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Working Paper No. 141

WOMEN WORKERS IN AN INDIAN URBAN
LABOUR MARKET

by

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Executive Summary

This study of women workers in Lucknow (India) aims at portraying the characteristics and problems of women in the employment market with particular focus on labour market segmentation and sex discrimination, in an urban situation of a developing country. It is well known that only a small proportion of women enter the labour force in urban areas of India for various socio-cultural and economic reasons. The present study is, however, confined to the problems they face after having entered the labour market as jobseekers and employees. Thus the study deals primarily with the demand side of the labour market and examines the degree of differential treatment, if any, women workers receive from employers and labour market institutions in the process of recruitment, selection, placement, promotion and earnings. From the policy viewpoint, any employer discrimination may be more amenable to modifications and change in the desired direction, than the deep societal factors operating on the supply side.

The results reported in this paper are based on information taken from the personnel records of a sample of 97 establishments (private and public). In addition, interviews were conducted with all the employers concerning their personnel policies and practices and also with a sample of male and female employees.

In the employment structure of Lucknow city and of the sample establishments, men constitute the majority of the workforce in nearly all occupations and activities; women workers, though small in number, are found in most occupational categories but there are only two occupations in which over one-third of workers are women: nursing and teaching. Some other occupations which show a tendency to attract a larger than average proportion of women workers are: stenographers, clerks and typists, telephone operators, sales workers, and production process workers in electronics, embroidery and food processing. On the other hand, higher grade supervisory and managerial jobs in practically all lines of activities and occupations have a much lower than average proportion of women workers.

The data from sample establishments concerning recruitments conducted in 1979 and 1980 suggest that, overall, male applicants (despite their greater numbers) have greater chances of being selected than do female applicants. One reason for such a bias may be the belief expressed by employers that women are secondary workers, they have to look after households and, therefore, jobs are needed by and should be given first to men. Also, since there are no or very few women in most occupations, many jobs tend to remain out of bounds for women because of problems employers foresee in desegregating their workforce.

Of the vacancies filled by promotion in the sample establishments during 1979 and 1980, women workers received less than a proportionate share. To some extent the difference may be attributed to the fact that women are mostly employed in functions which do not have a well-set line of vertical mobility within the organisation, and in sectors where promotions are rare.

The different occupational distribution of men and women is at least partly responsible for the higher earnings of men. Nevertheless, women workers earn, on the whole, less than men in similar occupations. Even when both men and women are employed on time-scales of pay with similar nomenclature of jobs the starting points in the pay scales of women's posts are significantly lower than those of men. Women workers' wages were found to be around 17 per cent lower than male workers' wages in the same occupation even after standardising for age, educational qualifications, experience and type of establishment.

This working paper also includes two appendices. The first is a small study of women working in the informal sector to complement the main study which is limited to the formal sector. This study described the background and work of women who are vegetable vendors, washerwomen and housemaids.

The second appendix is a follow-up study of the labour market experience of male and female university graduates four years after their graduation. It is seen that a large proportion of educated women do not enter the labour market for various reasons and those who seek employment are somewhat specific regarding the kinds of job which they feel they could do. Yet the evidence suggests the existence of some discrimination against women who are seeking work or employed: their virtual elimination from most higher cadre jobs; a lower probability of selection than men even for middle-order, "soft" jobs; lower average earnings; and a slower rise in earnings as compared to men.

Preface

This study of women workers in Lucknow (India) aims at portraying the characteristics and problems of women in the employment market with particular focus on certain propositions on labour market segregation and sex discrimination, in an urban situation of a developing country. It is well known that only a small proportion of women enter the labour force in urban areas of India for various socio-cultural and economic reasons. The present study is, however, confined to the problems they face after having entered the labour market as jobseekers and employees. Thus the study deals primarily with the demand side of the labour market and examines the degree of differential treatment, if any, women workers receive from employers and labour market institutions in the process of recruitment, selection, placement, promotion and earnings.

The study has been sponsored by the International Labour Office, Geneva, as a part of their research programme on the role of women and demographic change. I am grateful to the ILO for providing me this opportunity to study an important and topical problem of my own research interest by sponsoring and financing the study. I am particularly grateful to Richard Anker of the ILO, for very valuable co-operation and consultations I had from him in the initiation of the study as well as on the various analytical issues examined. He and Catherine Hein also made very valuable and incisive comments and suggestions on the initial draft of the paper, which proved very helpful in revising it to its present form.

At the Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, a team of colleagues assisted me in carrying out the study. Dr. Shif K. Gupta was associated with the study during the stage of data collection and organised and executed the field work plan. Dr. Shyan Singh was associated with the project in all its stages. Ratna Wattal provided very useful assistance in documentation and referencing for the study. Madhu Rani, Meeta Deva, Mukul Pandya, Shahi Agarwal and Saroj Agnihotri constituted the team of field investigators for the primary survey. S.K. Ghosh provided assistance in computation and analysis of data. M.S.K. Rao provided the secretarial assistance in all stages of the project and typed the various drafts of the study report. I am grateful to all these colleagues for their valuable assistance.

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1983

I. Introduction

1. Segregation and discrimination in the labour market

In the traditional competitive framework, labour market differentiations¹ arise due to lagged responses of supply of certain kinds of labour to changes in demand. The chief sources of such lag consist in time, for instance, in acquiring skills in short supply, and space, which makes instantaneous mobility difficult due to physical and information barriers.² The result is segmentation of labour markets by skills, by activity using different technologies, and by spatial units,³ characterised by differences in labour market practices and wages. Considerable attention has also been paid in the recent past to the phenomenon of "internalisation" of labour markets whereby individual firms fix their own procedures and norms creating restrictive barriers to entry and limiting upward mobility to their own employees on the basis of "seniority ladders" and "job clusters" (Kerr, 1954; Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

The above kinds of differentiation leading to segmentation of the labour market and to differences in wages are explained by the traditional labour market theory in terms of imperfections in the labour market on the one hand, and the employers' motive of maximising profits on the other. The explanations have generally been truistic and are found quite inadequate in situations where "institutions" play an important role in the labour market.⁴ But the versatility of the traditional neo-classical theory becomes particularly suspect in explaining the differentiation in the labour market based on class, race and sex which has recently assumed great significance due to its socio-political implications. The issues involved are not merely of labour market segmentation based on some techno-economic factors, but of discrimination based on certain social values and attitudes. Attempts have sometimes been made to analyse "racial" or "sexual" discrimination within the framework of maximisation behaviour, by treating discrimination as a consumption good enjoyed as such by the employer.⁵ In this context employing white or male workers and discriminating against black or women workers, though available at a lower wage, is rational in so far as the satisfaction derived from discrimination is valued

¹ No attempts has been made here to provide a comprehensive and analytical review of the labour market theory and empirical work using segmentation-segregation-discrimination framework. Only a few major strands of thinking and basic propositions have been stated. Bibliographical references have also been kept to the minimum, as no detailed analysis of theoretical and empirical work is attempted.

² For a comprehensive review of the neo-classical literature on labour market segmentation, see Godwin (1970).

³ For elaboration of the concept and its empirical examination see Papola and Subrahmanian (1975).

⁴ For a critique of neo-classical explanations of the labour market using an internal labour market approach in a broadly institutionalist framework, see Robinson (1970).

⁵ See Becker (1971). For elaboration and an empirical analysis of the "positive" theory of discrimination by sex, see Chiplin and Sloane (1975).

higher than the wage difference paid. Such explanations may sound theoretically elegant and logical, but are basically axiomatic and lead us nowhere nearer the explanation.

Another, and perhaps more fruitful line of investigation into the question of discrimination has been the one based on the dual labour market hypothesis, for example Gordon (1972). According to this hypothesis the labour market is divided into two sectors: one characterised by "good", high-paying and stable jobs and the other by "bad" low-paid self-terminating jobs. Workers belonging to certain social categories tend to get perpetually into the one and those belonging to other categories into the other sector of the labour market. Perpetuation of such segregation has been analysed mainly on the basis of two inter-related approaches (Loveridge and Mok, 1979): one is based on the hypothesis of social "stigmatisation" of jobs and workers, according to which certain jobs get labelled as inferior, and those working in these jobs as "inferior" workers, thus resulting in a lasting segregation in job markets. The second approach is based on the neo-Marxist proposition of monopoly capital according to which employers act in their own interest within the existing socio-political arrangements where concentration of production within a few large corporations produces a monopoly-monopsony situation, and the need to produce increasingly larger surplus value with increasing organic composition of capital creates the "industrial reserve army" that is required to keep the system going. Activities and workers thus become dichotomised between the "core" and "periphery", the latter being perpetually disadvantaged and only loosely linked with the former.

2. Sex discrimination: Conditions and types

Both approaches to dualism in the labour market have been applied to the analysis of sex segregation and discrimination in the labour market. Stigmatisation of women as "inferior" workers and the jobs in which they mostly work as "inferior jobs" occurs in many countries. Nevertheless, it is pointed out on the basis of historical evidence that in the pre-capitalist stages, women were involved in productive activities in partnership with men on a more egalitarian and less exploitative basis.¹ However, this partnership disappeared with the emergence of capitalist-owned enterprises supervised and managed exclusively by men, wherein women tended to "crowd" along with other disadvantaged groups, in the low-paid, insecure and unstable jobs. Most of this process has, of course, gone on unconsciously, yet continuously. The laws relating to equal opportunity to men and women are found violated in spirit though not in letter, as suggested by the following conclusion of the British "Equal Opportunities Commission" (Loveridge and Mok, 1979, p. 87): "People in authority in British industry appear to be spending more of their time trying to circumvent the sex legislation than in implementing it."

¹ See Boulding (1976). Also see Deere, Humphries and Leon de Leal (1982) for a Marxist approach to the sexual division of labour, and Papola (1982) for some evidence on the emergence of discrimination with "employee" status.

Once discrimination is institutionalised through social attitudes, hiring practices and norms, overt discrimination is generally less visible. Discrimination is taken for granted, and its existence needs to be pointed out on the basis of argument and analysis. This seems to be the case with discrimination of women in employment. Women are not specifically declared ineligible or disqualified for certain kinds of jobs; however, in fact women candidates are excluded in the process of selection, both on account of women's belief that the jobs are not meant for them and of employers' tendency to eliminate women. Jobs where women are specially favoured are generally peripheral and too few in number; and, therefore, even this special treatment tends to operate generally against women.

Discrimination against women may manifest itself in one of the following terms:

1. Women constitute a much smaller proportion than men amongst the employed.
2. Women workers are concentrated in jobs with low pay, low career prospects, insecurity and poor working conditions.
3. Women are paid lower wages than men in similar jobs.

The first situation by itself does not prove the existence of discrimination in recruitment in so far as, due to various socio-economic reasons, a smaller proportion of women enter the labour force. Women may, in general, possess lower educational and professional qualifications or may not offer themselves for jobs due to social beliefs and taboos with respect to their role in society. No doubt their attitudes themselves are products of discrimination on the part of the society, but they operate mainly on the supply side of the labour market and do not constitute directly a part of the discrimination by employers. Indirectly, of course, these attitudes do influence the behaviour of the employers as part of the same society, and that affects their decision to employ men or women workers. Pure discrimination in employment can be said to occur only when despite similar qualifications and capabilities women do not have equal access to better jobs and thus get relegated to "poor" jobs; and, when women are paid lower wages than men in similar jobs.

3. Issues in employment of women in India

The extent and nature of sex segregation and discrimination tend to differ among societies depending primarily on the social structure and social attitudes on the one hand, and the structure and level of development of the economy on the other. In India, the universal phenomenon of male domination in family and society is probably much greater than in many other societies. This is reflected in the traditional preference for a male child and subsequent neglect of female children in their upbringing and education, resulting in higher mortality rates and lower literacy and education among women than among men. The declining sex ratio in India over the last seven decades (from 972 females

per 1,000 males in 1901 to 930 females per 1,000 males in 1971) has been considered a "disturbing phenomenon" in the context of the status of women (Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1974, Chapter II).¹ This demographic statistic is probably a good summary indicator of the overall position of women in the economy and society.

The segmentation and discrimination against women in employment in India is largely a result of social values which tend to place women in a secondary position and under the subjugation of men. Mobility of women is thus extremely limited, and withdrawal from participation in productive work with improvement in the economic status of the household is sometimes considered as an improvement in status. These factors contribute to women acquiring a status of "secondary" or "discouraged" workers, which in turn aggravates discrimination against them (Papola, 1980). At the same time, the social values determining the supply conditions of female labour are not the only factors responsible for the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market. Not only is the worker-population ratio much lower among women than among men (12 per cent as against 53 per cent in 1971), but also women are concentrated in low-paid agricultural and other informal sector jobs. A very low proportion of women are in better paid organised sector jobs, and experience discrimination of various kinds even in these sectors, particularly in private enterprises.²

Thus even the small percentage of women who are in the labour force get a highly unequal treatment. Part of this inequality may reflect the relatively low educational and skill profile of the female workers resulting again from the social values. But a significant part may also be the result of discriminatory practices followed by employers due both to their value framework and to their notions regarding women as workers and the resulting perception of the cost of female labour. In the public sector, where there has been some deliberate attempt to break away from these notions, women's employment has registered significant increases during recent decades: the number of women workers increased from 0.48 million in 1962 to over a million by the mid-1970s, and the proportion of women workers from 6.9 per cent to 8.9 per cent. In the private sector, the increase in the number of women workers has been from 0.89 to 1.2 million, but the proportion of women workers has remained constant as 2.1 per cent during the same period (Mukhopadhyaya, 1981, pp. 98-101). These figures, however, relate only to the organised sector, which in 1971 employed only 6 per cent of total women workers, 94 per cent being in the unorganised sectors including agriculture. In factories and mines in the organised sector the proportion of women workers is found to have declined during the 1970s as compared to the 1960s (ibid., p. 114).

¹ The sex ratio has since registered an increase of five points to 935 in 1981 (Government of India, 1981, p. 60).

² For an excellent review of the features and evidence of segregation and discrimination against women in India, see Mukhopadhyaya (1981).

So far as wage discrimination is concerned, the sex-based earnings differentials in the same occupations are not a common feature of the wage structures of the public and organised private sectors. But such differentials are an accepted feature of the agricultural and non-agricultural activities in the unorganised sectors, such as construction, petty trade, processing of agricultural products, etc. (ibid., pp. 98-101). Overall, the age earnings profile of women workers is found to be flatter than that of male workers, for two reasons: one, their concentration in the unorganised sector which does not offer time scales of pay with rising emoluments with the period of service; and two, their employment in such occupations in the organised sector, which rarely have good prospects for promotion into higher paid jobs in the establishment.

II. The Present Study: Objectives, Locale and Methodology

The supply behaviour of female labour and the socio-economic factors that tend to keep a large part of the female population out of the labour force have been studied to a considerable extent. Very little is, however, known as yet on the issue of discrimination on the demand side of the labour market. How do the small percentage of women who offer themselves for wage/salary employment fare in securing employment, earnings and conditions of work and career prospects as compared to men? Why do women workers tend to get concentrated in certain, mostly low-wage low-status jobs? If discrimination is suggested by evidence in relation to recruitment, placement, wage fixation, promotion and benefits, how is it practised despite the constitutional provision for equality between sexes? These are some of the important questions investigated in the present study.

1. Objectives and scope

The present study is thus an attempt to examine the extent, conditions and processes of discrimination against women in employment. It focuses on the demand rather than the supply side of the employment of women. From the policy viewpoint a study of employer discrimination is expected to have some significance to the extent that, in the short run, the labour market institutions and hiring practices may be more amenable to modifications and change in the desired direction, than the deep societal factors operating on the supply side.

The study thus primarily deals with the pre-entry and post-entry discrimination in employment. Starting with the fact that in the empirical situation under investigation, a small number of women seek employment, the study is concerned with the experience of those women who, in fact, are in the labour market. The question of pre-entry discrimination is examined by activity and occupation on the basis of application-selection ratios of male and female candidates. The analysis is further supplemented by examining the sex-sensitivity of various methods of recruitment, in order to see the stage at which women tend to get eliminated in the selection process. The employers' own assessment on the suitability of women for different jobs have also been juxtaposed with the actual selection results.

Post-entry discrimination is examined on the basis of differences in the levels of earnings, increases in earnings and promotions. Wage discrimination in terms of current differences in male and female earnings in similar jobs was found to be operating only in exceptional situations; so the major focus of the earnings-based discrimination has to be on male and female earnings through time, age and length of service, which is also closely related with promotion prospects. Earnings functions of the male and female workers are also estimated to see if the variables influencing earnings have any differential impact on male and female earnings.

The main study has also been supplemented by two special investigations: one, on certain groups of women workers in the unorganised sector, and the other on the labour market experience of recent male and female graduates. A large number of women work in the unorganised sector either as self-employed and/or providing services to the households whereas our main study is confined to the organised sector. The questions of job discrimination and wage discrimination do not directly apply to women in the unorganised sector. But it is important to look at the special conditions of women workers in these activities where women are found in large numbers. A few occupational groups of women workers have been studied with a view to portraying their socio-economic condition and problems of their work - general as well as those relating to themselves as women.

The study of women graduates enables us, inter alia, to examine the question of the relative roles of the supply and demand factors among these women. This study is concerned with the limited questions of their entry into the labour market, job search, experience in job hunt and pattern of secured jobs, with a view to examining the differential behaviour and experience of male and female graduates in the job market. The results of these two supplementary studies are given in Appendix A and Appendix B.

2. Locale of the study: Women workers
in Lucknow city

The study was undertaken in the city of Lucknow. Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh, the largest state in India, had a population of 1,006,538 according to the 1981 census of which 53.39 per cent were male and 46.61 per cent female. The overall worker-population ratio was 28.30 per cent; it was 47.25 among males and 5.48 among females. In 1981, 9.68 per cent of all workers were women.

