above	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-		
Total	5	5	13	18	4	1	2	5	60	33		

Total sample :157

Non-response to borrower status : 33

Valid sample :124

This table only endorse the views that the indebtedness cannot be easily surveyed. It requires far more participatory technique of data collection than one time visit surveys. The majority of the landless is not having any outstanding debts, and what is more curious is that all of them borrow from cooperatives which seems baffling unless they are some landless member of some cooperatives. The only comment that can be made with some confidence is that the cooperatives seems to be the major source of borrowing. Yet when sites were visited, off the record, workers report that they are not only in debt but they are in debt to the shop-keepers and the men were in debt to the local liquor-shop owners.

C-15 - Duration of respondent's employment in EGS in the latest year (of her work in EGS) and duration of employment in other gainful occupation in the reference year

Months (only EGS)	Non-EGS 0 months ncnEGS	Duration in EGS (in months)				No response to duration in EGS (months not specified)	Total
		0.1-3	3.1-6	6.1-8	8.1 and above		
0 months only EGS	11	8	5	8	-	38	
0.1-3	1	-	-	1	-	4	
3.1-6	2	12	11	2	5	40	
6.1-8	4	2	2	-	-	10	
8.1 and above	29	3	1	1	-	34	
2nd occupation not clearly specified	3	13	3	7	2	31	
Total	50	38	21	19	7	157	

Note: For non-EGS work, only dominant occupation has been taken into account i.e. some respondents work in more than two occupations.

Non-EGS work in Lakhori accounts for the major proportion of non-EGS works. These women are mainly engaged in Bidi rolling and seem to steady employment through out the year in that occupation. This makes sense as it is the nature of the programme to offer short period sub-works. Comparatively those in EGS for 8 months and above seems a smaller percentage, only about 12% of the sample. The majority of the EGS worker i.e. about 50% and more work between 1-8 months.

C-16 : Respondents daily wages in EGS (cash only) and/or in any other wage earning occupation in which the respondent worked or continues to work.

Daily wages in other occupations in which the respondents work or worked (Rs.)	Daily wages in EGS (Rs.)							Total			
	Less than 1	1-1.49	1.50-1.99	2-2.49	2.50-2.99	3-3.49	3.50-3.99		4 and above	No response to EGS wages in	Only non EGS work
Less than 1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	4
1-1.49	2	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	2	4	12
1.50-1.99	5	-	2	1	-	5	-	-	4	8	25
2.0-2.49	1	-	-	1	6	4	1	-	3	3	19
2.50-2.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.00-3.49	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	3	-	-	12
3.50-3.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
No response to wages in EGS work	1	-	1	4	5	13	-	3	1	-	28
Only EGS	1	-	-	10	20	12	1	1	-	-	45
Total	5	4	18	43	33	43	3	7	12	17	147

Some respondents did mention that they also receive coupons but no account has been taken of this. There was doubt as to whether an imputed value of the coupons was taken into account by some respondents in reporting the cash wage. Inclusion of coupons in the effective EGS wage may considerably alter any conclusion based on this table regarding wages in EGS in relation to other occupation (see Table 5 for effect of increased wage on labour supply).

D-17 : Basis of gang formation and landholding of the respondents household

Landholding	Village	Caste	Family	No basis	No response to basis of gang formation
Landless	43	7	9	-	15
0.1-2.5	27	3	6	1	10
2.6-5.0	16	3	1	1	4
5.1-10.0	3	-	-	-	5
10.1-20.0	-	-	-	-	-
20.1 and above	-	-	-	-	-
No response to land size	1	-	-	-	-
Total	92	13	16	2	34

Note: Respondents 1 to 20 of Ranzangaon were not asked question relating to basis of gang formation

Of a total of 123 respondents who answered this question, 74% gave village as the basis for the gang. That is they are all workers from the same village. Family and caste seemed to take a much lesser place in the basis of gang formation e.g. 11% but no response form 21% of the sample.

Since the sites are statutarily required to be within 5 kms of the village it makes sense to find this as the basis. Statistics from the Planning Department reveal that 30% of the total workers are from Scheduled castes and tribes and therefore it is possible that the two are coincident.

D-18 : Reasons for joining EGS and size of landholding of respondents' household

Landholding (acres)	No other job available near village	Other employment insufficient, uncertain	Working hours fixed	Time bound work	Equal wage for men and women	Higher wages than elsewhere	Working hours convenient	Children allowed at site	Creches provided	Leave with pay/maternity leave	Others	No response to reasons for joining EGS
Landless	37	25	-	5	4	8	2	1	-	-	1	11
0.1-2.5	13	8	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
2.6-5.0	11	8	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	2
5.1-10.0	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
10.1-20.0	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
20.1 and above	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	68	46	-	8	8	10	3	1	-	-	3	31

The majority of the workers i.e. 79% of a total sample of 144 respondents have given the reasons that neither any other job is available in the village nor does it adequately take care of their unemployment needs with certainty. Those respondents again support the aim of the programme as designed by the initiators. While other reasons such as equal wages for men and women, higher wages than elsewhere and a time bound work are also reported as reasons, it is lack of employment opportunities that predominates as the main reason.

Again the landless not only form the majority of the respondents but approximately 50% of the total respondents in each column. Other reasons which would normally have been expected to be vital such as creches and maternity leave while they must be important for women, do not seem to enter the perception of the respondents in relation to the pressure for survival which depends on having paid work.

It is this phenomena which is often forgotten when the policy making for workers namely that amenities can only follow or be a sequence to having work at all. Therefore, when the basic wage is not feasible the question of amenities seems a distant problem.

D-19 : Reasons for not joining EGS by non-workers and non-EGS worker respondents

	No need to work	Work too laborious	Worksite is bad	Worksite far to carry children	Worksite far from village	Escort not available	Women not enrolled on work site	Wages too low	House hold work	Active member of Shra-mik Sansthan	No response or reason given
Non-workers	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	6
Non-EGS (Bidi)	-	5	-	-	3	1	1	2	4	6	7

Most of the answers to this table are derived from the respondents in Lakhori as the survey in this site had a greater concentration of Bidi workers. Amongst the non-workers there seems to be no specific and predominant reason for not joining EGS. Whereas amongst the non-EGS workers namely Bidi workers household work as well as laboriousness of EGS work seem to be the basic reasons.

D-20 : EGS respondents's status in respect of registration, with EGS site authorities by land classes

Land less	Registered/Adviser/Motivator										Unregistered/Adviser/Motivator					Total	
	Vil- lag- er	Gram Mus- ter cle- rk	Sar- pan- ch	Pub- lic anno- nce- ment	Super- visor	Shra- mic Sanga- ttan	No ans- wer to who	Mus- ter cle- rk	Oth- er wor- kers	Gang man lea- der	Loc- al lea- der	Kot- wal	Sar- pun- ch	Super- visor	No res- ponse to adviser		No res- ponse in res- pect of regis- tration
-	3	2	-	10	2	7	6	-	1	4	-	1	-	1	13	8	58
0.1-2.5	-	-	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	8	1	21
2.6-5.0	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	5	18
5.1-10.0	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
10.1 - 20.0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.1 and above	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2	6	2	8	13	2	8	12	-	1	4	1	2	1	26	15	104

Of a total of 104 respondents, 58 i.e. 55% comes from the landless classes. Again this is explained by the predominants of the landless in the sample and on the sites. Out of 104 respondents 15 did not respond to this question hence it could be said that 59% of the sample registered conversely could not answer the source of motivation but majority seem to have heard from the public announcement followed by the Sarpunch and the Gramsevika.

Shramik Sangattan naturally is the source of motivation for 31% of the landless workers. Again it is those on the Katharade Pariwardhe who formed 45% of this heard from the public announcement. All these percentages are of the landless classes. Regarding the difference between the landed and the landless very little can be said from this table except that public announcement seems the major source followed by the Gramsevak for motivation. Amongst the unregistered once again "no response" predominates followed by the Gangman as the source. This even though the numbers are small, makes sense as it is the unregistered who would be mobilised by labour contractors or gangman. Looking on the gang formation table it could be seen that sites in Ahmednagar are more vulnerable to this kind of private labour gang formation. It is difficult not to specify that in such gang formation some of the wage may have to be paid as commission to the gangman.

