Chapter III

Review Of Literature

A brief review of the findings of some important research works done on the subject is presented in this Chapter. Highlights of such studies indicate variations in the participation rate of females in different regions according to variations in the economic, demographic and social factors. But integration of females in the broader framework of economic development as equal partners of men is recognised universally.

3.1 Nature Of Female Participation In Agriculture

Prof. Gadgil was the pioneer in focussing on the problems of women workers in India long back during 1920s when he pointed to a markedly declining secular trend in the participation of Indian women in economic activities. Gadgil (1964) also pointed out that in quantitative terms the problems of women workers in India are overwhelmingly rural and there is more than average concentration of women at work in rural areas. Due to changes in the definition of 'worker', recent findings reveal different patterns of female work participation at the aggregative level. But micro level studies conducted in various regions confirm that females
participate in agricultural operations in almost all regions with variations in their pattern of work. The overall situation of work pattern of females have remained unchanged and agriculture continues to be the dominant sector of employment for female workers. Gadgil therefore commented - "However nothing that I have read in the surveys of farm business or of rural life and labour in the last decade suggest that changes in the structure or in the magnitude of operation have taken place on a scale that could bring about large, real changes in female workers participation in agricultural business". On the basis of the findings of several studies* Gadgil stated that among adult female earners the largest category was termed as family helper. The nature of the organisation of work and work assistance on family farms in India makes it difficult to ensure a rigid uniformity of interpretation and application of any except a very narrowly conceived definition of work on farms.

Firm employment of women being definitely a matter of social sentiments the supply of female labour

* Prof. Conachalam - Benefit Cost Evaluation Of Janvery 'ettur Project.

in any village depended largely on its caste and community composition and traditional behaviour pattern associated with it. The pace of economic development also did not have significant relation with the sentiment regarding women's outdoor work. Among economic factors which may bring about some change in employment in the cultivator families, Gadgil mentioned about land reform legislation. Land reform legislation might affect the situation if as a result of it the number of cultivator families in any state is substantially increased. In increase or decrease in the demand for female labour of cultivator families would come about with change in the number of families or change in the average intensity of their demand for such labour.

Clark (1946) pointed out long back about the role of women in farm families and the services rendered by mothers and wives gratuitously to their own families. Clark was of the opinion that it is very difficult to compare Census returns of different countries due to varying statistical treatment given to women members of farm families.

Lewis (1955) similarly mentioned that the proportion of population which is gainfully occupied or economically active in the census sense is determined
partly by the age structure and partly by the extent of women's employment. Counting the gainfully occupied on an internationally comparable basis is difficult, because it is not easy to know just how to classify farmers' wives.

The proportion of women gainfully occupied depends, according to Lewis, partly upon the proportion of women to men in the adult population and partly on the extent of women's work within the household. These two factors together make an enormous difference in the work participation rate of females in different countries. The extent of women's employment outside the household depends primarily on the stage of economic development which has been reached. Because economic growth emancipates women from the household, women derive more benefits from the changes occurred due to economic growth than even men.

Based on a study conducted in the former state of Bombay, Dantwala (1953) observed that women folk of cultivator families worked mostly on own farm while female agricultural labourers depended primarily on wage employment in agriculture. "Since there is no other activity for them, they are mostly engaged in household work which is kept at minimum during busy season. Household work is a sort of residuary work. In a way it does not compete with other sources of gainful activity". The
study indicated that in Ratnagiri District, which had a greater proportion of females in the population, the proportion of adult females engaged in household work was smaller than that in Belagum where there was no such disproportion. According to Navarrete and Navarrete (1958), there is serious loss of human resources as workers in agriculture and housewives lack regular employment during greater part of the year's normal working time due to lack of productive equipment.

