Women in Media: Finally Coming into their Own

When women started working in Bengal, it was more out of an economic necessity. And the first women (apart from the working class) to venture out as professionals, were displaced women from erstwhile East Pakistan. Needless to say, what prompted them to work was not primarily necessarily professional fulfillment or corporate success.

Journalism was never the Bengali woman's first choice. She was primarily encouraged to teach in schools. When women started working in some other professions, their presence was minimal and innocuous, and men could not have imagined that they would turn into professional rivals and threaten their supremacy some day.

Even when women joined the journalistic profession, they continued to remain subservient to their male counterparts. They were not considered fit for reporting, especially political stories. Women are mostly assigned to do desk jobs, or feature stories pertaining to lifestyle and other light features. How much has this trend changed?

Or has it at all? A report card tracing the legacy of Vidya Munshi, the first female reporter from Bengal.

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FOOD AND SNACK VENUE DETAILS

DATE	TYPE	TIME	VENE
26.11.07	BREAKFAST	7.30 AM TO 9.00 AM	IVY HALL
	LUNCH	12.45 PM TO 1.45 PM	IVY HALL
	TEA/COFFEE	3.00 PM TO 3.30 PM	OUTSIDE MAIN AUDITORIUM
	WELCOME DINNER	8.45PM TO 10.00 PM	CHRIST JUNIOR COLLEGE
27.11.07	BREAKFAST	7.00 AM TO 8.30 AM	IVY HALL
	TEA/COFFEE	10.00 AM TO 10.30 AM	OUTSIDE MAIN AUDITORIUM
	LUNCH	12.30 PM TO1.30 PM	IVY HALL
	TEA/COFFEE	4PM -4.30 PM	OUTSIDE MAIN AUDITORIUM

SRI LANKA: THE CHANGING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR - A GENDERED APPRAISAL

Historically, Sri Lanka (SL) has been an agricultural country, blessed with an abundance of rivers, which originate from the central hills and flow in all directions of the island - the Mahaveli to the east, the Kelani to the west and the Walawe to the south, to name but a few. The early Aryans, who settled here over 2500 years ago, recognized this great resource and following their traditional practices, settled near some of these rivers and introduced rice cultivation to SL. As the population increased and spread, the rivers could not supply enough water for cultivation purposes throughout the year. This was especially evident during the long dry season. April to September. SL is divided agro-climatically into two main areas - the Wet Zone which encompasses the central hills and the south-west part of the island and has an annual rainfall of approximately 1,800 to 6,000mm; the Dry Zone which constitutes the rest of the island and has an annual rainfall of approximately 900 to 1,800mm.[1] The Dry Zone takes up most of the land mass of Sri Lanka's 65,610 square Km. The ancient Sinhala kings, who made their kingdoms in the Dry Zone, recognized the importance of providing enough water for cultivation purposes, and built huge tanks (Vâú) to conserve rain-water, thereby ensuring that their subjects had a high level of food security, predominantly in rice. In fact, during the reign of Parakramabahu I in the twelfth century, Sri Lanka was known as the "Granary of the East".

The other type of cultivation prevalent in the Dry Zone has been Chena Cultivation (the "slash and burn" method of cultivation). This method of cultivation is totally dependent on rainfall and usually commences in September, before the North-East monsoon rains. Vegetables, yams and cereals are the main food crops, while chillies are grown for both food and cash.

SL was colonized by the Portuguese, Dutch and British from the 16th century to the mid twentieth century. Under the British who ruled for the longest period of time (almost 200 years), plantation agriculture was introduced to SL in the form of tea, coffee, rubber and coconut. These were mainly cash crops which enriched the coffers of the British Raj and were serviced by cheap labour from South India.

SL had gained historical repute as a vast treasury of various spices, and had been an important trading point between East and West, because of this commodity. Pepper, cardomom, cloves and cinnamon are some of the many spices found in SL.

SL's 1565Km-long coast-line has been a source of livelihood for generations of fisher families. Animal husbandry has been at a very low-level in SL, because of the strong Buddhist influence, and it is only in the last 15 years that there has been a shift to poultry-farming and raising pigs and goats, for meat, in many areas in SL.

In the immediate post independence period, SL clung to its agricultural roots, and agriculture accounted for 38% of the total GDP in 1950. However, with a shift to open-market economics in 1978 and the impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes, Trade Liberalization and Accelerated Development within the Globalization framework, agriculture has been accounting for less and less of Sri Lanka's GDP - 30.7% in 1978 1.3% in 1998 1.7.2% in 2005.

Sri Lankan women have always enjoyed more freedom and mobility than many of their South Asian neighbours. The early influence of Buddhism and the founding of a Bikkhuni order (female Buddhist clergy) did create a space for women, although it was always subservient to the male clergy; this was hitherto unheard of within religious and social frameworks. Sri Lankan history records the ascension of queens (Leelawathie and Kalyanawathie) to the throne, as early as the 13th century, while aristocratic women, who had made gifts of land to the Temples (Sugala) and supported their sons in battle (Vihara Maha Devi), also have their place in Sri Lanka's history. The following facts have also contributed to promoting gender equality within Sri Lankan society: the gaining of Universal Adult Franchise in 1931 which benefited both men and women; the social reforms and welfare programmes of the 1940s and 1950s; and the 1978 Constitution, which provides for "Equal Rights without Discrimination on the grounds of Sex" and also recognizes that women are a marginalized group that needs special attention. SL also ratified the "Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (CEDAW) in 1981.

However, the following have remained as thorns and barriers for Sri Lankan women to achieve gender equality and equity:

- Although women are guaranteed equal rights through the General Law, they are discriminated against, in the various provisions of the Family Law of each community pertaining to marriage, divorce, property and financial transactions^[6]
- Women are denied equal rights to land in state assisted settlements under the Land Development Ordinance (LDO) of 1935^[7]
- Labour legislation conforms to international practices but enforcement is relatively weak, so that many women workers, especially in the informal sector are outside the ambit of these labour laws
- Amendments to the Penal Code in 1995 and 1998 expanded the scope of legislation to counter gender-based violence, but there was an absence of legislation regarding domestic violence, due to the intense pressure brought to bear by certain ethnic and religious groups
- Although SL has the prestige of producing both the World's 1st Woman Prime Minister and the 1st Woman President, in almost 7 decades of Universal Franchise the percentage of women in Parliament has never exceeded 4%
- The unemployment rate among women has always been higher than that of men and within this situation, that of women with better educational attainments, much higher. [8]

What I attempt to show is that that the participation of women in the agricultural sector has diminished in the past two decades, while in spite of upward social mobility, brought about by free education and healthcare, the overall status of Sri Lankan women in the economic sector too has diminished. Gendered social norms, the armed conflict, slow economic growth, accelerated development programmes and a chronic apathy and lack of political will among legislators for dynamic and affirmative action and intervention, have all resulted in SL having a long way to go in achieving gender equality and equity in keeping with international norms.

SL emerged unscathed from the 2nd World War and gained independence without any bloodshed in 1948, unlike its closest neighbour, India. SL had achieved Universal Adult Franchise as early as 1931 and by 1948 had a well functioning political democracy in place. The country was politically polarized between a conservative centre-right party - the United National Party (UNP) - and a centre-left party - the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The two political parties following Marxist ideology, The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Ceylon Communist Party (CPC), often formed alliances with the SLFP. These leftist parties were particularly strong in the early 1930s and from then to the 1970s, whether in government or in the opposition, were instrumental in bringing about the implementation of state sponsored education, health and transportation services. These were maintained at very high standards, thereby setting the stage for SL to gain one of the highest Human Development Indexes in Asia - Life Expectancy of 74 years for men and 77 for women; 92% literacy for men and 89% for women. [9]

When SL achieved independence from the British in 1948, it had the highest per capita income outside Japan in Asia. SL also inherited from the British a prosperous export sector, organized along commercial lines, which brought in around 90% of the country's foreign exchange earnings, and a relatively stable macroeconomy. One of the most distinctive features of the time immediately following independence was that historical ethnic tensions remained dormant, due to the nation-building efforts of the new national government under the leadership of D.S. Senanayake. On the other hand it was also a turbulent time, as Trade Unions wielded a lot of power, and Industrial Strikes ended up as General Strikes, thereby ensuring better wages and working conditions in the newly emerging industrial sector.

Despite all of the above, SL was considered a low-income country, with substantial poverty, most of which was located in the rural areas among the country's peasantry. According to the Department of Agriculture, about 80% of paddy farmers own less than one ha. of land while a 1953 Consumer Finance Survey conducted by the Central Bank of SL showed that the poorest 40% of the spending units in the income ladder received only 14.5% of the total income generated in the country, whereas the richest 20% received 53.8% of the income. Subsistence farming, which was the traditional form of agriculture, had lagged behind the efficient plantation sector, mainly due to being largely ignored by the British, and at independence, Sri Lanka only produced 3.3% of its rice requirement. Lanka

According to statistics in the "Economic Progress of Independent Sri Lanka: 1948 - 1998", published by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka to commemorate Sri Lanka's 50 years' of Independence: in 1948 SL had a population of 7 million, of which almost 85% lived in the rural sector and depended on agriculture or agriculture related activities for a livelihood. The agriculture sector, which was mainly divided between an export agricultural sector (the plantation sector) and a subsistence agricultural sector (the domestic non-plantation sector), directly contributed 40% to the national income in 1948. The domestic non-plantation sector produced food crops such as paddy, kurakkan, sweet potato, maize and vegetables, while the plantation sector produced pereniel crops such as tea, rubber, coconut and spices. However, even then, SL produced only 3.3% of its rice requirement and depended heavily on imported foods which the government subsidized. The plantation sector brought in about 90%

of SL's foreign exchange earnings the bulk of which was used for food imports in the early 1950s. [14]

The period between 1948 and 1977 saw the following:

- The Welfare State being maintained by taxation of the plantation exports
- The restoration of some of the irrigation projects in the Dry Zone and settlement of peasant colonies in that region, with a view to boosting rice production (The Gal Oya project, which was one such project. was financed from budget surpluses.)^[15]
- The bulk of foreign exchange earned from the plantation sector being used for food imports as much as 25% for rice in the early 1950s, although rice production doubled between 1947 and 1949 and again between 1956 and 1961^[16]
- Attempts to rejuvenate existing export industries or diversify into new areas in either agriculture or industry being very modest
- Continued dependency on a few primary commodities for earning vital foreign exchange (These themselves were based on fluctuating prices in the World Market, so that when these prices deteriorated in 1956, Sri Lanka was in a very vulnerable position).
- The optimistic and pioneering spirit of nation-building in the late 1940s, giving way to ethnic and religious tensions, which were heightened by the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, which made Sinhala, the language of the majority community, the only official language of the country, effectively ending the two-language formula which had been accepted until this time by the Sri Lankan polity. (This Act, which is termed as the "single most damaging piece of legislation" in turn culminated in the ethnic riots of 1956 and 1958.)
- The state sponsored education, health and transportation programmes reaping rich rewards for Sri Lanka achieving the highest literacy levels, low infant mortality and longer life expectancy in Asia
- The Youth Uprising of 1971, caused by the poverty, lack of opportunities and unemployment (created by the very programmes that generated higher social aspirations)
- Enactment of the first republican Constitution in 1972, which ended the dominion status of Sri Lanka, but created a political structure that removed previous minority safeguards and gave pre-eminence to Buddhism and ensured the superiority of a Sinhala-dominated parliament (The Federal Party, which was the main political party of the Tamils, did not participate in the framing of the new Constitution, which resulted in further estranging ties and cooperation between the different ethnic groups and led to the creation of militant Tamil youth groups in the North.)
- The Land Reform Law of 1972 which established a ceiling on agricultural lands that could be owned by a Sri Lankan 25 acres of paddy land or 50 acres of other agricultural land
- The Land Reform Law of 1975 which vested estate land owned by public companies in the Land Reform Commission
- The introduction of minimum wage legislation

 A story of tightening, partially relaxing and again tightening more stringently than before, the trade regime and associated areas, to overcome a perceived foreign exchange crisis

The United National Party, which was swept into political power with an overwhelming majority in 1977, acted swiftly to try and rejuvenate a stale and deteriorating economy. Immediate adoption of open market economic policies which led to the creation of Export Processing Zones, an aggressive implementation of accelerated development programmes such as the Mahaveli River Basin Irrigation and Hydro-power Scheme, the formulation of a new Constitution that created an Executive Presidency vested with sweeping powers and the amendment of labour and tariff protection laws, were some of the actions taken in trying to achieve the above.

However, this time also saw the bloodiest ethnic riots (1983), the start of the war in the North and East, the political violence in the south, spearheaded by the Marxist, Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the meteoric rise to power of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the LTTE, who systematically annihilated all other militant groups and political parties in the North and East of SL. The Peace Keeping Force from India also played a role for a while, before having to withdraw in 1987.

Since 1978, the situation in the political and socio-economic scenario of SL has changed little, although political power has changed hands increasingly rapidly in recent times. Trade liberalization under the growing ambit of the World Trade Organization's sphere of influence and dictates, Structural Adjustment Programmes at the dictates of the leading international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and most recently the Japan Bank for International Cooperation Assistance, state sponsored Accelerated Development Programmes based on the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers have all left their mark, both positive and negative, on SL.

While all of the above have combined since 1948 to make SL achieve a relatively high HDI, they have also contributed to create the current rather dismal economic situation and emerging widening socio-economic disparities. Specifically, the following factors have contributed to the lack of female participation in the agricultural sector and have led to an overall diminishing of women's economic status in society:

- (1) Slow economic growth
- (2) Structural Adjustment Programmes
- (3) Chronic apathy and lack of political will among politicians and legislators.
- (4) Gendered social norms
- (5) The armed conflict
- (1) Slow economic growth:

When SL achieved independence in 1948, she had the highest per capita income outside Japan in Asia. However, although her long-term growth of 2.5% in per capita terms compared favourably with most of the developing world (World Bank 1995a), it fell well short of the growth rate achieved by high performing East Asian countries like Malaysia, Korea and Thailand. By 1960 SL's per capita income was almost equal to South Korea and higher than that of Thailand and Indonesia. However, by 1997,

South Korea had achieved a per capita income that was 14 times higher than that of SL, while Thailand's was 4 times higher and that of Indonesia, marginally so. [18] SL's economic growth between 1951 and 1977 averaged only 3.6%, while partial liberalization of the economy and a shift to open market economic policies after 1978, resulted in an economic growth rate average of 5.2%. [19] In addition to short-sighted government interventions regarding economic and trading policies between 1948 and 1998, the following external shocks were also responsible for slow economic growth in SL: The sharp escalation of oil prices in 1973 and 1981: the world recession that followed the 1981 oil price hike; the Gulf Crisis of 1990 which resulted in substantially decreased foreign exchange remittances from the Middle East. The internal shocks that had serious economic disruptions as well as political implications were the youth insurrection of 1971, the eruption of ethnic conflicts in 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983, the war in the north and east from 1983 onwards and the southern political violence from 1987 to 1990. Economic conditions were also adversely affected by droughts in the mid 1960s, 1972, 1986 and 1996. These adverse external, internal and climatic factors resulted in low productivity and inadequate incomes in the agricultural sector, which in turn compelled many small-farm families to look for job opportunities in the burgeoning industrial and service sectors after 1978, so that employment in the agriculture sector only increased by 0.8% during 1953 - 1996. [20]

The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), undertaken by the (2)governments of many developing countries at the insistence of International Funding Institutions like the IMF, WB and ADB, sounded the death knell for Sri Lanka's subsistence agriculture and drastically endangered any attempts she could have made towards achieving food security. Sri Lanka is considered an agricultural country and her economy is very sensitive to changes in agriculture production, pricing and all other related policy options. An estimated 1.8 million families (about 75% of the population who live in the rural sector) derive their livelihood from agriculture. [21] The SAPs which have been incorporated almost word for word into the "Accelerated Development Programmes" being promoted under a different name by each party wielding political power since 1994 (Regaining Sri Lanka - UNP in 2001; Rata Perata - PA in 2004), had at their base the government's priority to stimulate the economy and achieve a growth rate of 8 - 10%. However, the distribution of the benefits of economic growth and social and gender equity are buried under macroeconomic growth policies that are envisaged as accelerating growth and resulting in "trickling down" to all segments of the population, while subsistence agriculture was identified as "unprofitable" and all the recommendations dealing with the agricultural sector were based on the privatization of land and water resources in order to "improve production" and "diversification of agricultural products" - another way of initiating a shift from producing food crops to cash crops. The fertilizer subsidy was also withdrawn, resulting in escalating costs of production. As real incomes of peasant families declined as a result of these policies and programmes, women's participation in agriculture deteriorated in the 1980s and 1990s, as women in poor families started looking for alternative employment in the rapidly growing industrial and service sectors and for the job opportunities created in the Middle East for unskilled labour.