D-21 : EGS worker respondent's age and registration/non-registration with EGS site authorities

Age	Registered/Advisor/Motivator										Total							
	Vil- lager	Gram- sevak	Mus- cle- rk	Sur- pun- Ch	Pub- lic	Sup- er	Shar- mic	No res- pon- se	Mus- ter cle- rk	Oth- er work- ers		Gang men	Local Leader	Kot- wal	Sar- pun- ch	Super- visor	No res- ponse to who	No res- ponse to regis- tration
Below #5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
15-19	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	11
20-29	1	3	-	2	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	4	22
30-39	-	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	8	3	28
40-59	-	1	1	4	6	-	5	5	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	9	5	41
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response to age	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2	6	2	8	13	2	8	12	-	1	4	1	2	1	1	26	15	104

Note: This question was not asked of 20 respondents in Ranzangaon and 3 respondents in Palve Budruk. Of a total of 104 respondents to this question, it is interesting to note that 41 i.e. 39% have no response for motivation. It is possible that this aspect of programme is not really implemented at the local level. It is also clear that no mobilisation is taken place by official or non-official agencies of the labour. All those who

are registered namely 53, 12 i.e. 12% could not answer the question of motivation. 13 of these i.e. 24% learnt about this programme from the public announcement and 8 from the Sarpunch. It is interesting to see that out of the 53 Nos. of people interviewed in Katharde Pariwardhe, 7 heard about the scheme from the local peasants organisation namely Shramik Sangattan. Again the workers from Katharde side predominates all the columns, for example 7 out of 8 reporting registration through Sarpunch came from Katharde Pariwardhe, 8 of the 13 who heard from the public announcement came from Katharde Pariwardhe and 4 out of 6 who heard from the Gramsevak came from the same side. In contrast the majority of these who have no response to this question did not acknowledge any motivator came from the non Katharde Pariwardhe i.e. Ranzangaon, Lakhori and Kawade.

Amongst the unregistered i.e. 36 again there are hardly 4 who have no response. On the other hand majority are from Lakhori and Kawade.

This pattern makes a clear case to reveal the importance of mobilisation and political awareness as was mentioned in the sample selection. Katharde Pariwardhe in Shaha Block, District Dhulia was selected mainly to see the impact of the local workers organisation on the implementation of the EGS.

In terms of age and its relationship to awareness of registration, rights etc. the age group 40-59 form 39% in other words this group is more found followed by 30-39 age group, 26% and 20-29 age group 21%. This is as expected since it is those in the age group 40-49 that predominate amongst the workers, followed by the age group 30-39.

D-22 : Attitude of Muster Clerk/Engineer/Supervisor/Contractor/Mukandan towards EGS worker cross classified by landholding status

Land	Attitude							
	Enrolment of new workers	Enrolment of new female workers	Response to complaints	Measurement of work	Payment of wages	Making jobs permanent	Treatment to debit caste	Treatment towards female workers
Landless	E-24 I-15 H-2	E-25 I-15 H-3	E-9 I-7 H-17	S-16 P-12 US-23 NR-6	S-14 P-9 US-24 NR-5	S-12 P-9 US-10 NR-22	S-12 P-13 US-3 NR-26	S-9 P-14 US-4 NR-27
Landed	E-36 I-16 H-4	E-34 I-18 H-4	E-15 I-16 H-8 US-3 P-2 NR-18	US-3 P-18 S-17 NR-6	US-22 P-18 S-14 NR-7	US-16 P-16 S-14 NR-17	US-3 P-20 S-14 NR-25	US-2 P-15 S-12 NR-33
Total	E-60 I-31 H-6 NR-2	E-57 I-33 H-7 NR-20	E-25 I-33 H-15 P-2 US-3 NR-38	S-33 P-30 US-44 NR-12	S-28 P-27 US-48 NR-12	S-27 P-25 US-26 NR-39	S-26 P-33 US-6 NR-51	S-21 P-29 US-6 NR-60

(E) (Enthusiastic) (I) (Indifferent) (S) (Satisfactory) (US) (Unsatisfactory) (P) (Possible) (H) (Hostile)

There does not seem much difference between landed and landless workers in their general satisfaction with the enrolment of all workers or female workers - or even in their percentage of 'no response'. On the other hand both groups find measurement of work and payment of wages unsatisfactory. This is an important critical comment on the management of the programme.

A large number of both groups (33) amongst the landless than the landed responded to the question on treatment of female workers. Those who did find the treatment poor and unsatisfactory not one worker has a positive response to these questions.

E-23 : Average time disposition of EGS respondents in gainful work (single or multi occupation)

Single/Multi time disposition	Non-workers	Single occupation	Multi occupation	Total number of workers in each time category
Lessthan 2 hours	-	-	-	-
2-4 hours	-	2	-	2
4.1-6 hours	-	14	4	18
6.1-8 hours	-	62	45	107
8.1 and above	-	-	1	1
No response to disposition of time	10	12	7	29
Total	10	90	57	157

Total Sample : 157
 Non-workers : 10
 Non-response to time disposition in gainful activities : 19
 Valid sample : 157 - (19 + 10) = 128

Out of an effective sample of 128 workers 84% work at gainful activity for 6-8 hours a day. There are more women single occupation workers in this category 48%, than amongst the multi occupation group. Where a minimum of 8 hours seem necessary for reaching the output required for payment, hardly anyone works less than 4 hours or above 8.

E-24 : Respondents age and time disposition in domestic work

Time Disposition/ age	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 Hrs & above	No res- ponse to time dis- position	Total
Below 15	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	4
15-19	-	2	9	2	2	1	2	-	4	22
20-29	-	-	8	6	5	3	1	1	7	31
30-39	-	1	8	11	6	8	2	1	3	40
40-49	1	-	11	17	2	3	3	-	10	47
50-59	-	-	5	4	1	2	-	-	-	12
60 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	1	4	41	41	16	17	10	2	25	157

Total Respondents : 157
 Total non-response : 25
 Total valid sample : 132

Domestic work seems to take upto 4 hours of most (62%) workers whereas 32% report spending 4-8 hours on domestic work. While it would have been expected that those in the age group 15-29 or 50 and above would do more domestic work as the core group 30-49 go to works, it is again this core group which puts in 2-4 hours domestic work also.

E-25 : Respondents family size and time disposition in gainful work

Time disposition/ family size	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 and above	No response to time dis- position	Total
1 - 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	-	3	13
3 - 4	-	-	-	-	1	4	34	-	12	51
5 - 6	-	-	1	-	2	7	34	1	9	54
7 - 8	-	-	-	-	1	1	18	-	1	21
9 - 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	2	10
More than 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5
Total	-	-	1	1	4	14	107	1	29	157

Total respondents : 157
 Total non-response to time disp. including non-workers 29
 Total non-response to family size (including 1
 common with non-response to time disposition) : 4
 Total valid sample : 157 - (29 + 4) = 124

Since the sample of 124 workers is not evenly distributed across family sizes - it is not possible to read any relationship here. The majority of the samples are in the family size group 3-6 and that is where the largest workers are clustered in the distribution also. As seen earlier more than half the sample work 6-8 hours a day and do domestic work 2-4 hours a day.

Of those who have families of 7-8, a large number 85% report as also working in gainful work for 6-8 hours. In fact this percentage continues all the way down to those who have family sizes even above 9-10 members, whereas domestic work whatever the size of the family remains in the range 2-4 going upto maximum of 5 hours but never more.