Sanghvi (1969) referred to women workers as important constituent of intermittent labour force. By using the primary data on Farm Management Survey conducted by Gokhale Institute Of Politics and Economics, Sanghvi found that female workers in the regular labour force was about half of male workers. But women who were primarily engaged in household duties made the principal contribution to the intermittent labour force. Intermittent labour force, according to Sanghvi, included those "who are either not employed in any economic activities or are generally engaged in other occupations. The intermittent workers enter the labour force in agriculture for short periods in response to the additional demand for labour in hump periods like sowing or harvesting and supplement the
regular labour force". The composition of the intermittent labour force showed that nearly seven-tenths of them were women. The number of female workers during peak periods rose by 94.7 per cent on account of the influx of intermittent labour force. Female workers constituted 48.6 per cent of the total labour force available at periods of peak activities.

Goswami and Bora conducted one Farm Management study in the Nowgong District of Assam for three consecutive years - 1968-69 to 1970-71. The study gives some idea about the input of female labour in agriculture in this region. Average man days worked by female workers for crop production were 28.81, 33.34 and 35.18, eight hour days respectively in the three consecutive years. Female workers were employed in the months of July and August for harvesting of Autumn Paddy and transplanting of Winter Paddy and in the month of December for harvesting of Winter Paddy. Intensity of employment of female workers in different farm size groups was more or less identical. Average employment of female workers were highest during December for all farm size groups.

Myrdal (1968) presented a comprehensive analysis of the systems of traditional agriculture and components of labour utilization in the Asian countries. Myrdal observed that "one of the most important sources of differences in participation ratios between various classes
and between various countries or Districts is to be found in the economic role assigned to women. This many faceted problem does not lend itself to any simple generalizations. Diverse patterns are to be found in South Asia—partly because of contrasts in inherited social and religious practices. In general, women play a more active economic role outside the home in countries where "Islam influence is non existent or weak than where it is strong". Highest participation rates of women were found in Thailand and lowest in Pakistan. Female participation rates were higher in Philippines and China while India appeared to occupy an intermediate position. Based on a study of Daniel and Thorner, Myrdal observed that in India the most striking aspect was the almost universal decline in the percentages of men and women recorded as workers. The number of workers per 100 women dropped from 33 to 23. The rate of decline also varied regionally within the country.

Roserup (1970) made an elaborate analysis of the role of women in agriculture in different regions of Asia Africa and Latin American countries. The sex role in farming is described under different agricultural systems. In very sparsely populated regions where shifting cultivation is used, men do little farm work, the women doing most.

* Daniel And Alice Thorner - The Working Force In India (1881 - 1961).
In somewhat more densely populated regions, where the agricultural system is that of extensive plough cultivation, women do little farm work and men do much more. In regions of intensive cultivation of irrigated land, both men and women must put hard work into agriculture in order to earn enough to support a family on a small piece of land. Due to unprecedented rise of population in developing countries, the balance of work between men and women might change. As observed by Boserup, agricultural change is being held back, because men or women refuse to do more work than is customary.

Mehrotra conducted a study in Assam on behalf of the Expert Committee on Unemployment, 1972. The study was conducted in six villages of Lakhimpur, Dibrugarh and Sibsagar Districts of Assam. Female workers comprised 47.20 per cent of total family workers. Among the usually hired workers during transplanting and harvesting operations of Winter Rice, female workers comprised about 48 per cent. In five villages, 89 to 99 per cent and in one village 62 per cent of the female workers were employed for 4 to 6 months. Annual employment of females varied from less than 3 months at the lowest level and 7 months to 9 months at the highest. About 38 per cent of the females in the age group of 15 to 59 were found unemployed. Unemployed females constituted 15.13 per cent of the total unemployed persons found in the villages.
Bardhan (1978) made a study of the quantitative dimensions for some of the employment and unemployment characteristics of rural women in West Bengal. The analysis is based on data for 4900 sample households from 500 sample villages collected by the N.S.S. in its 1973-74 Employment And Unemployment Survey. Employment and Unemployment of rural women is studied as 'usual' and 'current activities'. In the case of the women who were by usual status helpers in the family farm, in the relatively busy period of October - December, 13.6 per cent of them reported domestic work as their principal current activity in the reference week. In the relatively slack season of January - March, as many as 67.8 per cent of them reported domestic work as their principal current activity. In another slack period of April - June, the corresponding percentage was 51 per cent.

In case of female casual wage labourers, only 2.5 per cent reported domestic work as their principal current activity during busy months of July - December, while the corresponding percentage during January-June was 14 per cent.