It may be pointed out that the 1971 census figures present an underestimate of women's employment to the extent that "workers" included only such persons who engaged in a productive activity as their "primary" occupation, while a large number of women carry out some productive activity as a subsidiary occupation, their main activity being that of a housewife. It is estimated, for example, that over 90 per cent of around 25,000 persons engaged in embroidery work (Chikan) in Lucknow City are women (Singh, Shrimali and Mathur, 1976). It is an important and unique handicraft of Lucknow City but it seems most of them were not reported as workers in the 1971 census, as this activity is mainly

carried out by housewives as a part-time activity. The 1981 census included some of such workers in the count at least as secondary workers, and, therefore, yields a higher proportion of women in the workforce.

As can be seen in table 1, "other services" is the only activity category where women were over-represented in 1971 and around three-fourths of women workers were in this category. The only other class of activity with a significant number of women workers is trade and commerce, employing around 7.5 per cent of the working women in the city.

Table 1: Proportion of women workers in major divisions of activity - Lucknow City, 1971^a

| Major activities | % |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Household industry | 6.09 |
| Non-household industry | 2.24 |
| Construction | 1.35 |
| Trade and commerce | 2.24 |
| Transport and communication | 1.40 |
| Other services | 10.25 |
| All | 6.24 |

^a Details relating to labour force and workers are not yet available for the 1981 census.

Source: Census of India, 1971.

Table 2: Proportion of women workers in various occupational groups: Lucknow City, 1971

| Occupational group | % |
|--|-------|
| Division 0 Professional, scientific and related workers | 19.65 |
| 1 Administrative, executive and managerial workers | 1.46 |
| 2 Clerical and related workers | 1.60 |
| 3 Sales workers | 3.06 |
| 4 Farmers, fishermen, etc. | 7.56 |
| 6 Transport and communication workers | 0.41 |
| 7-8 Craftsmen, production process workers, labourers, etc. | 4.50 |
| 9 Service, sports and recreation workers | 17.19 |
| All | 6.24 |

Source: Census of India, 1971.

Occupation-wise, service workers constituted the largest group of women workers, accounting for around 40 per cent, followed by craftsmen, production process workers, etc., with around 24 per cent, and professional and technical workers with 22 per cent of all women workers in the city. Within the occupational group "services", housekeepers, maids and cooks made up around 60 per cent; and cleaners and sweepers another 28 per cent. In the category of craftsmen and production process workers, tailors, cutters, sewers and embroiderers accounted for around 50 per cent, and labourers around one-third of women workers. Among the professional and technical occupations, teachers in primary and secondary schools, and nurses accounted for 55 and 20 per cent, respectively, of women workers in that occupational group.

The following are some of the specific occupations in which women constituted a higher proportion than their overall proportion of workers in the city.

Table 3: Occupations with above average proportion of women workers: Lucknow City, 1971

| Occupational division | Specific occupation | % of women to total workers |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 0 | Doctors | 10.52 |
| | Nurses, pharmacists and health technicians | 29.44 |
| | Nurses | 67.77 |
| | Midwives and health visitors | 100.00 |
| | Teachers | 34.06 |
| | - University | 6.57 |
| | - Secondary | 37.11 |
| | - Primary and middle | 49.26 |
| | - Others | 16.48 |
| 2 | Stenographers and typists | 8.96 |
| 6 | Telephone operators | 23.31 |
| 7 | | |
| 8 | Spinners, weavers and knitters | 11.50 |
| | Tailors and cutters | 9.23 |
| | Sewers, embroiderers, etc. | 14.64 |
| | Potters, kilnmen, etc. | 20.32 |
| | Tobacco preparers and product makers | 9.49 |
| | Basketry weavers | 24.68 |
| 9 | Housekeepers, cooks and maids | 26.78 |
| | Cleaners, sweepers and watermen | 24.63 |
| | Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers | 24.63 |
| All | | 6.24 |

Source: Census of India, 1971.

3. Sampling and data

While the secondary data, available mainly from the Census of India reports provide a general background on the pattern and features of women's employment, examination of most issues of interest in the present study required collection of new data. For this purpose, we undertook a survey among employer establishments and their employees on a sample basis. A sample of 100 establishments and 300 women workers was planned. The establishments were chosen on a stratified random basis from the list available with the Municipal Corporation of the city, the statutory registering authority for establishments in the city. These establishments were stratified on the basis of their activity as shown in table 4. To begin with, it was envisaged that the 100 sample establishments would be distributed among the 11 categories in proportion to their share in total establishments. A highly uneven distribution of establishments among categories (75 per cent in "trading" only), however, compelled us to abandon the strict proportionality principle. Considering the concentration of women workers in different activities, based on informed judgement, and desiring a minimum number of establishments in different categories, the allocation of the sample among activities was accordingly weighted. Further, the size of the sample was fixed somewhat larger in the categories where inter-establishment variations in occupational structure, wages and conditions of work were expected to be high and smaller in others in which these conditions were supposed to be similar among establishments.

With the above considerations in view, the sample that emerged does not strictly adhere to the proportionality criterion among the categories of establishments; it, however, follows the order of categories by the number of establishments. Thus, trading establishments, which have the largest number of establishments in the universe have the most units in the sample, followed by private manufacturing, schools and public administration units. The rest of the categories have a very small proportion of establishments in the universe, and similarly a small proportion in the sample. The sample of establishments in public sector manufacturing and construction was kept somewhat higher than its proportion in the universe in the interest of increasing the variety of occupations and inter-unit variations, respectively. The effective sample of establishments was 97, distributed among the 11 categories as given in table 4.

The sample of women workers, which was envisaged to be 300 to begin with, was distributed among activities and sample establishments, in proportion to their recorded employment. The final sample was, however, 273 women workers, generally in accordance with proportionate employment of women in different activities. Two points, however, need to be noted in this connection. First, 32 sample establishments did not employ women workers. Second, a purposively larger sample than warranted by the proportion in employment was taken in the case of some categories of establishments in the interest of variety and adequacy of coverage. This was done particularly in the case of schools, construction and trading establishments, at the cost of public administration, and manufacturing and transport establishments in the public sector where the questions of differentiation and discrimination were presumed to be less important.

Table 4: Universe and sample: Establishments and workers

| Establishment category | Number of establishments | | Total employment in sample establishments | Workers sampled in establishments | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| | Universe | Sample | | Women | Men |
| Public administration | 767 (4.4) | 10 (10.3) | 7,883 (40.3) | 83 (31.1) | 19 (29.2) |
| Manufacturing (public) | 169 (1.0) | 7 (7.2) | 4,746 (24.5) | 32 (11.7) | 11 (16.9) |
| Manufacturing (private) | 2,415 (13.7) | 20 (20.6) | 1,276 (5.6) | 20 (7.3) | 6 (9.2) |
| Construction | 125 (0.7) | 5 (5.2) | 633 (3.3) | 26 (9.5) | 3 (9.6) |
| Trade | 13,225 (75.2) | 33 (34.0) | 924 (4.8) | 21 (7.6) | 11 (26.9) |
| Banking and insurance | 214 (1.2) | 2 (2.1) | 1,324 (6.7) | 23 (8.4) | 5 (7.7) |
| Transport | 20 (0.1) | 1 (1.0) | 1,670 (8.5) | 11 (5.1) | 2 (1.5) |
| Schools (government) | 251 (1.4) | 4 (4.1) | 108 (0.6) | 15 (5.1) | 1 (1.5) |
| Schools (private) | 267 (1.5) | 11 (11.3) | 467 (2.4) | 34 (12.8) | 5 (7.7) |
| Hotels | 75 (0.4) | 2 (2.1) | 297 (1.5) | 6 (2.2) | 5 (7.7) |
| Theatres | 53 (0.3) | 2 (2.1) | 50 (0.2) | - | - |
| Total | 17,581 (100) | 97 (100) | 19,378 (100) | 273 (100) | 65 (100) |

Source: Compiled from the register maintained by the Municipal Corporation of Lucknow, under the Shops and Commercial Establishment Act.

For purposes of comparison between male and female workers on various aspects, it was decided to have a limited sample of male workers from the sample establishments. It was taken subsequent to the identification of the respondent women workers, in order to ensure that the male workers in the sample are in similar occupations to the women. This sample of 65 male workers is thus not representative of the male or total workforce of establishments, but is only a "control" sample occupationally comparable with the sample of women workers. Its distribution among various categories of establishments was determined primarily by the number of occupations in which women sample workers were found. Further, it was selected on a systematically random basis from only one-third of the establishments from which the women workers' sample was drawn, except in cases where in a category there were less than three establishments in which case the sample was taken from all the establishments.

It must be noted that the sample is not necessarily representative of the employment pattern of women in the city, as a definite degree of purposiveness was introduced in the sampling at various stages with a view to ensuring coverage specifically suiting the qualitative objectives of the study. For example, sample establishments had a much higher proportion (16 per cent) of women workers than the city workforce in 1981 (10 per cent). The sample establishments yielded a higher proportion of women workers than is found in the city due to the selection of a few somewhat large all-women manufacturing units in the private sector and of the City Municipal Corporation under public administration, which has a large number of women workers in the ministerial category. In view of the fact, however, that the study is not primarily aimed at estimation, but at examining the characteristics of female employment and processes of discrimination, the limitations of the sample, will not impair the validity of our conclusions.

For collection of data from the sample of establishments, structured questionnaires including both items of records and facts and opinions were administered to employers by a team of female investigators trained in different social science disciplines. Interviews of employees were also generally held at the place of work, for which adequate co-operation was forthcoming from the establishments, except in a few cases where the employers flatly refused to extend any co-operation at all. Most respondents supplying information on behalf of the establishments were male except in one half of the schools, and a few private manufacturing units, numbering 13 in all.

4. Structure of the workforce in sample establishments

The sample of establishments covered units of varying sizes and occupational mixes. The variations in activity naturally led to a wide variety of occupational structures, and variations in number of employees lent another dimension to occupational composition. Around 31 per cent of the establishments employed 10 workers or less and could not obviously have a large variety of occupations. In any case, most such establishments were shops where a single occupation - sales workers - dominated the workforce. Another 30 per cent of establishments employed between 11 and 50 workers each; 14 per cent, 50 to 100 workers, and 25 per cent over 100 workers each. The larger organisations, most of which were in public administration and manufacturing, demonstrated a wide variety of occupations.

The occupational distribution of different categories of sample establishments obviously varied, but in aggregate, three major occupational categories, secretarial, production process workers and ministerial workers (peons, ayahs, sweepers, etc., officially categorised as class IV employees in public administration and office establishments) were found most numerous, contributing 40, 26 and 19 per cent of total workers, respectively (table 5). The occupational distribution of men and women workers separately corresponded to the overall pattern except that the third largest occupation for women after secretarial and production process worker was that of teacher, though a significant proportion (11 per cent) were also engaged in ministerial jobs, particularly in the category of sweepers in the Municipal Corporation.

Table 5: Occupational distribution of workers in sample and in sample establishments (in percentages)

| Occupations | I. Workers in sample establishments | | | II. Sample | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------|------|-----|------|
| | Percentage of | | Total workers | Women | | Men | |
| | Male workers | Female workers | | N | % | N | % |
| Executive and supervisory | 11.8 | 1.9 | 10.2 | 23 | 8.4 | 7 | 10.8 |
| Secretarial | 38.7 | 45.8 | 39.9 | 111 | 40.7 | 25 | 38.4 |
| Ministerial | 21.1 | 10.8 | 19.5 | 10 | 3.7 | 4 | 6.2 |
| Sales workers | 0.6 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 20 | 7.3 | 4 | 6.2 |
| Production workers | 26.6 | 26.1 | 26.5 | 56 | 20.5 | 14 | 21.5 |
| Teachers | 0.4 | 13.5 | 2.4 | 49 | 17.9 | 10 | 15.4 |
| Medical workers | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 4 | 1.5 | 1 | 1.5 |
| All occupations | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | | 100 |
| N | 16265 | 3113 | 19378 | 273 | | 65 | |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

It may be noted in table 5 that the occupational distribution of the sample of female employees corresponds roughly with that of women workers in the sample establishments. Categories where the proportion of women was very low (executive and supervisory, sales and medical workers) have been over-represented in the sample in order to have a reasonable number of cases.

The sample of male workers follows the occupational pattern of the female sample closely for the reasons described above.

The proportions of women workers varied significantly among categories of establishments and occupations (table 6). In government schools, 82 per cent and in private schools 70 per cent of workers were women. Of workers in public administration, 20 per cent were women; private manufacturing units showed a disproportionately high (52) per cent of women among their workers due to the reasons stated earlier. In construction, women constituted a similar proportion as in the total of sample establishments. Banking and insurance, transport and trading establishments had a much lower than average proportion of women among their employees. Occupation-wise, women constituted 86 per cent among teachers, 19 per cent among secretarial workers and 16 per cent among production process workers, 9 per cent in ministerial employment, but only 3 per cent in executive and supervisory positions.

Table 6: Percentage of women in sample workforce by establishment category and occupational categories
(sample establishments)

| Establishment category | Occupational category | | | | | | | Total |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | Executive and super- visory | Secretarial | Ministerial | Sales workers | Production workers | Teachers | Medical workers | |
| Public administration | 3.6 | 24.8 | 10.0 | - | 2.1 | 65.7 | 10.0 | 19.9 (1570) |
| Manufacturing (public) | 0.7 | 2.3 | 8.3 | - | 2.5 | - | - | 2.9 (136) |
| Manufacturing (private) | 4.8 | 9.6 | 9.6 | - | 62.8 | - | - | 51.6 (659) |
| Construction | 0 | 0 | 0 | - | 16.0 | - | - | 15.5 (98) |
| Trade | 14.4 | 0.7 | 3.2 | 34.8 | 0.2 | - | - | 7.4 (68) |
| Banking and insurance | 0.7 | 0.3 | 6.3 | - | - | - | - | 3.6 (48) |
| Transport | 5.3 | 0.3 | 6.3 | - | - | - | - | 5.4 (91) |
| Schools (government) | 100 | 36.8 | 30.0 | - | - | 100 | - | 82.4 (89) |
| Schools (private) | 62.5 | 36.9 | 33.3 | - | - | 89.1 | 100 | 70.4 (329) |
| Hotels | 7.4 | 6.9 | 17.1 | - | - | - | - | 8.04 (25) |
| Theatres | 0 | 0 | 0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 3.0 (60) | 18.6 (1430) | 9.0 (336) | 34.8 (48) | 15.8 (815) | 85.7 (408) | 10.6 (16) | 16.06 (3113) |

Note: Figures in brackets indicate the total number of women workers in the respective establishment and occupational category.

Source: Author's establishment survey.

Table 7: Age and marital status of sample female and male workers (percentages in brackets)

| Age group | Females | | | | | Males | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | Unmarried | Married | Widow | Divorced | Total | Unmarried | Married | Total |
| Less than 20 | 12 | 2 | - | - | 14 (5.1) | 4 | - | 4 (6.1) |
| 20-35 | 74 | 92 | 13 | 3 | 182 (66.7) | 12 | 29 | 41 (63.1) |
| 35-50 | 1 | 45 | 15 | 1 | 62 (22.7) | 2 | 15 | 17 (26.2) |
| 50+ | 1 | 8 | 6 | - | 15 (5.5) | - | 3 | 3 (4.6) |
| Total | 88 (32.56) | 147 (54.37) | 34 (12.58) | 4 (1.48) | 273 (100) | 18 (27.72) | 47 (72.38) | 65 (100) |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

III. Background of Workers

In a study on sex discrimination, it is pertinent to look at the background of the women workers and their families and to compare it with the background of the male workers. We, therefore, now give a brief description of the characteristics of sample workers, their age, marital status, education and family structure as well as of their job history and experience in the job market.

1. Age and marital status

The distribution of the sample female and male workers by age group and marital status (table 7) reveals that working women tend to remain unmarried longer than working men. The age structure of women workers did not significantly differ from that of the male workers. But almost three-fourths of the men were married, and only 54 per cent of the women. Most women workers aged less than 20 years were, of course, unmarried, but two-fifths of those in the age group 20-35 were also unmarried. With a mean age at marriage of 19.1 years for urban areas in India (Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1971), this proportion of unmarried women in the age group 20-35 looks rather high. It probably implies that entry into the labour force tends to postpone marriage to a certain extent in urban areas. There does not seem to be a similar effect on male workers, of whom 72 per cent were married and of those in the age group 20-35 years, 70 per cent were married.

2. Education

Table 8: Education levels sample male and of workers (%)

| Education | Women | Men |
|--------------|-------|------|
| None | 15.9 | 6.5 |
| Primary | 5.6 | 9.2 |
| Secondary | 24.0 | 20.0 |
| First degree | 48.0 | 54.2 |
| High degree | 6.5 | 10.1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| N | 273 | 65 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

The women employed as regular employees in establishments seem much better educated than the average women in the city. Eighty-four per cent of our sample workers were literate, as compared to only 49 per cent of the female population of the city (Government of India, 1981, pp. 140-141). Around 78

per cent of the women workers had schooling at least up to secondary level and 55 per cent had gone beyond the secondary level. Practically all the workers in public administration, public sector manufacturing, schools, banking and insurance and transport had secondary or higher education, but practically all women workers were illiterate in the construction sector, and one-fourth in private sector manufacturing.

Overall, the educational level of women workers tends to be lower than that of the male workers. Of the male workers only 7 per cent are illiterate against 16 per cent of female workers. Of the former 64 per cent had a university degree while among the latter such graduates constituted 55 per cent. In the private manufacturing sector, for example, 80 per cent of the male workers had secondary or higher education and none were illiterate; 43 per cent of the women workers had secondary or higher education, but 26 per cent were illiterate.

3. Migrant status

As expected, migrants (based on birthplace) constitute a smaller proportion (42 per cent) among the female than among the male workers (62 per cent). Of the migrants in either case, most had some other urban area as the place of their origin, but the percentage of such workers among female migrants was 90, while among male migrant workers it was 80. The women workers with rural origin constituted only 14 per cent of the sample workers, and most of them were employed in construction activity.