E-26 : Time disposition in domestic work and respondents' family size

Time Disposition/ Family size	0 Hours	Less than 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	3.1-4 hours	4.1-5 hours	5.1-6 hours	6.1-8 hours	8.1 and above	No res- ponse to time dis- position	Total
1 - 2	-	-	4	4	1	1	-	-	3	13
3 - 4	1	1	13	13	7	6	3	-	7	51
5 - 6	-	-	10	15	2	8	5	2	12	54
7 - 8	-	1	9	4	5	1	-	-	1	21
9 - 10	-	1	5	1	1	1	1	-	-	10
More than 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
No response	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	5
Total	1	4	41	41	16	17	10	2	25	157

Total respondents : 157

Total non-response : 25 + 5

Valid response : 132 - 5 = 127

B-27 : Comparative allocation of time between domestic and gainful activities of EGS and non-EGS workers according to site

Age	Current EGS workers	Total	Workers domestic activity	Hours-gainful activity	Non-EGS workers	Hours domestic activity	Hours gainful activity		
Below 15	KP-1,1	2	4,1,5	8,8	-	-	-		
15-19	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1	11	4,2,0,1,5,0,2,2, 2,1,2,4	8,8,0,8,8,8,8,8, 8,8,8	-	-	-		
	KP-1,1	2	2,2	8,8	-	-	-		
	L-1,1	2	2,5	-	L-1,1	2	7,2	7,8	
	K-1	1	6,5	-	-	-	-		
20-39	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1, 1,1,1,1,1	16	6,2,3,4,1,4,2,4, 5,5,3,3,5,3,4,4, 5,3,5	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8, 8,8,8,8,9,8,8,8, 8,8	-	-	-		
	PB-1,1	2	5,4,4,3	NR,9,3,4,	KP-1	1	4	-	
	KP-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,	15	2,3,2,2,4,3,6,5	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8, 8,8,8,8,8,8,6,5	-	-	-		
	V-1,1	2	6,5	8,8	L-1,1	2	5,6	6,6	
	L-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1, 1,1	13	6,2,6,6,6,5,4,5, 12,6,4,4	8,8,6,6,6,6,5,8, 6,5,6,8,8	-	-	-		
	K-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,	12	2,4,8,10,7,8,6,2, 4,5,5,5	8,8,8,8,8,9,8,8, 8,8,8,8	-	-	-		
	40-49	R-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1, 1,1	10	4,3,4,3,4,3,2,6,4, 4,4	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8, 8,8	-	-	-	
		PB-1	1	4	6	-	-	-	
		KP-1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,1,	7	3,3,3,3,3,3,3,3	8,8,8,8,8,8,8,8	L-1,1,1	3	4,4,5	6,6,5
		V-1,1,1,1,1,1,	5	6,4,4,3	8,8,8,8,8	-	-	-	
		L-1,1,1,1,1,1,	5	4,4,4,4,4	0,6,2,8,4	-	-	-	
		K-1,1,1,1,1,1,	5	4,4,4,4,4	8,8,8,8,-	-	-	-	
50-59	R-1,1	2	3,4	8,8	R-1	4	-		
	KP-1	1	2	8	L-1	6	6		
	L-1,1,1	3	4,5,6	8,7,-	-	-	-		
	K-1,1,1,1	4	2,3,3,5	8,8,8,9	-	-	-		
Total		121				8			

It will be noticed that EGS workers all report working 18 hours on the site regularly except from Lakhori. Comparatively non-EGS workers report working 6 hours as gainfully spent. But as expected while the EGS workers spent around 3-4 hours in the domestic activity but there are few such as Lakhori and Kawade where they report 6-8 hours in domestic work and non-EGS workers range from 4-7 hours in domestic work. From this limited sample it could be suggested that EGS work does curtail hours that can be spent in domestic work. However, it could be argued that when there is a pull in gainful work, women themselves reduce hours in domestic work by increased efficiency.

F-28 : Amenities related to (a) household (b) worksite desired by respondents classified by landholding status

Amenities desired/ landholding status	Amenities related to household					Amenities related to worksite					Can- teen faci- lity at site	No res- ponse to 46- 57	
	Creche or day care for children	Maternity leave	Help in house- hold work	Help in bring- ing water at home	Shed in worksite	Drinking water at site	First aid cal aid	Medical leave	With pay leave	Lava- tory at site			Train- ing for cer- tain job
Landless	35	8	7	4	49	53	45	27	5	10	16	3	8
Landed	26	15	17	16	52	47	47	26	6	16	14	8	8
Total	61	23	24	20	101	100	92	53	11	26	30	11	13

There are sharper difference in the kind of amenities that are preferred, between the landless and the landed class of workers. While both the sets of workers express the need for a creche, more women amongst the landless express this need. In contrast more women amongst the landed express the need for maternity leave, help for domestic work and help for fetching water home.

Interestingly in relation to worksite there seems to be equal number of women of both classes who want sheds drinking water, medical aid, with pay leave etc. at the work site. In fact an equal number of them ask for all these facilities.

F-29 : Household amenities relating to work-site cross classified by duration of respondents work in EGS
Ame. related to household Amenities related to work site

Amenities desired/ No. of months/ year	Creche	Mater- nity leave	Help in house hold work at home	Help in bring- ing water at home	Shed in work site	Drink- ing water at site	First aid/ medi- cal aid	With pay leave	Lava- tory at site	Train- ing for cer- tain jobs	Provi- sion of meals	Canteen facility at site	No response to 46-57
2 months and less	12	2	6	2	16	21	15	11	1	3	5	1	3
2.1-6 months	11	3	4	2	17	21	17	15	1	6	6	1	3
6.1-12 "	13	5	3	8	21	19	18	8	5	4	5	4	1
1-2 years	10	7	5	2	17	14	16	9	-	4	5	1	-
2.1-3 "	2	2	1	-	7	8	8	2	1	1	3	1	1
Over 3 "	6	1	2	2	12	8	9	2	2	4	3	2	1
No response w.r.t. dura- tion of work with EGS	7	3	3	4	11	9	9	6	1	4	1	2	4

When table 28 is further analysed in terms of the respondents duration on the EGS, there seems no specific trend, whether newly entered or working for two years, there is a strong clear expression of need for sheds, drinking water, creches and maternity leave.

F-30 : Respondents perception of impact of EGS on food, health and clothing by land classes

Land	Food			Health			Clothing			No response to impact on		
	I	NC	D	I	NC	D	I	NC	D	Food	Health	Clothing
Landless	42	10	5	15	38	3	17	38	2	9	11	10
0.1-2.5	16	7	3	5	18	1	5	14	2	-	1	5
2.6-5.0	10	4	-	6	8	-	5	9	-	4	4	4
5.1-10.0	6	1	-	3	3	-	2	4	-	4	5	5
10.1-20.0	2	3	-	1	4	-	-	-	4	1	1	1
20.1 and above	2	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
No response to land	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

While most of the respondents whatever the land class record that food situation has improved, most of them report that there has been no change in their health or clothing level. There is no marked difference between landed and the landless except that the small and marginal farmers report no change more than those who are landless - perhaps showing a greater self-confidence and articulation.

F-31 : Whether prepared to leave house - limited to only EGS works.

Site	No. of EGS workers	Yes	No	No response
Ranzangaon	19	4	3	12
Katharée	8	6	2	-
Lakhori	33	14	8	11
Kawade	26	15	6	5
Palve Budruk	4	1	-	3
Total	90	40	19	31

Total respondents : 90

Out of a total of 59 EGS workers who responded to this question, 40 said they were prepared to leave home in search of work; and only 19 said no, while 31 did not respond to the question. There is some discussion amongst those who implement the MEGS whether the zone within which the right to demand work is granted should be widened from village to district level. That is workers may have to go wherever in the district work is made available. This modification, it is argued would ensure better planned, more useful productive work.

This question was asked in that context to assess whether thereby women would drop out. But the response seems to indicate that women want the work even if far away from home. The Rahuri (Sugar Cane) workers are further evidence of this (Appendix 3).

CHAPTER IV

Analysis and Findings

The Context

- 4.1 At the very outset it is imperative to understand the basic ideology of the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra. It is not merely a public works scheme, as is understood either in India or elsewhere. India has a long experience of 'relief' employment - food, famine, drought relief works. Also relief employment in geographical areas of acute poverty. Such employment programmes are usually developed in immediate response to a critical situation, put on the ground with existing administrative machinery with the perspective that they provide short term relief.
- 4.2 The scheme in Maharashtra, however, is a planned employment programme meant to continue for several years, with its own administrative machinery, research and development unit and now a training and monitoring division (See Appendix 2 for description of scheme and official documentation). Yet it has an in-built 'short-term' horizon, but on a different premise than that of an emergency relief operation.
- 4.3 The premises are as follows:
- i) There is an acute unemployment and underemployment situation in rural Maharashtra and in India.
 - ii) This is usually seasonal in nature in response to the nature of agricultural activities.
 - iii) In the long run
 - a) Improved agricultural practices such as multiple cropping, cash cropping, intensive land improvement etc., development of activities allied to agriculture and
 - b) Growth of non-farm activities in rural areas in both industrial and tertiary sectors should absorb these unemployed in steady round-the-year employment.
 - iv) While that possibility may be in the process of formation, a sound economic security should be provided to this pool of seasonally unemployed persons.
- 4.4 The Unemployment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra has yet another unusual component. It has in it a socio-political undertone namely to give the unemployed the constitutional right to demand work and its due reward, wage.
- 4.5 Given these two components, the scheme is more close to a development programme than a crash or relief programme. At the district and block level, there are officers as well as engineers specifically for the programme.