Bardhan therefore observed that "a significant proportion of rural women who are usually members of the labour force shift to domestic work, and, by definition go outside the labour force when the agricultural labour
demand is slack. The extent of fluctuation in domestic work by usual labourers can not be explained by fluctuations in necessary household chores alone. It is more likely that fluctuations in opportunities for gainful work lead to periodic entries and involuntary withdrawals from the labour force*. The study also revealed that more than 50 per cent of the casual farm wage labours were engaged in household non farm enterprise or non farm wage labour during January - March and April - June quarters.

Taking current activities alone, the relative irregularity in the labour supply by women was measured in binary codes of full and half work days. The proportion of half intensity work days was 15.3 per cent and 7.2 per cent in October - December, and July-September respectively for those women who were helpers by usual status. The proportion jumped to 63.6 per cent and 55.8 per cent in January - March and April - June respectively. This sharp rise was due to lack of work opportunities in the lean seasons.

Bardhan found that farm activities of females were during transplanting, harvesting and thrashing operations. Low caste and tribal women participated more than higher caste women in farm activities. Women who were widowed, divorced or separated, participated more in labour supply.
The influence of caste and social status on the participatory behaviour of females is indicated by several authors. Gokhale Institute, Pune, conducted a resurvey at Waghoda, Jalgaon District of Maharastra and found that no women from Sunni Muslim families worked in fields. Women from the top strata of cultivators, chiefly Leva gujar and Leva Patidar engaged only on own farm and on works like harvesting. Social sentiment played an important part in limiting the supply of female agricultural labour. In the caste groups lower in Hindu scale and among the depressed and scheduled castes and among tribals, the sentiment against outdoor works for women either did not exist or was not very strong and these supplied the large proportion of agricultural labours.

Pande (1958) found that in the Agra District of Uttar Pradesh, females mainly worked as family labour. The supply of female labour was extremely limited being on an average 1 unit per farm household as against 4.7 men labour units and 2 child labour units. Female labour was not utilised by the Brahmin and Thakur families and the largest utilization of female labour was by the Dhimar family.

Nair (1961) tried to depict a representative picture of the human situation as it obtains in India's rural society. The work of Nair highlights a number of
interesting sociological problems which deserve further examination in the context of the human element involved in the implementation of development projects. Fair narrated the life and work of women in different rural situations e.g. in Kerala the rural women enjoyed remarkable freedom and held an important position in the family, in Mysore (Karnataka) rural women shared greater burden of work in the farm and at home. But they did not enjoy freedom of action and were economically depressed. In a Bihar village, one village women was successfully taking leadership in Panchayats.

Khan (1977) stated that although female participation in economic activities is generally lower in muslim families, but in a Pakistan village of Tok Sayal a typical village woman worked for 14 hours on a normal day i.e. a day outside the hectic harvesting or sowing seasons. Of these 14 hours at least 5 hours a day were spent in animal care, collecting, carrying and preparing fodder. During wheat harvest, women spent about 10 hours a day in the field.

Mitra (1979) conducted one ICSSR research study on status of women in India and identified the causes of continuous decline in participation rate of women in India as (a) education (b) marriage and other social and demographic reasons (c) migration. But Mitra observed that, for the sharp fall in female participation rate
migration can not be accepted as a reason. Since the age structure has changed marginally in the Indian population other considerations have to be taken into account, the chief of which are the state of morbidity, literacy, school attendance, age selective and skill selective, rural urban migration and marital status. The state of the economy also has its effect on the work participation rate.

Another ICSSR study conducted by Mitra, Grimany and Pathak (1979) indicate that very low mean participation sex ratio illustrates the low position that women occupy in employment vis-a-vis men. Zonal patterns of distribution of mean sex ratio shows that the whole of Northern India employs very low proportions of women. The ratios are highest in Southern and Western ones in urban household industry and non household industry, rural and urban. Economic activities at household level engage females in higher proportions than in non household economic activity. This, according to the authors is a testimony to the low social and economic position of women, to their low literacy and technological levels, to the impediments in the way of their development of skills and to the social taboos against unescorted women going out to work.