- (3) Chronic apathy and lack of political will among politicians and legislators.
 - 3.1 There was an attempt to revitalize paddy production both in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1980s with the implementation of the Gal Oya project. the Uda Walawe Scheme and the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme, which actually resulted in an increase in rice production due to increased extent and increased yield per unit of land. Successive governments since Independence also invested heavily to increase rice production by providing fertilizer subsidies, guaranteed prices, free irrigation water and the establishment of the Paddy Marketing Board. However, since SL imports all of its machinery, agro-chemicals and fertilizer, the cost of production of rice has remained very high, when compared to other rice growing countries in Asia. There has been no serious and sustained state intervention in trying to identify and address these factors, while in fact, the reverse has been true the government withdrawing its fertilizer subsidy under the SAPs in the early 1990s.
 - 3.2 There has been a heavy dependency on rice and other food imports since Independence, with both the private sector and the government being involved in this process. Wheat has become the second staple diet of many Sri Lankans and 1,057,000 mt. of wheat were imported at a value of Rs. 10,015 million in 1995. The total revenue gained from exports in 2005 was SLRs. 638 billion, while that spent on imports was SLRs. 891 billion. [23]
 - 3.3 Women have equal rights in the General Law, but discriminatory provisions exist in varying degrees in the Family Law of each community, pertaining to the areas of marriage, divorce, property and financial transactions. Since these are closely linked to economic security and livelihoods, many women do not have access over resources in order to operate as independent economic entities. This is especially true of the Mahaweli Scheme, the plantation sector, the war torn areas in the North and East and property settlements in the south, where women have been marginalized and deprived of their right to land, their access to loans, the right to apply for agricultural extension services and overall decision-making processes. SL has been wracked by both political and ethnic violence since 1983, and the number of women headed households in the Wanni District alone is about 20%^[24]. This has serious implications because many of these women belong to the rural agricultural sector and are the backbone of Sri Lanka's food security.
 - 3.4 The UN Decade for Women increased the visibility of women, both in the public and private spheres. The Women's Bureau was established in 1978 and the Ministry of Women's Affairs was created in 1997. Regrettably, although these entities were created at Cabinet level, neither the Ministry nor the Bureau have been integrated in the

national planning processes, even after two decades. In addition, the programmes formulated by both the Ministry and Bureau have been implemented outside mainstream national development programmes, continued to be "gender neutral" and have been influenced by gender role assumptions. Two of the tangible results of such biased and nonvisionary action has been that agricultural courses conducted by the Technical Colleges island-wide attract few women (or men) students, while the percentage of women enrolling in Technical Education and Information Technology is deplorably low with less than 25% of women enrolling in technical courses, and these too in areas that are linked to "accepted" female occupations like nursing, secretarial and clerical work, accounting and textile and garment related work. The IT courses attract women students but are concentrated at the lower level of operations - data entry, etc.

(4) Gendered social norms

This has been the curse for Sri Lankan women in their long trek towards true equality and equity. These norms have also created the paradox of Sri Lankan women enjoying Universal Adult Franchise since the 1930s. having a high literacy rate as a result of the social development programmes of the 1950s and 1960s and becoming visible in both the national and international forums as a result of the ratification of international conventions in the 1980s and 1990s, but continuing to being increasingly favoured as "reproducers", being integrated in the labour market on unequal terms, having very low representation at decisionmaking at all levels due to the existence of the "glass-ceiling", becoming invisible in the assesments of economic productivity, becoming absorbed in household assesments as recepients or participants of development programmes and having very little space or place in national-level statistics. In consonance with the facts given above, this has led to many women either deserting or being forced to give up agriculture as a livelihood, due to alienation in land entitlements, absence of bank loan colateral and lack of support services.

(5) The armed conflict in the north and east.

This, more than anything else in the last two decades, has affected the lives of the civilian population living in the north and east of Sri Lanka. Before the conflict the Vanni region and the Ampara district had been two of the main rice producing areas in SL. The North and East Provinces were also the major producers of Red Onions, Chillies, potatoes, cereals and vegetables for the country. However, by 2000, all agricultural activities have dropped by almost 50% in some instances, and the short-fall is being bridged, by imports from India. The conflict in the North and East has also negatively affected the livestock sub-sector, which in turn has resulted in a decline in milk and egg production in the North. However, improved production in the East, has helped balance these downward trends in production. Fishing has been a major economic activity in the N & E provinces. In 1980 56% of the total fish caught in the country was from the N & E. [26] However, the severe restrictions imposed on fishing in the N

E due to security reasons has resulted in the contribution by the N & E on the country's fishing industry to drop to 16% in 2000.

What has all of this meant for women, mainly in the agricultural sector of Sri Lanka? Currently, women account for more than 50% of SL's total population. The most recent official data estimates it as 10,060 million of a total population of 19,886 million for 2006. Female participation in the labour force in 2004 was 26.1% in the urban sector and 32.4% in the rural sectors. However, this excludes both the Mullaitivu and Killinochchi Districts, which are in the North and under LTTE control. The overall share of the agricultural sector in GDP has declined from 38% in 1950^[29] to 16.8% in 2006. In contrast, the share of the industrial and services sectors in SL's GDP has risen to 27.0% and 56.2% respectively. The number of females leaving SL for employment abroad in 2006 was over one million (112,396)^[32], of which 50% were as housemaids. Foreign exchange remittances from the Middle-East accounted for 56% of the total migrant remittances in 2005 and for 30.6% of the total export earnings. Women between 25 and 29 years of age accounted for the highest percentage of migrant labour: 21.0% in 2003 and 2004, 19.6% in 2005. The sector of ST Lanka?

The figures clearly show that Sri Lanka is fast moving away from any attempt towards working for food security, as women, who carried this responsibility by working alongside men in the paddy fields, chena cultivation and tending home gardens, became marginalized in the decision-making processes of the Mahaweli Development Project, alienated in state land settlements because statutes of Family Law superseded in practice those of General Law and did not get the recognition and support needed through the policies and programmes engendered by the Women's Affairs Ministry and the Women's Bureau. The political parties in power since Independence have been going for the easy options, and importing more and more of Sri Lankas food requirements, without making any concerted, systematic and long-term interventions to stimulate production of essential food-crops.

Analysis of available data also shows that many of the options available to or selected by the majority of women seeking employment outside the agricultural sector are concentrated in the low-paying, high risk and high labour categories such as garment factories, sub-contracted labour and as domestic workers in the Middle-East job market, a situation which is neither being challenged nor questioned by the policy makers or the majority of "gender-blind" development workers.

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Women in the Emerging Economic Scenario Padmashree Patricia Mary Mukhim

While the World Economic Forum places India way ahead of some advanced nations like the US, France Japan insofar as political empowerment is concerned, the participation of women in the economy, their educational attainments and access to health is way below par with the above countries. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2006 which surveyed 115 world economies, India ranks 20th in political empowerment. In India women constitute 8% of the Lok Sabha and 3% hold ministerial posts. In the US women hold 15% of seats in Parliament and 14% in ministerial positions but India fared better than the US because it does not have female leadership in the executive.

The Global Gender Gap Index measure the difference between the sexes in matters of economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health, survival and political empowerment. As far as economic empowerment of women is concerned India is placed in the 110th position. In the US the study finds 60% participation of women in the labour force and 55% in professional and technical workforce. India has only 34% and 21% respectively.

Interestingly the Gender Gap Report throws light on the lesser known facts about women's economic empowerment like the duration of paid maternity leave, maternal mortality rate, and access to skilled health staff for childbirth. Norway provides 42-52 weeks parental leave which is all paid for. Sweden allows 14 weeks paid maternal leave and maternity benefits of 480 days paid parental leave. In India we are way behind these indicators particularly in the private sectors. That is one reason why female workers in the IT and ITES sectors repeatedly and sub-consciously say they cannot afford to have a family. With almost no maternity benefits, those in the IT sector would have to leave their jobs if they plan to have a family. Such are the constraints of women employees in this competitive age.

Coming to infant mortality rate in India most states do not even have the statistics for this important indicator. However the National Family Health Survey pegs the IMR at 540 deaths per one lakh live births. In some states like Meghalaya the IMR is as high as 820 per one lakh live births. Equally important is the maternal mortality rate MMR) which many states in India do not have the figures for. 58% cildbirths in India happen without skilled health staff. Naturally there will be many casualties among child-bearing women. Even if they survive a difficult labour they carry the scars throughout life because they suffer from gynecological problems and become unproductive as a work force.

In recent times a more alarming phenomenon is the premature menopause among Indian women. The Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) Bangalore working with NFHS drew samples form 100,000 women in the age group of 15-50 years across 26 states. The percentage of menopausal women was highest in Andhra with 31.4 %. The study found that the percentage of menopausal women was higher in rural India then in the urban areas. ISEC also found that menopause in the age group of 29-34 was highest in India. The natural age for menopause is between 45-55 years with an average age of 51 years. The medical findings denote that early marriage with the attendant problems of women's malnutrition tends, lack of family support and the tension of having to eke out a living to supplement the family income all add up to early menopause. Delayed marriages means delayed menopause.

Dr Vidhi Choudhury claims that the changing dynamics of the Indian family with increased stress on women to be financially independent, the loss of family support structures and tremendous physical,—emotional and mental strains on women also affects their hormonal production. Menopause is the strongest biological transitory phase in a woman's life which is accompanied by volatile physical changes. Naturally this also affects the woman psychologically. Yet many women have no access to post menopausal care in the form of hormone replacement therapy or even counseling. Many women are traumatized just thinking that there may be something seriously wrong with themselves when they do not menstruate at the age of 35 years. It can also have serious impact on the family life.

There may be arguments galore about the increasing women workforce in the IT sector and how they are making it up the corporate ladder. Also quite a few Indian women like Indira Nuyee of Coca Cola fame or Kiran Mazumdar Shaw and Anu Aga who have spiraled to the top of the corporate ladder through sheer grit, have shown they are equal if not better than their male colleagues. But India is a land of contrasts. Those who have made it to a certain economic bracket are not even 1% of the mass of Indian women whose work remains unaccounted for and is not considered 'work' in economic terms.

Redefining childbirth and parenting to maker them not just social responsibilities of the woman but an economic contribution towards the natural progression of a society is imperative. There is need to engender all institutions in this country which plan and implement multifarious schemes. Unless women are part of the planning process and also oversee the implementation part they will continue to be economically marginalized.

Today roughly one-third of the workforce in Indian software companies are women. NASSCOM puts the figure at 38% which is higher than in most western countries. This has happened mainly because girls from middle class families who attended engineering colleges avoided civil and mechanical engineering courses since these were considered areas that included more outdoor activities and hence unsuitable for Indian middle class girls. Hence girls opted for softer options like electronics and communication and computer science. In fact the number of girls taking up these courses is swelling. But as stated earlier the kind of work hours that women have to put up in these sectors leaves them with little or no space for starting a family. Childbirth is out of question. So are we not then producing a generation of women who cannot even have a natural family life?

In India women still have to take on the parallel roles of wives, mother and kitchen mistresses even if they have a well-placed job outside the home. A woman's option to work is still considered secondary. What a man earns is considered the main income. So unless these mindsets change and women assert their right to earn incomes and for shared parenthood within the home, economic empowerment will still be an ideal that we can only be striving at but never achieve.

Padmashree Patricia Mary Mukhim Activist and Columnist Meghalaya

The Development of Women In China's Economy Wang Xiu

- The track of Chinese women join economy
- The emerging market economy has changed and is reshaping Chinese women
- Problems



The Track of China Women Join Economy





- 1950s : Huge jump start
- 1990: peak
- 1996 :collapse
- 2004:rebound

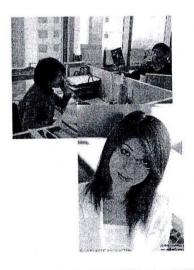


- 1950s :jump
- Urban career women ratio from 10%-90%
- The proportion of house women from 90%-10%
- 1990:peak
- National Census :women worker near 50%,word women ratio 34.5%
- 1996:collapse
- to 2001, declined 16,000,000, 0.5%
- · Losses of enterprise, laid-off
- Shaanxi trade survey, 30%more than women workers
- 2004:rebund

2004 year	Number	Ratio
Total workers	7 4 4 ,0 0 0 ,0 0	
W om en w orkers	3 3 7 ,0 0 0 ,0 0	44.8% (5.6 higher than 2000)

The Emerging Market Economy Has Changed and Is Reshaping Chinese Women

(two new social classes)







Female Entrepreneurs

- State
- · Most private:
- 41%private,28%state,28%others;41
 % of total private entrepreneurs
- recruited women workers 60% of total employees
- size:sales of 70% of all is around US\$100,000
- 89% in trade, catering,manufacturing industries
- average age 46.5
- Founds source: 65% rely on saving, family, friends, only 30% received bank loans

- · Startup reasons
- the opportunities for equitable development
- · laid-Off
- support family
- unstable family, survive independent
- to prove ability.

	State- owned	Village- owned	agricult ure	Empl oyees of privat e	owners of private	idual work ers	others
total	17. 5	3. 0	57. 3	10. 1	3. 4	7. 4	1. 3
men	19. 0	3. 2	53. 3	10. 6	3. 9	8. 5	1. 5
wo men	15. 6	2. 7	62. 2	9. 6	2. 7	6. 1	1. 1

Three Typical Entrepreneurs Zhang Yin(3.4b asset, 10y ago), Lei Jufang(10y scientist, resigned 1987)

Wang Qingyu (laid off 1995, recruited 800 laid off)







White-Collar Women

international enterprises, female intellectuals ,promote formation

- · Special features
- Most were born in1970s&1980s
- Higher education background
- more professional skills
- More can speak English
- More salary at the beginning
- More pressure:overtime,training
- · Higher threshold than men



Emerging Industries of White-Collar Concentrated

- IT, technology updating traditional industry
- education,training,financial services,low consulting,other emerging services
- advertisement, media, entertainment, trade negotiations
- · pharmacy and health care
- sports fitness,tourism
- · direct sale

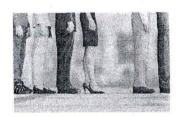
Problems

- · Irrational employment structure
- near 80% women work in rural and private, 5.5% higher than men
- Women entrepreneurs, no more than 20%

	Stat e- own ed	Vill age- own ed	agri cult ure	Emp loye es of priv	owners of priv a te	Individual workers	others
otal	1 7	3 . 0	5 7	1 0	3 . 4	7 . 4	1 , 3
n e n	1 9	3 . 2	5 3	1 0	3 . 9	8 . 5	1 . 5
w o	1 5	2 7	6 2	9	2 . 7	6. 1	1. 1

- 2005 China Employment Report

Problems





- Lower average position
- only 6.3 %engaged in technology and management work;82.3% work on manual labor and non-management
- glass ceiling for white-collar (40% lack)
- cleaner

Problems

- Education
- 2000 -5th Census

2000 China Workers Education Situation

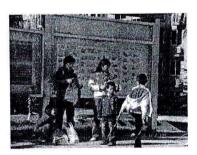
Education \ gender	Female(%)	Male (%)
illiterate	15 .8	6.9
primary	36 . 1	30 .8
Junior	34 .8	44 .4
High school	10 .2	13 .4
Diploma up	3 .1	4 .5
total	100	100

Problems

- Concept
- typical manifestation: female graduates job hunting
- more difficult to find a satisfied job(2006BU survey,44;40,70%)
- · narrow space
- Companies value height,build,beauty



Problems



- The frustration of pregnant employees
- The marriage problem of senior white-collar women

Conclusion

- · Chinese women's status in the economy is showing a upward trend
- Hundreds y ago, they could only belong to men and family, as they had no opportunities to work.
- Tens y ago, they could work, but just look up to men boss
- Today, they could not only choose their own favorite work, but also can become elites to promote the
 society



CHANGING GENDER ROLES: SILENCE TO VOICE

By ICHIKAELI MARO

A paper presented to the international conference on women in changing Indian economy-Silence in voice: Problems and Possibilities in Bangalore, India, November 27, 2007

INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), I am pleased to be invited to this conference to join our sisters from different parts of the globe on this important conference on Women in Changing Indian Economy-Silence to Voice: Problems and Possibilities and share experiences the path we have taken in Tanzania on issues around gender and learn from each other.