4.6 This aspect of the scheme has as many advantages as disadvantages and has made it a source of controversy.

4.7 This entire controversy that the scheme is neither durable nor temporary becomes superfluous when the scheme is assessed from the point of view of the women who have earned from it.

Women dominant in labour force

4.8 The most striking result of the survey is that, while the women have sought and absorbed the employment generated by the scheme in larger measure than usually given by the work participation rates, and perhaps are also the majority of the workers on the site, the programme has not taken any note of this fact either in conception, design, implementation or personnel, nor even in evaluation of impact.

4.9 The female participation rate for all Maharashtra and the selected districts i.e. Ahmednagar, Bhandara and Dhulia are given below:

<u>Table I</u>	<u>Census 1961</u>		<u>Census 1971</u>		<u>NSS - 27th Round '74</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
All India	57	28	12	33	69	37
All Maharashtra	57	38	19	36	64	53
Ahmednagar	58	46	51	20	-	-
Bhandara	61	59	56	41	-	-
Dhulia	56	42	52	21	-	-

The figures for women as a percentage of total labour on sites as given by the Planning Department of the Government of Maharashtra are given below:

Table ii

	<u>Average Daily Attendance</u>	
	<u>33 months 1976-1978</u>	<u>21 months 1977-1978</u>
	<u>% Age</u>	<u>% Age</u>
Ahmednagar	49	-
Bhandara	39	-
Dhulia	-	36

However, in Ahmednagar in 1976, this percentage went as high as 58% and never below 50%, in Bhandara upto 52% and never below 42% in 1976.

4.10 At the site, data was collected from the Muster Rolls and the site Supervisors. This yielded a percentage rate as high as 72-77% in Ahmednagar and 50% in Bhandara and 56% in Dhulia.(See table 2).

Respondents who were interviewed were asked to describe the size of their gang. Deriving an average from their individual response, the percentage revealed is 80% in Ahmednagar, 49% in Bhandara and 53% in Dhulia.(See table 3).

Table iii

	Percentage share of women in total work force				
	Census '61	'71	EGS Dist. data Table 1	EGS Dist. data Table 2	EGS Gang data Table 3
All India	28	32	-	-	-
All Maharashtra	38	36	-	-	-
Ahmednagar	46	20	49	72	80
Bhandara	59	41	39	50	49
Dhulia	42	21	36	56	53

4.11 It will be observed that the local (site gang level) data reveals a higher share for women than the official data given at the State Headquarters, this is not surprising as Gangs often have more women than is recorded in the registration data.

4.12 There is a large gap between workers registered and workers reporting for work, both in Maharashtra and in Karnataka. However, not surprisingly, this gap is negative for males and positive for females, thus more males register than report for work, while more females report than register. There has been no investigation into this phenomena to see how far the fall of male workers has been compensated by female workers and also whether they are from the same household. In other words, whether men register but send their women to work on the sites, which is highly probable given the traditions, hierarchies and habits in Indian families.

4.13 Another aspect of this participation rate is that male/female labour mix as required for various construction work, which may actually inhibit women who cannot mobilise men to join their gang. Hence, the women workers actually reporting may not reflect the potential supply of workers, or to put it in another way, the participation rate would be higher if all women who sought work were absorbed irrespective of the share of men.

- 4.14 The only item relevant to workers' participation in the scheme is the rule that crèches should be provided (see Volume I - Chapter 3). Here table 28 as well as the Field Officers reports show that:
- a) crèches are rarely established, and where they are, they are no more than a flimsy shack with one of the women workers playing the role of 'dai'.
 - b) There is no special staff to supervise the availability or quality of the crèches.
 - c) Women want crèches, but that is not their most urgent requirement. Regular income at all cost is their most pressing need. (See Table 18).
 - d) Since the sites are usually within 5 km of the village and since the women are largely from the above 30 age group, the crèche does not rank as their most essential need. They leave the children at home, or stay at home with them.

4.15 It is not meant to suggest here that crèches are not an extremely important facility for women, specially for those unemployed and without assets, or the pure hirer's out. In fact it could be argued that if such facilities were provided, more women, especially from the intense reproduction age group of 15-30 in rural areas would probably report for work, thus satisfying their critical need for sustenance.

There is enough evidence, for example;

- i) even in the sample, younger women from the landless classes work on the sites,
- ii) in a study done on the time disposition of 300 women from rural households, predominantly from the landless classes it revealed that not only does the female work participation rate decrease with increase of assets, rising above even the rate for males and definitely above the average rate, it increases with the increase of the number of children below 5¹.
- iii) Observation by field workers, social and political, in Maharashtra, report that there are women working on the sites who have delivered a child less than three days earlier, such is the compulsion for the wage and the acuteness of their distress.

4.16 Hence the importance of child care facility on the site is not under-rated by us. However, there are other, perhaps in the context of the existing workers, even more, if not equally critical areas where the design and delivery of the scheme can be improved.

Ref.1: Women in rural households - A study of their time disposition 1977. (Institute of Social Studies, unpublished - in progress).

Choice of work and gang formation

- 4.17 As it stands now, the works chosen for labour absorption are by and large P.W.D. and Irrigation type works. Various types of water and the land conservation, as well as road works. These works are traditionally associated with 'light' and 'heavy' work and consequently have predetermined rates of female and male labour requirement per day per work. Gangs of males and females are formed to match the norms, as set by the specific 'works'.

Payment system

- 4.18 They are also usually assessed for payment on 'quality' and paid at 'piece rate' to the group of labourers who have completed the job, to be divided amongst themselves.

These three aspects together operate in many ways against the interest of women.

- 4.19 Firstly, when the percentage of women in the gang is greater, than say the norm, the women also do the heavy work, their aim is to complete the jobs.

The P.W.D. Engineers² on the staff of the MEGS claim that by and large at least 50% of the work is available to women, their intake of women would largely depend e.g. on earth digging, on the depth of digging - women carry earth while the men dig. Therefore, the deeper the digging or higher the bunding, the greater the need for women e.g. on road building and on the distance of exact work place and road from the village of origin. Women may be less able to move too far away from home unless earlier 'prepared'.

Doing the heavy work has (a) its physical costs and (b) its wage-loss costs. The quantum of output that can be generated by women alone is less than the mix. Hence they may have to, as they do, work longer hours for the same 'output' within the specified time or may have to stretch the time and thereby earn 'less' wage per day.

- 4.20 Secondly, if women are 'alone' or in an inordinately larger proportion of job seekers than men, it is possible that they may not be offered work unless they bring men with them.

The Field Report (Vol.I, Appendix 6) has an instance of a widow not being able to find a place in any gang. She was sent away and later mobilised a gang of women and demanded work.

- 4.21 Women, therefore, would register and report in much lesser numbers than the volume of unemployment would actually indicate;

- a) because they are turned away and asked to come with men,
- b) because knowing that a gang has to be mixed, they would probably not even come, unless they had access to a man.

Ref 2: Dialogue with M.E.G.S. Administrators at Bombay meeting, quoted from Dr. J. Krishnamurthy, Consultant, Employment Planning Division, Planning Commission.

4.22 Such an 'impact' or implication would particularly affect older women, especially widows, abandoned women, and women of families where men have migrated in search of wage work. Since, on any criteria, these would be the neediest women, this implication in the design of the Scheme deserves serious attention.

4.23 The system of piece rate payment to groups would distort distribution of wage within the gang.

According to Table 17, the majority of the gangs are formed on the basis of 'village' and 'caste'. This implies that extended kin usually form a gang. This is also corroborated by the Field Report (Volume I, Appendix 6) as well as the Nelamangala field visit (Volume I, Appendix 4).

According to the rules, the payment for men and women should be equal. The payment is made on the basis of 'contribution' and is traditionally at the discretion of the gang headmen, who tend to value women's contributions at less than the men's.

On the other hand, if payment was made to individuals either on an output basis or on a basis of hours worked, this in-built discrimination would not take place.

Table 18, as well as Field Reports, indicate that women earn less than men in agricultural work. However, in EGS as many earn equal pay to men as earn a little less.

4.24 Hence 'workers' have to be selected who do not pre-suppose fixed ratios of male/female labour. Females must not only be allowed, but encouraged to form gangs, and payment systems changed to that of direct daily payment. More drastically, 'gang' formation could be abandoned and workers employed individually.

4.25 The Rahuri Sugar Cane workers (Volume I, Appendix 3) are employed by labour contractors in pairs of one male and one female. Tasks are sex segregated and strictly specified. Men cut the cane while women tie and load it. They are paid 'per pair', thus the division would be left to the internal relationship between the man and the woman.