4. Family size and dependency

Table 9: Family size, earners and income

| Family size | No. of families | Average earner per family | Dependency ratio | Average household income per month (Rs.) |
|--|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|--|
| <u>Female</u> (average family size - 5.11) | | | | |
| 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 644.33 |
| 2 | 29 | 1.52 | 1.31 | 1169.38 |
| 3 | 44 | 1.91 | 1.57 | 1146.23 |
| 4 | 54 | 2.02 | 1.98 | 1520.05 |
| 5 | 41 | 2.37 | 2.11 | 1545.93 |
| 6 | 39 | 2.67 | 2.13 | 1826.95 |
| 7 | 26 | 2.38 | 2.94 | 1462.92 |
| 8 | 17 | 3.06 | 2.62 | 2121.06 |
| 9+ | 20 | 3.15 | 2.74 | 1813.20 |
| <u>Male</u> (average family size - 4.89) | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1625.00 |
| 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 618.33 |
| 3 | 12 | 1.50 | 2 | 1372.25 |
| 4 | 17 | 1.53 | 2.62 | 1121.56 |
| 5 | 9 | 1.89 | 2.65 | 1462.86 |
| 6 | 8 | 1.75 | 3.43 | 1212.00 |
| 7 | 10 | 1.90 | 3.68 | 1728.44 |
| 8 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 954.00 |
| 9+ | 4 | 3.50 | 2.29 | 2374.00 |
| Total | 65 | 1.78 | 2.74 | 1378.62 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

The average size of a woman worker's family is 5.11, marginally higher than that of the male worker (4.89) (table 9). The dependency ratio rises more sharply in the case of the families of the male workers than of the female workers.

A higher earner-population ratio and lower dependency ratio in the case of the families of women workers, render a somewhat better economic status to their families as compared to those of the male workers. Thus it looks that the labour supply to the urban wage-salary market does not show any differential pattern by sex in so far as the economic conditions of the household is concerned: the female workers came from the similar income groups as the male workers. Yet the relative figures of earners per family and dependency ratios in the case of male and female workers' households suggest that the women workers' households have a higher participation rate and lower earnings per worker. To a certain extent this phenomenon may mean that in households with low earnings per male earner, women participate in economic activity more often than in those with higher average earnings of their male earners, in order to maintain a given level of income. Further, the women workers also earn less so that a higher level of participation of their households does not necessarily lead to a proportional rise in household income levels.

5. Age and education at entry into job market

A large number of women workers, around two-fifths, started searching for jobs before they were 20 years old, a similar percentage when they were between 20 and 26 years of age; and about one-fifth after they had attained the age of 26 years. Among males, almost half the workers started looking for jobs before they were 20 years of age, and only 12 per cent after the age of 26 years.

Differences in the educational levels of the male and female workers at the time they entered the job market are to be found mainly at the lowest and the highest ends of the educational scale. First, the proportion of women workers starting job search without any education is significantly larger (17 per cent) than that of male workers (only 6 per cent). It may also be noted that most of the women with no education started their job search rather late, after about 25 years of age. Second, the number of women workers starting a job after completing education beyond the first degree is also proportionately quite high (22 per cent) as compared to males (14 per cent). Thus of the female workers a sizeable proportion consists, on the one hand, of women who came from such groups of households which could not afford education for them and were desperate in terms of employment for them to supplement family income; and, on the other, of women whose households could afford the highest education for them before their going to work.

6. Job history

In all, about one-third of the women workers did some job before the present one; only 3 per cent, however, had done more than one. Among the

male workers, those having done some job before constituted 51 per cent, and 12 per cent had done more than one job earlier. This result suggests that male workers either have greater possibilities for mobility or are less stable than women workers.

As concerns length of experience, the male workers with previous experience have a similar pattern to that of women. But so far as the reasons for giving up the earlier job are concerned, a difference is noticed between the female and male workers. Most of the male workers gave up the earlier job for job-related reasons, but women workers quite often left jobs for personal reasons. Of the male workers, 78 per cent left their job for a better paid job or because the earlier job was temporary and the present job permanent, and 22 per cent due to retrenchment, or closure of the establishment. Of the women workers, only 37 per cent gave up an earlier job in favour of a better paid or permanent job; one-fourth left for reasons of distance to place of work, household work, transfer of father/husband and marriage. A sizeable proportion, 38 per cent, had to discontinue as the establishments where they were working were closed down, which implies that a large percentage of women work in jobs of an intermittent rather than stable nature.

Not many women workers, however, had a long gap between jobs. Those leaving earlier jobs for household reasons (family responsibilities or marriage) constituted only 15 per cent and they discontinued work for a period of two to five years. Others discontinued work mostly for shorter periods of up to two years, and continued job search, during the period of joblessness. Of the male workers also, 12 per cent had a period of unemployment between jobs of up to two years, and the workers affected were rendered jobless because of the closure of the establishment or were dismissed because of their union activities.

IV. Recruitment

A low proportion of women in the city workforce and in most occupations is, no doubt, attributable, to a major extent, to the non-supply of female labour for employment as such, or to a large number of "male" occupations. At the same time, however, discrimination in recruitment against whatever small number of women enter the labour market could also contribute to this phenomenon. Do women searching for employment have the same chances of success as men? For this purpose, we looked into the pattern of new recruitment in the sample establishments, during the two years before the reference period of our study (i.e. 1979 and 1980), in terms of the applications and selections by sex, and procedures of recruitment and any inherent bias in them in favour or against male or female candidates.

1. Male-female proportions in recent recruitments

The 97 sample establishments recruited 1,573 new employees during 1979 and 1980 (table 10). Of them, women constituted 15.45 per cent. The female workers constituted 16.06 per cent in the stock of current employment, and thus the percentage of women in the workforce of the sample establishments showed no

significant change. The sectors which revealed a significantly higher proportion of women in the new recruitment than in the stock of current employment were: public administration, public sector manufacturing, public transport and communication and government schools. Thus it is mainly in the public sector that any increase in women's share of employment is noticed. In the private sector, even in comparable activities like manufacturing and education (schools) the new recruitment had a smaller percentage of women than in the current stock of employment; only trade and commerce have shown some tendency for a rising proportion of women workers.

Table 10: Recruitment in sample establishments during 1979 and 1980 (by division of activity and sex)

| Activity | Male | Female | Total | % female |
|--------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|----------|
| Public administration | 34 | 15 | 49 | 30.6 |
| Manufacturing (public) | 421 | 72 | 493 | 14.6 |
| Manufacturing (private) | 55 | - | 55 | 0.00 |
| Construction | 429 | 84 | 513 | 16.37 |
| Trade and commerce | 47 | 3 | 50 | 6.00 |
| Banking and insurance | 4 | - | 50 | 0.00 |
| Transport and communication (public) | 187 | 18 | 205 | 8.78 |
| Schools (public) | 1 | 10 | 11 | 90.90 |
| Schools (private) | 8 | 32 | 40 | 80.00 |
| Hotels | 105 | 9 | 114 | 7.89 |
| Theatres | 39 | - | 39 | 0.00 |
| Total | 1,330 | 243 | 1,573 | 15.45 |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

That women have less access to higher positions is evident from the occupational pattern of the new male and female recruits (table 11). Women constituted a substantial proportion among teachers, telephone operators, sales workers, ayahs and sweepers, stenographers and unskilled workers. But they constituted only a very small proportion in the executive and supervisory categories.

2. Application-selection ratios by sex

Concerning applications per notified vacancy, we have information about 486 vacancies in sample establishments during the years under consideration (table 12).¹ Overall, for one position to be filled, 22 candidatures were received of which 17 were from men and five from women. The largest number of applications per post (85 from men and 24 from women) was reported in the

¹ For another 298 vacancies in the construction sector, no data were available about the number of applications received, as no formal applications were asked for, nor any record kept by construction establishments about the number of persons who turned up for work.

Table 11: Persons recruited in 1979 and 1980 in sample establishments

| Occupational category | Total | Women | |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | No. | % |
| Executive | 68 | 1 | 1.47 |
| Supervisory | 121 | 7 | 5.79 |
| Stenographers | 48 | 9 | 18.75 |
| Higher grade assistants | 28 | 3 | 10.71 |
| Clerks | 204 | 30 | 14.71 |
| Telephone operators | 17 | 6 | 35.29 |
| Sales workers | 34 | 9 | 26.47 |
| Peons | 122 | 4 | 3.28 |
| Ayabs and sweepers | 68 | 15 | 22.06 |
| Hotel waiters | 23 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Skilled production workers | 267 | 34 | 12.73 |
| Unskilled production workers | 527 | 82 | 15.56 |
| Teachers | 46 | 42 | 93.48 |
| Total | 1,573 | 242 | 15.45 |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

Table 12: Applications and selection in sample establishments by sex

| Activity | Number of qualified applicants per post | | | Selection/application ratio[a] | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Public administration | 84.90 | 23.6 | 108.51 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.008 |
| Manufacturing (public) | 1.51 | 0.34 | 1.85 | 0.53 | 0.20 | 0.47 |
| Manufacturing (private) | 1.9 | 0.22 | 2.12 | 0.40 | 0.50 | 0.42 |
| Construction | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Trade and commerce | 0.82 | 0.104 | 0.924 | 0.80 | 0.80 | 0.80 |
| Banking and insurance | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Transport and communication (private) | 0.94 | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.50 | 0.60 | 0.51 |
| Education: | | | | | | |
| Schools (public) | 2.00 | 2.8 | 4.80 | 0.50 | 0.31 | 0.32 |
| Schools (private) | 1.5 | 12.4 | 13.9 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Hotels | 0.37 | 0.62 | 1.00 | 0.90 | 0.90 | 0.90 |
| Total | 17.03 | 5.37 | 22.39 | 0.034 | 0.026 | 0.033 |

^a The selection-application ratio is not necessarily the ratio of positions to number of applications, as certain positions were not filled even after notifying the vacancies. Thus, while the overall position-application ratio was 1 : 22.39 = 0.045, the ratio of actually filled positions to applications was 0.033 only.

Source: Author's establishment survey.

public administration sector. The establishments where female applicants exceeded male applicants were schools (public and private) and hotels; in the former there were 12 applications per post while in the latter there was only one application per post.

Overall, one out of 29 male candidates was selected, while among female candidates only one out of 38 was selected. The probability of a male applicant being selected is thus 0.034 and that of a female applicant 0.026. The sectors which showed a higher probability of female selection per application are public administration, private manufacturing and transport. Strangely enough, even the predominantly female sector, like schools, showed a lower selection-application ratio for women than for men, particularly in government schools where one out of two male applicants and one out of three female applicants was selected. This may be a result of the large number of female applications and the reservation of some positions for men. The public sector manufacturing showed the worst disadvantage for women against men: while one out of two male applicants was selected, of the women applicants one out of five only was selected.

In terms of occupation, the results in table 13 show that the only occupation with a substantial number of female applicants per post is teaching with about 11. Men form a small minority among candidates for teaching jobs and seem to concentrate their applications on clerical posts where they far outnumber the female candidates.

Table 13: Applications and selection in sample establishments by sex and occupation

| Occupation | Number of qualified applicants per post | | | Selection/application ratio | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------|-------|-----------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Executive | 1.54 | 0.08 | 1.62 | 0.60 | 0.90 | 0.80 |
| Supervisory | 1.10 | 0.04 | 1.14 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.065 |
| Stenographers | 0.14 | 0.50 | 0.64 | 1.00 | 0.75 | 0.90 |
| Upper grade assistants | 2.00 | 0.50 | 2.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 |
| Clerks | 48.20 | 1.21 | 48.41 | 0.02 | 0.08 | 0.02 |
| Telephone operators | 0.69 | 0.38 | 1.07 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Sales workers | 1.19 | 0.05 | 1.25 | 0.80 | 1.00 | 0.84 |
| Peons | 25.50 | 0.34 | 25.84 | 0.03 | 0.50 | 0.26 |
| Ayahs and sweepers | 1.80 | 1.40 | 3.20 | 1.00 | 0.43 | 0.56 |
| Hotel waiters | 0.50 | 0.50 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.43 | 0.56 |
| Weavers | 1.00 | - | 1.00 | 1.00 | - | 1.00 |
| Skilled production process workers | 1.05 | 0.20 | 1.25 | 0.08 | 0.02 | 0.05 |
| Unskilled production process workers | 1.12 | 0.14 | 1.26 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.06 |
| Teachers | 0.29 | 10.76 | 11.05 | 0.60 | 0.07 | 0.09 |
| Total | 17.03 | 5.37 | 22.39 | 0.034 | 0.026 | 0.033 |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

Women candidates seem to have a higher probability of selection per application than men in quite a few occupations. In executive, clerical, sales and ministerial jobs considerably fewer females applied but they were more likely to be selected than male applicants (table 13). But for production workers, both skilled and unskilled, few women applied and their chances of selection were much less than those of male applicants. For these jobs it would appear that women were being realistic in not applying.

Overall, the probability of a female applicant being selected is 25 per cent lower than that of a male applicant. One of the reasons is the concentration of female applications for the few jobs available in teaching. And since the overall number of female applicants is less than of male applicants, the ratio of the males selected to females selected is almost 6:1 in total. Even in the occupations and sectors where the selection-application ratio of female is significantly higher than that for males, the proportion of women among recruits is low.

3. Pattern of application for different jobs

The information relating to the kinds of job ever applied for by male and female workers in our sample (table 14) does not suggest exclusive preferences. Both men and women applied for a wide and common variety of jobs. No important job was left out either by men or women candidates. Clerical positions are the most frequently available jobs in Lucknow. Thus, for persons with general educational qualifications, such as those in the sample, it is not surprising to find that almost one-third of the jobs applied for are in this category for both men and women. But teaching jobs in the schools, even though attracting candidates from both sexes, seem much more attractive to women than men. Higher grade secretarial and supervisory jobs as well as sales jobs attract male candidates more often than female candidates. In the production process occupations, unskilled jobs are applied for by equal proportions of men and women. However, certain semi-skilled jobs, like those of binder and packer, are more favoured by women, while other skilled production process jobs, such as turner and fitter are exclusively a male preserve.

The extent to which the above pattern reveals the differential pattern of choice and preference for jobs among male and female workers is somewhat limited by the fact that the current job is included among the jobs applied for, and an element of similarity to the pattern of currently held occupations has been introduced in the sampling procedure. Nevertheless, these results, like those in the previous section, indicate a tendency among women to prefer teaching jobs whereas men are more likely to apply for higher level office jobs. The lower grade secretarial jobs, however, seem to attract almost equal proportions of male and female jobseekers.

The explanation for women's pattern of job search may be at least partially that women prefer to work in an environment where they are not a minority. Currently, as seen earlier, teachers are mainly female (86 per cent) whereas only 19 per cent of secretarial workers are female (25 per cent in public

administration but much less in all other sectors apart from education). Also, the patterns of demand for women workers as revealed in the practices and results of recruitment may shape, to a large degree, the supply pattern of female labour. The long established fact of non-employment of women in certain jobs, for whatever reasons, influences the supply behaviour of women to the extent they also tend to accept the notion that they are not suitable for these jobs. Another factor may be women's low evaluation of their capabilities as will be discussed below.

Table 14: Patterns of jobs ever applied for (including the present job) by sex of sample workers

| Jobs | Frequency of applications by females (%) | Frequency of applications by males (%) |
|---|--|--|
| Executive | 1.75 | 2.70 |
| Supervisory | 7.75 | 15.31 |
| Stenographers and personal assistants | 7.75 | 14.41 |
| Office assistant (higher grade) | 3.50 | 9.00 |
| Clerk and office assistants (lower grade) | 27.75 | 31.53 |
| Sales | 5.50 | 10.81 |
| Telephone operators and receptionists | 1.50 | 0.90 |
| Watchmen, doormen and sweepers | 1.25 | 1.80 |
| Peons | 2.50 | 4.50 |
| Hotel boys, waiters, etc. | 0.50 | - |
| Weavers and spinners | 0.25 | 0.90 |
| Binders and packers | 1.00 | - |
| Turners and fitters | - | 1.80 |
| Semi-skilled production process workers | 5.25 | 1.80 |
| Unskilled production process workers | 10.00 | 9.91 |
| Teachers | 21.50 | 9.91 |
| Medical workers | 1.25 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| N (applications) | 414 | 129 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

4. Employer explanations for the low proportion of women workers

While the relative lack of willingness on the part of the women themselves to go out to work is an important factor, the employers' own attitude is also important in contributing to women's low share of employment. The employers' answers to a multiple-choice question concerning the small proportion of women

workers are presented in table 15. All of the 97 employer respondents replied, and given multiple replies, we obtained 222 responses. The first reason, namely women's reluctance to go out for work, is outside the purview of the employment market. But the rest of the reasons indicate the nature of employer reticence to employ women.

Table 15: Reasons for small proportion of women in employment as assessed by sample employers

| Reason | Employers mentioning the reason | |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| | % of sample employers[a] | % of total responses |
| Women to not come forward to work | 62.9 | 27.5 |
| Women do not have necessary capabilities | 14.4 | 6.3 |
| Not enough jobs <u>even</u> for men | 32.0 | 14.0 |
| Women have to look after household | 66.0 | 28.8 |
| Employers prefer men as employees | 53.6 | 23.4 |
| N | 97 | 222 |

^a Total adds up to more than 100.0 due to multiple responses.

Source: Author's survey, interview schedule for employers.

Reasons 3 and 4, suggest the basic cultural values behind the employers' bias against women: that in a context of unemployment, men must be given priority over women in employment as women are only secondary workers, and that the women should primarily be looking after their household work and not search for jobs out of their homes. Also, within the work context a minority of the employers felt that women do not have the necessary capabilities. In addition, over half of the employers attributed the low share of women in employment to a general preference for men as employees.