This paper tries to highlight steps that Tanzania has taken in championing changes in legal systems, policies and traditions for the benefit of all with particular emphasis on women, children and marginalized groups in the country.

It starts by defining what gender is, background to gender movement in Tanzania, roles of stakeholders, achievements and challenges and the way forward.

DEFINING GENDER

Gender is defined as socially constructed roles between men and women in a particular society that shape their thinking and attitudes towards each other. These roles are not static, they change from time to time and place to place depending on specific situations.

For many societies in Africa, Tanzania included, these roles have put men and women at different levels. For example, in most societies women have been looked upon and inferior, weak human beings, who should be guided, taken care off, told what to do and not to do. These attitudes have been ingrained in all the thinking of both men and women in the Tanzanian society. This is the situation that has been accepted as "culture" in most social settings in Tanzania. And this is what has been generally accepted as "African culture."

For most cultures men have been, and still are, taken to be strong, leaders, controllers, protectors, managers and rulers-the situation which is seeing even at house hold level where men have been taken as heads of houses, providers in families, leaders in all public life-politics, business, management, sports, travel, etc.

Such situations are nurtured right at the beginning of life at family level, and this is express in the way families treat and care for the baby boys and girls from the start when they are born. Social analysts argue that the kind of clothes we dress our children when they are born, health care, education, determines his/her life

at adulthood. It was agreed then and true that boys were are still preferred in most societies in Africa, Tanzania inclusive. Care accorded to boys was different from that of girls because they were expected to be what I have explained above. Therefore they must be well fed for them to assume the rightful responsibilities expected of them in adulthood. They must also get the best education because "they are the rulers, managers, businessmen, etc.

What do all these meant to some societies in Tanzania is that boy child must be born in a family otherwise the woman will risk being divorced if she did not bore a boy child in the family that she is married to. In other situations a woman will marry another woman who will bear boy child in the family "in order to keep the clan generation." This explains the reason why most households in Africa have big families (the woman must continue to bear children until a boy is born, otherwise she will suffer. It is widely accepted by both men and women then that men are better off than women.) The woman then was viewed as an object or tool to be exploited.

What was not understood to them was that big families were the source of poverty in their families because they could not provide for them. And because women were required by tradition to be at home to care for families, the burden of providing for families was left to men. The poverty in the family increased. This went up to the national level because majority of the section of the society had been left out in the development process of most countries in Africa.

BACKGROUND TO GENDER MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA

The wind of change on gender equality that swept the world on early 1970s has a lot of impact in Tanzania as it was to the rest of African continent. Tanzania is one of the countries in Africa which ratified the international treaties and conventions that advocated for the protection of the rights and women and elimination of all forms of discrimination against women as well as the protection of rights and development of children. The initial Gender and Development (GAD) advocacy had its impact in Tanzania in most of the (few) women who were fortunate of have a semblance of education were actively involved in the GAD campaign.

The appointment of Tanzanian woman, Ambassador Getrude Mongella as secretary to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing is an indication that the women of Tanzania were highly conscious of this changes and they wanted a real change in Tanzania's society. Tanzania also played an active role in implementing the Beijing declaration and Plan of Action. In Tanzania there was what was known as "Bringing the Beijing Declaration Home" by ensuring the incorporation of the declaration into the country's policies and development programmes.

Conscious of the situation in the country, of the 12-pint declaration, certain clauses were considered a priority for Tanzania, thus, were adopted for implementation. Priority areas for Tanzania are: (1) Women's education, (2) Legal literacy, (3) Economic empowerment, and (4) Political participation. This was adopted immediately after the Beijing Conference in 1995.

The above mentioned priority areas were adopted considering that lack of education among women were a great hinderance to their advancement –be it in legal systems, employment, economic empowerment and their participation in the political activities of the country. Therefore all the advocacy activities in the country centered on the above mentioned areas.

CRUSADE IN GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN TANZANIA

Proponents of gender equality in Tanzania argue that real economic development in the country will be realized when both men and women take their rightful positions in the overall development of the country. Realizing that all national development programmes in Tanzania lacked gender dimensions major thrust was placed on advocacy for gender mainstreaming was adopted in all policies and development programmes in the country. Resource allocation in the part of the government that touch across the entire population spectrum was lacking. Even the policy makers at the national level had difficulty in understanding what the gender activists were advocating for. Therefore a challenge was thrown to gender activists to come up with justifiable arguments on how the resources allocation were affecting the development of the country because the majority of the population (women constitute 52% of Tanzania's 38 million population) in the country.

Gender activists, under the leadership of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) were engaged in series of research and policy analysis with the aim of telling authorities the seriousness of the problem. As' mentioned above even the legal systems in the country did not notice that there was any

problem in it that needs major review of the country's legal systems to take into consideration gender dimensions. The development programmes also lacked this aspect, therefore they had negative impact the overall development of the country.

The government of Tanzania commissioned TGNP to carry out capacity building programme I on gender mainstreaming n key ministries in the country. This was done in ministries of Planning (which has since changed to be known as the Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment), Education, Health, Agriculture, Community Development women affairs and children (which has come to be known as the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children Affairs), Finance, and Transport (which is now known as the Ministry of Infrastructure Development).

Although it was a tedious it came out a major success with the introduction of what is known as Gender Budget Initiative (GBI) which is a move to ensure that all budgetary processes in the country carry gender dimension. This came about after research findings revealed that the budget plans and allocation of resources lacked gender dimension. The GBI therefore is meant to ensure that the budget processes state clearly how the budget of a certain ministry will address concerns and aspirations of the men and women of Tanzania.

The impact of this exercise was great in that the government of Tanzania instituted a policy requiring ministries to have their budget proposals and development plans endorsed by experts as being gender sensitive. Tanzania became the champion of GBI and several African countries and beyond came to Tanzania to learn about this best practice and apply the same in their respective countries.

RESISTANCE TO GENDER ADVOCACY

The successes I have mentioned above are not without challenges. I should\mention here that majority of players in the gender movement then were women, for one thing that has already been explained above. Cultures have placed African women (Tanzania inclusive) at a disadvantage –they were the victims of malnutrition from childhood, denies education, victims of poverty in the community and invisible in public life.

Resistance in gender mainstreaming came from both men and women. Most men left threatened with gender concept because they wanted to keep the status quo. On the hand, women because of their upbringing and socialization to "obey" they did not want to against their culture. They termed it as elite move to destabilize their marriage. And because they are poor there was that feeling of insecurity if they fall out. This is what the gender activists termed "the fear of the unknown."

And because advocates of the gender movement were men, then came the misconception of relating gender to women. This had negative impact as well because gender activists were not taken seriously. Men were` also afraid to join the movement.

ADVOCACY GAINED STRENGTH

But as advocacy activities continued, thing started to change and took a new shape. The capacity building activities in key government ministries were a great breakthrough. The government issued a directive that required all ministries to have expert clearance that clearly indicated that development plans and budgets in all ministries have a gender dimension.

Gender has also been incorporated in the schools curricular from Primary schools of institutes of higher learning. More girls are now taking interest in challenging science subjects. Get as an example, for the last three years consecutively; girls have been the majority in the ten best students at national levels in secondary school leaving certificates. Most of them are excelling in science subjects and are taking science combinations in institutes of higher learning, including universities. Statistics from Institutions of higher learning indicate that there has been increased enrolment of young women joining both public and private universities in Tanzania by 40% in the country.

STAKEHOLDERS IN GENDER MOVEMENT

TAMWA is a strategic stakeholder in the gender advocacy and movement in Tanzania and it has been playing media and publicity role on the movement in the FemAct. TAMWA's role is media and publicity in the FemAct activities. As mentioned earlier FemAct is a coalition of over 40 NGO dealing with issues related to gender equality, democracy and development.

The coalition has been successful in pressurizing the government to enact laws that ensures protection of women and children in the country as well as

enactment of Land Laws of 1999 that allow women to acquire and own land. Through the TAMWA's bang style media campaign the laws are very popular among women in the country. As a result the women, particularly young women are buying plots and built their own houses. For example, research by the Ministry of Lands and settlement development in 2006 indicate that 70% of the plots that were surveyed and sold to individuals in Dar es Salaam have been bought by young women.

One important thing worth to note here is that TAMWA has been able to challenge the media in Tanzania to do away with the traditional stereotyping kind of journalism that existed before-that is the report about the government and about those in power where majority of the people are missing. The media has great changed in this aspect.

Another achievement that TAMWA was able to achieve is the empowerment training programmes aimed to increase the visibility of women in public life especially those in politics as well as those vying in elective posts in the countries political parties in Tanzania. I am happy to share with you here that those women who participated in our trainings have been elected to represent constituencies in the National Assembly.

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FREDSKORPSET INDIA PARTNER NETWORK PRESENTS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN EMERGING INDIAN ECONOMY -SILENCE TO VOICE - PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

26TH AND 27TH November 2007 AT CHRIST COLLEGE, BENGALOORU - 29

INFORMATION ABOUT VARIOUS VENUES AND PARALLEL SESSSIONS

DAYI

Inauguration and Plenary Session- "Main stream Development Paradigm – Critical Appraisal from a Gender Perspective"

Main Auditorium – III rd Floor of Auditorium Block

Parallel Sessions:

Session I

A. Changing Nature of Work – A Gender perspective

Timing: 3.30 pm to 5.30 pm -

Venue: Syndicate Room – Room Number 802 (Ground Floor – Auditorium Block)

Session I

B. The Changing Agricultural Sector – A Gendered Appraisal

Venue: Appraisal Room (Ground Floor - Auditorium Block)
 Timing: 3.30 pm to 5.30 pm

Session I

C. Status of Health of Urban and Rural Women

Venue: P.U. Seminar Room – 09 – Christ Junior College

Timings: 3.30 to 5.30 pm

PARTICIPANT LIST FOR PARALLEL SESSION -Day -1: 26 November 2007

A. Changing nature of work – Gender perspective

- 1. GAO KUANGYUN (JOE)
- 2. DR. ANITA MANANDHAR
- 3. UNDARYA TUMURSUKH
- 4. PYONE THET THET KYAW
- 5. MS. WANG XIU
- 6. MR. TORBJORN URFJELL
- 7. MR. KNUT JOSTEIN BERGLYD
- 8. MS. TORHILD JACOBSON (TUTU)
- 9. CHADA RADHA REDDY
- 10. DR. PATRICIA GABRIEL
- 11. MRS. UME SALMA
- 12. MS. SUCHISEN
- 13. SPRIHA SRIVASTAVA
- 14. DR. CHITRA SRIVASTAVA
- 15. MR. D. K. MITRA
- 16. ASHWINI N. V.
- 17. GEETA S. THATRA
- 18. GERARD RASSENDRAN
- 19. MS. SUNITI PHADKE
- 20. FR. JOSE P. K.
- 21. BRINDA ADIGE
- 22. JINU SAM JACOB
- 23. MRS. C. LORA SUDHA RANI
- 24. MS. PAMPA CHOWDHURY
- 25. B. SHANKAR GANESH
- 26. RESHMA PRADIP LUDBE
- 27. MS. PRATYASMA RATH
- 28. SHUHITA BHATTACHARJEE
- 29. DEEPAK MADAN
- 30. DR. SURESH K. SRIVASTAVA
- 31. BRAJESH MOHAN

Parallel sessions - Day 1 – 26 November 2007

B. The changing Agricultural Sector – A Gender Appraisal

Participants name:

- 1. MS. SUPARA JANCHITFAH
- 2. MS. SUBHATRA BHUMI PRABHAS
- 3. MS. GLORIA DE SILVA
- 4. MR. DULAL CHANDRAKAR
- 5. MS. ICHIKAELI MARO
- 6. HELGE ESPE
- 7. MR. SACHA JOTISALIKORN
- 8. MS. SAOWALAK JINGJUNGVISUT
- 9. TAMIL SNIYA KUMAR K.
- 10. R. VENDER VENDAN
- 11. S. SUJA
- 12. A. KISHAN SEN
- 13. MINATI ADHIKARI
- 14. VIJAY KUMAR MADAN
- 15. PRABHATH BHAT
- 16. NIRMAL JOSEPH DS.
- 17. KALPANA KANWA
- 18. DR. RAJESHWARI
- 19. DHANVANTHI JAIN
- 20. N. PANKAJA
- 21. JATKAR UJJWALA
- 22. R. SELVAN
- 23. GANESH V. SHETTY
- 24. B. SHIVA SHANKAR
- 25. ASHIMA DEV BURMAN
- 26. H. VALLEYROSE
- 27. DURGA JHA
- 28. MS. SUKLA DEV (MITRA)
- 29. DEVASHREE BHATTACHARJEE
- 30. DR. ALPHA PRITAM TANDON

Parallel sessions -Day 1- 26 November 2007

🕻 Status of Health of Urban and Rural women

Participants list

- 1. BIJAY RAJ GAUTHAM
- 2. SAYTHALAT KHAMPHOUL
- 3. LINDA ROSE DANIELS
- 4. MRS. KITIWAN DECHWAYUKUL (WHITE)
- 5. MS. PAKAMAS PAIROT (JAE)
- 6. H. E. MS. ANN OLLESTAD
- 7. MS NISA CHAMSUWAN
- 8. SUJATA SUREPALLY
- 9. VIMALA STEPHEN
- 10. SR. NAMBIKAI KITHARI
- 11. MR. TATHAGATA
- 12. AFRREN S. KITTUR
- 13. JERALD D SOUZA
- 14. PROF. SARITHA KRISHNAN
- 15. PROF. BARATHUNNISA
- 16. FRANCIS J.
- 17. WALTER MENDOZA
- 18. YESUPUTHRAMMA
- 19. K. MEENAKSHI
- 20. DR. A. LALITHA
- 21. MANJUSHA S.
- 22. DR. DODDAPANENI UMA DEVI
- 23. REJITHA G.
- 24. DR. SWETA GHOSY
- 25. MS. ARYANI BANNERJEE
- 26. SHYAMALI KAR
- 27. VANDANA THOUSEN
- 28. RAVI NANDAN SINGH

Cultural Evening

Monday, 26th November 2007

6.30 pm

Venue: Christ College auditorium (The conference venue)

<u>Programmes</u>

Theme dance

Showcasing the Christ College dance team

Mime

beyond words...