4.26 The payment system in the Nelamangala Block under the Karnataka Employment Affirmation Scheme is not based on gang formation, but weekly wages are paid directly to the workers on the muster rolls at the site offices. This may be a less pernicious system as, here too it is reported that often men register their names for work, send the woman to the site, then come to collect the wages in their name.

Weekly payment

4.27 Other aspects of the payment system are:

- 1) weekly payment and
- 2) coupon payment.

Weekly payment presumes weekly purchase of household needs or staying power for the week. Coupons presume the nearness and use of the ration shop for encashment.

Ration shops

- 4.28 A study of the buying habits of the poor made by Professor Ramesh Bhatt of the Gujarat Centre for Management Studies, Ahmedabad reveals that (a) the poor buy small amounts for their requirements each day for each meal, (b) they usually buy from wherever they can get credit, even at usurious interest rates.
- This study was specific to the public distribution system and showed that weekly/fortnightly issue of rations, packaging in large unit bags like 1 kg. etc. preempted the poor from using shops, and yet it was for these people that the system was meant.
- 4.29 The majority of the women on the sites are assetless and needy. It would be difficult to imagine them having stocks of food which give them staying power for the week.
- The need for advance money and stock of food becomes even more clear when seen in the context of the sugar cane workers in Rahuri. Here the 'pairs' of workers are given Rs. 500 advance by the contractor for joining his gang. This is reported as an attraction by the workers and an incentive in comparison to other forms of work.
- 4.30 While the ration shops are not too far (in the range of 5-10 km from the site), it is still a distance for those who have walked from home to work at manual work, and then have to walk to the ration shop.
- 4.31 In a study done on workers on the Tea Plantation in the Nilgris* (a tea growing mountain area in Southern India), the women complained of exhaustion and lack of any days rest because of the distance to the weekly markets. They said that on their one days holiday during the week, they had to walk across the slopes to fetch their stocks for the week, which made every day of the week hard and physically tiresome.
- 4.32 In Karnataka, the office which distributes the wages also distributes the food grains at the same time. Monetary wages are combined with the foodstuff, thus avoiding the use of ration shops or coupons.
- 4.33 While payment in coupons does have value because it (a) increases the wage value (Table 5), showing that actual wages rise from Rs 19.10 to Rs 24/- as a result of additional coupons, and also because (b) access to food is especially important to women as they attend to the nourishment of the family. However, it does not overcome the problem of weekly payments, lack of holding power, relationships and indebtedness.

* Women workers on a tea plantation,
Monograph, Issued 1976 (Mimeo).

Intra Household Issues

- 4.34 The issues considered above have, by and large, been related to areas which are external to the household, though cases made for payment of daily wages, payment directly to workers individually and distribution of food on site, on the bases that intra household distribution of benefits is unequal amongst the poor.
- 4.35* Allocation of time for household chores by women, as a result of working on public works sites is another concern. The field investigation however, suggests that most women of the age group 30-50 who work, keep their domestic time in the range of 2-4 hours whatever the size of the family and whatever the type of work. By and large women are able to reduce the time needed for household care when they have gainful work. Usually, it is when there is no gainful activity, whether it is inside the home or outside, that women extend the hours of domestic work.
- 4.36 A study done of women from 128 rural households reveals that those who do not go out to work for gainful employment spend their whole day in domestic activity, while those who go out to work are able to fit them into 2-4 hours.
- 4.37 However, there is no doubt that there is a physical burden in doing manual work which could be alleviated by improving the facilities available to such workers. The women who were interviewed were constant in reporting that there has been no marked improvement in their lives except in nutrition. In other words, no other facilities have been provided. However, the fact that they report that nutrition of the family has improved is certainly a most positive impact on such a minimum wage programme.
- 4.38 Other issues like the condition of children, the status of women in terms of power in decision making are difficult to capture in a short period study. It is also to be noted that women from this class of workers who are driven by acute poverty are less concerned about these matters than about finding their daily bread. When the pressure for the day's food is acute, it is difficult for them to respond to questions about status or even about how their being home affects the children. This fact is often forgotten by those who are pre-occupied with providing amenities. The children's education or health becomes a consideration only after she can provide bread to survive. This is the view of the women workers who came to the site.
- 4.39 Another area of concern has been whether there is any local environmental interest in the women, whether by the Administrators of the programme or women's organisations or trade unions. As the sample selected for study was purposive, the district of Dhulia was deliberately selected as it was a long standing movement of the tribals, (the site visited in Shahada Block comes within the purview of Shramik Sangattan, a peasants movement for land rights and minimum wages etc). Many women belong to the movement.

* Women in rural households, a study of the time distribution (in progress for ICSSR), Institute of Social Studies.

4.40 However, this phenomena is uncommom and virtually no other area in Maharashtra has taken up any kind of labour movement on behalf of the landless, casual women labourers.

4.41 Neither the Department of Women's Welfare, the Voluntary Agencies nor the Social Work School show any concern for these labourers.

4.42 In the Poona district, a new political group is moving amongst the workers, but so far its impact has not been specific on women, and not even very strongly on the men.

 The employment structure and the system of hiring of labour on the large farms is such that it is difficult for any impact to be made on the condition of labour of this category without a chance in the total perception at policy level.

 However, at a humane level, it does come as a disappointment that no women's organisations or trade unions have come to work with these women and help them to develop some long-term sustenance through working on the sites.

CHAPTER V

Recommendations

The difference between male and female workers

5.1 The foregoing analysis reveals that female labour has not been perceived as a category distinct from male. Hence these unsatisfactory repercussions of the programme on the women.

The question may be asked - why this lack of perception? Obviously it is not intended to harass or negatively affect the women. This lack of perception that women are a separate category of labour is common to most poverty eradication programmes, not only in India, but elsewhere too. It is based on the assumption that labour, especially from the unskilled destitute classes, can be treated as homogeneous for analysis planning. It is more common to classify labour as under-employed, unemployed, below poverty line, seasonally unemployed etc. Within these categories it is not considered necessary to underline the difference based on sex.

It is usually assumed that if work is offered, males and females will respond and absorb the work as needed.

However, all the evidence not only in the preceding paragraphs, but from other research on workers, reveals that there are many reasons why female labour want to be distinguished and distinctively handled apart from male labour.

What are these characteristics? When ought the differences to impinge on policy be, and when is it not necessary to take note of the difference. This is an extremely difficult but important exercise which every employment programme should take into consideration before it designs the programme, especially its implementation.

5.2 The main differences between male and female labour that have been observed can be listed as follows;

1) The biological difference between men and women requires that women not only have to give birth to the child but also nurture it in its early days of life. This behaviour has led to their having the added responsibility of home and child care even when the children are beyond the infancy stage.

Apart from the responsibility, they also undergo physical strain with childbirth and childcare which tells on their physical capacity to do sustained hard work, although they do do it.

2) Various cultural and traditional factors have led to the clear demarcation of economic roles between men and women. For example in rice agriculture it is common to find only women transplanting rice. Weeding, vegetable plucking, bundling of harvest produce are all usually given to women. In non-agriculture, especially on construction sites, women are often made to carry earth while men dig.

In other aspects of construction, men do the skilled jobs of brick laying while women mix the mortar and so it goes on. The more traditional a society the more clearly demarcated these rules.

- 5.3 Hence, the labour market is not neutral between men and women. Males are absorbed for certain jobs while females only for theirs. Even in the case of seasons, the agricultural seasons do not have the same affect on male and female labour absorption. Ploughing season may absorb men while harvesting may require women.

The variations in labour absorption do not end here. Certain crops have different female labour inputs at different times than other crops. Sugar cane and its cycles may use a different level and ratio of female labour than rice and its cycles, or wheat and its cycles. All these differences have been identified by various kinds of research which are going on.

The women interviewed on the employment guarantee sites, whether in Maharashtra or in Karnataka, report that their unemployment is not limited to the lean agricultural seasons, it is all the year around.

When the sites are opened, they have some access to work, but when the sites are closed they are without work. In other words, they are not absorbed by the normal agricultural activity which is supposed to be at its peak in certain seasons.

- 5.4 Many other serious reasons have begun to emerge as to why female labour has to be considered distinctly from male labour. It has increasingly been found that the nutrition and health levels of households are directly dependent on the access women in the household have to cash or foodgrains. Thus wages and payment systems which do not deliver this cash or ration to the women could tend to divert the reward for work away from the households basic needs. Gangs dominated by men, wages paid in cash to male heads of family would exaggerate the problem of intra-household inequality in the distribution of health and nutrition between males and females.