In principle, it can be presumed that such a preference must be based on the assessment of the relative cost of employment a male and a female worker. Is the current cost of employing a woman higher than than of a man? This may be reflected in wages, conditions of work and benefits. So far as wages are concerned, we find that in the same job women are paid the same, if not lower. We therefore asked employers if they have to make some special difference in conditions of work for their female employees.

About one-fourth of the employers report no difference in working conditions of women from men. Thirty per cent of employers, mostly in the private manufacturing sector felt that they had to grant more frequent leave of absence to female employees; 23 per cent, most in public administration and trade and commerce, had to adjust hours of work for female employees so that

they are not required to work early mornings or late evenings, and a similar percentage, mostly in private manufacturing and trade and commerce, considered special arrangements in allocation of work for female employees necessary, as they thought only certain kinds of work could be given to them to perform. About one-fifth of employers, mainly in public administration had to provide special social security measures (possibly maternity benefits) for female employees. Except for the last item, and to some extent the need to grant leave more often, there does not seem to be a higher non-monetary cost for female employees. Thus, employers appear to be admitting that there exists a certain amount of discrimination against women.

It is interesting to note that the employer bias against hiring women is not evident to many of the female employees interviewed. Overall, only 31.5 per cent think that "it is easier for men than for women to get a job". It is mainly the illiterate employees who perceive some inequality since 61 per cent of them agree with this statement as compared to about one-third of first degree holders. The fact that interviewees had themselves been successful in obtaining a job may partially explain the lack of perception of unequal chances for women.

5. The selection process

In addition to employer biases and sex differences in job preference, the selection process itself may influence women's relative chances of obtaining employment. The sample establishments belong to various sectors of activity, vary in size and are subject to varying kinds and degrees of state regulation and of formalisation of procedures so far as methods for inviting candidature and for selecting candidates for recruitment are concerned. The 97 establishments supplied required information regarding 113 occasions of initiating the process of recruitment during the two years under study. In 59 cases, the candidature was invited informally; in another 27 cases through advertisement, in five cases through employment exchanges and in 22 cases employment exchanges and advertisements were combined. Employment exchanges were used most often for recruitment in public administration and public sector manufacturing; advertisement for appointment in the schools; and informal channels by trade and commerce, private manufacturing and construction establishments.

Was there any difference observed in the response of women candidates on the basis of the channel used for inviting candidature? Most employers reported no difference. Of the 23 employers who thought it makes a difference how applications are invited, 18 reported that the women respond better to advertisement in the newspapers. Most of these employers were in public administration and private schools. It was, however, found on examination of the pattern of applications per post from female candidates to different modes of inviting candidature that the employment exchange proved the least popular mode with women workers. Newspaper advertisements were also found to have a very low response from them. But informal channels proved the most effective in eliciting candidatures of women workers. It may, however, be noted that these channels are mostly used by small establishments with relatively low levels of remuneration.

For selection of candidates, the most often used method was "personal interview" only (45 per cent), followed by informal methods, recommendations and references (34 per cent). In 15.5 per cent of the cases, selections were made on the basis of written tests only. In the rest of the cases, two or more of these methods, including "application rating", were combined.

The women candidates are found to do better than men when formal methods, either personal interviews, or a combination of written tests and personal interview, besides applying rating are adopted, and worse than men when mainly informal methods of recommendation and reference only are used. The 13 cases available from the records of the responding establishments yield a selection-application ratio of 0.68 for men and 0.74 for women when personal interview only is the basis of selection; 0.70 for men and 0.73 for women when a combination of formal methods is adopted; but it is 0.93 for men and 0.79 for women when candidates are recruited informally on the basis of recommendations and references.¹

From the evidence, two propositions seem to emerge: one, the women may stand an equal chance with men for being selected for a job if the methods of selection are formalised; and two, they may also stand a better chance if personal interview is an important element in the selection process.

V. Promotions

The previous section showed that women who present themselves as candidates for jobs have less chance of being selected than male candidates. Once employed, do women have less chance of being promoted than men? Evidence concerning promotions was obtained both from employer records and from the employee interviews.

1. Recent promotions in sample establishments

During 1979 and 1980, 413 vacant posts in sample establishments were filled by promotion. These promotions accounted for one-fifth of the vacancies filled during this period. The practice of filling vacancies by promotion rather than direct recruitment varies by sector as can be seen in table 16.

In public administration, public manufacturing and trade and commerce, there were a considerable number of vacancies and a high proportion were filled by promotion. In construction, transport and communication as well as hotels, there were also a considerable number of vacancies but few were filled by promotion. In education as well, few posts were filled by promotion.

Do women tend to be found in sectors where there are few promotions? Education has the highest concentration of women workers (see table 16) and there are few vacancies filled by promotion. In private manufacturing where the proportion of women in sample establishments is high, filling of posts by promotion is less likely than in public manufacturing where there are very few

¹ These ratios are higher than the overall ratios reported earlier because the information available and used here is for a limited number of cases. The ratios are, therefore, good enough only for male-female comparison, not for overall estimates.

Table 16: Promotions in 1979 and 1980 in sample establishments by sector of activity and sex of worker

| Activity | No. of vacancies | % vacancies filled by promotion | No. of promotions | No. of women promoted | % female |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Public administration | 85 | 42.4 | 36 | 16 | 44.4 |
| Manufacturing (public) | 797 | 38.1 | 304 | 7 | 2.2 |
| Manufacturing (private) | 68 | 19.1 | 13 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Construction | 513 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Trade and commerce | 96 | 47.9 | 46 | 20 | 24.0 |
| Banking and insurance | 4 | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| Transport and communication (public) | 213 | 3.8 | 8 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Schools (public) | 12 | 8.3 | 1 | 1 | 100.0 |
| Schools (private) | 43 | 7.0 | 3 | 3 | 100.0 |
| Hotels | 116 | 1.7 | 2 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Theatres | 39 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Total | 1,986 | 20.8 | 413 | 47 | 11.4 |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

Table 17: Promotions in 1979 and 1980 in sample establishments by occupation and sex of worker

| Occupation | No. of vacancies | % vacancies filled by promotion | No. of promotions | No. of women promoted | % female |
|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| Executive | 89 | 23.6 | 21 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Supervisory | 207 | 41.5 | 86 | 3 | 3.5 |
| Stenographers | 48 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Higher grade assistants | 28 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Clerks | 310 | 34.2 | 106 | 20 | 18.9 |
| Telephone operators | 17 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Sales workers | 37 | 8.1 | 3 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Peons | 130 | 6.2 | 8 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Ayahs and sweepers | 105 | 35.2 | 27 | 2 | 5.4 |
| Hotel waiters | 23 | 0.0 | 0 | - | - |
| Skilled production workers | 408 | 34.6 | 141 | 19 | 13.5 |
| Unskilled production workers | 535 | 9.8 | 8 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Teachers | 49 | 6.1 | 3 | 3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 1,986 | 20.8 | 413 | 47 | 11.3 |

Source: Author's establishment survey.

women. Women are also under-represented in trade and commerce where a large proportion of vacancies are filled by promotion. Nevertheless, in public administration which is the main source of employment in Lucknow, the filling of vacancies by promotion is a frequent practice and women comprise about one-fifth of the employees here.

Some types of post are filled by promotion fairly frequently - supervisory, executive, clerical, skilled production jobs, and ayahs and sweepers (table 17). Others tend to be filled by direct recruitment - stenographers, teachers, sales workers, unskilled production workers.

Do women have the same likelihood of promotion as men? Women constituted around 16 per cent of the workers in the sample establishments but of the promotees they constituted only 11 per cent. The two sectors where women workers were over-represented in promotions were: public administration and trade and commerce. Also, all the promotions, though few, in the schools, both public and private, went to women. However, most of the promotions during the period were in public sector manufacturing units where women are only 3 per cent of the workforce and 2 per cent of promotees.

Women had no share in promotions to executive jobs, and almost no promotions to supervisory jobs. Apart from teaching, the only occupation where women obtained a significant proportion of promotions is that of clerk.

Thus, of the vacancies filled by promotion in sample establishments during 1979 and 1980, women workers received less than a proportionate share. To some extent the difference may be attributed to the fact that women are mostly employed in functions which do not have a well set line of vertical mobility within the organisation, and in sectors where promotions are rare.

2. Promotion history of employees

Women have lower chances of getting promoted to jobs with better salary grades than men, even within the same occupational categories. Promotion information relating to a few selected occupations for which we had a sizeable number of workers in our sample is given in table 18.

Women working in supervising, stenography, teaching, sales and skilled production jobs had received fewer promotions throughout their careers than had men in similar occupations. Only among upper and lower grade assistants had women received more promotions. Although women were less likely to have received promotions, those who were promoted tended to have a shorter length of service in the previous post than the male promotees. The main exceptions to this tendency were women currently in supervisory and skilled production jobs who had waited longer than men for their promotion. As seen above, these are two occupations where a relatively high proportion of posts are filled by promotion.

In conclusion, as concerns promotion, both data sources suggest that women are less likely to be promoted than men. Although in some clerical positions,

Table 18: Promotions by sex for selected occupational categories for sample employees

| Current job category | % of workers promoted | | Average number of promotions per worker | | Average number of years in previous job before promotion | | N | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------|---|------|--|-------|--------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Supervisory | 38 | 78 | 0.42 | 0.88 | 7.50 | 5.50 | 18 | 5 |
| Upper grade assistant | 89 | 50 | 1.44 | 1.00 | 6.50 | 7.50 | 14 | 3 |
| Stenographers | 17 | 70 | 0.17 | 1.10 | 1.75 | 9.00 | 17 | 6 |
| Lower grade assistant | 31 | 8 | 0.32 | 0.16 | 2.00 | 7.00 | 75 | 16 |
| Teacher | 14 | 25 | 0.14 | 0.25 | 6.88 | 11.00 | 49 | 10 |
| Sales worker | 0 | 17 | 0 | 0.17 | - | 5.00 | 20 | 4 |
| Skilled production worker | 7 | 50 | 0.17 | 0.50 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 22 | 4 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment workers.

women's share of promotions is relatively high, they receive almost none of the promotions to executive or supervisory level. Since earnings tend to reflect position in the hierarchy, women's unequal chance of promotion could result in lower earnings. Male-female earnings differentials are examined in the next section.

VI. Earnings

Wage discrimination in its pure form, namely, the prevalence of different wage rates and salary scales for men and women in the same job with standardised nomenclature, is generally denied by the employers and is also not directly observed. In public sector establishments and also in most private establishments, the wage and salary rates are fixed for a job and the earnings, therefore, are not expected to differ among employees on the basis of sex. An important exception to this general phenomenon is provided by the establishments engaged in construction activity where in the rather undifferentiated category of "labourers", the wages of women workers are around two-thirds of those of the male workers. Willingness of women to work at lower wages, probably because they came from very poor families and their earnings being only supplementary to the earnings of their husbands who also work on the same work site, and the supposed "lower productivity" of women workers are stated as the reasons for the difference in male-female wage rates in construction activity, by the employers.

1. Male-female earnings differentials

The earnings of male and female workers in various sectors of activity are shown in table 19. It can be seen that the activities with a significant proportion of women among their workforce have low average earnings. Differences in the educational level of workers in different sectors cannot explain this pattern. It is unlikely that workers in male sectors such as transport, theatres, banking and insurance are on average more educated than those working in schools, yet earnings are greater in these former sectors.

Table 19: Average montly earnings of sample employees by sex and establishment category

| Establishment category | Average earnings (Rs. per month) | | | % female | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|--------------|-------|
| | Female | Male | All | F/M ratio | |
| Public administration | 520.71 | 675.23 | 626.82 | .77 | 19.95 |
| Manufacturing (public) | 805.22 | 1203.42 | 1177.00 | .67 | 2.87 |
| Manufacturing (private) | 304.75 | 503.56 | 471.89 | .61 | 51.29 |
| Construction | 257.46 | 350.72 | 309.42 | .73 | 15.48 |
| Trade and commerce | 307.67 | 475.23 | 439.00 | .65 | 7.41 |
| Banking and insurance | 884.70 | 915.23 | 908.92 | .97 | 3.63 |
| Transport | 850.62 | 1102.72 | 1014.72 | .77 | 5.45 |
| Schools (government) | 358.60 | 418.18 | 397.67 | .86 | 82.91 |
| Schools (private) | 320.69 | 370.00 | 355.80 | .87 | 70.45 |
| Hotels | 450.72 | 675.00 | 596.78 | .67 | 8.42 |
| Theatres | - | 431.00 | 437.00 | - | 0.00 |
| Total | 412.02 | 570.72 | 545.35 | .72 | 16.06 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment workers.

In addition, the average earnings of women workers are found to be substantially lower than of the male workers in all types of establishments. Evidently, these differences arise primarily because of the concentration of women workers in generally low earnings jobs. However, the overall male-female differences in earnings do not seem to be fully explained by differences in the occupation composition of the men and women workers. We find that in most occupational categories, the earnings of male workers are significantly higher than of the female workers (table 20).

One reason for these differences may lie in the fact that although the occupations may have similar nomenclature among different categories of establishments, there are significant differences among types of establishments in the wage and salary situation within an occupation; and women workers are concentrated in establishment categories which have lower wage and salary

Table 20: Average monthly earnings of sample employees by occupation and sex

| Occupational category (selected occupations) | Earnings (Rs. per month) | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Female workers | Male workers | F/M ratio |
| Executive | 1165.20 | 2000.00 | .58 |
| Supervisory | 833.76 | 1438.11 | .58 |
| Stenographers | 731.57 | 858.25 | .85 |
| Upper grade assistants | 719.75 | 772.00 | .93 |
| Clerks | 650.13 | 798.51 | .81 |
| Sales workers | 638.08 | 399.40 | 1.60 |
| Telephone operators | 217.80 | 155.00 | 1.41 |
| Peons, ayahs and sweepers | 296.50 | 390.95 | .76 |
| Hotel waiters | 450.00 | 500.00 | .90 |
| Weavers and spinners | 178.00 | 250.00 | .71 |
| Other skilled workers | 512.36 | 560.00 | .91 |
| Unskilled workers | 231.26 | 480.00 | .48 |
| Teachers | 406.95 | 398.20 | 1.02 |
| Paramedical workers | 757.00 | 770.00 | .98 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment workers.

rates. Most of these establishments also do not offer regular salary scales to their workers with provision for a regular annual increase in emoluments and have little or no provision for cost of living increases and other allowances. Of the sampled women workers, 35 per cent are on fixed emoluments without a regular scale of pay and benefit of allowances, while among sampled male workers the percentage of such employees is somewhat lower at 30. More important, however, is the fact that a much larger proportion of women workers than male workers are in posts where salary scales have lower starting points. Of the workers on regular pay scales, the women on average started at a pay of Rs. 270 per month, while men start at Rs. 370 per month. And 70 per cent of the women workers, but only 42 per cent of male workers, started with a pay of less than Rs. 300; while of the men 19 per cent started with a pay of above Rs. 500, the corresponding percentage among women workers is only 3.

2. Influence of education and years of service

Lower starting pay and a slower rise in earnings of women than of men, it can be argued, is attributable to differences in the levels of educational qualifications. No doubt, the overall literacy and educational levels are lower among women than among men. In our sample 16 per cent of female and 6 per cent of male workers were illiterate, and 54 per cent of the female and 65 per cent of the male workers had a university degree. It may, however, be noted that differences in earnings favouring men prevail even when comparison

is made between the female and male workers with similar educational qualifications (table 21), particularly at post-primary levels. Among the illiterates and those with a few years of schooling, female earnings are observed to be higher than those for men, but with primary and higher level of education, the male earnings are not only higher than female earnings, but also the difference goes on widening with each successive higher level of education. It is thus evident that education tends to widen rather than reduce sex differences in earnings.

Table 21: Average monthly emoluments of establishment workers, male and female, by level of education

| Level of education | Monthly emoluments (Rs.) | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| | Female workers | Male workers | F/M ratio |
| Illiterate | 248.68 | 235.00 | 1.06 |
| Primary | 309.40 | 261.98 | 1.18 |
| Secondary | 491.47 | 528.71 | .93 |
| First degree | 613.84 | 841.83 | .73 |
| Higher | 791.26 | 1193.94 | .66 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

How far can the differences in male and female earnings in similar occupations and with similar educational qualifications be attributed to years of service? To probe this question, we examine the pattern of average years in service in relation to average earnings in respect of the sample female and male workers in a number of selected occupations (table 22). The comparison of the average length of service and average earnings among female and male workers suggests the following tendencies: (i) in a number of job categories, e.g. executive, upper grade assistants, clerks and skilled workers, the women workers have lower average emoluments despite a much longer length of service in the jobs; (ii) in a few jobs differences in emoluments are in the same direction as the average length of service; women have higher emoluments and a longer period of service in the categories of teachers, and telephone operators and receptionists, and men among supervisors and stenographers; (iii) in the job of sales worker women earn more despite a shorter period of service; (iv) in service jobs, the average earnings of women are three-fourths those of men, though average length of service is the same for both.

The general conclusion appears to be that sex differences in length of service cannot explain the lower earnings of women.