Dance

Featuring the Christ College non-theme dance team

Prakash Sontakke and band

A musical evening of fusion

Mr. Sontakke is a highly creative and accomplished musician of international acclaim. A triple master degree holder in classical music on the guitar, vocals and the violin, his creative experiments in jazz and fusion are deeply underlined by his classical training. Prakash prefers to play the "Gayaki Ang" (vocal style) on the slide guitar.

He is the recipient of the 'Aryabhatta' and 'Ganayogi Panchakshari Gawai' awards, and has many recordings and CD releases to his credit. Apart from being a senior artiste in Radio and T.V., Prakash has been a judge for various music competitions as well.

Prakash will be assisted by a professional group of musicians whom he regularly plays with.

Globalisation and Women's Education in India: Questioning and gendering 'development' paradigms

In the new globalized economy, there is a renewed focus on higher education, particularly technical education, as a driving factor for growth and development. India supplies a significant part of the educated manpower needed for the expansion of new sectors. It is against this background that the National Knowledge Commission presented its report in 2006, envisaging a comprehensive and radical programme of educational reform. These proposed changes have significant implications for women engaged in education whether as students, teachers or educational administrators. In this context, the proposed paper seeks to develop a gendered analysis of the National Knowledge Commission Report 2006 to understand how it will influence Indian women's educational opportunities, disciplinary preferences, career options and life choices. The paper will examine whether the proposed educational system will strengthen women's access to and participation in higher education or deepen existing inequities. In doing so the paper will question the developmental paradigm which regards education more as a means of creating trained manpower for industry than as a tool for empowerment, equity and social change.

By Dr. Paromita Chakravarti
D. Phil (University of Oxford)
Joint-Director, School of Women's Studies
And Senior Lecturer, Department of English
Jadavpur University
Kolkata-700032

Session Title: Changing Nature of Work - A Gender Perspective

WOMEN AND WORK IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR IMPORTANCE, PROBLEM AND POSSIBILITIES Shoma A. Chatterji

Women's empowerment has become a buzzword in the lexicon of politicians and bureaucrats in India after the official pronouncements on the status of women and the enactment of the constitutional amendments. The 73rd and 74th amendments have added new dimensions to the issue of women's empowerment by making provisions for the compulsory participation of women in local governing bodies and involvement in development activities. The amendments make provisions for reservation of not less than one-third of the total number of seats in panchayats and municipalities for women. The amendments have resulted in about three million elected representatives in panchayats and municipalities and out of this, one million are women.

How far have these amendments helped women in the informal sector? Women contribute largely to the country's development but their needs are not addressed adequately or at the right time and place. Their lives are still characterized by low income, ill health, low nutrition and high level of exploitation. The National Service Scheme (NSS) has identified women's development and gender justice as one of its thrust areas for two reasons — (a) increasing atrocities against women and (b) marginalization and exploitation of women.

This paper seeks to explore the questions of women engaged in the informal sector. What keeps women working in the informal sector down? Why is employment of women in informal sectors important for women? How can their position be bettered? How do NGOs help organize women in the informal sector? These are important questions to be looked at in the context of all questions raised about the empowerment of women in India.

The Informal Sector

The International Labour Organization (ILO) then embraced this. This view largely saw the informal sector as "covering marginal livelihoods and survival activity outside the regulatory reach of state and not yet able to be absorbed by industry (and) emphasized the role (or failure) of formal sector employment in defining the informal sector". The 1980s, however, saw the emergence of a more textured understanding of informality. Informal activity was then considered as much a rural or 'rurban' phenomenon as it was an urban one.

Abstract of the Presentation

Growing up and sexual identity are closely tied to important themes like health, economic well-being, equal access to public services and freedom in general. Lately sexuality and masculinities are issues that have gained more space in public dialogue. However these discussions have not been able to engage mainstream attention and engagement perhaps because of the context in which the issues get discussed —that of sexual identities alone. Newer challenges are arising constantly regarding the position of women in this increasingly globalized context in India. There is a need to bring out newer discussions and dimensions regarding these issues to reach today's audiences.

The presentation identifies the challenges in addressing diversity as a core issue amongst young people in discussing issues of sexual health, identity and sexuality in India.

Ms. Vidya Shah Director-Programmes, Centre of Media & Alternative Communication (CMAC), New Delhi

Anjali

Humanizing Mental Health Care & Treatment

Globalization and Anjali

- State presence in the social sector on the decrease, including health
- Privatization and NGO-ization dividing citizens into purchasers and beneficiarie
- Anjali resisting this withdrawal working towards a welfare state
- Mental health always a crosscutting issue specific critical manifestations emerging due to globalization.

 Anjali ensuring community participation of multi-stakeholders especially adolescents and women a response towards creating coping mechanisms for such critical concerns. critical concerns
- Offering services and articulating rights

Anjali's Strategies

- Working with state bodies / agencies to ensure that the state takes responsibility towards its citizens, including and up to those with mental health. problems
- Working with stakeholders at different levels to ascertain that Civil Society also becomes inclusive and accepting of its members with mental health problems
- Also facilitating Civil Society players to act as watchdogs
- · Putting the issue of human rights on the agenda

How is Anjali Doing It.

Rehabilitation & Reintegration

- Objectives:
 - democratic healing space - Creating institutions
 - Increasing therapeutic spaces within communities

- Rights-based therapies that also facilitate healing
- Group & Individual counselling and psychotherapy
- Skills training
- Family Reintegration I Organizing alternative Shelter
- Follow-up visits and continued support

. . How is Anjali Doing It

Twilight Claims

- Objectives:
 - Sensitization of psychiatrists, nurses and other caregivers attached to state-run mental hospitals
 - Working with communities through partnership with the local self governance bodies (ULBs and Panchayats) addressing both urban and rural scenarios
- Activities:
 - Workshops
 - Action Group formation

. How is Anjali Doing It

Janamanas: People's Mind

- Objectives
 - Capacity Building of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and Panchayts to increase community awareness; participation, and referral for people with mental health problems
 - Working with communities through partnership with the local self governance bodies (ULBs and addressing both urban and rural Panchayats) scenarios

. . . How is Anjali Doing It

Lattoo: The Spinning Wheel

- Objectives
 - Empowering young populations to be more tolerant and aware of mental health needs of themselves and others
 - Enabling young people living in the fringes to cope with their mental health issues
 - Facilitating the process of creating change agents among the young
- Activities:
 - Conducting workshops with twin access to mental health and human rights
 - Facilitating hands-on trainings through micro level social action projects

Focus on Women

- Globalization or not, women remain the unequal among equals - the manifest forms becoming more critical with globalization
- Women face inequality, inequity and injustice within the mental health care system
- Gender gaps in mental health care and treatment are manifested through the following
 - Bio-medical pathologization of women
- Abuse and Sexual Coercion
 - Human Rights Violations inside Mental Hospitals specific to women

Working with Women: Challenges

- The factors that make it necessary to focus on women are also the challenges:
 - The patriarchal gaze of psychiatry
 - Gender-biased social norms that make women more vulnerable to being easily abandoned
 - Inequality, discrimination and poor opportunity for women in the mental health sector
 - Clinical action also a legal action the legal system is not entirely gender just – so women suffer more

Achievements

- Human Rights of persons with mental health problems have become an issue at least, being discussed in national and international forums
- New therapeutic concepts that have come into mental health which are more integrated into a social perspective such as "psycho-social disability", "recovery" and "quality of life".
 New legal terms such as "reasonable
- New legal terms such as "reasonable accommodation", "non-discrimination", "full legal capacity", "integrity" being taken seriously by all of us who are working in this sector

Farm Women in India: The Ignored and the Invisible Mass in 'Development'

Tattwamasi Paltasingh

It is important to understand the social structure, especially the agrarian structure in the context of a stratified society like India. The pattern of stratification is distinct across caste, class and gender. Indian developmental policies are largely urban biased with a marginal attention to the rural agrarian structure. The rural economic structure is very much connected and interdependent on each other. This is clear, as majority of the population are dependent upon the agriculture and allied activities. The rural mass consisting of the peasants, artisans, weavers and others – all of them rely on the agricultural farms, where women's contribution is remarkable. At the same time they are not the real beneficiaries of the developmental initiatives undertaken by the state. The consistent efforts and labor of these women have hardly been recognized. It is important to include gender dimension to understand and exploit the potential and human resources involved in farming sector.

The gender concern in agriculture sector is a positive step to bring more women to the mainstream of agriculture. As per the statistical information it is evident that a large number of women contribute in different ways and they occupy the largest proportion of labour force in agriculture. Despite their substantial contribution, women's work remains invisible. Even the large-scale survey such as census data doesn't capture the accurate rate of the labour force participation. The concept of women farmers is yet to be introduced in Indian situation. The division of labour in the agricultural sector is distinct for men and women. For instance, men perform the activities like ploughing, irrigation, sowing and leveling and the females perform activities like weeding, transplanting etc. In such instances there is a substantial wage difference between the male and female agricultural labourers. There have been instances especially in the rice growing states located in southern and eastern part of the country where women have substantial contribution to the process of cultivation. Considering the present scenario agricultural sector in India requires more attention. It is alarming that with the development of science and technology, globalization of the economy; the condition of the rural poor especially the women remains to be unaltered.

Women are not just engaged as agricultural labourers, they are also engaged in related activities such as fetching water, raising the cattle, collecting the cow dung for different purposes. In rural India, women work harder and for longer hours but their work remain unrecognized. Apart from the invisibility, there are many other societal problems. There is very often an exploitative relationship between the landlords and the female farm workers, especially those who are from families with lack of cultivable land or small land holdings. Because of the social stigma and role expectation from the women there is marketing difficulties for selling the farm products by the women. There is lack of access to the resources in addition to the burden of house work and farm work.

It is in this context there has to be serious efforts from government and non-governmental agencies to provide adequate support to the women involved in farm activities through adequate training and information. There is an urgent need to establish a strong database on farmwomen. The information base can be strengthened by collection of gender disaggregated data through both primary and secondary sources. It is important to examine and evaluate the various schemes implemented at the national level. There is a need to examine the relevant policy measures, various interventions during plan periods and subsequent contribution in gender mainstreaming in agriculture that can help the needy and deserving women to get the benefits of such initiatives.

The paper would address these issues from a gender perspective. The 1st section of the paper would focus on the invisibility of women's work participation in the agricultural sector. The thrust of the second section would be on understanding the specific problems pertaining to the farm women, substantiated by relevant information across regions. The last section would highlight on relevant suggestions and recommendations connected to different areas such as innovative state policies, private initiatives, technological and infrastructure changes and intervention , public awareness in understanding the importance of gender mainstreaming in agriculture and allied sectors. On the whole there would be discussion on the urgent need for combined and intensified efforts from all developmental sectors to enrich the status of the farm women.

Abstract Paper: Of Markets and Margins: Women and Media

The proposed paper will locate the experience of television in India within the larger process of globalization, and interrogate some of the ways it is impacting on women's lives. In doing so, the paper will also probe how differences in social and economic locations of women, influence their relations and negotiations with the media. The larger question would be: How, in a world dominated by a global market economy, a prerogative of defining citizens as consumers is seeing women. And conversely, how women are seeing the media, as part of a process of visualizing their own selves.

INSTITUTIONALISING GENDER, ENGENDERING INSTITUTIONS-Issues for consideration for the 11th plan ¹

Soma Kishore Parthasarathy August 2006

¹ This paper is informed by the learnings that have emerged during the course of a study on "SHGs, empowerment and equity" undertaken by the author with Jaya Sharma and Archana Srivastava of Nirantar, New Delhi. The study entailed an intensive assessment of selected SHG programmes in Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat as well as a survey of 2,700 SHGs in 17 states.

In the preparation of this paper I have drawn extensively on a note prepared with Nirantar for the working group of the Women Child Development Deptt, Govtt of India for the 11th FYP and upon interviews and interactions with researchers and practitioners across the country, as well as my experiences of having worked closely with the Deptt of Women and Child Development, Government of India. I gratefully acknowledge their inputs and analysis, and acknowledge the friendship and sisterhood that I have shared with my friends in Nirantar through these past five years.

Any errors or shortcomings are however my own and may please be shared through feedback/comments on the following address: somakp@gmail.com.

INSTITUTIONALISING GENDER, ENGENDERING INSTITUTIONS Issues for consideration for the 11th plan ²

Soma Kishore Parthasarathy

Context

The emergence and rapid multiplication of Self Help Groups (SHGs) based on micro credit is a phenomenon of immense importance. By 2006, the number of SHGs in India in India is estimated to be 2.2 million³. About 16 million poor households are said to have gained access to formal banking system through SHG bank linkage programme. Nearly 90% of the groups are women only groups. (Source: NABARD website).

SHGs in the development space

- * SHGs have been viewed as a strategy for both women's empowerment as well as poverty reduction.
- * SHGs are also used as conduits for routing a wide range of government sponsored development messages and schemes.
- * NGOs have also increasingly been adopting SHG formation as a strategy to bring women together, at a faster pace and larger scale than the collective building processes adopted by them earlier.

Despite their burgeoning numbers in the development landscape of the country, there has been little dialogue on experiences with SHGs and their potential for empowerment or poverty reduction between civil society actors and policy makers regarding the expectations from SHGs, the ground level realities as well as possible ways of strengthening SHGs in order that they may serve better the interests of poor women. he process currently underway towards the formulation of the 11th Five year plan provides an important opportunity to undertake a stock taking of the SHG phenomenon, which began to manifest itself in a significant manner in the early 90s.

One of the key concerns is the overloading of expectations from SHGs as a means to women's empowerment and poverty reduction. Women's subordination as well as poverty is both deep rooted and complex phenomena. Micro credit provisioning through women's collectives in the form of SHGs can contribute to the process of addressing these inequities, but in our view, SHGs cannot be a substitute for poverty reduction strategies such as employment generation and the redistribution of resources in the interest of the poor. The challenges before the State in terms of meeting the need to invest sufficient resources and plan in an innovative manner to address women's subordination and poverty are immense. Promotion of SHGs can only form part of the larger strategy of addressing these phenomena.

In order that SHGs can contribute to the processes of empowerment and equity, there is a need to address certain ground level realities related to the manner in which the SHG phenomenon is currently unfolding.

³ according to Sa-DHAN estimates

Dilemmas of SHGs: Instrumentalities for development or spaces for a holistic approach to women's empowerment

Defunct groups

Given the rapid growth and the ambitious targets of SHG programmes, combined with inadequate investment in processes to support the groups, a large number of groups are defunct and exist only on paper. The numbers of SHGs that exist appear to be much higher also because of the phenomenon of multiple identities – i.e. the same group is claimed by more than one sponsoring agency.

Limited improvement in livelihoods situation

The evidence suggests that the impact of micro credit on poverty alleviation is very limited. Savings and credit is being used by women members of SHGs for crisis related, particularly those related to health and survival. The micro enterprise activities focussed upon tend to lay emphasis on "new" trades, for which women have neither the skills nor the wherewithal to become competitive in an increasingly globalising market space. Hence while such activities at best yield supplementary incomes, this cycle is also perpetuated by the "micro nature of credit and non-existent support activities available to women to ensure the viability of such initiatives.. There continues to be a prevalence of income generation activities that have very limited viability such as agarbatti, papad and soap making. We find that many women become piece rate workers through such processes, remaining at vulnerable levels of the value chain. The fundamental livelihoods concerns related to the existing economic realities (such as those related to agriculture, food and seed security or access to commons and natural resources) of poor women's lives remain largely unaddressed in the process.