Chakravarthy and Tiwari (1979) observed on the basis of a study of five villages in Madurai and in 24 Parganas, that rate of women's participation in outdoor
agricultural work was basically determined by the interaction of demand for and supply of labour - seasonwise, cropwise and operation wise. The demand for female labour arises only to cover the gap after all male labour is supplied and only for certain agricultural operations.

From a study of the work pattern of females in Bangladesh, Choudhuri (1979) indicated that there is an inverse relationship between land holding size groups and participation in income earning activities by women. Poor women (who originate from landless class) spend more than twice as much time in income earning works as richer women (who have land over 2.50 acres). Participation in income earning activities by poor women increased with age.

The Report of the committee on Status of Women in India (1974) is a major attempt to study the problems of women in India on the basis of their economic, political, social and religious background. The Report examines macro level statistical data on women in India available from N.S.S. and Census studies and identifies the broad pattern of activity status of females in India.

3.2 Regional Variations Of Female Participation

Gadgil (1964) observed that the most striking characteristic of female workers is the extremely large
variation in the proportion of women workers in cultivator families from state to state, region to region and community to community. The reasons for such variations, according to Gadgil is caste and community composition and traditional behaviour pattern associated with it.

Low female participation rate is found by Singh (1972) in Bihar villages. In Hussainabad Block of Bihar, female labour force was nearly half of male labour force as proportions of respective population. Female labour force was 27.01 per cent of female population. The average number of employed mandays per female worker was 125.3 days in a year comprising 107.2 days in farm works and 18.1 days in non farm jobs. Singh states that 58 per cent of productive potential of female workers remained unutilized when 300 working days per year is taken as the available level of employment of female workers. However Singh is of the opinion that when 50 per cent of the productive potential of females is discounted because of their participation in domestic affairs, the average non utilisation of female labour was 29 per cent.

Dantwala (1975) observed from field study in 12 villages of Bihar, Gujarat and U.P., that work participation rates of females were not uniform in all villages. Work participation rates which were studied in relation to
Monthly Per Capita Income (VPCI) of the household, declined with the increase of MPCI groups. Female work participation rates were lowest in Bihar villages being only 10 per cent. In the villages of Gujarat female work participation rates were higher and varied between 58.6 per cent and 91.2 per cent. Incidence of unemployment among females was 48.6 per cent in Bihar villages, 25.4 per cent in Valsad and 38.4 per cent in Valod village of Gujarat. The reasons for low participation of females were reported as heavy domestic work including rearing of small children by large majority of females in Bihar villages. Women from higher income group reported caste and social prestige as a reason and a very small number reported "no economic compulsion" or lack of job opportunity as the reason for non-participation. Such females belonged to low income class with agricultural labour as the main occupation.

Gulati (1975) tried to explain inter-state variations of female participation rate in India as revealed by 1971 Census data in terms of per capita income, cropping pattern, literacy rate, male participation rate, proportion of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population and differences in sex ratio among various states. On the basis of rank correlation results, Gulati found that (a) there was no significant inverse relationship between per capita income and female participation rates.
(b) the nature of the crops grown in terms of rice or wheat does not seem to influence female participation rates noticeably, (c) female work participation rates do not show any marked relationship positive or negative with literacy, (d) female work participation tends to act independently of male participation (e) there is no significant statistical relationship between scheduled population in a state and its female participation ratio rather there is an inverse bias in this relationship (f) there is significant relationship between sex ratio and female participation rate. Gulati therefore concludes that at a less aggregative level of inter state comparison within India, it would be possible to see some relationship between economic and demographic factors and female participation. But with a more disaggregative approach of studies at district or taluk levels, variations in female participation can be strongly related.

Dantwala (1979) is of the view that higher incidence of unemployment among females does not necessarily mean a higher number of unemployed women. Because the rate of unemployment shows the days or person weeks of unemployment as per cent of the days or person weeks in the labour force.
Singh (1960) explained female participation in Punjab in relation to per capita income. On the basis of 1971 census data, Singh pointed out that per capita income was highest in Punjab among the states of India but female participation rate was lowest, only 1.67 per cent of women were economically active. Agricultural development in the green revolution areas led to sharp fall in the number of women working on the farms. Moreover among land owning people, females were not allowed to work outside the home.