3. Age-earnings relationship

A comparison of the age-earnings profile of male and female workers in most countries is found to suggest a lower rate of increase in earnings of females than of males, with advancement in age. Usually, part of this differ-

Table 22: Years in service and monthly earnings among male and female sample employees for selected occupations

| Occupational category | Average years in service | | Average earnings (Rs.) | | N ^a | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|------|------------------------|-------|----------------|------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Executive | 12 | 8 | 1,165 | 2,000 | 5 | 2 |
| Supervisory | 9 | 10 | 834 | 1,438 | 18 | 5 |
| Stenographers | 6 | 15 | 732 | 858 | 17 | 6 |
| Upper grade assistant | 16 | 14 | 720 | 772 | 14 | 3 |
| Lower grade assistant/ clerks | 12 | 2 | 650 | 799 | 75 | 16 |
| Sales workers | 3 | 7 | 638 | 399 | 20 | 4 |
| Telephone operators/ receptionist | 7 | 1 | 217 | 155 | 5 | 2 |
| Peons, ayahs and sweepers | 9 | 9 | 297 | 391 | 8 | 4 |
| Skilled production workers | 12 | 4 | 512 | 560 | 22 | 4 |
| Unskilled production workers | 6 | 3 | 231 | 480 | 34 | 10 |
| Teachers | 15 | 7 | 497 | 398 | 49 | 10 |

^a N does not add up to total sample due to exclusion of certain categories in which reliable and comparable information was not available.

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

ence is explained by the late entry and breaks in career of female workers, due to household responsibilities of child-bearing and child-rearing. In the present case, we do not find significant differences in the age at entry into the workforce between male and female workers. Nor are many female workers found to have had long breaks in their career. It is, therefore, interesting to examine whether any difference still prevails in the age-earnings profile of male and female workers.

We attempted this examination by the regression of age on earnings. The results are presented both in the form of estimated regression lines. The following functional forms were tried, separately for female and male employees in the following categories: (a) total sample; (b) graduates and those with higher educational qualifications; and (c) non-graduates including illiterates:

$$(i) \quad y = a + bx$$

$$(ii) \quad y = a + bx^2$$

The results of the regression (table 23) suggest the following:

Table 23: Regression results for earnings as a function of age for sample male and female workers

| Function | Sample category | Female | | R ² | N | Male | | R ² | N |
|----------------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-----|----------|--------------------------------------|----------------|----|
| | | Constant | Regression coefficient (t values) | | | Constant | Regression coefficient (t values) | | |
| $y = a + bx$ | All | 167.70 | 11.8925 (5.2934) | 0.09463 | 270 | 183.565 | 16.8640 (2.5337) | 0.095 | 65 |
| | Graduates | 44.2880 | 20.8723 (6.1250) | 0.2078 | 145 | -17.0273 | 28.9202 (3.3488) | 0.22 | 42 |
| | Non-graduates | 113.801 | 8.2502 | 0.1102 | 125 | 270.810 | 4.0316 | 0.04 | 23 |
| $y = a + bx^2$ | All | 367.601 | 0.1610 (5.1524) | 0.0902 | 270 | 505.223 | 0.1986 (2.1720) | 0.07 | 65 |
| | Graduates | 406.334 | 0.2726 (5.7782) | 0.1892 | 145 | 497.565 | 0.3733 (3.0162) | 0.19 | 42 |
| | Non-graduates | 240.110 | 0.1219 (4.1250) | 0.1215 | 125 | 347.113 | 0.04803 (0.8770) | 0.04 | 23 |

Source of data: Author's survey of establishment workers.

- (i) Earnings are positively related with age, even though other variables significantly dampen this relationship.
- (ii) The values of earnings estimated on the basis of the coefficients, both in the linear and quadratic functions, point to a stronger relationship of age with earnings in the case of male workers than of women workers. Thus the women not only start at lower earnings, but also attain a lower rise in earnings as compared to men, with advancement in age. When the coefficients are calculated separately for graduates and non-graduates it is apparent that only among graduates do male earnings increase more rapidly with age than women's. For non-graduates, male or female, age has much less effect on earnings than it does for graduates.

Thus the disadvantaged position of women workers, particularly among graduates, is quite evident in so far as the rise in earnings with age is concerned. Discontinuity in service could be one reason for a lower rise in earnings with age in the case of women, but the evidence reported earlier offers little support to such a hypothesis, as most women are found to be in service more or less continuously, with very few having gaps between jobs. The disadvantage of educated women workers vis-à-vis male workers with similar qualifications tends to increase with age as is shown by the respective slopes of the regression lines.

4. More complete earnings functions

Having considered the relationship of age, education and length of service separately to the earnings of male and female workers, we now proceed to examine how these variables influence male and female earnings, in combination with each other. For this purpose we estimated a linear regression equation with earnings as the dependent variable, and age, education and length of service as independent variables. The results of the regression run on a sample of 273 female and 65 male workers are as follows (t values in brackets):

Female

$$E_f = -77.7754 + 5.9894A^{**} + 30.7520Q^{***} + 12.9737L^{***}$$

(2.2646) (9.4276) (3.8966)

$$R^2 = .40; \quad N = 273$$

Male

$$E_m = -469.492 + 11.8090A^* + 57.8660Q^{***} + 14.4629L^*$$

(1.6998) (5.2106) (1.8937)

$$R^2 = .43; \quad N = 65$$

where

E_f = earnings of female workers (in rupees per month)

- E_m = earnings of male workers (in rupees per month)
 A = age in years
 Q = educational qualifications in years of schooling
 L = length of service in years
 $*$ = significant at the 10 per cent level
 $**$ = significant at the 5 per cent level
 $***$ = significant at the 1 per cent level

Although the explanatory power of the model is not very high as indicated by rather low values of coefficients of determination, this is not unusual for individual level data, and all explanatory variables yield positive and significant coefficients in both equations. Worth noting is that all three explanatory variables show a greater positive influence on male earnings than on female earnings, as indicated by the higher coefficients in the male than in the female equation (although the male-female differences in the L coefficient are undoubtedly not significant).

The general conclusion that emerges from this exercise is that the characteristics which tend to raise a person's level of earnings produce differential impacts on male and female earnings in terms of their strength: increase in endowment in terms of age, education and experience leads to much smaller gains in the case of women workers than of male workers.

5. Explanation of differentials: An estimate of pure discrimination

While the analysis so far has mainly concentrated on the differential relationship of certain factors for male and female earnings, we now turn to the question as to how far these variables go to explain the actual male-female differentials in earnings. For this purpose, we computed differences in average earnings of male and female workers in the various occupational categories. With a view to removing the influence of establishment categories among which the earnings are found to differ significantly even in occupations with the same nomenclature and title, we included in this exercise the male-female differences in earnings in the same occupation and the same establishment category. We could estimate such differences in the case of 19 occupations which have both male and female workers in an establishment category. The following regression was then estimated using earning differentials (E_d) as dependent variable and differences in age, education and length of service, (A_d , Q_d and L_d) as independent variables (t values in brackets):

$$E_d = 0.1514 + 0.3605A_d + 0.0187Q_d + 0.0263L_d$$

(0.9272) (0.6169) (0.4306)

$$R^2 = .11; N = 19$$

where

$$E_d = \frac{E_m - E_f}{E_m}$$

$$A_d = \frac{A_m - A_f}{A_m}$$

$$Q_d = \frac{Q_m - Q_f}{Q_m}$$

$$L_d = \frac{L_m - L_f}{L_m}$$

The residual represented by the constant term, may broadly be interpreted as "discrimination" above and beyond the extent to which the specified variables explain the differences in earnings. These results indicate that observed differences in earnings between men and women in the same occupation and sector are not due to their having different levels of education, or length of service or being older, since these variables are found to have a small, insignificant effect.

Another way to estimate the extent of discrimination is to calculate the difference between the actual earnings of women workers and their earnings if their endowment gave them the same benefit as the male workers get from their own endowment. Thus, we estimated female earnings by applying the estimated parameters of the male earnings functions, using the characteristics of age, education and length of service of female workers; the difference between the estimated and the actual female earnings could be ascribed to discrimination. Symbolically, discrimination (D) is measured as follows:

$$D = \frac{\hat{E}_f - E_f}{\hat{E}_f}$$

where $\hat{E}_f = A + \beta_1 m A_f + \beta_2 m Q_f + \beta_3 m L_f$, A being the constant term and β_1 , β_2 and β_3 with suffix m, regression coefficients, all of the male earnings function, reported earlier; and A, Q and L with suffix f being the mean values of age, education and length of service of the sample female workers.

\hat{E}_f thus is the earnings that female workers would receive given their endowments, if age, education and experience produced the same impact on their earnings as in the case of male workers. In other words, they could be taken as earnings of female workers in a non-discriminatory situation. The results of this exercise for the 19 selected occupations and the total sample are given in table 24.

Table 24: Estimates of earnings discrimination against female workers as compared to men in similar occupations and establishments

| Occupation | Establishment | Estimated earnings \hat{E}_f | Actual earnings E_f | Discrimination coefficient D |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Salesmen/sales girls | Private trade | 576.74 | 327.77 | 0.432 |
| 2. Clerk | Public administration | 803.02 | 500.60 | 0.377 |
| 3. Clerk | Transport | 691.67 | 530.70 | 0.232 |
| 4. Clerk | Bank | 868.58 | 1016.20 | -0.169 |
| 5. Clerk | Public manufacturing | 681.46 | 573.00 | 0.132 |
| 6. Typist | Public administration | 632.18 | 426.20 | 0.325 |
| 7. Stenographer | Public administration | 897.21 | 461.50 | 0.485 |
| 8. Stenographer | Public manufacturing | 661.73 | 759.67 | -0.147 |
| 9. Teacher | Private school | 897.21 | 461.50 | 0.485 |
| 10. Labourer | Construction | 200.50 | 188.80 | 0.055 |
| 11. Receptionist | Hotel | 486.02 | 342.50 | 0.295 |
| 12. Management trainee | Hotel | 607.65 | 750.00 | 0.234 |
| 13. Engineer | Public manufacturing | 802.59 | 1000.00 | -0.245 |
| 14. Knitter | Private manufacturing | 548.25 | 260.00 | 0.525 |
| 15. Assistant administration officer | Public administration | 1151.47 | 943.33 | 0.180 |
| 16. Unskilled worker | Private manufacturing | 257.23 | 160.8 | 0.374 |
| 17. Skilled worker | Private manufacturing | 540.44 | 442.14 | 0.181 |
| 18. Peon | Public administration | 238.25 | 298.25 | -0.251 |
| 19. Supervisor | Public manufacturing | 1074.83 | 1214.00 | -0.121 |
| All | | 650.25 | 591.27 | 0.168 |
| Private (N = 9) | | | | .313 |
| Public (N = 10) | | | | .057 |

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

It can be seen from these estimates that discrimination to a smaller and larger degree prevails in most of the occupations (14 out of 19) where both male and female workers are found in the same enterprise; and the overall degree of discrimination is estimated to be around 17 per cent. On closer examination of these data, there are apparently two distinct groups in terms of discrimination - public and private. Of the 10 public sector occupations listed above, five have positive values for D and five have negative values. In contrast, all of the nine occupations in the private sector have positive values for D, with an unweighted average of approximately 31 per cent.

VII. Sex Segregation in the Labour Market:
Views of Employers and Employees

The evidence presented so far has shown that in the formal sector, women tend to be highly over-represented in certain limited occupations within particular sectors of the economy and highly under-represented in other occupations and sectors. Some of the reasons for this unequal distribution and the restricted opportunities of women may be found in employer beliefs about the suitability of women for various types of job as well as the different job preferences of men and women workers.

1. Suitability of women for various occupations:
The employers' view

Employers' views on the suitability of women workers vary from one occupation to another. Their opinion is most favourable in the case of teaching jobs where all those employing teachers considered women as equally suitable or more suitable than men (see table 25).

Table 25: Percentage distribution of sample employers' perception of suitability of women for different jobs (%)

| Occupation | Better than men | Equally suitable | Less suitable | Unsuitable | N |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|------------|----|
| Executive and supervisory | 11.7 | 40.4 | 18.1 | 29.8 | 94 |
| Secretarial | 14.5 | 61.8 | 14.5 | 9.2 | 76 |
| Ministerial | - | 41.3 | 25.3 | 33.3 | 75 |
| Sales workers | 7.7 | 23.1 | 38.5 | 30.7 | 13 |
| Production process workers | 6.1 | 32.7 | 10.2 | 51.0 | 49 |
| Teachers | 50.0 | 50.00 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 16 |

Source: Author's survey, interview schedule for employers.

In the case of clerical/secretarial jobs, most employers considered women to be as suitable as men although a considerable minority (almost one-quarter) found women less suitable or unsuitable. For the remaining occupational categories there is clearly a strong employer bias against women particularly

for sales and production process workers. It may be noted that no employer in public administration, public sector banking and insurance and government schools considered women completely unsuitable for any category of job. Most responses of unsuitability were concentrated in trade and private sector manufacturing.

The reasons why some employers found women to be completely unsuitable for certain types of job are shown in table 26. The single most important reason given by employers is that women lack the physical strength required for certain jobs. One-fourth of the employers felt that women lack the necessary skills required for performing the jobs concerned. A similar proportion also thought that women do not keep regular hours of work and attendance required for the jobs. A few also felt that women lack the necessary psychological attitude to perform certain jobs, and that since jobs have traditionally been performed by men, inferring that women would create problems due to the attitude of male employees. Trading establishments, and to some extent private manufacturing establishments, were most likely to mention the attitude of other workers in the traditionally male-dominated jobs, as the reason for non-suitability of women for these jobs.

Table 26: Unsuitability of women for certain jobs
(Employers' response)

| Reason | % of employers | % of responses |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| Lack of physical strength | 49.4 | 37.6 |
| Lack of necessary skills | 24.7 | 18.8 |
| Lack of proper attitude | 18.0 | 13.7 |
| Non-observance of regular hours of work/attendance | 23.6 | 17.9 |
| Attitude of male employees | 15.7 | 12.0 |
| N | 89 ^a | 117 |

a Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple responses.

Source: Author's survey, interview schedule for employers.

As concerns the reasons for preferring men and avoiding women in certain occupations, the attitude of other employees, who are predominantly male, is a key factor (table 27). Over one-third of the employers reported that they prefer men over women in order to avoid problems with sexual overtones. A large number also mentioned problems of special administrative arrangements (e.g. washrooms, adjustments in working hours, allocation of work involving out of office trips, etc.) needed for the employment of women, as the reason for

Table 28: Preference for women workers (employers' response)

| Jobs in which women are preferred | % of establishments showing preference for women workers ^a | Reasons for preference (%) | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| | | Higher efficiency | Better devotion to work | Easier personnel administration | Customer attraction |
| Supervisory | 8.2 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| Stenographers-typists | 20.3 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Upper grade assistants | 11.0 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Lower grade assistants | 32.7 | 16 | 11 | 2 | 1 |
| Sales workers | 33.3 | 9 | 8 | 3 | 6 |
| Ministerial (peon, ayah, sweeper) | 23.0 | 3 | 2 | - | - |
| Production process workers (skilled) | 41.3 | 8 | 4 | 1 | - |
| Production process workers (unskilled) | 25.2 | 5 | 5 | - | - |
| Teachers | 100.0 | 13 | 10 | 1 | - |

a Percentages are to the number of establishments who have workers in the respective occupations. In all 70 out of 97 establishments expressed preference for women workers in one job or another.

Source: Author's survey, interview schedule for employers.

Table 27: Employers' reasons for preference for male workers

| Reasons | % of employers | % of responses |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| Lower turnover | 4.5 | 3.5 |
| Lower absenteeism | 18.2 | 14.0 |
| Higher productivity | 25.0 | 19.3 |
| Avoidance of inter-sex attitudinal problems | 45.5 | 35.1 |
| Avoidance of any special administrative requirements for women employees | 36.4 | 28.1 |
| N | 44 ^a | 57 |

a Fifty-three employers reported "no preference". Percentages in the column do not add up to 100 due to multiple response.

Source: Author's survey, interview schedule for employers.

their preferring men as employees. Higher productivity and lower turnover and absenteeism among men than among women also featured as a significant reason for male preference.

On the other hand, most of those who would prefer to employ women in certain jobs find them suitable for the reason of higher efficiency (table 28). Of course, there are only a few jobs in which such preference is shown and that too by a small percentage of employers in different activities. The largest number of employers, over one-fifth of them, would prefer employing women in lower grade clerical jobs. Some employers also believe that fixed location sales jobs are particularly suitable for women especially in trading establishments and hotels. The next category of jobs for which employers find women particularly suitable is skilled production process jobs in manufacturing of certain kinds. Employers in construction find women particularly suitable for unskilled jobs. All schools prefer women as teachers, and a small proportion of employers in public administration and public sector manufacturing find women more suitable for stenographic and clerical jobs.

Why do these employers prefer women in certain jobs? In most cases the reason reported is better efficiency, followed by better devotion to work. Practically all the employers give both reasons or at least the reason of better efficiency. And this is true of all kinds of job in which preference for women workers has been expressed. In trading establishments, of course, the preference for women sales workers is also significantly attributed to the "customer attraction".

Employer views about the relative suitability of women for certain types of job are clearly restricting women's employment opportunities. Various problems linked to women's household roles may be responsible for some employers' perceptions of them as less regular in attendance and less productive than men. However, in the current context, where much of the workplace is strongly male-dominated, one of the main problems is desegregation. This involves, from the employers' point of view, considerable problems of employee attitudes and relations, in addition to special administrative arrangements.

2. The opinions of women workers

Women employees in the sample were asked whether or not they agreed with various statements which reflected the reasons employers tend to give for not hiring women or preferring men. They were asked whether as compared to men, women are less efficient, less committed to a career, absent more often, leave their jobs more often and create more problems for management.

A surprisingly large proportion of the women agreed with these statements (see table 29). The highest proportion (over two-thirds) agreed that women tend to be absent more than men; and illiterate women affirmed this proposition more often than those with some education. Agreement was somewhat less as concerns worker stability but still over half think women are less stable than men. Although sex differentials in absenteeism and turnover are mentioned also by employers as seen above, they put more emphasis on relative efficiency

and the problems women create for management. Women tend to agree less with them on these factors particularly the idea that women cause more problems for management. That two-fifths of women workers agree that women are less efficient is nevertheless suggestive of an acceptance of prevailing stereotypes and a lack of confidence in their abilities.