Conditional and Restricted access to credit

Women's groups are first required to prove their worth as credit worthy by means of saving and internal lending and then put through the rigor of rating, which many of them are unaware of the norms. SHG members' access to bank credit remains restricted, as Banks are eager to hold poor women's savings as an increasingly important source of their financial capital. Nationalized banks are also keen to have subsidized credit from government sponsored SHG programmes routed through them. While women can only access group based micro credit, a comparative analysis reveals that men within the same scheme (e.g. SGSY) are eligible for individual loans, and may even become entitled to larger than micro loans. Thus the micro nomenclature defines the limits for women's credit while men in the same category make claims to resources based on the viability requirements of a proposed activity.

Access and Interest burdens

There continue to be serious hurdles faced by women when they want to access credit from banks. There are numerous extremely worrying instances of women being pressurized by banks to recover loans made earlier to men in the village, before the loan applications from SHGs are sanctioned. Although this is an unwritten practice, it has serious implications for women as creditors. This is particularly unjust in a context in which women's regularity as savers and creditors is the very basis on which micro credit the world over has come to focus on women. The instrumentalist use of women in this manner is a source of grave concern. A grave area of concern is the burden that women must finally bear of escalating interest rates down the credit chain, as each

intermediary level adds its own costs to the charges levied as interest. Thus the final cost of credit for the end user- the poor and marginalize women- finally bear the costs and more of what is touted as a "sustainable model" of credit delivery.

Exclusion of the poorest

The demand for group homogeneity as a means of efficiency and smooth running of groups has an adverse fallout for the poorest. The exclusion of the poorest, including members from Dalit, tribal and Muslim communities from SHGs by virtue of their inability to save is another source of concern. The survey conducted by Nirantar of 2700 groups across 17 states reveals that only ---% of group members are from minority communities. It is by now well recognized that the amount and regularity of savings expected from SHGs and the lack of support to enable the poorest to undertake the risks entailed in micro enterprise have proved to be highly exclusionary. Hence the claims that micro credit is a panacea for poverty reduction is a myth when one take into consideration the lack of access of the poorest to such groups.

Lack of support to address GENDER concerns

While women members of SHGs are saving and repaying regularly, they are not being enabled to address gender inequalities in the domestic realm because of which they have little control over the financial resources, which they bring into the family. SHGs are also not being enabled to take up social justice and equity issues, although they may take up issues related to violence against women of their own accord, even in the absence of support from the sponsoring agency. Members of SHGs are also making demands from governance institutions most often without success. The institutional frameworks to support SHGs are limited to the financial functions related to management of micro credit and to some extent to enabling them to engage with enterprise and self-employment. Thus claims of empowerment agenda being addressed is more in the absence of such support as women struggle to survive in an environment that is increasingly dependent on their ability to withstand social and economic crises. The recent reports of suicides by women in Andhra Pradesh bear testimony to the pressure that women experience as the responsibility and burden of family survival and their own struggles rests more and more on their oppressed shoulders.

Capacity building limited in content and reach

The capacity building inputs being provided are overwhelming focussed on the cadre of sponsoring agencies. Amongst SHG members it is group leaders (who are invariably the more educated) who receive any inputs and even these are invariably limited to the functional agenda related to group formation and ensuring regular savings and repayment. Issues related to gender when included in-group leader trainings, receive only **tokenistic attention and do not receive any institutional support** to enable women to use their awareness for the resolution of issues and problems. Programs and organizations working with micro-credit based SHGs have increasingly witnessed a shrinking of their agendas so that the management of credit and the financial flow and upward linkage towards enterprise are the agenda for which **they have also limited their institutional support frameworks**. In the event that the cadre are provided inputs on social justice and equity issues, either these do not reach SHGs or if they do it is in a highly diluted manner, and women are expected to use this information and awareness at their own level with negligible support from the organization.

Inadequate access to sustainable literacy

Although many of the existing groups were part of the erstwhile adult literacy programmes, few if any have sustained their character as a sustained educational space. Literacy programmes are seldom designed in a manner which is responsive to the realities of learners' and in particular women's lives. Mobilization is sporadic, timing of classes inappropriate and the pedagogy weak. Most importantly there is an absence of a vision as to how to enable neo-literate people to use and sustain their literacy skills. The necessary linkages with Continuing Education are not being made.

In the specific context of SHGs, the numerous possibilities of linkages with literacy and numeracy that would enable members to access information and lessen their dependence on sponsoring agencies remain unexplored. What we find instead is that in the name of Continuing Education, neo-literates are being formed into SHGs and weak efforts at starting income generation activities are being made. Relapse into illiteracy of neo-literates, including those who are linked to SHGs, is a common phenomenon, which makes the endless chasing of targets an exercise, which disrespects learners and wastes national resources.

Group dynamics and power relations

Notions of homogeneity define the desirable composition of the group, but these have in fact led to the perpetuation of social fragmentation, as neighbourhood and kinship proximity become the surrogate variables for formation of groups along caste and ethnic lines. Arguments of "sameness" or universality in application of rules and distribution of benefit then operate to flatten the playing field, rather than a more sensitive rationalisation of resources based on principles of equity.

Another factor often ignored is the facet of intra group dynamics within the SHGs, as hierarchies of class interplay with educational status among these women from "similar" socio- economic categories; our research reveals that women with higher educational attainment (who may also be marginally better off) tend to acquire positions of leadership due to the requirements of financial record-keeping rather than leadership qualities per se. Once in such positions, leadership is seldom rotated, and they then acquire access to the "spiral of learning" as the leaders are the ones invariably targeted to participate in any knowledge dissemination, decision-making or capacity building endeavour.

Lack of investment in women themselves

SHGs serve the interests of numerous institutional players such as the State (including in the delivery of development messages and schemes), banks and corporations. There is grossly insufficient engagement with ploughing back of any resources for the women, in terms of capacity development or resource sharing for livelihood security / food security/life security etc.

NEED FOR A HOLISTIC APPROACH

Although SHGs are meant to meet the objectives of both women's empowerment and poverty reduction, we find that the approach of a majority of the sponsoring agencies is focussed on a narrowly defined and **increasingly reductionist financial agenda**. This narrow focus is insufficient to ensure economic empowerment, a goal, which would require enabling women to negotiate with the multiple factors that impact upon their material realities. Too often in the discourse and practice on micro credit there is an

assumption that the provisioning of savings and credit opportunities in and of itself automatically ensures economic empowerment. The reality is that whether in the realm of decision making within the household or the with respect to the terms of their engagement with livelihoods opportunities, **women remain largely disempowered**. The claims on the other hand extend beyond economic empowerment to empowerment per se.

The assumption here is that SHGs will not only economically empower women but will also enable other dimensions of empowerment. While women in SHGs are expected to run with the model, based on an assumption of spontaneous solidarity and mutual support, not much is done to build or invest in processes to build such bonds between women or to address the fundamental problems of oppression within their families or in society. Hence while women are expected to bring about change in multiple arenas of their lives, the institutional response or support is one-dimensional and increasingly defined by a pace that magnifies the financial and overwhelms any other agenda, thereby reinforcing the instrumentality of women.

Evidence strongly suggests that there is a bifurcation between the social and economic inputs, although the expectation is that changes in both realms will take place. Therefore, as mentioned above, we find that the capacity building efforts focus largely on the agenda of ensuring that groups are formed and that they continue as spaces where women can save and repay regularly. In the absence of inputs and institutional support that address women's lives in all its dimensions, empowerment cannot happen.

The bifurcation of women's lives and problems into realms of the social and the economic is a forced one, determined not by the women themselves, but by those who wish to address the problem by simplifying it and dealing the parts, rather than by understanding the complexities and dealing with the interlinkages. (This should come in a much earlier part of the paper) The sectoralisation of planning and governance has compelled a view of women and their issues into a dilemma that posits the economic and social as if these are competing, disconnected and mutually exclusive ends of the spectrum of programmatic priorities. It is necessary to restore a unified view in order to effectively deal with the reality of their lives and the oppressions they experience, and to deal with them. Thus while economic and social may be used as categories for analysis, the extension of these categories for purposes of planning loses sight of the fact that any action in any space is likely to impinge upon the other, and therefore the holistic approach is necessary to inform the planning and institutional frameworks that seek to address the empowerment of women, or for that matter any group experiencing vulnerability.

For example, if women do not have the opportunity to understand and strengthen their ability to address the gendered power relations within the family, they will not be able to have a say in how credit is used, and nor will they be able to negotiate how work is distributed and how benefits are shared within the family. Addressing the multiple dimensions of empowerment becomes critical in the context of SHGs because in the absence of such an engagement women are in a situation in which they are having to bear an even higher burden of work than before, and are unable to negotiate change in the gendered social relations; it is also necessary to ensure that the planning for women in SHGs does not become an isolated exercise, but is integrated into an overall institutional framework of planning for development in an integrated way, wherein SHGs

are the spaces for enabling women to gain collective strength while defining their strategies for engagement with the development space.

SHIFTS IN THE 'EMPOWERMENT' DISCOURSE

There are discernible shifts evident in the empowerment discourse that are largely attributable to the proliferation of SHG phenomena hand in hand (or rather hand in glove) with the advent of neo-liberalism which has led to a fundamental lack of clarity about what sponsoring agencies mean by empowerment. Whereas the conceptualisation of empowerment in the context of Gender was in a holistic framework to embody the "changing the power relations between individuals and groups in society", viewed both as an outcome and a process;4 it incorporates the notion of capabilities and enablement as a key concept. Implicit is the reference to the process of gaining power, both over external resources, and growth in inner self-confidence and capability; and as political process that may entail social upheavals, and to which group processes are often critical in enabling transformation of individuals and societies. Empowerment in this context reflects a continuum between the individual in the group and society at large and the process of transforming relationships in a holistic space towards social change. It enables engagement with the self and society at various levels in a quest to challenge and transform gender relations and to enable social change aimed towards equality and justice.

Current understanding of empowerment, in keeping with the liberalisation paradigm, are however much more limited and linear and relate to the abilities and capacities of individuals to deal with and compete in the market, either individually or through the group as a space for transaction and refinement of capabilities⁵. Thus empowerment is reduced to an outcome, with a linear flow and related to predetermined goals. The notions of empowerment articulated by some of the key implementers of key "innovative" state programmes also reflect such an understanding of empowerment. In the project context however their conceptualisation of empowerment is limited to economic empowerment, and even that is defined in a limited way as confined to the ability of individuals to gain access and enhance capacities for the use of credit for enhancement of incomes. One finds therefore an unwillingness to deal with the complexity of power relations and an eagerness to prescribe boundaries to the notion of economic empowerment and even that to limit that to the function of financial enablement as the goals of development initiatives. While this may be done as a pragmatic measure towards rendering tangible the goals of empowerment, in the interest of achievable goals as is often argued by Micro credit practitioners; instead such a confined ascribing of the boundaries of empowerment has shifted the focus from the collective struggles for social transformation to individual aspirations in a competing world; it has also bereft itself of engagement with the notion of power relations, and the structures and institutions that ascribe such relationships. Empowerment viewed in such narrow and instrumentalist definitions in fact has the adverse impact of reinforcing women's situation as primarily responsible for welfare of the family,

⁴ Batliwala

⁵ This description is based on the understanding and articulation of empowerment shared by many practitioners in the field we interacted with in the course of the Nirantar study and the author's interactions with program implementers and planners of micro credit programs especially in the government and multi-lateral aided programs currently being implemented in India

community and nation even while they struggle with the added burden of income earning and family survival through income substitution.

RE-DEFINED NOMENCLATURES

A related need for clarity has to do with the ambiguity associated with the terms "social " and "economic". The discourse around economic empowerment has encompassed attempts to discern the social dimensions of poverty; recognition of the fact for example that the face of poverty is largely feminine, old or very young and is not randomly occurring⁶. The struggles that have arisen from such a conceptual understanding therefore have been located in the people's efforts to restore their basis of life and livelihoods rendered inaccessible for various reasons, through collective struggles such as the NBA or through organizational efforts such as the SEWA union. Struggles for economic empowerment have therefore been informed by the collective struggles of communities and of women through various forms of organization to challenge the construction and perpetuation of poverty and oppression through structural and institutional means. Currently however the conceptualisation of economic empowerment is articulated in a fragmented and linear way and encompasses the ability of individual women to garner credit resources to address family needs⁷; a marked shift is discernible from the quest for equity and distribution (including intra household distribution) to struggles for survival and to be able to remain viable in an increasingly competitive market place, irrespective of the cost to women themselves.

CHANGING CULTURE AND RELATIONSHIPS

Aspirations for surplus and assured cash flows now determine the interface between women in the SHGs as they compete and impose financial discipline to access a larger piece of the credit pie, replacing the earlier notions of trust, support to the vulnerable and solidarity in a common cause to address their social political and economic marginalization. While some might argue that this focus and discipline is necessary to keep the focus of large programs on the tangible returns for short run gains, various large scale programs have shown that the attainment of empowerment goals need not be attained by redefining the terms themselves, but by changing the mindset of individuals and institutions that inform these processes, and creating a policy environment that will enable such holistic processes to play out.

So too in the realm of social issues there appears to be an overwhelming focus on issues related to sanitation, immunization and population control as good governance parlance replaces the language of democratic and participatory development. Although this may be a necessary agenda for development and basic delivery of services, and is likely to improve the situation of women and their communities, the critical areas that relate to women's position in society remain unaddressed. The delimiting of social agenda to concerns of service delivery and access leaves the structural and institutional impediments to empowerment unaddressed once more, thus short-changing the agenda for social justice, equity and transformation.

⁶ Sen Gita **Empowerment as an Approach to Poverty** Gita Sen Working Paper Series Number 97.07 December 1997 Page 2. (Background paper to the Human Development Report 1997)

⁷ articulations shared by Senior personnel of the Swashakti program

INSTITUTIONALISING GENDER and ENGENDERING INSTITUTIONS: A Holistic approach to empowerment and equity

The above analysis reveals disturbing trends both in the discourse and practice of development and empowerment and in the approach to women as instrumental in the process. The "gender balancing" approach of the 11th FYP reflects a continuum of a similar "correctional" view of women's condition as an instrumentality to address the <u>situation</u> of women rather than deal with the more rooted and critical questions of enhancing their position in order to address goals of justice and equity

Defining Empowerment and the holistic framework towards its attainment

A holistic approach is a necessary prerequisite to address the numerous including structural impediments to the empowerment of women. The National Policy on the empowerment of Women 2000 sets empowerment as a goal but fails to define the concept, which has led to ambiguities in its interpretation and therefore fragmentation in the approach of the state towards its achievement. There needs to be a clear articulation of the definitions of empowerment, its processual dimension and content and the attainable objectives towards its achievement.

Gender based planning frameworks

A prerequisite for this is the challenging task of doing away with the existing divides between social and economic empowerment and the evolution of holistic frameworks – albeit in their complexity – that unravel the linkages of issues that determine and ascribe the status and position of women, and develop strategies that address these. Thus holistic frameworks must inform our planning processes, rather than sectoral divides. Gender based planning must be the basis of determining the priorities across various departments, so that women's interests and priorities are adequately represented.

This is all the more challenging as the institutional bulwark of state machineries is vertically organized along sectoral lines. The task of the DWCD as the core ministry to represent the interests of women would therefore be to facilitate a shift in mindsets of planners, policy makers and implementers on two fronts

- to acknowledge women's roles and plan for the integration of women's interests within sectoral priorities
- to focus on women as a priority group within all planned interventions

The Department would need to draw upon the resources within and engage actively with the women's studies and women's organizations and researchers etc to facilitate this process effectively and to institutionalise it through rigorous inputs and support in the initial years.

Women's collectives as core to Empowerment strategy

Investing in strategies at the grassroots level enable women to mobilize and articulate their issues in collectives/groups, to define their needs and access resources and abilities to address the same. SHGs and their cluster and federation level formations have the potential to serve such a role provided they are facilitated into adopting a more holistic and empowerment approach and become representative forums to address the issues raised by women in a holistic framework

Decentralised Approach to Engendering Institutions & institutionalising gender

Instituting and strengthening decentralised institutional mechanisms will support and facilitate women's empowerment through enabling linkages, enhancement of capabilities and representation of women's voices and interests in decision-making forums from the grassroots level upwards. This would entail enhancing women's engagement through SHGs and with PRI institutions, enhancing their abilities to negotiate priorities for action and participation in the decision making and audit spaces of such forums in an informed way that represents the interests of the most marginalized.