Men drinking liquor can lead to acute indebtedness. Distances of ration shops from home could mean that women cannot visit them personally and therefore money is sent with the man for buying food. This money can get dissipated into alcohol consumption by the male.

- 5.5 Another aspect of the difference between male and female labour is that women's work is evaluated according to traditional perception. Most employees in traditional occupations like agriculture will perceive the output of women or their contribution as much lower than men and thereby, even if there are rules such as the Equal Remuneration Act, they will not abide by it as they see the contribution of women as being less in value than that of men.

Due to the decades of the prevalence of certain attitudes, female labour often responds differently from male labour to not only offers of employment but also to various other institutional arrangements. When females perceive their work as being less valuable than males they would also not insist on the exercise of their right both to have work as well as to earn equal reward.

The intra household status of women, namely that within the family they are considered as being in some way second class, is carried to the relationships on the work site where men who are playing the role of foremen etc., would continue to use them for tedious, hard jobs whilst paying them lesser amounts.

- 5.6 These are some of the implications which should be borne in mind when assuming that there is no difference between male and female labour in designing employment programmes.

Change in perception

Recommendation I

- 5.7 The first recommendation that seems of high priority is for the planners and programme designers to perceive this difference between male and female labour, its sociological as well as economic characteristics and ensure that these differences are accommodated. Such a change in perception would require that engineers and administrators working at the local level nearer to sites, would have to be given orientation programmes which would make them aware that women are the most critically unemployed, that it is the women who are the majority of the job seekers amongst the unskilled casual labour force and that traditional allocation of roles in economic activity make supply and demand of female labour different from male labour. Hence conception, design and implementation of public works or relief works schemes where women are present in large, if not dominant numbers, have to be modified after a study of female work patterns, internal and external to the household.

Change in nature of schemes and ratios of female/male labour

- 5.8 Most of the schemes i.e. the works that are undertaken are selected by the Irrigation and PWD departments. They are conventional works and therefore, traditional norms prevail. In the mix of male and female labour for completion of a work, two changes may be required here;

Recommendation II

- 5.9 To develop in the administration, specially at the local level, a change in the attitude to the mix. Since males and females on the works sites are doing identical jobs, digging, carrying etc., females are in fact doing as many jobs as males, thus there need not be the distinction between heavy and light work. When labour reports for work, they may be taken on in gangs regardless of the ratio of females to males. This aspect of the change in ratio could be communicated to the villages for the benefit of the workers when the public announcements are made regarding the availability of employment under the scheme.

Recommendation III

- 5.10 The second change required would be in the type of schemes undertaken. It does not seem to be necessary only to undertake irrigation and public works type schemes. As Shri Tungare has said (Volume I, Appendix I) related schemes should be taken up if other departments working at the district level provide some technical services to the local EGS administrators. Horticulture provides one useful development in which women can work without necessarily revealing lower productivities than men.

- 5.11 However, the Karnataka Government's Employment Affirmation Scheme yields an even more innovative idea for unskilled work of short term duration. The cleaning of villages, making improved roads within the village, the improvement of Harijan's housing, community centres etc. are an example. In other words, the various items taken up for "Shramdan", or 50% participation by the Panchyat, can be converted into EGS work and those who contribute the labour could be paid under the scheme.

Training of Personnel

Recommendation IV

- 5.12 Since it is proven that the majority of the workers come from the landless classes, often live in sub-standard housing, if they have houses at all, and since maintenance of villages could be a short duration work, this aspect of using labour to improve its own living conditions may be considered. Engineers, administrators etc., of the scheme may have to be reoriented on both these changes and taught how to adjust their selection of sites with the kind/sex of labour that reports, the kind of area to which the labour belongs etc.

Payment System

Recommendation V

- 5.13 The payment system may have to be drastically modified in response to the acute problems faced by females from the poorest rural households.

Weekly payment makes both men and women vulnerable in relation to borrowing. Whether they borrow from the money lender, the Mukkadan or the shopkeepers they have to borrow for consumption. When the circle starts by borrowing, then there is no end.

Hence, it may be important to pay a daily wage. The coupon system and the use of the ration shop can be a source of distress unless it is ensured that the ration shop has sufficient rations so that coupons are taken there, and also that they are accessible to the workers. After working eight hours of manual labour on the site, it would be cruel to imagine that these same women would be able to go to ration shops which are far away, and especially so if they are likely to be told that there are no stocks.

Recommendation VI

- 5.14 It might be possible to design a system by which, if foodgrains are to be given, these are given on the sites and cash payments are made once a week. The Food for Work Programme which provides the basis for the real wage should develop this methodology universally so that goods shops are opened on the sites*

This recommendation has been made by Prof. Raj Krishna, Member Planning Commission, Government of India in a discussion. It has also been made in a note on Rural Development.

Recommendation VII

- 5.15 It may also be important not to pay the collective wages to the gangman but pay directly to individual workers working in the gang. This would ensure that heierarchical systems of evaluation of women's work would not be exercised. This is done in Karnataka (Volume I, Appendix IV).

Piece Rate

- 5.16 The piece rate system comes under question. It should be the right of the labourer to get her/his day's wages whatever the output. It is conventional to use the piece rate in all public work sites because there is no other form of assessing the daily output. It is also used in order to act as an incentive for higher outputs. However, this is an extremely cruel system and especially cruel when the labour that reports to work comes from the poorest households, which also have acute under-nourishment. Added to this the fact that women and children predominate on sites, the piece rate seems even more vicious.

Recommendation VIII

- 5.17 It is often argued that piece rate is compassionate as it allows anyone to work as long as the job is completed. If a woman holds a job and cannot report for work, she can send anybody else in her place and as long as the job is completed, her income is ensured. But these are only marginal attractions, and in fact become an attraction simply because there is no other form of insurance against sickness or absence. On the other hand it provides a cover for families who want to exploit female and child labour, so piece rate should be replaced by daily wage as recommended in Recommendation III.

Leave with wage

Recommendation IX

- 5.18 It would be far better if, on public works schemes (which are meant to provide relief and are supported by public funds), if norms of payment could be set up to provide an example to private employers. If the worker is registered and his/her attendance is regular, a certain percentage of absence should be condoned or insured against in the project. This aspect of payment system becomes extremely important in the light of women's participation as women are often handicapped not only with their own illness but the illness of others in their households apart from days during childbirth. They should be given a certain number of days leave with pay. This can be done only in conjunction with a daily wage payment system.

Recommendation X

- 5.19 The system by which payment is made after the period of work, whether it be one week, one month or one day, is again to be questioned. The sugar cane labour at Rahuri are paid Rs. 500/- in advance by the contractors before the season starts.

While it can be argued that this is a form of bondage, it is also true that this gives the labourers the opportunity to leave stocks of food at home and move to the sites. In the case of EGS sites, since the sites are near the village this issue is not as obvious. However, because of the acute poverty and marginal-to-survival levels of existence here, the wage should be paid in advance.

5.20 Hence, if the payment is weekly, the worker should be paid the weekly wage in advance; if daily, then on the first working day at least one day's wage (if not one week's wage) should be paid in advance. It would be even better if this payment was made in food. The food input would make it possible for the worker to at least be nourished before bending the body to work.

5.21 The risk involved in advance payment is exaggerated. If this payment is made in the normal course, then the population would quite soon settle into its obligation. Most professional people, and certainly landlords, are paid in advance. It seems unjust that the most destitute labour should be worked on hungry stomachs and be pushed into indebtedness. Indebtedness erodes into the earnings because of the need to eat while working.

Delivery of the programme

Recommendation XI

5.22 Obviously most of the facilities associated with female workers such as creches, drinking water and sheds for rest, are absent from the majority of sites even though they are accepted as a part of the programme. It is not surprising to find that they are not being delivered with any kind of efficacy on the sites. The same phenomena or characteristics prevail even in plantations in the organised sector such as tea or coffee plantations and even in non agricultural sectors such as the textile industry covered by the Factory Act. Wherever the employee, especially the local labour supervisors, are males, there is no serious attention given to maternity and child services for women.

5.23 Again, the perception of the male is an extension of his attitude developed within the home. He sees the maternity and child care roles of the women in the family as being in some way of low value or not requiring any special support. Therefore, when he sees a similar role in a factory or plantation or a tea estate, he does not pay much attention to the quality of these facilities.