Table 29: Women workers' perception regarding reasons for discrimination

| Educational level | % of workers agreeing with propositions | | | | | N |
|-------------------|---|------|------|------|------|-----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Illiterate | 55.6 | 35.3 | 93.8 | 71.4 | 40.0 | 43 |
| Primary | 25.0 | 75.0 | 57.1 | 66.6 | 50.0 | 15 |
| Secondary | 42.9 | 48.0 | 70.0 | 50.0 | 25.9 | 65 |
| First degree | 33.3 | 51.3 | 57.5 | 45.0 | 29.4 | 126 |
| Higher | 44.2 | 50.0 | 61.9 | 62.9 | 37.5 | 24 |
| All | 39.9 | 45.2 | 67.3 | 58.5 | 34.1 | 273 |

Propositions:

Job discrimination

1. Women are less efficient
2. Women are less committed to career
3. Women absent from work more often
4. Women leave jobs more often
5. Women create more problems for management

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

To probe the difficulties which might arise from cross-sex interactions at work, the female respondents were asked to recollect if any unpleasant situation arose during their work and to what aspects of their work the situation was related. Seventy-one per cent of the women workers recollected no such situation. About 12 per cent reported incidents related to the work routine which had no particular relation to the respondent being female. For another 5 per cent of the women, the cause of the trouble was their co-workers' jealousy towards them due to their special position or favourable treatment by the employers/supervisors. The remaining 12 per cent reported an incident which had a basis in their being women. The details of each of the cases could not be recorded but in most the unpleasant situation arose either because some male co-worker or supervisor made amorous or insulting advances and remarks, or some co-workers got the impression that some "affair" was going on. A relatively higher incidence of situations with sexual overtones was found in construction, hotels and public administration.

These results suggest that although employer apprehensions concerning the problems of cross-sex interaction at work may be exaggerated, they are not completely unfounded.

As concerns wage discrimination, women workers were asked whether they agreed with various propositions as shown in table 30. Only two-fifths agreed with the proposition that women get only low-paid jobs and 36 per cent felt that women are paid lower wages than men in similar jobs. It is significant to note, however, that most of the illiterate women workers felt that wage discrimination existed both in terms of jobs with lower earnings and particularly as concerns lower wages in similar jobs. This perception of the illiterate and semi-literate women appears somewhat contrary to the observed situation of wage differences; illiterate women workers are found to earn similar or more than illiterate male workers. However, a closer look at the data reveals that with similar length of service a woman worker is paid lower than a male worker in sectors like construction and private sector manufacturing, where a large part of the illiterate workers are employed, although due to longer periods of work. The average earnings of the women workers are similar or even higher than male workers with no education.

Over half of the women workers agreed that women are suitable for low-paid jobs only. Such a low evaluation of one's own sex is rather unexpected but tends to correspond with the opinion (noted above) that women are less efficient.

However, as concerns the reasons for the lower pay of women workers, most workers agreed that women are available at lower wages than men and a minority agreed that women's productivity was lower. Thus, it would appear that in the opinion of women workers, irrespective of their educational level, the main reason for the lower wages of women is not their lower productivity, but their availability for work at lower wages than men.

Table 30: Women workers' perceptions of sex discrimination in earnings

| Educational level | Proportions agreeing to proposition (%) | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------|-------|------|------|-----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | N |
| Illiterate | 59.8 | 65.2 | 57.5 | 38.7 | 97.0 | 43 |
| Primary | 10.7 | 37.5 | 50.0 | 75.0 | 80.0 | 15 |
| Secondary | 27.1 | 16.9 | 43.3 | 34.8 | 80.1 | 65 |
| First degree | 36.8 | 36.1 | 42.9 | 31.4 | 69.7 | 126 |
| Higher | 47.8 | 34.2 | 58.3 | 31.4 | 79.5 | 24 |
| All | 40.5 | 36.4 | 53.03 | 35.2 | 84.2 | 273 |

Propositions:

1. Women are generally employed in jobs with lower earnings than men.
2. Women are paid lower wages than men.
3. Women are suitable for low-paid jobs only.
4. Women are paid lower due to lower productivity.
5. Women are available for work at lower wages.

Source: Author's survey of establishment employees.

VIII. Conclusion

Going out to seek employment is still an exceptional rather than common characteristic of women in urban India. The two main categories of women who go out to work are: those belonging to the economically depressed groups for whom work to supplement the low family income is a compulsion, or those from the relatively better off and "modernised" households in which women have some notion of independence, equality and attainment. The majority of women workers belong to the first category, though a rising trend is perceptible among those belonging to the second category.

In the employment structure of Lucknow city and of the selected sample establishments, men constitute the majority of the workforce in nearly all occupations and activities; women workers, though small in number, are found in most occupational categories but there are only two occupations in which over one-third of workers are women: nursing and teaching. Some other occupations which show a tendency to attract a larger than average proportion of women workers are: stenographers, clerks and typists, telephone operators, sales workers, and production process workers in electronics, embroidery and food processing. On the other hand, higher grade jobs in practically all lines of activities and occupations have a much lower than average proportion of women workers.

Employers' attitudes concerning what jobs can be performed by men and women help explain sex differentials in occupations. The large category of clerical and secretarial occupations was considered by most employers as equally well performed by men and women. There are, however, quite a few occupations which they thought could be performed by men only, or at least, better by men than women. These were executive and supervisory jobs in manufacturing, transport, and theatres, out-of-shop sales jobs, and production process jobs in most manufacturing lines except in electronics, embroidery and food processing. It is significant to note that the public sector employers more often consider men and women equally suitable for most jobs than private employers who, in most cases, consider women inferior or not suitable at all, for a number of these jobs. When the private sector employers show a preference for women in most cases it is because they are available at lower wage rates.

Lower productivity is a less important reason for not employing women than the attitude of other (usually male) employees. The latter factor has serious adverse implications for the employment of women. Since there are no or very few women in most occupations, women are not likely to be employed in the future as the predominantly male workforce has certain, rather unfavourable attitudes towards women co-workers. Therefore, many jobs may tend to remain out of bounds for women because of problems employers foresee in desegregating their workforce.

While women may prefer certain jobs over others, women as well as men had applied for practically all categories of jobs, and have taken up a less preferred one if the first choice did not become available. Men applied for

higher level jobs in a larger proportion than women, whereas most women had applied for teaching but both ultimately settled for clerical. Thus, the pattern of job applications by men and women does suggest certain but not strong preferences, which may partially account for a clustering of women workers in certain kinds of job, namely, secretarial, teaching, telephone operator, a few production process jobs, and of course, nursing.

The low proportion of women in the urban workforce in India is, no doubt, mainly a result of the relatively low supply of women for economic activity outside the home. At the same time the labour market also contributes to it significantly through discriminatory practices. Discrimination in recruitment is manifest in the lower selection-to-application ratio in the case of women than of men suggesting a 25 per cent lower chance of a female applicant being selected. The employers in most cases plead absence of any bias in favour of men or against women of similar qualifications and capabilities. Yet it seems that a bias against women is present in the process of recruitment in general.

The major reason for such a bias may be the employers' belief that women are secondary workers, they have to look after households and, therefore, jobs are needed by and should be given first to men. These notions which were expressed by the majority of employers when asked why only a small proportion of their workforce consisted of women, influence their decisions, at least on the margin, when a choice is to be made between equally qualified men and women.

Discrimination against women after they succeed in securing employment manifests itself in three inter-related phenomena: employment secured by women tends to be in the low-earning, low-prospect jobs; women have lower earnings than men in similar jobs; and women have lower promotion prospects and lower lifetime earnings than men.

The occupation and activity-wise distribution of male and female workers amply demonstrates women's disadvantage in placement in different kinds of job: in education and private manufacturing where the proportion of women is high, wages are low and promotions rare. Women's share of supervisory and executive posts is very low (3 per cent) even in public administration where one-fifth of the workforce is female.

Wage discrimination in terms of different wages for men and women workers in similar occupations and jobs is not directly observed, except in the construction sector where women are paid lower than men, as, according to the employers, they are available at lower wages. Yet women workers earn, on the whole, less than men in similar occupations. Even when both men and women are employed on time-scales of pay with similar nomenclature of jobs, the starting points in the pay scales of women's posts are significantly lower than those of men.

Strangely enough, education seems to widen rather than narrow the male-female earnings differences. Among the illiterate and those with little education, the earnings differentials between men and women workers are rather

small but, with secondary education, men earn more than women, and the relative difference in favour of men rises steeply with college education. A similar relationship is observed between years in service and earnings. The age-earnings relationship also reveals a clear disadvantage to women employees; earnings of both male and female employees increase with age but the gap between average earnings of men and women widens. In fact, age, education and experience, the factors expected to lead to a rise in earnings, each have a much larger impact on male earnings than on female earnings.

The various findings of our study suggest that labour market discrimination against women is real. Discrimination in selection, placement and promotion has been noted above. Wage discrimination to the extent of depressing women workers' wages by around 17 per cent lower than male workers' wages in the same occupation is found to prevail even after standardising for age, educational qualifications, experience and type of establishment.

It is difficult to perceive that the disadvantage of women in employment will be reduced in the near future. The basic reason for the present situation lies in societal attitudes which would take a long time to change. It is often expected that the notion of regarding women as secondary workers would disappear with increasing opportunities and education. But in the Indian situation, job opportunities will have to rise at inconceivably high rates to absorb all potential male and female workers, and most of the few new jobs that could be created will mainly be taken by men. Education, on the other hand, is found to reduce the disadvantage of women mainly vis-à-vis uneducated women not in comparison to educated men.

It is, however, likely that a faster expansion of job opportunities in the public and organised sectors will prove advantageous to women. These sectors are found to be less discriminatory, and follow procedures of selection, placement and promotions which provide reasonably equal if not better opportunities to women. Any attempt at legislation to fix a proportion of women in employment, at this stage however, is likely to prove self-defeating for society, given the overall scarcity of employment opportunities and the family structures in which men are expected to be the primary workers for quite some time to come: reservation of jobs for women is likely to benefit the women of better off classes, at the cost of men of poorer classes. The question of women workers belonging to poorer classes where a woman cannot afford to remain without work due to low incomes of the household, however, needs special consideration, mainly in terms of expanding work opportunities for them and raising productivity and incomes in the occupations where they are engaged.

Appendix A

Women Workers in the Informal Sector

The informal sector is generally found to absorb a sizeable part of the urban female workforce in developing countries. Considering establishments employing less than five workers, household units and workers in self-employment to constitute the informal sector, we estimate that of the total female workforce in Lucknow city in 1971 (census year), around 57 per cent were in this sector. In the study, we have already covered the establishment workers. In order to have some idea of the background and pattern of work of women working as self-employed or supplying services to the household, which are estimated to constitute around 35 per cent of the women workers of the city, we have undertaken small sample studies of three important groups of women workers in this category: vegetable vendors, washerwomen and housemaids.¹ The issues of segregation and discrimination which form the central theme of the main study arise only in a limited way and mainly by way of implications. In all three activities selected for study, men as well as women are found working. Our sample has been confined to the women workers only and aspects relating to their position vis-à-vis men workers have also been covered to a certain extent.

1. Vegetable Vendors

Women constitute around 30 per cent of the persons engaged in the trade of vegetable and fruit selling in Lucknow city. Most of the women work single-handed and sell vegetables at fixed locations. In large vegetable markets in different parts of the city, women vegetable sellers are mostly found selling a few items, sitting on the pavements outside the main market. Obviously, their turnover and incomes are much less as compared to their counterparts having permanent shops inside the regular market. In the latter category of shops a few women are found engaged, but mainly as helpers to their husbands or fathers who manage and look after the shops. A few women vegetable vendors sell vegetables moving from door to door, in wooden carts or in baskets carried on their heads. Most of the women vegetable sellers in our sample consist of those with fixed locations on the pavements.

A total of 26 vegetable vendors selected on a random basis from three vegetable markets of the city were covered in the survey. Their age distribution was in line with the general population of workers: 40 per cent were in the age group 20-35; and another 40 per cent in the age group 35-50, 12 per cent were above 50 years of age, while 8 per cent were below 20 years. Their marital characteristics, however, were out of line with general population, in

¹ Since the samples were rather small no detailed tables are presented. Instead, most of the relevant information is described in the text. A table portraying certain comparative characteristics of the three groups of women workers is given in table A.1 at the end of the appendix.

so far as though all were of marriageable age only 58 per cent were married and living with their husbands while 31 per cent were widowed. Seven per cent were unmarried and 4 per cent had divorced their husbands. A significantly high percentage of widows in the sample probably suggests that many women take up jobs like vegetable vending due to adverse family circumstances.

In fact, 54 per cent of the respondents reported entering the trade on account of the economic needs of their family; half of them had to take up some work as their husbands died and they had to work to earn for their own livelihood and that of their families. In the case of another 31 per cent, however, the vegetable trade naturally came to them as the family occupation. A few, about 15 per cent, took up vegetable vending as they wanted to earn an independent income, to escape from maltreatment and harassment by their families. One, a young girl aged 16 years, was selling vegetables to meet the expenses of her education, which her family could not afford.

It is noted that the women who were engaged in vegetable vending as a vocation handed down to them by their parents or parents-in-law, have generally been in the trade for a longer period, over five years, while those starting because of economic distress are in the trade only for a few years, mostly for less than three years. Therefore, the older women are not necessarily in the trade for longer. Even most of those in the age group 50 years and above as well as those in the age group 30-50 years have been in this trade for only one to three years, while 60 per cent of those in the age group 20-25 years have been selling vegetables for at least three years and half of them for at least five years. Thus most of the women who did not have vegetable vending as a family occupation are late entrants in the trade and seem to have been forced to work by economic problems of their households.

Most female vegetable vendors have more than one earner in their household. Only 25 per cent of them have no other earner except themselves in the family, but one-third of these women, i.e. around 8 per cent of the total, of course have no family at all. The majority (58 per cent) of the respondents had a family consisting of at least five members, and the average size of their family worked out to 4.38. Each family on average had two earners; thus yielding an average dependency ratio of around 2.19. Apart from the respondents themselves, another 19 of the workers from their families were also engaged in this trade, eight of them jointly with the respondents, and 11 independently. Only five respondents had one of the members of their families working in some other jobs: none of them had a regular job with any establishment; two engaged in tailoring, one in petty trade, one in farming and one was a casual labourer.

Thus vegetable vending is found to be the sole source of income in the case of most households; and here the number of hands working in this trade is found to result in a larger than proportionate increase in the daily earnings. Most households derive an income of less than Rs. 10 per day from this trade, only 27 per cent earned more than Rs. 10 per day and 12 per cent more than Rs. 15 per day. But the average earnings of a vegetable vendor working single-

handed is Rs. 4 per day; two workers jointly in the trade earn a total of Rs. 8.50 and when there are three from the family engaged in the trade, their earnings total to Rs. 11. With an average of two members engaged in vegetable vending, the average income of a household from this source comes to Rs. 540 per month. Since large families have some members working in other occupations, with higher average earnings, the household income rises more than proportionately with household size and per capita income. The relationship, is however, valid only up to the size of four, beyond which it tends to become negative. Thus the average income of the single member household is Rs. 118 per month, that of a two-member household Rs. 580 per month, of a three-member household Rs. 901, and of a four-member household Rs. 1,250 per month. The average income of larger households tends to stabilise around Rs. 1,300.

Let us now look at the conditions, growth and problems of the trade faced by the women vegetable vendors. As noted earlier, while 31 per cent of our respondents entered this trade as a part of their family vocation, the rest were compelled to enter by family circumstances. Most of the former category faced no problem when they started working; but over four-fifths of the latter category reported having faced one or the other problem in starting their activity. Lack of funds, followed by non-availability of a place to start business were the most often faced problems. A significant proportion, around 45 per cent, also reported having faced harassment from the vendors already operating in the vicinity. The tormentors were, however, more often female than male vendors!

Although lack of funds and non-availability of space continue to be the major material problems the female vendors are facing even after being in the trade for some years, some of them, around one-fourth, and mostly those having one or two other members of the family working with them, feel that they do not have adequate hands to deal with the volume of business they could handle. Another important problem consists of their inability to keep long hours, in most cases due to household responsibilities, but in some cases also due to insecurity they face as women while working late. Harassment is reported by most vendors, but the most often mentioned source of harassment is the "police". The harassment generally is in the form of attempts by the police to drive the vendors away in order to clear the pavements where they are vending, and sometimes, also to demand "consideration", mostly monetary, to allow them to operate in the "unauthorised" locations. Sometimes the vendors operate from the pavements of streets of residential areas, and in such cases, they have also reported frequent harassment from the residents of houses in front of which they are squatting to sell vegetables.

Most of the problems of the vegetable vendors, relating to space, insecurity and harassment are due to their operating in the open and, often, in unauthorised locations. One would, therefore, presume that provision of stalls in authorised vegetable markets could be an important solution to many of their problems. Such stalls are generally not available, and when available on rent fetch a considerable amount of pugree (premium), which has to be

paid to the present occupant in order to have its use, plus the monthly rent that is to be paid to the Municipal Corporation. One of our respondents who acquired a stall paid Rs. 500 as pugree to the earlier occupant. Sometimes, the vegetable vendors, with some material and manpower resources, have attempted to erect some structures of their own, probably on public land. But 24 out of 26 vendors have no stall or structure and are operating on pavements and streets. Strangely, 40 per cent of them have no interest in acquiring a stall, probably because at the meagre level of turnover they operate they do not think they need it. Also they have an assured and captive clientele in the residential locality where they are operating. The rest of them who are interested in having a stall are not hopeful of getting one because of the absolute non-availability in most cases, and lack of funds to procure one, in other cases. Thus in the given situation, there does not seem to be much chance of these vendors acquiring a secure and authorised place for their activity.