Assessment frameworks

Enable /facilitate the development of assessment frameworks and indicators to track these processes and to assess the changes in the lives and position of women in all dimensions. These would need to be done through decentralised / state level institutional processes, for which the department may consider enhancing capacities of individuals and institutions/women's studies centres in colleges and universities etc

Designing Indicators in keeping with holistic approach

In order to ensure that programmes reflect the holistic goals, develop indicators to track achievements (numerical) goals (attitudes/ changing gender relations etc) and processes (quality of group consensus building processes, conflict management, and decision making) that are reflective of a holistic approach. For example, the extent to which women are engaged in decision-making, their entitlement to assets would need to be monitored both qualitatively and quantitatively. Also given the reality of the exclusion of the poorest in current development initiatives, it is imperative that the indicators map the inclusion of the most marginalized, including members of economically and socially marginalized communities such as Dalits, tribals and Muslims.

Institution of Commission to inquire into the impacts of current micro credit based policies and programmes on women

Even as the Deptt of WCD stakes claims for a nodal role in the coordination of SHG initiatives in the govt and non-governmental space, and we must work towards the enlargement of such a role of the Rashtrya Mahila Kosh (RMK) to ensure a holistic view of womens needs, the Planning commission needs to set up A Commission to review the Status of Micro Credit policies and programmes. The members of the Commission should include eminent academics, researchers and practitioners who have a substantive engagement with issues of women's empowerment, poverty and livelihoods. This autonomous, high level commission should be mandated to review the existing vision, policies and programmes related to micro credit in order to assess the extent to which these are addressing the social, economic and political rights of women. The mandate of the Commission should include recommending the manner in which the State will generate data in order that the performance of micro credit based interventions may be addressed. Some of the critical areas on which information is currently lacking relates to

- Number of functioning (as opposed to defunct) SHGs.
- Financial impact of micro credit on poverty alleviation
- Inclusion of the poorest
- Number of women/groups being able to access credit
- Types of enterprises for which women borrowers receive credit
- Data on capacity building extent to which these are being provided, to whom, nature of the inputs including time allocated to social justice and equity issues.

- Data on lending practices and norms – both formal and those that are being practiced although unwritten.

Data and rationalisation of the interest rates levied at different levels of the Micro

credit delivery process, and invisible cost absorption therein

- Identification and analysis of existing macro data on indicators that will enable an assessment of the impact of SHGs. This could include macro data related to poverty reduction, distress migration, violence against women, inclusion of economically and socially marginalized communities etc.

Data on the creation of assets and entitlement through the scale of credit

- Comparative data on credit access to men and women within lending institutions and its implication for them to address sustainable livelihoods needs.

The Commission should also be mandated to recommend the means by which credit can become a means for substantive agenda for enabling change in the <u>position</u> of women, and the process whereby indicators that can monitor progress in terms of empowerment and equity can be designed.

The findings of the review commission should be not be limited to mere recommendations which might or might not be incorporated. The 11th five-year plan needs to ensure that the recommendations are necessarily reflected in the formulation of new policies and programmes or redesigning of existing ones, as well as integrated into guidelines for the operations of players in the financial sector such as the RBI, NABARD, Banks, MFIs etc so that women's interests are addressed and women do not bare unfair burdens

Enabling services and mechanisms to address Violence Against Women

While the state is quick to resort to legislation to institute social change through enforcement of legal rights of women, the institutional responses are seldom backed by institutional support or supportive structures. Hence along with the sensitisation of the justice delivery machinery from the district level upward; the DWCD needs to take into its ambit the appointment of personnel to ensure that such institutional frameworks are responsive to the needs of women. Women protection officers proposed in the DW act are likely to falter in their task if confronted in their task by unresponsive state machinery unless the state appoints officers to ensure that they receive the support to operate effectively. Along with this the state also needs to provide space for shelter and crisis, and for enabling women to enhance capacities to enable them to move out of crisis circumstances. Recognition and capacity building inputs can for instance be provided to federations and women's organizations to make such institutional support available for women.

- A corpus should be created to enable SHGs to assist survivors of violence against
 women and their children, in terms of rehabilitation, legal aid etc. The corpus should
 be formed by contributions from government sponsoring agencies and banks.
 Women members of SHGs should be expected to make a nominal contribution to the
 corpus as a means of strengthening a sense of ownership rather than further
 drawing upon scare resources that they have access to.
- Institutional mechanisms need to be designed that will enable SHGs to access the redressal mechanisms that are being designed as a result of the recently passed Prevention of Violence Against Women Bill. (need to check title)

Institutionalising Holistic capacity building opportunities

The implementation of a holistic framework for women's empowerment requires in the first instance that the department facilitate capacity building and evolve policy to support such an environment

Capacity building initiatives for the department itself and all its associated machineries, for the state departments, to understand the empowerment perspective and the holistic approach required to achieve it are necessary inputs to initiate this process.

Gender based programme planning initiatives need to be undertaken with line departments and agencies to enhance the integration of women's interests in their planning processes, within which gender budgeting would then need to be integrated as a key element and indicator of requisite finance flows.

Training of trainers for the teams in such institutions that impart training and orientation to line department functionaries, which should include all aspects of empowerment and gender planning and budgeting

Capacity building inputs provided by sponsoring agencies to SHGs need to go beyond the office bearer cadres involved to reach all the women members themselves. Our research reveals that training directed at cadres leaves the cadres empowered but the losses in transmission to the field level and to women are very large, essentially due to the deprioritisation of processual and qualitative change agenda, and due to the intensity of engagement it might then require from the cadres themselves.

In terms of the nature of the inputs, a minimum of 15days of inputs needs to be provided to all group members in a year. 50% of the total time should be committed to issues of gender justice, VAW, legal rights etc. In the initial phase women's organizations that have substantive experience of working for gender justice should be involved in a manner that they directly train SHG members. The process of conducting training of trainers involving the cadre of the sponsoring agencies should take place only once the vision and design of the trainings have been defined in the context of a holistic empowerment framework

Ensuring Access to sustainable literacy opportunities

Literacy should be organically linked to information needs and roles expected to be played by women as SHG members or as agents of transformation in their communities. The responsibility for ensuring this must lie with the government / sponsoring agency, while it may seek the assistance of the adult education establishments.

Access to information regarding government schemes

The SHGs provide the State with a forum through which information about how SHG members can access government schemes that they are entitled to as well as how to overcome obstacles in actually being able to benefit from them. This should be one element of the training inputs provided to SHG members and to other women, specially form poor and marginalized communities. Sponsoring agencies need to design curricula that specifically cater to SHG members and their learning needs.

Livelihoods securing and strengthening opportunities

The current paradigm of development has compelled people to move away from traditional occupations to seek work in alternative avenues. Large scale migration marked by a rise in women's migration status and sole migrant status indicates the lack of alternatives available to secure lives and incomes in their own regional contexts, failing which the availability of work and how to access it must be ensured.

-There needs to be broadening of the vision from narrowly defined micro enterprise activities (which typically involve starting new, non viable income generation activities) to

a livelihoods approach. Economic interventions need to be identified only after a mapping of existing livelihoods situation and options has been done.

Given that there are key activities that women are engaged in locally that are income supplementing or substituting there is a need to assess how these may be strengthened and means of value addition or up gradation to make them viable. This must be done on a regional basis, for which local institutions may be involved

A survey needs to be conducted on the nature of micro enterprise activities being selected and their viability. Strong measures need to be taken to ensure that non-viable activities that fail to contribute towards strengthening livelihoods are not selected.

Governance

In order for women to be enabled to participate actively in the agenda for change, the provision of infrastructure to address their health, social security and learning needs would have to be addressed by the women themselves. Our study reveals that while there is much said about SHGs as monitors of govt services, women's roles have invariably been as watch dogs rather than participation in decision-making forums. These spaces for women's activism need to be ensured while investments in their capacities to address their needs in a rights framework would enable them to interact and negotiate change more effectively.

The government must invest in its own infrastructure and delivery mechanisms and not pass on the burden to SHGs such as for the collection of bills and user fees. There should be no cut backs on social sector spending, particularly in light of the reality that SHGs cannot substitute for the basic rights that every citizen of the country is entitled to.

Financial Institutions

The RBI should issue guidelines to the effect that banks cannot use SHGs to recover other loans. There needs to be a regulatory ceiling on interest rates charged by Micro Finance Institutions. Financial institutions while benefiting from the labour and savings of women, must also examine ways of engendering their mainline products, and designing products that cater to the needs of marginalized women and their communities.

FREDSKORPSET INDIA PARTNER NETWORK PRESENTS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN EMERGING INDIAN ECONOMY – SILENCE TO VOICE, PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

26TH AND 27TH November 2007 AT CHRIST COLLEGE, BENGALOORU – 29

DAY II

PLENARY SESSION - "Women Making Changes in Rural Economy International and National Experiences"

Timing: 9am to 10 am

Venue: Main Auditorium

PARALLEL SESSIONS

Session I

A: Women In Emerging Economic Sector

Timing: 10:30 am to 12:30 pm

Venue: Syndicate Room - Room Number 802 (Ground Floor – Auditorium Block)

Session I

B. Changing Gender Role: From Silence To Voice

Timing: 10:30 am to 12:30 pm

Venue: Appraisal Room – Ground Floor (Auditorium Block)

Session I

C. Development and Displacement - A Gender Perspective

Timing: 10:30 to 12:30 pm

Venue: P.U Seminar Room 09 - Christ Junior College

Concluding Session

Venue: Main Auditorium - Timings: 1:30 pm to 4 pm

Day 2: 27th November 2007

Parallel Session: A: Women In Emerging Economic Sector

- 1. Mr. Gao Kuangyun (Joe)
- 2. Mr. Bijay Raj Gautam
- 3. Dr. Anita Manandhar
- 4. Ms. Linda Rose Daniels
- 5. Ms. Kitiwan Dechwayukul (White)
- 6. Ms Pakamas Piriot (Jae)
- 7. Ms. Wang Xiu
- 8. Ms. Torhild Jacobson (Tutu)
- 9. Mr. Tamil Iniya Kumar
- 10. Dr. Patricia Gabriel
- 11. Ms. Ume Salma
- 12. Ms. Suchi Sen
- 13. Mr. Vijay Kumar Madan
- 14. Dr. Chitra Srivastava
- 15. Mr. D.K. Mitra
- 16. Mr. Jerald D'souza
- 17. Mr. Gerard Rassenderan
- 18. Ms. Suniti Phadke
- 19. Ms. Brinda Adige
- 20. Ms. Clora Sudha Rani
- 21. Ms. Pampa Chowdhury
- 22. Ms. K. Meenakshi
- 23. Mr. B. Shankar Ganesh
- 24. Mr. R. Selvam
- 25. Ms. Doddapaneni Uma Devi
- 26. Ms. Pratyasha Rath
- 27. Ms. Shuhita Bhattacharjee
- 28. Ms. Devashree Bhattacharjee
- 29. Ms. Shyamali Kar
- 30. Mr. Deepak Madan
- 31. Mr. Brajesh Mohan

Day 2: 27th November 2007

Parallel Session:

B. Changing Gender Role: From Silence To Voice

- 1. Pyone Thet Thet Kyaw
- 2. Ms. Subhatra Bhumiprabhas
- 3. Ms. Gloria De Silva
- 4. Ms. Ichikeli Maru
- 5. Mr. Torb Jorn Urfjell
- 6. Helge Espe
- 7. Sacha Jotisalikorn
- 8. Ms. Saowalak Jingjungvisut
- 9. Ms. Sujata Surepally
- 10. Mr. R. Vender Vendan
- 11. Ms. S. Suja
- 12. Mr. A. Kishan Sen
- 13. Ms. Minati Adhikari
- 14. Ms. Spriha Srivastava
- 15. Mr. Prabhat Bhat
- 16. Mr. Nirmal Joseph
- 17. Prof. Sarita Krishnan
- 18. Fr. Jose P.J
- 19. Jinu Sam Jacob
- 20. Dr. Rajeshwari
- 21. Yesuputhramma
- 22. Mr. Jatkar Ujiwala
- 23. Mr. Ganesh V. Shetti
- 24. Ms. Regitha G.
- 25. Ms. Ashima Dev Burman
- 26. H. Valleyrose
- 27. Ms. Sukla Dev Mitra
- 28. Ms. Vandana Thousen
- 29. Dr. Suresh K. Srivastava
- 30. Dr. Alhla Pritam Tandon

Day 2: 27th November 2007

Parallel Session:

C. Development and Displacement – A Gender Perspective

- 1. Saythalat Khamphoui
- 2. Undarya Twmursukh
- 3. Ms. Supara Janchitfah
- 4. Mr. Dulal Chandrakar
- 5. H.E. Ms. Ann Ollestad
- 6. Mr. Knut Berglyd
- 7. Ms. Nisa Chamsuwan
- 8. Chada Radha Reddy
- 9. Vimala Stephen
- 10. Sr. Nambikai Kithari A.
- 11. Mr. Tathaaata
- 12. Ashwini N.V
- 13. Afreen S. Kittur
- 14. Geetha S. Thatra
- 15. Prof. Karkathunneisa
- 16. Francis J.
- 17. Walter Mendoza
- 18. Kalpana Kanna
- 19. Dhanavanthi Jain
- 20. N. Pankaja
- 21. Dr. A. Lalitha
- 22. Manjusha
- 23. B. Shiva Shankar
- 24. Durga Jha
- 25. Reshma Pradip Ludbe
- 26. Aryani Bannerjee
- 27. Ravinandan Singh

Development-Induced Displacement: The Class and Gender Perspective

Walter Fernandes¹

Development-induced displacement has come to stay with globalisation adding to land acquisition. Also the number of displaced (DP) or project affected persons (PAP) i.e. those deprived of livelihood without physical relocation is growing. Studies point to the impoverishment and mariginalisation of the DP/PAPs. It also has a class and gender dimention. Most DP/PAPs belong to the subaltern classes. Loss of livelihood impoverishes them further but even among them women suffer more than men do. Development-induced displacement has existed from the ancient times but became a major problem with colonialism and got intensified with post-independence planned development. Globalisation involves a greater attack on land that is the sustenance of most rural communities. To it should be added more urban displacement in the name of beautiful cities. This paper will take a look at these aspects.

1. The Situation of Displacement

This paper will begin with the British age since the present problem originated with colonialism whose objective was to turn South Asia into a supplier of capital and raw material for the British Industrial Revolution and a captive market for its finished products.

The Colonial Age

To achieve this objective already from the 19th century the colonial regime opened coal mines in Jharkhand, tea gardens in Assam, coffee plantations in Karnataka and other schemes elsewhere (Mankodi 1989: 140-143). Also legal changes were introduced to make land acquisition at a low price easy. It began with the *Permanent Settlement 1793* and culminated in the *Land Acquisition Act 1894* (LAQ) (Bora 1986: 46) that is based on the principle of the State's eminent domain. It has two facets. Firstly, all biodiversity and natural resources as well as land without individual titles belong to the State. Secondly, the State alone has the right to define a public purpose and deprive even individuals of their land (Ramanathan 1999: 19-20).