3.3 Crop wise Utilization Of Female Labour

Desai, Patel and Patel (1970) studied labour utilization pattern in the cultivation of six important crops - ground nut, bajri, cotton, jowar, wheat and paddy. The study is based on 176 farmers from 22 villages of Gujarat. The study indicated higher labour utilization for improved varieties than local seed. Female workers were engaged as casual labours and family labours. For ground nut which was the most important crop in the zone, labour requirement per hectare was 64 per cent higher for improved varieties than the local varieties. Average female casual labour requirement per hectare of ground nut cultivation for irrigated and dry crop was 87.14 hours for improved variety and 43.37 hours for local seed. Female family labour requirement was 86.12 hours and 62.37 hours respectively.
In case of wheat, improved varieties used less manpower than the local varieties due to adoption of short duration crops. Female casual labour requirement per hectare of irrigated area was 75.65 hours for improved variety and 58.70 hours for local variety. Female family labour requirement was 104.11 hours for improved and 273.78 hours for local variety.

For cultivation of paddy under irrigated conditions female labour requirement per hectare was 158.02 hours for casual workers and 299.89 hours for family workers.

It is thus seen that female labour utilization was higher in paddy cultivation than in the other crops. The authors summarised on the findings of the study that only improved varieties of wheat used less labour and could give more family labour earnings than local varieties.

Comparing 1971 Census data on work participation rates of females and proportion of area under rice and wheat in the States of India, Gulati (1975) observes that in cultivation of rice women are specially suited for certain kinds of activities like transplanting and weeding. Census figures indicate that only two rice growing states had high participation rates i.e. Andhra Pradesh 25.50 per cent and Tamil Nadu 19.88 per cent. Assam, West Bengal and Orissa with cereal land more than 90 per cent, had
very low participation rates of 6.31 per cent, 5.4 per cent and 7.62 per cent respectively. Among the wheat growing States, female participation rates varied largely. Even other States growing both wheat and rice had rather varied participation rates. Gulati, therefore, is of the opinion that the nature of crops grown do not influence female participation rate noticeably.

Commenting on Gulati's analysis, Thapa (1975) stated that "paddy areas are expected to show relatively higher participation rates since rice cultivation makes heavy demands on female labour in transplanting and weeding operations. It is hard to find justification for an exclusively demand oriented hypothesis when it is known that the supply effects on female work participation are at least as important as the demand effects. Even if the former are ignored, the hypothesis remains loosely formulated since what is pertinent is the level of aggregate demand. The influence of work opportunities in rice transplantation and weeding may be wholly or partly offset by other factors of equal significance such as small size of average holding and technological stagnation in rice growing areas.

An idea of labour utilization pattern in the rice growing areas of Northern Ghana is available from a study conducted by Finch (1976) under six rice production systems.
For all bottomland production systems, the average proportion of total man hours supplied by men, women and children was 57.33 and 10 per cent respectively. Women provided a greater proportion of the total labour requirement for pre-harvest activities for the larger farms of 119.3 acres than for other farms. Total female labour supply was 49 per cent higher than men. Women provided 39 per cent, 50 per cent, 54 per cent and 51 per cent respectively of the total labour for seed broadcasting, broadcasting of compound fertilizer, top dressing and weeding activities. For the other production systems there was too much variation in female labour utilization to generalize about their relative importance in specific pre-harvest activities. For all harvest activities, the average proportion of total labour provided by women was 36 per cent.

Chopra (1979) studied variations in female participation rate in three crop regions of India during 1951, 1961 and 1971. The study is based on 62 districts selected from 3 major wheat, rice and millet growing areas in India. In the wheat region female participation rate declined significantly but in the millet and rice regions, female participation increased during 1951 to 1961 but declined in 1971. The factors which affect female participation in different regions are output per worker and availability of irrigation in wheat region, cropping
pattern and sex ratio in millet region, proportion of literate females, irrigation, land man ratio in the rice region.