5.24 In addition to this problem of the perception of the employer there is the perception of the labour leader. Most union leaders even in the organised sector i.e. in plantations or in industry are males. They also perceive the needs of the women workers only as an extension of the attitude that prevails within the home. Hence the union leaders do not make the quality of the creche or the maternity benefit schemes or the health insurance schemes the priorities in their struggle for better working conditions or wages. Most women workers belonging to industries which are covered by unionisation make the complaint that those who lead their unions are indifferent to women's needs.

While women on the EGS sites have reported that these facilities are not well supplied, they have also reported (See Table 22) that the attitude to women workers is highly unsatisfactory. This matches with the analysis made on the perception of employers and union leaders. Hence women spokesmen for women must be identified, women made paymasters, supervisors and women's interest groups developed.

Recommendation XII

- 5.25 Yet another issue which arises is that until there is first the satisfaction of the need for work and wage, the question of facilities does not arise. The major cry of the women is revealed in Table 18 as well as the report of a field visit (Appendix 6). Their priority in terms of wants is for employment throughout the year and regular wages. Creches came lower in their ranking of priority needs. In other words, unless the implementation of the scheme is drastically modified to absorb all the women who want to work and earn the wage, unless the payment system is modified in such a way that the wage reaches their hands, the question of water and child care facilities does not interest them. It is recommended that the implementation of social service facilities should be more carefully considered and in all monitoring and evaluation studies, their existence and their quality should form part of the criteria for evaluation. But along with this there should be radical modifications of the programmes as mentioned in earlier paragraphs.

Gang formation

Recommendation VIII

- 5.26 While the recommendations for delivery of the services in greater quantity and quality follows from the results of the investigation, what seems even more important is the formation of some kind of women gangs which are more than gangs and which act as women's groups which would protect their interest as well as articulate them to the local administrators. This would require mobilisation of women as a separate group of workers with some kind of representation given to them which can be used at the block level. Taking into consideration the whole package of women's needs, namely their requirement for creches, their requirement for food, their requirement for regular daily wages and their requirement of some kind of power to change the attitudes and perception, it seems that some structures may have to be designed which are extremely innovative. Following are a few recommendations related to these:

Recommendation XLV

- 5.27 Many states have an Applied Nutrition Programme as part of their social welfare service. This programme is largely funded by the UNICEF in India, but it is equally supported by the State. Under the Applied Nutrition Programme, infants as well as lactating mothers are given food free of cost. Programmes are usually delivered through local women's institutions as well as the District Welfare Officers. There have been evaluations of this Applied Nutrition Programme and frequently it has been said that the programme does not necessarily reach the neediest women and consequently does not reach the largest number of them.

Considering that women from the most needy report for work on these sites and that their children have to be abandoned in the village for long hours while they do manual work, an idea that seems to emerge is whether the Applied Nutritional Programme could not be fitted into the employment guarantee scheme at the site level. If there are enough trained social workers or implementors of the programme, they should be made into mobile teams and they could service the women on the sites as well as their households in the villages. This would ensure that the programme reached those who needed it most.

- 5.28 The Department of Social Welfare in most states have, at the moment, limited their activities to recognised societies. They handle Harijans and children through certain established structures, and yet they do have quite a massive staff for delivery as well as for inspecting the delivery. Jeeps and some assets are kept at their disposal and voluntary agencies receive their funds.

Recommendation XV

- 5.29 The idea would be either to make the department organise itself in order to deliver its social welfare services on the sites and/or through local voluntary agencies which are in close proximity at the site. Where the sites are opened, they could be asked to distribute these services during the working period.

- 5.30 It is interesting to note that the Planning Secretary of the Karnataka Government, who visited one of the Employment Affirmation Sites in Nelamangala Block (See Appendix 4), reported that out of the 2,000 workers on the site, 1,000 were women. The entire work force belonged to one caste, one of the most backward scheduled castes. He was shocked to find that these 1,000 women workers were not provided in any way with child welfare services, nor sheds, nor care, water etc. When it was suggested to him that the State Government Department of Social Welfare may move itself to deliver these services at the sites, he was extremely responsive and promised to take up this initiative. It was his belief also that social services and especially maternity and child care services, concentrating on nutrition and health for children, would be most effective in reaching the poorest if delivered at the sites.

Recommendation XVI

- 5.31 A similar recommendation can be made for the integrated child development programme (ICDP). India has a programme called the ICDP. By this 100 villages are selected in districts in the country where the child development and related maternity services are intensified. Each of the 100 villages are provided with Care Centres very near the homes of the rural women. Food as well as education is given to these infants. Mothers are educated in health and nutrition, they are also given free food if they belong to the poorest. Here again all the suggestions made for the Applied Nutrition Programme could be made namely, that the ICDP is also made into a mobile programme intensively operating in areas where women are working in massive numbers doing hard physical labour as a result of the pressure of poverty.

Recommendation XVII

- 5.32 The main change required in these programmes, ANP and ICDP as they exist now is that they should become peripatetic - camping on sites for 6 months of the year whilst the sites are open.
- 5.33 However, with a strategy of this kind, it could also have a larger effect since the women workers who come to these sites are certainly the poorest i.e. women and men from the landless and marginal farmer families who are willing to do the hard labour to fight off starvation. By camping at these sites, if services are delivered to them, the child nutritional programmes will have reached large numbers of the poorest, which is not always possible or easy when the delivery is done at the village level by the local women's organisation, usually the Mahila Mandal.
- 5.34 Usually the structures at the village tend to dilute the reach of the programme, and give it a tilt towards the better off.
- 5.35 The great advantage of delivering these services at the sites is that, if the women workers on the site form a clientele for the social welfare services at the site they;
- a) become a formation on the basis of sex,
 - b) become a formation which can continue at the village level where they reside and from where they work when the sites are closed.
- 5.36 This approach, therefore, can be a strategy by which a strong formation of the labouring women of the villages, especially the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, get created and the effect of these formations can be felt both (a) in the EGS sites, in that they would have a supported base, could represent their needs, fall back on additional benefits and (b) in the overall administrative system which is, at least in its stated intention, attempting to develop institutions of the poor, which can become the delivery points for many economic and social programmes.

Women Personnel

Recommendation XVIII

- 5.37 However, this need not and perhaps cannot be the only method of developing groups of female labour on the public works sites. The scheme should have personnel who are equipped to mobilise the women workers, represent their interests as well as link them to environmental failures. This personnel, like having a local level engineer or overseer should be built into the programme.

Recommendation XIX

- 5.38 Either women can be made overseers and paymasters, food disbursers, just as they are made into dais, or women can be recruited to initiate and develop women's groups.

5.39 It is often argued that women cannot be supervisors/
paymasters, either because;

- a) they do not have the skills, and
- b) they are not able to be mobile, stay after dark etc.

While (b) may be true in areas of female seclusion or remote areas, it does not apply in most of India, especially amongst women from the scheduled castes and tribes, who in fact dominate the work-sites

5.40 In the Nilgiris, in tea plantations,¹ women were always supervised by men, even for tea picking and weighing. These men are called Maistrs and they earn 25-50% more than the workers. A meeting of women workers revealed that women, specially above 40-45 years, had no inhibition to playing this 'Maistr' role. Hence, a woman was selected and the management accepted this idea as an experiment. This way women leadership was built-up and the women workers felt they had a direct link with the management.

5.41 Similarly in Kaira District,² in the milk cooperatives, only 10% of the members were women, though the workers in milk production are women. Again it was argued that women do not have the ability/the mobility etc., to participate fully in the cooperative. However, when the women, specially those who had become co-op members were asked, they said this was a myth and it was promoted to keep women down. They felt as strong and as able as the men and were equipped to handle the management tasks of the cooperative.

Recommendation XX

5.42 Thus, it is not unrealistic or sociologically or culturally impossible to find women from the same sources as the men who would act as supervisors, paymasters etc. They should be appointed especially when there are women's gangs. They could also be appointed as the disbursers of the food in the Food for Work Programme.

1. Women workers on Tea Plantations. Monograph 1976. Devaki Jain, Institute of Social Studies (Mimeo).

2. 'Milkmaids of Kaira District', Book on 'Women and Development' to be published by Vikas Publishing House, Ansari Road, New Delhi.

- 5.43 Appointing a Government paid social worker at the district of Taluka level does not have much effect because they can hardly cover a village or a site even once a month. So, it becomes highly symbolic.