This paper will not go into its details other than to say that, colonial inputs deprived many lakhs of people of their sustenance. But most displacement by it was process-induced i.e. resulting from loss of sustenance through technological, economic and legal changes such as laws recognising only individual ownership and obstacles put in the way of the manufacturing sector in order to support British industrial products. One does not know the exact number they affected. Dadhabhai Naoroji (1988) puts it at 35 millions. It is an estimate, not the final total. But they certainly impoverished millions, particularly Dalits and tribals, most of whom got indebted and became bonded labourers or migrated as indentured labour in the plantations in the British colonies the world over. Many tribals from Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa went in slavelike conditions to work in the tea gardens of North Bengal and Assam (Sen 1979: 8-12).

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Not surprisingly revolts followed particularly in the biodiversity and mineral rich tribal areas (Singh 1985; Mackenzie 1995). The best-known non-tribal struggle against project-induced displacement is the one of Mulshi-Peta near Pune in the 1920s (Bhuskute 1997: 170-172).

The Post-Independence Age

The freedom fighters appropriated these struggles and opposed the British on this count but they had themselves internalised much of the colonial value system including the eminent domain. Thus, post-independence India has kept the thinking on development more or less unchanged and has not only retained the colonial laws but has even strengthened them to make acquisition easier. As a result, people continue to be displaced in the name of national development that involved large-scale investment in schemes like dams, industries, roads, mines and power plants. For example, according to one estimate (Nag 2002: 40) 15% of the world's large dams 1947-1979 were built in India. Today the country has over 4,000 of them. These projects brought about irreversible changes in land use and in the lives of millions of its dependants. The number of DP/PAPs has thus risen enormously so have struggles against it.

Table 1: Number of DP/PAPs of Some States Where Studies Have Been Done*

		UI DI /I AI	8 01 501	ie States	Where Studies Have Been Done*					
State/Year	1951-1995				1947-2000		1947-04	65-95	Total	
Type	Andhra	Jharkhand	Kerala	Orissa	Assam	Bengal	Gujarat	Goa	1	
Water	1865471	232968	133846	800000	448812	1723990	2378553	18680	7602320	
Industry	539877	87896	222814	158069	57732	403980	140924	3110	1614402	
Mines	100541	402882	78	300000	41200	418061	4128	4740	1271630	
Power	87387	NA	2556	NA	7400	146300	11344	0	254987	
Defence	33512	264353	1800	NA	50420	119009	2471	1255	472820	
Environmt	135754	509918	14888	107840	265409	784952	26201	300	1845262	
Transport	46671	0	151623	NA	168805	1164200	1356076	20190	2907565	
Refugees	NA	NA	0	NA	283500	500000	646	Nil	784146	
Farms	NA	NA	6161	NA	113889	110000	7142	1745	238937	
Hum Res.	NA	NA	14649	NA	90970	220000	16343	8500	350462	
Health	NA	NA	NA	NA	23292	84000	NA	1850	109142	
Admin	NA	NA	NA	NA	322906	-150000	7441	3220	483567	
Welfare	37560	0	2472	.NA	25253	720000	20470	NA	805755	
Tourism	0	0	343	0	0	0	26464	640	27447	
Urban	103310	0	1003	NA	1241	400000	85213	1750	592517	
Others	265537	50000	0	100000	18045	0	15453	840	449875	
Total	3215620	1548017	552233	1465909	1918874	6944492	4098869	66820	19810834	

^{*}Since the understanding of displacement has grown during the 15 years of the studies, Orissa has very few categories. They are more in later years. Sources: *AP*, Fernandes et al. 2001: 89; *Assam*, Fernandes & Bharali 2006: 107; *Goa*, Fernandes & Naik 2001: 55; *Gujarat*, Lobo & Kumar. 2007: 99; *Jharkhand*, Ekka & Asif 2000: 97; *Kerala*, Muricken et al. 2003: 189; *Orissa*, Fernandes & Asif 1997: 130; *Bengal*, Fernandes et al. 2006: 123

However, no official database exists on the total and type of DP/PAPs. In its absence, researchers came to a reliable database by studying development-induced displacement and deprivation in several States. In Orissa, Kerala and Jharkhand only 60% of the projects 1951-1995 were studied and in AP around 80%. When their figures are updated to 2004, the total of DP/PAPs in Jharkhand and Orissa would be 3 million each, 5 million in AP, 1 million in Kerala, 100,000 in Goa, 2 million in Assam and 7.5 million in West Bengal or a total of 27

million. Once high displacement States like Chhattisgarh and MP are studied one will probably come to an All-India figure of 60 million DP/PAPs 1947-2004 from 25 million ha including 7 million ha of forests and 6 million ha of other CPRs (Fernandes 2007: 204) (Table 1).

The class component is seen in the fact that more than half of the 25 million ha are commons in the administratively neglected "backward" areas where land can be acquired at a low price and with very little resistance. It is also seen in the type of DP/PAPs some 80% of whom are voiceless. The tribals who are 8.6% of the population are 40% of them. In Table 2 they are 29.15% of the total but 34.5% of the 16,729,392 whose caste-tribe is known. There are indications that they are 50% of the DP/PAPs of Assam and 30% of Bengal whose caste/tribe is not known. Besides, studies have not been done in MP, Chattisgarh and Maharashtra that have a big number of tribal DP/PAPs. Their caste/tribe was not got in Kerala. Its biggest projects like Idukki are in its tribal areas. So more than 10% of its DP/PAPs are bound to be tribals who are 1.3% of its population. Once all of them are counted, the tribal proportion will reach 40% (Fernandes 2007: 204). 18.96% of those whose caste-tribe is known are Dalits.

Table 2: Caste-Tribe of DP/PAPs from Some States

State	Tribals	%	Dalits	%	Others	%	NA	%	Total
Andhra	970654	30.19	628824	19.56	1467286	45.63	148856	04.63	3215620
Assam	416321	21.80	NA	NA	609015	31.90	893538	46.30	1918874
Goa	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	66820	100	66820
Gujarat	1821283	44.43	462626	11.29	1791142	43.70	23818	0.58	4098869
Jharkhand	620372	40.08	212892	13.75	676575	43.71	38178	02.47	1548017
Kerala	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	552233	100	552233
Orissa	616116	40.38	178442	11.64	671351	48.01	0	.0	1465909
W. Bengal	1330663	19.16	1689607	24.33	2566223	36.95	1357999	19.55	6944492
Total	5775409	29.15	3172391	16.01	7781592	39.28	3081442	15.55	19810834

Source: Ekka & Asif 2000: 99; Fernandes et al. 2001: 89; Fernandes & Bharali 2006: 108; Fernandes & Naik 2001; Lobo & Kumar 2007: 99; Muricken et al. 2003: 189; Fernandes & Asif 1997: 87; Fernandes et al. 2006: 91.

Since they are a big proportion of those whose caste-tribe is not known, they are at least 20% of the total. Another 20% are from the weakest of the backwards like fish and quarry workers. For example, they are a majority of the 10,000 DPs of the Sriharikota Rocket Range, 43,000 of the Simhadri Thermal plant and other coastal schemes in AP (Fernandes et al 2001: 80-81) and in Kerala like the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (Murickan et al 2003: 178-179). Since more than 50% of the land used is commons for which no compensation is paid and 80% of the DP/PAPs are voiceless some (e.g. Singh 1989: 96) ask whether it is done deliberately in order to keep the project cost down. It is also a probable reason for lack of an official database.

Resettlement and Impoverishment

The fact that 80% of the DP/PAPs are from among the rural poor may explain also poor resettlement. Orissa has resettled 35.27% of its DPs (Fernandes and Asif 1997: 135), AP 28.82% (Fernandes et al. 2001: 87), Kerala 13.8% (Murickan et al. 2003: 185-189) 1951-1995, Goa 40.78% of 1965-1995 (Fernandes and Naik 2001: 62), West Bengal 9% (Fernandes et al. 2006: 123-124) and Assam of some 10 projects (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 109) 1947-2000. Its result is impoverishment that begins with landlessness. For example, landlessness among the

Assam DP/PAPs grew from 15.56% before the project to 24.38% after it (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 188) and in AP from10.9% to 36.5% (Fernandes et al 2001: 112-113). In Orissa, among the mining displaced families, 16.7% of the tribal and 13% of the Dalit DPs became landless against 3.6% of the general castes (Pandey 1995: 180). Also the cultivated area declines, for example in Assam from an average of 3.04 acres per family to 1.45 acres and in AP from 4.2 to 2.3 acres. In other words, the DP/PAPs experience a downward mobility in their cultivator status. Most big farmers become medium, the medium farmers become small and marginal and small and marginal farmers become landless. Many of them own only homestead land. Also support mechanisms such as the number of ponds, wells, poultry, cattle and draft animals that supplement agricultural income decline (Bharali 2007).

The next step is joblessness that takes two forms. The first is lack of access to work and the second is downward occupational mobility. To begin with the first, the project that alienates from them the land that gives them work and provides them security, resettles very few of them and gives fewer jobs. For example, out of 266,500 displaced or deprived families studied in Orissa, only some 9,000 were given project jobs (Fernandes and Asif 1997: 137-139). No job was given in Goa and very few in Kerala (Murickan et al 2003: 222-223). West Bengal gave a job each to fewer than 20% of the DP/PAPs in the 1950s and very few recent ones (Fernandes et al. 2006: 201). In Assam 3 projects gave some jobs (Fernandes and Bharali 2006).

Lower access to work is the first form that the resultant joblessness takes. In AP, 83.72% of the DP/PAPs used to work on their land or elsewhere. After land loss access to work declined to 41.61% (Fernandes et al. 2001: 141). In West Bengal it declined from 91.02% to 53.18% (Fernandes et al. 2006: 203) and in Assam from 77.27% to 56.41% (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 165). Secondly, most of those who have access to work experience downward occupational mobility. For example, in AP 45% of the cultivators among the DP/PAPs became landless agricultural labourers or daily wage earners (Fernandes et al 2001: 112-113). In Assam 50% became daily wage unskilled workers (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 188).

2. Impact on Women and Children

All feel the impact of the consequent impoverishment but women and children feel it more than the others do. The lower the social stratum they belong to, the greater the impact. It takes the form of higher joblessness, greater malnutrition and deterioration in their social status. Its first impact is seen in children's lower access to schools since most DP/PAPs are subalterns.

Impact on children

Since most DP/PAPs are from the administratively neglected "backward" areas their access to education is low. It declines further after displacement and child labour grows among them because of "new poverty" resulting from loss of land and forests that are their sustenance. For example a researcher who studied the National Aluminium Plant (NALCO) at Damanjodi in the tribal majority Koraput district of Orissa claims that the literacy rate in the area has gone from 22.63% before the project to 34% after it (Kar 1991: 5). He does not mention that the rise is in the project township. Among the displaced tribals it was 18% male and 3% female and many children had been pulled out of school (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 58-59).

In some cases literacy may deteriorate even when the resettled DPs. For example, the predominantly tribal DPs of the Salandi dam in the Keonjhar district of Orissa were earlier living close to a town that had some schools, so most children were at school. They were resettled in a forest area in which they were given some land and a house but no school was built for a few years. By the time schools were built the children had lost the habit of going to school. Besides, poverty had increased among them because land allotted to them was of poor quality and they could not grow enough food and had to buy much of it. In the absence of other sources they had to turn their children into child labourers in order to earn an income (ibid: 60).

In most cases impoverishment itself forces the parents to put their children to work full time to maintain the family. By impoverishment we mean not the relative economic deprivation or poverty in which many of them lived prior to their displacement, but "new poverty" caused by the alienation of their sustenance. As stated above, it begins with landlessness and slowly turns into joblessness, loss of income, lack of access to health care and to education and into other forms of deprivation (Downing 2002: 8-9). It forces parents to pull even school going children out of it. For example, 49% of the displaced or deprived families in West Bengal (Fernandes et al. 2006: 140-141) and 56% in Assam (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 125-126) have pulled their children out of school in order to turn them into child labourers.

Such negative impact continues in other aspects too, health being one of them. All the studies show an enormous rise in water borne, malnutrition and environmental degradation related diseases among the DP/PAPs. In AP, for example, one noticed a rise of more than 100% in dysentery, malaria, tuberculosis and skin diseases (Fernandes et al. 2001: 151). While all suffer from it, the incidence of such diseases is greater among children. One can continue with other aspects such as malnutrition and the cultural impact but what has been said above should suffice to show that there is a gradation of impacts and children suffer more than adults do.

The Gender Impact among Children

Apart from the class differential mentioned above, one sees a gender differential in the negative impact both among children and adults. It is visible in children's access to school, health status and even sex-ratio. Such feminisation of poverty exists in other sectors too. For example, among former tea garden workers of Assam, the sex ratio in the 10-19 age-group is a low 739 because poverty forces teenaged girls to leave their homes for domestic work in the urban middle class families in Assam and outside (Fernandes, Barbora and Bharali 2003: 5). One notices a similar situation among the DP/PAPs. For example, even in Goa that has made much social investment and is considered socially advances one noticed a gender differential in the sex ratio and access to school among children. While the number of boys and girls in the 5-14 age groups was almost the same one noticed a sudden decline in the 0-4 age-groups of recent DPs who were not resettled, as such were impoverished. Similarly, the number of girls in the primary and middle schools was around half of that of the boys and all the girls had dropped out before high school (Fernandes and Naik 2001: 62-63).

The situation is worse in other States in which investment in the social sector is low. For example, among the NALCO DPs of Orissa the very low sex ratio of 739 among teenaged

tribal girls came as a surprise to the researchers because studies show that tribal sex ratio is high because of the higher social status of tribal women that that of her caste counterparts. As long as land and other resources continue to be community controlled, she has a say in their management and she is an economic asset unlike in the settled agriculture-based dowry-paying groups that consider her an economic liability (Menon 1995: 101). Further inquiries showed that the situation of girls at Damanjodi was similar to that of the former tea garden workers of Assam. Because of "new poverty" many families had sent their teenaged daughters out as domestic helps in the middle class families of the township (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 59-60).

Similar were the findings of the health status after the alienation of their land and other resources that sustained them. As stated above, there was greater incidence of diseases than among adults. Among them girl children suffered more than boys did. In AP, for example, the incidence of most diseases was 50% higher among girls (Fernandes et al. 2001: 151). Studies show that 60% of all child labourers are girls (e.g. Burra 1995). Among the project-displaced families of West Bengal, boys were a third and girls two thirds of the children who were pulled out of school to work for an income (Fernandes et al. 2006: 140-141).

Impact on Women

Children suffer more than adults do mainly because the mother is unable to attend to her duties as the caretaker of the family. As stated above, access to work declines after the project alienates the land that is also the foundation of the tribal woman's relatively high status. While the access of the whole family declines, that of women declines more than that of men. We have said already that, if the project gives jobs, except in women headed families they go almost exclusively to men considered heads of families. If they are rehabilitated, land is allotted to men. So domestic power passes fully to the man and from him to his son (Thekkekara 1993: 92). As a result, after displacement joblessness is higher among women than among men. But for exceptions, women who want to work have to be satisfied with unskilled daily wage labour.

It reduces women to being housewives alone depending on the man's single salary. But men spend a part of their salary on alcohol. Tribal women who are deprived of the resource that is the basis of their relatively high status, experience downward economic and social mobility. Dependence on men grows further among other women whose social status is not the same as that of the tribals (Menon 1995: 100-101). It also deprives women of the resource that met the family's food, water and other needs that are traditionally their responsibility. Their role does not change but they have fewer resources to attend to it (Ganguly Thukral and Singh 1995).

Coping Mechanisms

Moreover, forced displacement is a traumatic experience. A mode of coping with it is drunkenness. One of its results is rise in domestic violence. Both drinking and domestic violence existed before displacement but they increase enormously after displacement as a coping mechanism meant to deal with the trauma. It becomes a coping mechanism even of many women. Since they have no work, many of them spend their time gossiping or drinking as we noticed even in a rehabilitation colony in Orissa (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 153-154).