A similar view is expressed by Mencher (1972), from a study of women and rice cultivation in South India. The proportion of females in agricultural work force is higher in paddy producing areas of East and South India than in wheat areas of the North.

3.4 Operation wise Utilisation Of Female Labour

Majumdar (1961) observed that the role of women in agriculture is only during specific agricultural operations. Women are particularly found suitable for certain operations like weeding, transplanting and harvesting. This naturally has its effect on the length of the unemployment period of women. The first factor to be noted about unemployment of women is that their average period of employment is perceptibly less than that of male labours. This is due to the limited number of operations for which they are considered suitable.

Choudhuri and Sarma (1961) conducted a survey of female labour of the farm family in agriculture in the rural areas comprising the villages in the Intensive Cultivation Block attached to IARI, Delhi. The study indicated a pattern of occupational monopoly within agriculture. Agricultural operations which did not require
special skills were considered natural for women. Those works which were of a part-time nature fitting in with the natural obligation on the ladies of the house to attend to domestic routine were given to females. In keeping with social values in which consideration of economy and efficiency are also thrown in, some agricultural jobs are considered typically feminine just as certain others are considered masculine. The adult female is expected to contribute longer working hours per day and to maintain liaison between home and the farm. The lot of labour of the adult female in a farm family apparently does not get improved with increasing acres at the command of the family as happens to be the case with male members.

From a study of three villages in Sibsagar District of Assam, Saikia (1974) found that extent of utilization of female labour in Group I agricultural operations (includes farm cleaning, ploughing, harrowing, sowing and transplanting) was lower than male workers. But in Group III operations (includes harvesting and post harvest operations) duration of working days for male and female workers were the same.

3.5 Female Agricultural Labours

Several studies indicate that in agricultural labour households, the economic pressure in favour of women seeking wage employment is strong than in cultivator families.
Dantwala (1953) mentioned about higher economic compulsions for female agricultural labours to work as wage earners. Females in cultivator families are in better economic position than females in agricultural labour households. Female agricultural labours are in extreme poverty and they seek employment only when it is absolutely essential for avoiding starvation.

Majumdar (1961) is of the opinion that any analysis of employment of agricultural labours cannot be complete without taking into consideration the role of women and children of these families. On the basis of an investigation conducted in Bombay, Karnataka, Majumdar found that average number of months per female worker for which they find wage employment varied from 5.3 in Varinad, 6.8 in Malnad and 7.6 in Gadinad.

Gadgil (1964) observed that although social sentiment is important in limiting the supply of female agricultural labour, but its role in this matter is not as overwhelming as in the case of cultivator family labour. The demand for agricultural labour depends to a large extent on the regional structure of farm units and farm organisation. It is also subject to variations according to the nature of the agricultural season.

Gangwar and George (1973) made a study of the nature of unemployment among agricultural labours in
Karnal and Mohindergarh Districts of Haryana during 1972. Among the casual agricultural workers, the number of males exceeded that of females in Karnal District by a large margin whereas the position was different in Mohindergarh District. The pattern of employment of female casual workers during the reference period of six months (January to June) indicated that in Karnal District females worked for higher man days than in Mahindergarh District. In Karnal District 41 female casual workers out of 104 total female workers were employed for 31 - 60 days. But in Mahindergarh District 16 females out of 132 total female workers were employed for 91 - 120 days. Employment opportunities for agricultural labourers were found limited in both the Districts and much more in Mohindergarh District due to dry land agriculture prevailing in the District.

Singh (1974) stated that in Andhra Pradesh proportion of agricultural workers was higher among females than among male workers. Female agricultural workers and aggregate female workers were 20.2 per cent and 24.1 per cent of the total female population, i.e. female agricultural workers formed about 83 per cent of the total female workers.