2. Washerwomen

Cloth washing has three major segments in an Indian city like Lucknow. A part of the activity is carried out in registered shops, located in the main shopping centres and local markets. These shops mainly undertake the dry-cleaning of woollen and silk garments, and, to a limited extent, washing of cotton cloths. They use hired labour, machines, particularly for the dry-cleaning work, and electrically operated irons for pressing the cloths. The second segment consists of washermen carrying out their business with the use of family labour. They use their residences as their business premises, but wash cloths on the banks of the river flowing through the city or other water sources such as tanks, and dry them on temporary lining in vacant plots in and around their locality. Most of them collect and deliver the cloths. A major part of cotton cloth washing is carried out by these washermen households, who do not use any machines. Those who have electricity at their residence may use an electrically operated iron press, but most use coke-heated irons. The third segment of this trade consists of workers who undertake only ironing of cloths. Lack of enough hands to carry out washing and of resources to procure whatever little material and equipment is required to undertake washing cloths, is one reason for confining their activity to ironing. Increasing washing charges, on the one hand, and the emergence of easily washable synthetics and of detergents making washing a less disagreeable activity, on the other, have led households to increasingly undertake their washing themselves. However, they find it more convenient to get ironing done by washermen. These factors have led to an increase in the number of "ironing only" washermen, who visit the households with wheeled wooden handcarts and coke-heated iron presses to cater to this need.

Our sample is confined to the second and third category of washerwomen. It may be noted that although our respondents were women, most worked jointly with the male members of their households. Unlike vegetable vending where most women were the principal earners and heads of household, the women workers in the cloth washing trade were mainly members of the household team.

Among the 25 washerwomen selected for our study from three different localities of the town, around three-fourths are married and living with their husband almost all of whom work together with their wives in cloth washing. Three aged below 20 years are not married. Sixteen per cent are widows and there is no divorcee as against 35 per cent widows and divorcees among the vegetable vendors. Only one widow was forced to take up cloth washing due to the family circumstances. All other washerwomen are in the trade "naturally" as this happens to be the traditional occupation of their family.

It is for the above reason that we find that our respondents have been engaged in cloth washing for durations more or less in line with their age, starting work at the age of 10-12 years in most cases: one-fourth of them are below 20 years of age and have been working for an average of seven years, another 28 per cent who are in the age group 20-35 years have been in the trade for a period of 10 to 20 years and those in the age group 35-40, the largest group constituting about 40 per cent are in the trade for over 20 years each. Two of the three aged 50 years or more have been working as washerwomen for over 30 years each. Only one respondent, aged 50 years and above, has been engaged in cloth washing for a relatively smaller period as she entered the trade only after the death of her husband.

As noted earlier, most washerwomen are working jointly with other members of their family in most cases males as well as females. Only four women who are widows were working single-handed. Sixty-four per cent had one or two other family members working with them; and 20 per cent had three or more. It is interesting to note that except for the 16 per cent who were working singly, all had at least one male member in their working team. Besides those who were working jointly with the respondents, 40 per cent of the respondent households also had members engaged in cloth washing separately from them, mainly one person from each such household.

Thus cloth washing constituted the sole or major activity of the households of the washerwomen. The 25 sample households had a total population of 112 persons of which 88 were working, yielding a participation rate of 78.57 per cent. Most of the children worked in the family trade: 55 per cent of those below the age of 15 years were found working. The total workers of the sample households were distributed as follows: 86 per cent in cloth washing, and 14 per cent in other occupations. Those in the other occupations were working as clerks (40 per cent), peons (40 per cent) and labourers (20 per cent).

With a high worker-population ratio, the households of the washerwomen are in a position to earn an average monthly income of Rs. 552.84, yielding a per capita income of Rs. 122.85. This level of per capita income could be considered sufficient for meeting the minimum subsistence requirements of the households in Lucknow city in 1981.

What is important to note is that most families, around 70 per cent, have an income of over Rs. 400 per month; and the larger the family size, the

higher is the income of the household. No household has less than three members. Around one-fourth have three members, and with an average income of Rs. 358, they have a per capita income of Rs. 119. Another 28 per cent have four members each, and an average income of Rs. 511, yielding a per capita income of Rs. 128 per month. Households with five or more members constituted 45 per cent, have an average income of Rs. 605 and a per capita income of Rs. 121.

A significant part of the household income, however, is derived from activities other than cloth washing. Although only 11 per cent of the working members of these households are engaged in these activities, 37 per cent of the total household income is earned by members engaged in activities other than cloth washing. Income from cloth washing estimates to Rs. 11.62 per day or Rs. 349 per month, while the total household income on average estimates to Rs. 552.84. Cloth washing thus turns out to be a relatively low-earning activity as compared even to the lowest paid regular jobs like that of a peon or labourer, in which most of the members not in cloth washing, are employed.

Those working singly naturally are earning less than those having help from other family members in cloth washing. But the increase is not proportional to the number of hands. Two persons together earn more than double (Rs. 11.44) what a single worker earns (Rs. 4.88), but with three persons working the earnings increase only to Rs. 12.31, but with four persons to Rs. 15.53 and with five persons to Rs. 15.90. It is thus seen that the additional hands beyond two mostly share the work which two persons are already performing, and these additional hands mostly consist of children.

The relationship between the value of equipment possessed by washerwomen and their daily earnings is stronger than that between the number of hands engaged and earnings. On average they have equipment worth Rs. 600 in the form of iron presses, lining and sometimes, handcarts, 48 per cent who have equipment worth Rs. 400 or less, earn around Rs. 8 per day. Those with equipment worth between Rs. 400 and Rs. 700 earn Rs. 13 per day. In the equipment group Rs. 750-1,000, earnings rise to Rs. 16 and beyond Rs. 1,000, to Rs. 19. In spite of the fact that all operations involved in the cloth washing trade are carried out manually making it a highly labour intensive activity, it is somewhat surprising that earnings rise more consistently with equipment possessed rather than with the number of workers engaged. Although a few of the respondents possessed a handcart, thus raising the total value of their equipment, in most cases the difference in equipment value was between the coke-heated and electric iron presses, the latter being three to four times costlier than the former. An electric iron press seems to contribute to higher net earnings in two ways: by reducing the time required in heating and by reducing the cost of material required for heating. This is found to account largely for the relation of earnings to the value of equipment.

The more important determinant of the differences in earnings is, however, found in undertaking a single process, washing or ironing, and a combination of both. There were only two respondents in the sample who undertook washing

only, for the laundries and chikan embroiderers, on a large scale basis. They earned the highest, Rs. 14 per day. Their earnings are high because they work for establishments and on a larger scale. Most of the remaining respondents undertake both washing and ironing for households and earn Rs. 12.56 per day. Around 16 per cent, women working singly, undertake ironing only, as they do not have the necessary human and other resources, required to undertake both washing and ironing. And their earnings are the lowest at Rs. 6 per day.

In most (84 per cent) cases, however, as noted earlier, the women workers interviewed have other members of their family working with them and in each such case there is at least one male member. There seems to be a general pattern of division of labour among the male and female members. Washing is done jointly by both sexes in most cases, but in 20 per cent of the cases it is done by males only and in 10 per cent of the cases women only. Collection and delivery of garments to households is mostly done by males, or by females accompanied by males. Ironing of cloth seems a predominantly female domain, and account-keeping is almost entirely shared by men and women. Thus processes dealing with customers are more often performed by men; the most crucial process, washing involving muscular strength and somewhat skilled activity of ironing is performed mostly by women. On the whole cloth washing seems to be a trade where men and women hold equal places without any subordination of one sex by the other.

In general, the washerwomen report no material problem in carrying out their trade. None lack business due to competition and around one-third of them feel constrained by lack of hands in coping with the business that comes to them. That they have to go a long distance for washing poses a problem to 28 per cent. Problems specifically relating to women workers, however, seem important. Around one-fourth of the respondents cannot work long because of household duties. Second, over half the respondents find harassment from customers, as a problem in their work. They feel that the customers tend to bully them, more often than their male co-workers, taking the pretext of poor quality of work, delays in delivery and overcharging, and the male customers sometimes try to take advantage assuming them to be women of easy virtue. While most of the women workers working singly have this problem, half of the washing women working jointly with the male members of their families also mentioned it and accordingly the task of collection and delivery is undertaken either by male members, or by female members accompanied by the male members of the households.

Although all the tasks involved in cloth washing can be performed by women on their own, it seems preferable for them to work with the help of men. Women working singly are found unable to undertake all the processes, and thus confine themselves to a single process which yields them rather low earnings. Insecurity as women while going outdoors for washing and relative weakness in dealing with the customer households, create further problems for those working without help from the male members of their households. Yet women constitute

around 50 per cent of the workers in the cloth washing trade in the non-establishment sector. Perhaps that is one of the reasons, in the absence of any lack of demand for the service, for the relatively low earnings in this trade, as compared even to the lowest paid jobs in establishments.

3. Maid servants

Domestic servants are engaged by households in the urban area to undertake household tasks which the housewives are unable to perform for personal or physical reasons or for lack of time. Such tasks include washing utensils and floor cleaning, washing of cloths, cooking and outdoor tasks such as purchasing vegetables and other sundry items and accompanying children to school and back. Requirements as well as capacity of the households differ so that the domestic servants are engaged for different combinations of activity by different families. They are employed mostly for specific tasks each day, rather than on a regular full-time basis to perform any task the household may assign. Still, a significant percentage, around 20, of the maid servants surveyed by us were found to be employed on a regular basis. The rest perform a few specified tasks for more than one household. Two separate schedules, one for the housemaids and another for the employer households were used for data collection.

Besides the shift in pattern of employment of domestic servants, from that of full-time service with a household on a regular basis to the task-specific engagement of part-time workers, two other, rather conflicting trends have influenced demand of late. The rising cost of living has reduced the capacity of the middle class households to engage help for household chores. At the same time, the increasing number of housewives seeking jobs out of the home in order to supplement the dwindling real income of the household, has led to an increase in the need for domestic help. Whether the housewife takes up a job or not depends largely on the comparison between the net earnings from the job and wages required to be paid to the additional help needed for household work in the event of her working. Imponderables like the sacrifice of motherly care to the children, of course, add to the cost side, and the self-fulfilment on the part of the housewife in undertaking a job, to the benefit side.

By and large, only the households beyond a particular level of income engage servants even on a part-time, specific task basis. In our sample of 25 maid servants we find that none are engaged by households with an income less than Rs. 1,200 per month; and around two-thirds by households with a monthly income above Rs. 2,000. The average income of the employer households estimates to around Rs. 2,300 per month. Structurally, these households have a low ratio of housewives to population, 56 per cent of them had one housewife each, 24 per cent two housewives, and 20 per cent had no housewife. The population of the households employing domestic servants on our sample, had 38 per cent workers, 21 per cent housewives and 41 per cent children. Twenty-eight per cent of the women in the working age group were employed, thus reducing the proportion of housewives. Thus a reasonably high level of income combined with the low housewife-population ratio creates the demand for domestic servants.

Most domestic servants, particularly those on a part-time basis, are women. In the two different localities of Lucknow city, from where we drew our sample of 25 maid servants, women are estimated to constitute around 75 per cent of the domestic servants engaged by all households. Around 70 per cent of the household members also expressed their preference for women as maid servants. Though the male members of the employer households are somewhat more inclined in favour of male servants - only 44 per cent of them preferred female servants - 88 per cent of the female members of the employer households prefer women; and their preference seems to have prevailed more often. On the scores of capacity for hard work and to undertake errands out of the home, men are preferred for domestic help; but women, according to the employers, are preferable because they are generally more efficient, and yet, are available at low wages. That they are more patient and submissive and less prone to endanger the security of the house are also mentioned as additional considerations in favour of women as servants. That they abstain from work frequently, require protection if needed to work at odd hours and keep asking for various things from time to time are mentioned as the problems in employing female servants. Yet, overall, women are preferred for domestic help, primarily for the reasons that they are available at low wages.

Women who work as domestic servants accept this work which has very low status, and low wages, because of the desperate economic situation of their households. Almost all of them belong to families with no or very little income from any other source. In our sample, we find that one-third of the maid servants are widows and divorcees, driven to take up any work for their livelihood, as there is no other earner in the family. Married maid servants living with their husband constitute 48 per cent, while 20 per cent are unmarried. They are distributed evenly among the different age groups: 20 per cent each are in the age group below 20 years and above 50 years, while 36 per cent are aged between 20 and 35 years and 32 per cent between 35 and 50 years.

The worker-population ratio among member of the households of the maid servants is quite high at 50 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the maid servants have no other earner in their family; 56 per cent had two or three and 24 per cent four or five earners including the respondent. Yet, with 2.5 earners on average, the total household income turns out to be around Rs. 527 per month only, which, given an average family size of five members yields a per capita income of Rs. 105 per month. This situation obviously is the result of the low earnings in the domestic jobs in which most workers from the respondent household are engaged. The workers of the household of maid servants, besides themselves, are engaged in various activities as follows: 35 per cent in domestic service; 38 per cent in labour as peons, factory workers, or salesmen; and 27 per cent are self-employed as rickshaw-pullers, mechanics, tailors, etc. Earnings of those engaged as wage labourers average around Rs. 300, of self-employed Rs. 200, and domestic servants to Rs. 180. Of the total workers including the respondents, 61 per cent are engaged as domestic servants, 23 per cent as wage labourers and 16 per cent are self-employed in various activities.

Let us now turn to the work of the maid servants. There are 20 per cent of them who work for a single household each, while 60 per cent are working for five or more households at the same time and 20 per cent for two or three households. Those working for a single household, of course, perform all kinds of domestic chores, including some errands out of the home. Most of those working for less than five households are also performing three or four tasks for each of them. These tasks include utensil cleaning, floor cleaning, cloth washing and some odd outdoor errands. Most of those working for five or more households, however, undertake only utensil cleaning for each of them. In all, one-fourth undertake a single activity, utensil cleaning; 44 per cent combine two or three activities and 32 per cent four or more activities for the households they work for.

Around two-thirds of the maid servants do not work for more than a total of eight hours per day, in fact, 44 per cent work for less than six hours. It must, however, be noted that these hours constitute the period of regular and intensive work with very close supervision - most of the time the housewife watching and goading the maids to work faster and better. Thirty-six per cent of them work for over eight hours; 20 per cent of them who work for over 10 hours are, of course, the full-time regular servants. Earnings are consistently related with hours worked. Those working up to six hours earn Rs. 130 per month, six to eight hours of work per day fetches a monthly earning of Rs. 169, and eight to ten hours work Rs. 237 per month. The earnings of those working for more than 10 hours are less at Rs. 212, but as regular employees of the households, they also receive certain benefits other than the salary, such as tea, meals, cloths on a regular basis.

The women working as maid servants do not seem to have any alternative prospects in view. Changes in their status can come only with the male members of their families getting higher paid jobs, in which case they would just stop working and look after their households. Around one-third of them have been working as maid servants for over 10 years, another 20 per cent for five years to ten years, 30 per cent each for two to five, and for less than two years. In most cases, their money earnings have increased over the years. Those working for over 10 years had a five-fold increase in their earnings during the period of their working as maid servants, those working for two to ten years also had an increase of around 150 per cent and even those with only two years as their period of work had gained 50 per cent in their earnings. Around three-fourths of them seem to have resigned themselves to their fate and have no aspirations for change. Those who aspire for a change, also do not have highly paid jobs in mind. Most of them have work relating to child-care and babysitting in mind. A few would like to have a sewing machine to start their own tailoring business, or a job in a factory.

The labour market for maid servants seems to be in equilibrium with strong stability conditions. The demand for domestic help rises mainly as a result of more and more housewives taking up employment out of their homes. But since even the latter do not get jobs with relatively high salaries, the process

of taking up jobs by them slows down to the extent that the difference between what they earn and what the households have to pay in wages to maid servants is not significant. This prevents a substantial rise in demand for maid servants; but low wages of maid servants, on the other hand, also keep the demand from falling. To the extent, however, that employment of women from the middle class households is increasing and the technology of household work is not undergoing any swift change, a larger number of domestic servants would be employed. These would be mainly women, for they are available at a lower wage than men. Supply of such women workers is not constrained as a sizeable proportion of urban families are very poor and their women have no inhibitions in undertaking domestic work in other households. There also does not seem any appreciable chance of upward occupational mobility of women from these classes, as their educational levels are low. Therefore, they will continue to supply their labour to other households at low wages. A general rise in their wages without an adverse effect on their employment prospects seems highly dependent on a substantial increase in the employment of the women in better paid jobs in the formal sectors.

Table A.1: Some characteristics of sample groups

| Characteristics | Vegetable vendors (Sample = 26) | Washerwomen (Sample = 25) | Maid servants (Sample = 25) |
|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Age structure (years)</u> | | | |
| 20 | 7.7 | 24.0 | 16.0 |
| 20-35 | 38.5 | 28.0 | 36.0 |
| 35-50 | 38.5 | 36.0 | 32.0 |
| 50+ | 15.3 | 12.0 | 16.0 |
| 2. <u>Marital status</u> | | | |
| Never married | 7.7 | 12.0 | 20.0 |
| Married | 57.7 | 72.0 | 48.0 |
| Widowed | 30.8 | 16.0 | 24.0 |
| Divorced | 3.8 | 0.0 | 8.0 |
| 3. <u>Family structure</u> | | | |
| Average family size | 4.38 | 4.56 | 4.96 |
| Earners: | | | |
| Total | 1.92 | 3.52 | 2.52 |
| In respondents' trade | 1.73 | 3.04 | 1.76 |
| Elsewhere | 0.27 | 0.48 | 0.76 |
| Ratio | 0.44 | 0.77 | 0.51 |
| 4. <u>Average household income</u> (Rs. per month) | | | |
| Total | 750 | 553 | 527 |
| From respondents' occupation | 467 | 349 | 317 |
| Per capita | 194 | 122 | 106 |
| 5. <u>Average earnings</u> (Rs. per month) | | | |
| Respondents | 270 | 116 | 180 |
| Family members in other occupations | 350 | 408 | 412 |
| 6. <u>Number of years in trade</u> | | | |
| 5 | 73.1 | 12.0 | 48.0 |
| 5-10 | 15.4 | 16.0 | 20.0 |
| 10-20 | 11.5 | 28.0 | 24.0 |
| 20 or more | 0.0 | 44.0 | 8.0 |
| 7. <u>Circumstances in which entered trade</u> | | | |
| Traditional family occupation | 30.8 | 96.0 | 8.0 |
| Compulsion due to family problems | 53.8 | 4.0 | 88.0 |
| Desire to be independent | 15.4 | 0.0 | 4.0 |
| 8. <u>Work-related problems</u> (frequency of responses) | | | |
| General (lack of funds, help space, etc.) | 77.1 | 54.3 | 35.7 |
| Specific to their being women | 22.9 | 45.7 | 64.3 |

Source: Author's sample survey of women workers in vegetable vending, cloth washing and domestic service.