Training

Recommendation XXI

- 5.44 Regarding reason (a) that women do not have the skills, it is recommended that women are given training in these simple skills of paymaster, food grain disburser etc., as part of the planning aspect of the scheme.

Recommendation XXII

- 5.45 If there is serious interest in such a class of workers, it should not be impossible to make the first day on the site an orientation day.

The days orientation can be information about the scheme, the benefits, the rights of the workers, the duration. It could ask the workers to group themselves, elect or select their leaders. It could offer to those who wish it, the minimum training in the skills required for supervision and so on.

Recommendation XXIII

- 5.46 A further extension of such an attempt to involve the workers could include dissemination of knowledge of other schemes/programmes available for the poor. The adult education scheme could be worked into the routine of the workers.

Recommendation XXIV

- 5.47 The case for making some arrangements for preparing the workers, assisting their formation around some related issues, becomes even stronger when it is recognised that on public works sites the employer/employee relationships are extremely slender. The employment on the site is neither long-term, nor binding. Therefore, legal provisions do not carry with them any force for implementation. If the workers are themselves made aware then the provisions will have some value. The fact that public works is a State-financed, State-run project gives it the opportunity to develop the forces, the institutional bases which will make legal provisions more than de jure provisions.

Technology

- 5.48 Public works have not so far attracted the technologists, since the work is usually minor irrigation, road building, land improvement. The tools are basic and considered necessary. However, it is here that humane technologists can really find an avenue for their skills.
- 5.49 Picks and shovels are heavy blunt coarse handled, baskets and steel iron dishes used for carrying earth

are tattered and small. Stone breakers often hurt their eyes with dugs or break their fingers with the mallets. Water is brought in small pots by individual women at great labour. Sheds for infants are dilapidated. Housing technologists could devise structures which can be put up and stored when not in use. Implements can be developed which yield higher efficiency at less physical destruction.

Recommendation XXV

5.50 Those planning massive schemes of work must at the same time develop improved tools, housing and other community facilities and distribute them on the site.

Evaluation

Recommendation XXVI

5.51 In evolving criteria for evaluation of public works schemes, the usual norms of cost-benefit in terms of expenditure incurred, employment generated, value of assets are not enough. Additional items such as supply of facilities like drinking water, creches, shelters, tools, food, physical (tools) and non physical (technical) services should also be assessed.

CHAPTER VI

Some Wider Issues

Seasonal Employment

6.1 It is an integral part of this employment programme, that it is to mop-up labour only in the so-called 'off' seasons. And even then it is only those who are unemployed to such a degree even in the off-season, that arduous manual labour in the 'open' (under the sky), at below minimum wage levels, is still attractive. Hence;

- a) sites are kept open only for short periods of 2-4 months at a time,
- b) wage rates are kept lower than the market (from October 1978 wage rates were increased through the addition of more food coupons - see Table 5).

6.2 This policy has several implications. Firstly, women are not only seasonally unemployed, they are unemployed all the year round. The evidence, both from Maharashtra and Karnataka, supports this statement - also Dr. Sulabha Brahme (See Appendix I).

When there is such acute need by women for a wage, is it adequate for the planners to open and close the sites? As a public works scheme to alleviate distress it seems only fair that they should keep the wage earning opportunities, for those who wish it, open throughout the year. As Shri V.S. Tungare has said (See Appendix I), the Collector can ascertain whether such labour still demands work, even after agricultural activity picks up in the environment, and make the necessary adjustments in the scheme to accommodate them.

If the labour is only women, then certain schemes may suggest themselves. If the numbers do not suggest Block level works but District level works, then this could be organised and the 5-10 km stipulation abandoned.

Opening and Closing of Sites

6.3 A second serious implication of this policy is the opening and closing of sites according to 'peak' demand for labour, in that it forces labour to return to the market however obnoxious the conditions of employment in the market. In a sense, it acts as a kind of labour bank for the farmers who want to hire labour only when needed, and it appears that the Government obligingly stores it at a low wage rate so that it can be hired at low rates during peak periods.

It provides no lever for those 'pure' employees who wish to improve their working conditions/contractual arrangements with their employers, as they are thrust into the market again involuntarily.

While the assumption that labour would not report in peak times is not unfair, in well developed agricultural belts the wage rates in these seasons rises to 150, if not 200% of the minimum wage, it presupposes that all idle labour or work-seekers will be absorbed in the peak. Here again, women labour provides an illustration of a sub-set of labour that does not belong to the high rate peak demand syndrome.

The Poor and Poverty Eradication

- 6.4 The socio-economic condition of the really poor - and within them the scheduled castes and tribes - and within these two sets, women and decades of their stagnation in sub-survival levels of poverty, has created a sociology which demarcates them from others in the labour force.

In India, as in a few other countries, there is the additional factor of a large mass of underemployed labour.

Assumptions about labour supply behaviour, about distribution of benefits within families, about social inhibitions and habits which may apply across the board to the 'formal', above survival labour do not apply amongst the poorest.

- 6.5 A household will operate on the environment collectively to maximise its income to stave off starvation. Everyone will work towards bread-breaking all norms of expected behaviour, bearing all costs however painful.

The migrant workers not only move every 14 days leaving the idea of a home totally behind, but they pair with men who are not necessarily their kin, if that is the need. Children may be abandoned in the pressure to work outside for bread even though the bread may be for that very child. The choices are hard.

- 6.6 Women do hard manual work just like men, stay out, are mobile, face the world of sexual exploitations if it has to be faced for survival.

In distribution within the household, choices are hard and if women or the weak are to be treated unequally, they are. Indebtedness is endemic to their condition and therefore exploitation by asset-owners is a well known experience. In this, to expect any kind of responses, that are expected by those who have crossed the poverty or survival barrier is misleading.

- 6.7 Within the poor, women are the poorest with less access to everything than the men - wage, nutrition, health, literacy, everything.

Should not a programme trying to reach the poorest take note of these factors? Should it not emancipate the lowest grade of labour from the seasonality of Indian agriculture?

Migrant - 14 day workers

6.8 The workers in the sugar cane fields at Rahuri (See Appendix 3) are employed for only fourteen days at a stretch. They are deliberately shifted from employer to employer on the fifteenth day in order to avoid the implication of the Factory Act. In other words, to avoid the treating of them as permanent labour, which begins to operate if a person is employed for more than 15 days. A similar pattern prevails on plantations of other cash crops like tea, coffee etc., all over India. In fact labour of this kind is called 14-day labour in the local language. The condition of this category of Labour is cruel beyond imagination. While they earn high wage rates for these short periods, their life styles are inhuman. They have no place they can call their own, their family life is almost non-existent. It is assumed that they return to their village during the 'off-season' and live on the money they earn. However, even this assumption is based more on speculation than reality. Moving from place to place without any roots - geographical or sociological - becomes a way of life for these people, and they become toughened to face it.

6.9 However, given the reason why they are pushed into this life style, namely the employers desire to avoid the Factory Act, the question does arise whether any public works schemes, whose intention or whose initial philosophy is to strengthen the base of the poorest, least skilled manual labour force, should while entering the labour market not make such exploitation impossible? It is these additional issues that suggest, that if the condition of those who need relief, who need the wage of the public works, are enmeshed in complex situations, to promote the conventional stereotype public works programme may not only be inadequate, but actually harmful.

6.10 Unlike famine or flood relief, the employment guarantee scheme is planned relief from unemployment, so it does aim to strengthen the economic base of the unemployed labour.

Programme should be All-Year-Round

6.11 If the majority of this labour, as in the case of the women, seeks year-round work, then the works may have to be chosen which has longer duration. They may have to have a selective element of skill/orientation. They may have to have orientation towards developing assets which will help the poor themselves.

6.12 It is usually argued that if employment is to be offered on a year-round basis, a shelf of projects different from public works should be undertaken - durable "productive" schemes. As Shri Tungare has said (Appendix I), the aim of the MEGS is to wither away, and this would be the aim of most relief works.

He has added that when block level planning for full employment comes up then the EGS would not be necessary. Everybody could have employment in the formal sense of the word. However, a shelf of products like Khadi Schemes or Bidi manufacture are not being recommended in this context. The same programme with the same focus on irrigation land improvement and PWD could generate longer duration employment in a stronger base of labour organisation. Payment of advances, daily wage, food on sites, special services, all could nudge out the poor from poverty syndromes; giving them the relief they want from bondage of various kinds. The programme should take note of the feed-back and beam itself to the class of