Based on the data presented by the Rural Labour Enquiry (1964-65), Gulati (1976) made an analysis of unemployment among female agricultural labourers. Gulati
found out inter state differences in the level of unemployment among working women in agricultural labour households in terms of absolute number of days i.e. the number of days for which women were unemployed for want of work and in relative number of days i.e. the proportion of unemployed days to the total number of days for which employment was wanted. In terms of absolute number of days, Mysore showed the lowest level of female unemployment (just 8 days) and Tamil Nadu the highest level (155 days, in a year. In regard to absolute levels of unemployment there was some tendency for male and female unemployment in the States to be high or low at the same time. As regards relative level of female unemployment Tamil Nadu had the highest level of female unemployment followed by Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In all these five States the women agricultural labourers were unemployed for 40 per cent or more of the total days for which women wanted to be gainfully occupied. The level of unemployment measured in terms of the number of days a male or female agricultural labourer wants work in addition to what he or she is able to get, was twice as high among usually occupied women as among usually occupied men.

3.6 Measures For Effective Utilization Of Female Labour

The contribution of women to economic development is very significant in different countries of the world. Increased opportunities for education and training can
help to increase women's contribution in several aspects of development. Measures to increase productivity of women are suggested towards making them full partners in development. Problems inherent in effective utilization of female labour are also identified. As observed by Meier (1963) socio political environment within a country and religious attitudes should be made conducive to development.

Mitra, Srimany and Pathak (1979) suggest measures to augment female employment both in agriculture and non agricultural sectors. Increased investment in agriculture and irrigation are bound to increase employment in agriculture leading to increase in females' share. In the household and non household industrial sector the policy should be to accord priority of investment to those industries and services which engage females. The authors are of the opinion that education, training or job reservation and promotions and investment in sectors prone to female employment and social and public health services to improve survival, nutrition, status and rights are not merely enough. Other important steps are to strengthen statistical information on women, to treat women as a category and set separate wing to look after the problems of women.

Mazumdar, Sarma and Acharya (1979) identified some basic factors which affect the productivity of women.
The authors suggest a policy to promote joint ownership of faro lands, and a national policy to extend productivity improvement programmes to rural women. Training programmes for rural women should be combined with rise in real wages and such programmes should aim at diversification and expansion of women's employment.

Chaney and Simon (1979) are of the view that access to land and water resources are important conditions for women which affect their productivity as women like men cultivate land in a variety of institutional arrangements. The authors suggest that women's tenure security and share cropping rates should be considered in relation to production incentives and her willingness to make permanent investments in land. The authors also suggest institutional support to women in the form of extension, credit and cooperative membership and improving rural women's access to channels of information and training.

Masumdar (1978) identifies some "invisibility barrier" that prevented planners in the past from considering women's real roles in relation to development process and not merely as passive beneficiaries. Masumdar highlights the recommendations made by one International Study Seminar which emphasize the need to increase women's participation particularly of actual target groups in order to (a) change or reorient thinking at policy making levels (b) move from empty generalizations to concrete
measures (c) increase women's self-reliance and determination to play a more active role in the development process. The Seminar recommended that rural services should include welfare and development services needed to improve the quality of rural life and develop its human resources. In case of rural women it should include (a) services that recognize and aid women's existing functions, making their multiple roles more effective and less burdensome (b) services that provide new skills and knowledge to widen women's ability to perform new functions (c) services that promote the development of an effective institutional infrastructure within their physical, social and intellectual reach through which they can articulate their felt needs and increase their self-reliance in solving their problems. The Seminar also suggested to improve productivity and earning power of females in agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, horticulture, sericulture, etc. agro-based and small scale industries, trade and commerce, services to reduce burden of household work, health services, education, housing and organisational services.

Project approach is suggested by Kapaneck (1979) as the most feasible for the implementation of certain kinds of solutions to problems of development. Kapaneck pointed out that in case of India the national consensus to keep the women's questions out of the sphere of
political controversy resulted in projecting it as a purely social issue of long term changes in attitudes, through education and development. Instead of taking up remedial programmes for women, measures should be directed towards direct changes in economic, political and legal structures as they affect women. Women must be integrated into the development process not only symbolically and through concrete local projects but in the most central process of resource allocation in development planning.

Udgar (1981) suggests some policy implications of the special characteristics of female employment both on the supply and demand side. Recommendations made by the author are grouped under research, training, planning and design and evaluation and monitoring.