Appendix B

Employment Follow-up of Graduates

With a view to probing the differential labour market experience of male and female workers, we carried out a sample study among recent graduates from the local university. The advantage of this exercise lies in the standardisation of the sample entrants to the labour market in terms of certain basic attributes so as to bring the differentiation based on sex into sharper focus. All the sample graduates, 43 females and 35 males, obtained their first degree (BA and B.Sc.) in the same year, 1977, and were in the limited age range of 22 to 25 years in 1981, when they were contacted. The scholastic achievements in terms of their grade in examination are also not very dissimilar though some have attained higher qualifications after their graduation in 1977. The last examination passed and divisions obtained by female and male respondents are given in table B.1.

Table B.1: Educational attainment of respondents

| Examination passed | Female | | | | Male | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----|-----|-------|----------|----|-----|-------|
| | Division | | | | Division | | | |
| | I | II | III | Total | I | II | III | Total |
| B.A. | - | 4 | 1 | 5 | - | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| B.Sc. | 2 | 1 | - | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| M.A. | 2 | 17 | 3 | 22 | 2 | 12 | - | 14 |
| M.Sc. | 3 | 1 | - | 4 | 1 | 3 | - | 4 |
| Professional (education, library) | - | 7 | - | 7 | - | - | - | - |
| Other | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Total | 8 | 31 | 4 | 43 | 5 | 25 | 5 | 35 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

It may be noted that a large number of them, over half of both male and female graduates, have continued their education and obtained a master's degree or a diploma. Assuming that these respondents studied for these two-year courses full-time, their potentially effective period in the labour market could be only two years in 1981 when they were contacted. Even in the case of respondents who did not study beyond the first degree, the effective period in the labour market could not be more than four years.

It is, however, quite likely that some of the graduates have sought employment earlier and have continued their education mainly because their job search

had not borne fruit. It is well known that in many countries, including India, the number of applicants for higher and particularly post-graduate education is high, inter alia, due to the general unemployment among the educated, particularly graduates. In the case of women, difficulty in getting a suitable husband, particularly due to the lack of resources to give the dowry demanded, also is found to increase the number of candidates seeking admission to the post-graduate education which being highly state-subsidised entails rather little cost to the parents. Some of the boys may, therefore, be seeking jobs while continuing education, while some of the girls may not have entered the labour market even if they discontinued education after the first degree.

Entry into the labour force

For the last two years before they were contacted, all respondents had stopped their education, except two males who were still continuing their education at the doctorate level. All the remaining males are found either employed or seeking work, but 56 per cent of the females are not seeking work (table B.2).

Table B.2: Worker status of respondents (%)

| Educational qualifi- cations | Females | | | | Males | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------|------------------------|----|---------|------------|------------------------|----|
| | Working | Unemployed | Not seeking work | N | Working | Unemployed | Not seeking work | N |
| B.A. | 20 | 0 | 80 | 5 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| B.Sc. | 0 | 33 | 67 | 3 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| M.A. | 18 | 18 | 64 | 22 | 64 | 36 | 0 | 14 |
| M.Sc. | 25 | 50 | 25 | 4 | 75 | 25 | 0 | 4 |
| Professional | 42 | 29 | 29 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 0 | 50 | 50 | 2 | 50 | 17 | 33 | 6 |
| Total | 21 | 23 | 56 | 43 | 75 | 20 | 6 | 35 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

A majority of girls with a master's degree in science or a professional degree in teaching or library science are employed or seeking work, but most of those with a first degree in arts, science or a masters in arts subjects are not seeking work.

Thus the majority of female graduates did not enter the labour market after completing their education. Only one of those not currently seeking work used to work earlier. It is pertinent to note here that of the unmarried female respondents, 57 per cent are either employed or seeking work, but of the married respondents, 85 per cent are neither employed nor seeking work. The major reason advanced by those not seeking work, is the attitude of their

parents, parents-in-law or husbands towards women working out of homes: 71 per cent of the respondents not seeking work gave this reason. A few (12 per cent) considered their household responsibilities too onerous to allow them time and energy to work out of homes. Others did not seek work as they presumed that the kind of jobs they want are not available; and the ones that are available are not to their liking. In a way, they seem to follow the pattern underlying the "discouraged worker" hypothesis.

Let us see if there is any pattern in the distribution of women respondents who sought employment and those who did not, in relation to the economic characteristics of their households. As can be seen in table B.3, the percentage of female respondents not seeking work tends to increase with total household income and also per capita income.

Table B.3: Women not seeking work and their household characteristics

| Household income | | Per capita income | | Dependency ratio | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------|---|
| Household income range (Rs. per month) | % women respondents not seeking work | Per capita income (Rs. per month) | % of women respondents not seeking work | Dependency ratio | % of women respondents not seeking work |
| 500 | 0 | 100 | 40 | 0.66 | 0 |
| 500-750 | 50 | 100-150 | 60 | .67-1.00 | 50 |
| 750-1,000 | 70 | 150-200 | 50 | 1.00-1.50 | 0 |
| 1,000-1,500 | 46 | 200-300 | 50 | 1.50-2.00 | 33 |
| 1,500-2,000 | 57 | 300-400 | 0 | 2.00-3.00 | 61 |
| 2,000 & above | 83 | 400 & above | 80 | 3.00 or higher | 75 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

But the relationship is not continuous. The relationship may also be diffused because the income of working women graduates is included in the household income: thus, she may have been induced to work due to low income of the household, but her earnings mean that the household has a better income level. The relationship between dependency ratio and women going out to work, however, is somewhat contrary to the expected one. Those with a smaller proportion of workers in the household seem to opt more often out of the labour force while those with a low dependency ratio are more often opting for jobs outside the home. Here again, the fact of women graduates opting for work by itself leads to a higher worker-population ratio, while to begin with they might have been induced to take employment due to the small number of male earners in the family, thus conforming to the proposition underlying the "additional worker" hypothesis.

Unemployment

The incidence of unemployment, seen as a percentage of unemployed to the total of working and unemployed, is higher among female graduates (53 per cent) than among male graduates (21 per cent). By educational category, the highest unemployment is found among those holding master's degrees in art subjects, both for males and females. Among females, a majority of science graduates and post-graduates are also found unemployed. Most respondents are unemployed for a period between one and two years, but the average period of unemployment for females is around 16 months and for males around 21 months. As to why they think they are unemployed, most male respondents felt that the reason lies in general scarcity of jobs while most females felt that the kind of jobs they consider suitable for themselves are not available. This implies that they are rather specific in terms of their requirements and to that extent the consequences of unemployment in their case may be regarded less severe than those for males.

One could hypothesise that one could be selective about a job when the economic condition of the household is good enough to support the person for a longer period of unemployment. If this hypothesis has any significance, it may be reflected in the higher degree of unemployment among those belonging to relatively better off households. This, however, is not found to be the case (table B.4). In fact, a larger proportion of female graduates are found unemployed in the lower household income ranges, than in the higher income ranges; but the relationship is not clear once per capita income is considered. In the case of male respondents, no relationship is discernible between total or per capita household income, and incidence of unemployment among them. If at all, the relationship that has some validity is the one between low income and high unemployment among women, implying that these women respondents need jobs but jobs are not accessible to them. The same, however, cannot be said about the male respondents.

Job search and selection-application ratios

A total of 62 and 46 jobs, respectively, were applied for by the male and female respondents, in their pursuit of work since their entry in the labour market; and the males succeeded in securing jobs in 24 and females in 14 cases. Thus the probability of securing a job applied for works out to 0.387 in the case of males and 0.304 in the case of females. These figures suggest a small element of discrimination in the selection procedures, against women.

The pattern of jobs applied for is, however, very different between the male and female respondents (table B.5). The jobs which attracted the largest proportion of applications from the female graduates were in the secretarial and teaching categories. Executive jobs also claimed about one-fifth of applications from females, but that is quite low as compared to over one half of applications from male candidates. Library jobs held the fourth place claiming one-eighth of applications in the case of females. Thus a tendency towards segregation of the job market seems to emerge from the supply side, male and female candidates showing somewhat different preferences.

Table B.4: Distribution of working and unemployed respondents by income levels (%)

| | Female respondents | | Male respondents | |
|---|--------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| | Working | Unemployed | Working | Unemployed |
| <u>1. Total household income</u> (Rs. per month) | | | | |
| 500 | 100 | 0 | - | - |
| 500-750 | 0 | 100 | 83 | 17 |
| 750-1,000 | 0 | 100 | 100 | - |
| 1,000-1,500 | 71 | 29 | 75 | 25 |
| 1,500-2,000 | 100 | 0 | 40 | 60 |
| 2,000 and above | 83 | 17 | 80 | 20 |
| <u>2. Per capita income</u> (Rs. per month) | | | | |
| 100 | 67 | 33 | 100 | 0 |
| 100-150 | 0 | 100 | 80 | 20 |
| 150-200 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| 200-300 | 50 | 50 | 84 | 16 |
| 300-400 | 33 | 67 | 80 | 20 |
| 400 and above | 100 | 0 | 75 | 25 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

Table B.5: Pattern of jobs applied for

| Job category | Female respondents | | Male respondents | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| | Number of applications | Per cent | Number of applications | Per cent |
| Executive and supervisory | 9 | 19 | 34 | 55 |
| Secretarial | 15 | 33 | 8 | 13 |
| Research assistant | 2 | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| Librarian | 6 | 13 | 1 | 2 |
| Teaching | 11 | 24 | 2 | 3 |
| Technician | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Other | 3 | 7 | 9 | 14 |
| Total | 46 | 100 | 62 | 100 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

Pattern of present jobs

The jobs in which the candidates were actually employed would, of course, depend not only on the pattern of their applications, but also on the differences in selection procedures in different categories of job, as well as on the number of jobs available in each category. To a certain extent, the pattern of their jobs is in line with the pattern of their job search and applications. Secretarial and teaching jobs which claimed the largest number (57 per cent) of applications from female respondents are also the jobs in which most (66 per cent) female workers are found to be employed. The rest of them are working as librarians (22 per cent) and research assistants (11 per cent). Among the males, the largest number (23 per cent) are in secretarial jobs, 19 per cent in the self-employed entrepreneurial category, 15 per cent in teaching jobs; and 12 per cent each in executive and supervisory and the rest in other categories of job. The distribution of jobs in their case is not strictly in line with the pattern of applications. Secured jobs have a larger proportion of applications in secretarial, teaching and research staff and a smaller proportion in the executive and supervisory positions.

Women graduates were clustered in the secretarial, teaching, research and library jobs, which were also the jobs for which they had mostly applied. It seems that they are more realistic in the assessment of job availability and their own capabilities in respect of certain jobs. But around one-fifth of their applications were for executive and supervisory positions also, whereas none of the currently working respondents is in these jobs. No doubt of the male graduates also only 12 per cent are in these jobs against 55 per cent applications. In the selection procedure for these jobs, there thus appears to be an element of discrimination against women. Another repercussion that follows from the application and employment pattern is that the men having failed to secure jobs in the executive and supervisory categories for which most of the apply, switch over to the lower order jobs where the proportion of female applications is relatively larger and women generally feel more certain of obtaining employment. But because of the encroachment of men on these jobs, the probability of women obtaining jobs is reduced. If the ratio of application to currently held jobs is any indication of the differences in selection, our data suggest discrimination here also. In teaching jobs, of the total applications, 85 per cent were women, but of the total teaching jobs only 43 per cent are held by women. Similarly, 65 per cent of applications for secretarial jobs were from women, but they held only 23 per cent of the jobs. Thus pre-entry discrimination against educated women seems to be operating at two levels: (i) non-selection of women in higher cadre jobs; and (ii) discrimination in selection in the middle order jobs where women feel confident of performing the task, and there is no definite reason for preferring men.

Salary differences

The male-female differentials in average salary are mostly due to differences in their job pattern and partly due to differences in salary rates with

different employers and units. The differences are, however, found to be quite significant, considering their similar qualifications (table B.6). Further, it is also seen that for the same period of working, the increase in earnings of female workers is much lower than of the male workers (table B.7).

Table B.6: Average emoluments in current job

| Educational qualifications | Earnings per month (Rs.) | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------|---|
| | Female | N | Male | N |
| B.A. | 120 | 1 | 547.50 | 4 |
| B.Sc. | - | 0 | 830.00 | 7 |
| M.A. | 538 | 4 | 753.33 | 9 |
| M.Sc. | 837 | 1 | 850.00 | 3 |
| Professional degree | 630 | 3 | - | 0 |
| Other | - | 0 | 633.33 | 3 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

Table B.7: Increase in emoluments

| Period for which working in current job | % increase in emoluments | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|-------|----|
| | Female | N | Male | N |
| Up to 1 year | 3.08 | 3 | 20.12 | 10 |
| 1-2 years | 15.07 | 2 | 46.25 | 8 |
| 2-3 years | 34.50 | 3 | 46.82 | 4 |
| 3 years or more | 9.27 | 1 | 20.00 | 4 |

Source: Author's sample survey of graduates.

Conclusion

It is thus seen that a large proportion of educated women do not enter the labour market for various reasons and those who seek employment are somewhat specific regarding the kinds of job which they feel they could do. Yet there is enough evidence to suggest the existence of discrimination against those who are seeking work and are employed. Pre-entry discrimination is evident in their virtual elimination from most higher cadre jobs, and a lower selection-application ratio than in the case of men even in the middle order, "soft" jobs. And lower average earnings and a slower rise in earnings as compared to men, clearly indicate post-entry discrimination against them.

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Selected Publications of the Population and Labour Policies

Research Programme¹

1. General Material on the Research Programme

ILO: World Employment Programme: Population and development - A progress report on ILO research with special reference to labour, employment and income distribution (Geneva, April 1982), 4th edition, Reference WEP 2-21/PR.7. (*)

This report includes a full bibliography. This publication (3rd edition, summer 1981) is available in French. (*)

2. Books and Monographs

[A number of free copies are available for individuals and institutions in less developed countries. Requests for these should be addressed to the Documentalist, Population and Labour Policies Branch, Employment and Development Department, ILO, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.]

R. Anker: Research on women's roles and demographic change: Survey questionnaires for households, women, men and communities with background explanations (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

R. Anker and M. Anker: Reproductive behavior in households of rural Gujarat: Social, economic and community factors (New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1982). (***)

R. Anker, M. Buvinic and N. Youssef (eds.): Women's roles and population trends in the Third World (London, Croom Helm, 1982). (***)

R. Anker and J.C. Knowles: Determinants of fertility in developing countries: A case study of Kenya (Liège, Ordina, 1982). (***)

R.E. Bilsborrow: Surveys of internal migration in low-income countries: Issues of survey and sample design (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

---: Surveys of internal migration in low-income countries: The need for and content of community-level variables (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

S. Braganca et al.: The simulation of economic and demographic development in Brazil (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

M.G. Castro, L.M. Fraenkel et al.: Migration in Brazil: Approaches to analysis and policy design (Brussels, Ordina, 1979). (***)

L. Goldschmidt-Clermont: Unpaid work in the household, Women, Work and Development No. 1 (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)

W.J. House and H. Rempel: The Kenya employment problem (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1978). (***)

M. Molyneux: State policies and the position of women workers in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 1967-77 (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)

A.S. Oberai: Changes in the structure of employment with economic development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)

¹ Availability code: * available on request from ILO, Population and Labour Policies Branch; ** available for sale from ILO Publications; *** available for sale from a commercial publisher.

- A.S. Oberai: Demographic and social information in migration surveys: Analytical significance and guidelines for data collection (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Migration, production and technological change: Analytical issues and guidelines for data collection and analysis (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- P. Peek and G. Standing (eds.): State policies and migration: Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean (London, Croom Helm, 1982). (***)
- M. Rasevic, T. Mulina, Milos Macura: The determinants of labour force participation in Yugoslavia (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- G.B. Rodgers, M.J.D. Hopkins, R. Wéry: Population, employment and inequality: Bachue-Philippines (Farnborough, Saxon House, 1978). (***)
- G.B. Rodgers and G. Standing (eds.): Child work, poverty and underdevelopment (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (**)
- G. Standing: Labour force participation and development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)
- : Income transfers and remittances: A module for migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Migrants and the labour process: A module for migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)
- : Unemployment and female labour: A study of labour supply in Kingston, Jamaica (London, Macmillan, 1981). (***)
- : Conceptualising territorial mobility in low-income countries (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (**)
- : Analysing inter-relationships between migration and employment (Geneva, ILO, 1982). (*)
- : Measuring population mobility in migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1983). (*)
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3. Recent Articles

- I. Adelman, M.J.D. Hopkins, S. Robinson, G.B. Rodgers and R. Wéry: "A comparison of two models for income distribution planning", in Journal of Policy Modeling, 1979, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- R. Anker: "An analysis of fertility differentials in developing countries", in Review of Economics and Statistics, Feb. 1978, Vol. lx, No. 4.
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4. Recent Working Papers in print¹

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