A second coping mechanism is internalisation of the dominant ideology. For example, influenced by the consumerist values that enter their area with the outsiders coming to the township, men spend much of their income on clothes and entertainment. Hence, even those who earn a higher monetary income than in the past leave women with a relatively little share of their salary to attend to their role in the family. Thus, women have to find economic alternatives in order to deal with the reality of catering to family needs with reduced resources. In the absence of other alternative many of them sell their body since that is the only asset they own. For example, in most mining towns of Jharkhand, a specific locality has emerged called "Azad Basti" (freedom shanties) where men who leave their families behind and work in the mines, come to satiate their sexual thirst. (George 2002: 17).

Besides, the project changes the economy of a village drastically. Village women who were used to a barter economy in which they played an important role have now to compete with the salaried class to buy food in the market with no control over its price. This combination of landlessness, joblessness and lack of exposure to the market economy reduces their access to food. Already before displacement, women did not have full rights over land and forests. But as long as they were community resources, they had some control over it. Displacement deprives them of this control and leaves them with very few resources to take its place. Malnutrition is one of its consequences (Bhanumathi 2002: 21-22).

Women too often internalise the dominant ideology as a coping mechanism. For example, when less food is available than in the past, many take to the dominant custom of the woman eating last after feeding the elders, men, boys and girls in that order. In case of shortages women and girls live on gruel as studies of the DP/PAP in Orissa and the Delhi slums show (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 153-155). Internalisation of this ideology continues also in the attitude towards unskilled work. As stated above, most women are forced to take up unskilled daily wage jobs since they do not have other alternatives. Some men whom the project employs as maintenance staff in their offices do not want their wives to do domestic or other unskilled work because "it is against an office worker's dignity to have his wife doing menial work". Many women internalise the ideology of their place being in the kitchen and of not being intelligent enough for skilled work (Menon 1995: 101). It closes the vicious circle against them.

3. Globalisation and the Gender Issue

The situation has deteriorated with liberalisation. With the profit motive as its main motor, the corporate sector in general and the private sector in particular, require more land. Large-scale mechanisation is integral to it. That has implications for the workers in general and women in particular.

Displacement after Globalisation

Intrinsic to the investor's profit is the demand for more land than in the past. The Centre expressed its intention to accede to this demand in the 1994 rehabilitation policy draft that began "It is expected that there will be large scale investments, both on account of internal generation of capital and increased inflow of foreign investments, thereby creating an enhanced demand for land to be provided within a shorter time-span in an increasingly competitive market ruled economic structure. Majority of our mineral resources... are located in the remote and backward areas mostly inhabited by tribals" (MRD1994: 1.1-2).

The Centre provided it legal backing through the Highways Act 1995, the SEZ Act 2005 and the attempt to change the Fifth Schedule in 2001 to make acquisition of tribal land easier. Most States too have introduced legal changes to suit this purpose. For example, Karnataka amended its Land Reforms Act in 1995 to make leasing of land possible for aquaculture and raised land ceiling to 108 acres and is planning to remove the restrictions on tenancy. Goa has amended its industrial policy to encourage investment without giving priority to employment generation (Goswami 2007). Gujarat too is contemplating changes (Lobo and Kumar 2007: 22-23).

Also the extent of land acquired or committed to private companies shows the same trend. For example, West Bengal has committed 93,994.7 ha to industries alone (Ray 2006). Orissa had used 40,000 ha for industries 1951-1995 but planned to acquire 40,000 ha more in the succeeding decade (Fernandes and Asif: 1997: 69-70). AP has acquired in 1996-2000 half as much for industry as it did in the preceding 45 years (Fernandes et al. 2001: 69-70). Goa had acquired 3.5% of its landmass 1965-1995. If all its plans go through it will acquire 7.2% of its landmass in this decade (Fernandes and Naik 2001: 37-39). Gujarat has promised land for 27 SEZs (Lobo and Kumar 2007). The private sector is eyeing mining land in Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh. Thus, there will be more displacement than in the last 60 years, much of it tribal for mining in Middle India and dams in the Northeast (IWGIA: 2004: 314).

Implications for Women

There are indications that it has negative gender implications even without displacement. An example is the well known decline in the sex ratio in the 1990s in the 0-4 cohort in Punjab, Haryana and the prosperous districts of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, attributed to greater dowry demands to satisfy the demands of consumerism (Bose 2001: 45-46). To counter it prosperous families in these areas resort to sex-specific abortions (Srivastava 2001: 184-185).

Higher land acquisition has serious implications for women since that is the resource that she requires more than men do. One is not certain that the rehabilitation policies that some States have introduced will improve their status. Most speak of a job per family or self-employment. One does not have to repeat that jobs are given mainly to men. Besides one job per family is not an alternative because after land alienation the remaining members do not have resources for self-employment. So women from the families that are excluded are bound to be doubly marginalized. Most women are involved in self-employment and production but do not control the market. So they may end up as cheap labour without much income.

Besides, mechanisation that is integral to globalisation reduces employment. Till the mid-1980s, the T. N. Singh Formula 1967 had stipulated that industries and mines give a job each to the families they displaced. Mechanisation began in the mid-1980s, so SCOPE abandoned this Formula in 1986 (MRD 1993). One can see its impact, among others, in the mining companies. Coal India (CIL) gave a job each to 11,901 (36.34%) of the 32,751 families displaced 1981-1985 (Govt of India 1985). But till 1992 immediately after mechanisation in the Upper Karanpura Valley of Jharkhand the first 5 of the 25 mines that were to have 1,00,000 DPs, gave a job each to 638 (10.18%) of the 6,265 families displaced (BJA & NBJK 1993: 36).

CIL also changed its norms for giving jobs. In what later became Mahanadi Coal Limited in Orissa, in the 1980s the norm was a job given for 3 acres of land acquired (Fernandes and Raj 1992: 33). In parts of Jharkhand it was changed to 2 acres if the person was a matriculate. Such jobs went by and large to young men from the dominant castes even in tribal majority districts since they alone had *patta* land and had access to high school education (Sherman 1993). By and large tribals as well as women from the dominant castes were excluded from them.

With traditional transport the NALCO mines in the Koraput district of Orissa activated in the late 1980s would have created 10,000 jobs and rehabilitated the 50,000 DP/PAPs of the Upper Kolab dam and 6,000 of the NALCO Plant in the same district. Their income would have created more indirect jobs. But the fully mechanised mines created some 300 skilled and semi-skilled jobs that went to outsiders since its predominantly tribal PAPs lacked the skills they required (Pattanaik and Panda 1992). According to a calculation the first 400,000 acres of the SEZs that are integral to liberalisation will create 500,000 jobs with an investment of Rs 100,000 crores i.e. at Rs 20 lakhs per job. Studies indicate that in India an acre provides 2 jobs. Thus, 300,000 out of the 800,000 jobs will be lost. Besides, most of their cultivators lack the skills these jobs require and they will be rendered jobless (Thakur 2007).

The impact of fewer jobs on women is obvious. In the past too, those who wanted to work could take up low paid unskilled employment. But they got at least food for their survival. Even that possibility disappears with mechanisation. For example, the proportion of women in the coal sector has come down from 30-40% in the 1970s to around 12% today (Bhanumathi 2002: 21). Even in the past, very few women could hope for technical training when the project offered it to the displaced since high school studies required for it were accessible mostly to boys, not even girls from the high castes (Sherman 1993). In exceptional cases as at Bhilai, some women had permanent jobs in the past while their husbands were daily or temporary workers. When mechanisation reduced jobs, one witnessed frequent cases of the project luring the man to a distant place with the offer of a permanent job. The woman was thus compelled to give up her permanent job "voluntarily," and accompany her husband (Sen 1992: 392-394).

Conclusion

This bird's eye view of development-induced displacement from a class-caste-gender perspective shows that Indian society is divided on a ladder of class, caste, habitat and gender. The lower one is on that ladder, the greater the negative impact of changes introduced in their lives without their consent. Most DP/PAPs feel the negative impact of displacement but Dalits and tribals feel it more than the others do and women among them are the worst affected. They are deprived of the resources that were basic to their survival and are denied access to education, health services and nutrition. It forces them to deny their children right to childhood and to a decent adulthood. Women are deprived of the little autonomy they had. Development cannot be real till such failures are remedied and its benefits reach those who pay its price.

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GENDER BUDGETING IN INDIA

Gender Budgeting, a relatively new concept, aims at bringing in gender equality in the allocation of public funds through recognition and identification of its implications for women in a country. In budget 2005-06, the union government for the first time included a statement on gender budgeting, which presented the magnitude of allocations for various programmes/schemes under the 10 demands for grants that were expected to benefit women substantially. The total allocations included in the gender budgeting statement constituted about 2.8% of the total expenditure. With budget 2006-07, this gender budgeting exercise has been expanded to cover 24 demands for grants under 18 ministries/departments of the union government and five union territories. The total magnitude of the gender budget has now gone up to 4.67% of the total in the 2005-06 budget estimates. And the total magnitude of gender budget shows a rise in 5.1% of the total in the budget estimate for 2006-07. The 2007-08 budget mentions the growing awareness of sensitivities of budgetary allocations. According to the latest figures, 50 ministries/departments have set up gender budgeting cells. For ministries/departments and 5 Union Territories covering 33 demands for grants have contributed to a statement placed in the budget papers.

But the disappointing part is that even when you ask any person about gender budgeting they look at you with hundreds of questions on their faces as if they just saw a ghost. People today are simply not aware of what the concept of gender budgeting offers. I wish to trace the meaning of gender budgeting as suggested by the government and bring out a comparative analysis between the concept and the actual reality.

Before I move on to the Indian context, a brief background to the origin on gender budgeting is required. Gender Responsive Budget Initiatives (GBRI) is an outcome of a collaborative effort of the United Nations Development Research Centre, Canada. Gender Budgeting is now practiced by many countries with an objective to support government and civil society in examining national, regional and local budgets from a gender perspective and applying the study results for the formulation of a gender responsive budgets. The ultimate slated goal of gender budgeting in any country, therefore, is to bring gender equality in the allocation of public funds and to enhance women's participation in the decision making processes that shape their lives. The first country to adopt gender budgeting was Australia in 1984. Since then gender budgeting has become a part and parcel of the budgetary processes in many countries.

The inclusion of gender budget in the union budget is a rather promising development and women's activism needs to be given a lot of credit for it. The demand for a gender budget is not a demand for a separate budget for women, rather, an attempt at dissecting the budget for its gender specific impact since gender-based differences and discrimination are built into the entire social-economic-political fabric of almost all societies. Here, the aim is to ensure a fair, just and efficient distribution of public resources for the all round development of the society. A gender neutral or gender blind national budget ignores the different, socially determined roles and responsibilities of men and women and is bound to reach and benefit the men more than the women unless concerted efforts are made to correct gender-based discrimination. The gender budgeting statement presented in the budget provisions for programmes/schemes that are substantially meant for the benefit of women in two parts (Part A & Part B). While Part A presents 100 per cent women specific programmes and Part B presents women-specific budget provisions under schemes where such allocations constitute at least 30 percent of the total provisions.

When we talk of gender equality in India, we should not forget that even the India Constitution envisages certain provisions that are very much committed to gender equality.

- Article 14 Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social sphere.
- Article 15 Prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex
- Article 15(3) Enables in affirmative discrimination in favour of women.
- Article 39 Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
- Article 42 Just and Humane conditions of work & maternity relief.
- Article 51(A) (e) Fundamental duty to renounce practices, derogatory to dignity of women.

PROVISIONS IN THE FIVE YEAR PLANS:-

The plan documents over the years reflected the evolving trends in gender matters. Formal earmarking of the funds began with the Women's Component Plan. However, gender sensitivity in allocation of resources with the seventh plan in 1985.

- The Seventh Plan (1985-1989) introduced the concept of monitoring of 27 beneficiary oriented schemes for women by DWCD. The exercise continues and the number of schemes is being expanded.
- The Eighth Plan (1992-1997) highlighted for the first time a gender perspective and the need to ensure a definite flow of funds from the general developmental sectors to women. The plan document expresses that the benefits to development from different sectors should not bypass women and special programmes on women should complement the general development programmes.
- The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) adopted the "Women's Component Plan" as one of the major strategies and directed both the central and the state governments to ensure not less than 30% of the funds/benefited are earmarked in all the women's related sectors.
- The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) under the UPA government reinforces commitment to gender budgeting to establish its gender differential impact and to translate gender commitments into budgetary commitments. The Common Minimum Program (CMP) of the UPA government also promises to work towards gender equality and to eradicate all sorts of discrimination prevailing on the basis of sex in the country.
- The Eleventh Plan (2007-2012): The Approach Paper to the Eleventh Five Year Plan mentions "Gender Equity requires adequate provisions to be made in policies and schemes across Ministries and Departments. It also entails 'strict adherence to gender budgeting across the board '. The government has also constituted a committee of "feminist" economists to ensure gender-sensitive allocation of public resources in the 11th five-year plan. The 21-member group, headed by Syeda Hamid, member, Planning Commission, includes well known "feminist" economists in order to promote gender equality and more inclusive growth.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development as the nodal ministry for the welfare, development and empowerment of women has taken many initiatives to conceptualize strategies and develop tools of Gender Budgeting and disseminate them at all strata. It has been stressed from time to time by the government that gender budgeting is a process that entails maintaining a gender perspective at various stages like programme/policy formulation, assessment of needs of target groups, review of extant policies and guidelines, allocation of resources, implementation of programmes, impact assessment, reorganization of resources and so on. A gender sensitive budget is a culmination of this process. As the nodal department, the Ministry of Women and Child Development has been undertaking advocacy in support of gender mainstreaming and pursuing dissemination of concepts and tools of gender.

GENDER BUDGETING CELLS:-

In pursuance to the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee set up under the Chairmanship of Secretary (Expenditure) to consider issues regarding gender budgeting, the Department has established a "Gender Budgeting Cell". The Gender Budgeting Committee has been entrusted with several responsibilities. Firstly, to make an assessment of the benefits reaching women through the existing programmes and schemes of the Department. The assessment is to be reflected in the annual report of the Department. The assessment is to be reflected to come up with specific schemes targeted towards women. Also it is to clearly bring out scheme-wise provisions and physical targets for benefiting women in the Annual Plan and Performance Budget of the Department. And lastly, it is to provide inputs for the detailed demands for grants for the financial year.

The GBC also acts as a nodal agency for all gender responsive budgeting initiatives. It guides and undertakes collection of gender disaggregated data for target group of beneficiaries covered under expenditure, revenue raising/policy and so on. GBC has to guide gender budgeting initiatives within departments as well as in the field units responsible for implementing government programmes. Presently 42 Gender Budgeting Cells have been set up in the various departments and ministries.

With this background, we may proceed to examine Gender Budgeting as a "tool" for women's empowerment. The starting point would logically be looking at the constituents of "Women's Empowerment". These are defined in the 10th Plan document quoted below: -

- Social Empowerment to create an enabling environment through various affirmative
 developmental policies and programmes for development of women besides providing
 them easy and equal access to all the basic minimum services so as to enable them to
 realize their full potentials.
- Economic Empowerment to ensure provision of training, employment and income generation activities with both 'forward' and 'backward' linkages with the ultimate objective of making all potential women economically independent and self reliant.
- Gender Justice to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and thus, allow women to enjoy not only the de-jure but also the de-facto rights and fundamental freedom on par with men in all spheres, viz. political, economic, social, civil, cultural etc.

GENDER BUDGETING TOOLS:-

A) Quantum and trend analysis of gender based resource allocation and expenditure

The term gender budgeting by its very definition and nomenclature has underpinnings in financial resource allocations and thus most of the gender budgeting exercises focus on quantitative resource allocation for women, under gender specific and pro women categories of public expenditure. It is no doubt necessary to get a macro position on trend of allocation for women. However this approach has several limitations as a means of empowering women. Some of these are listed below:

- a) How do we judge the adequacy of allocation without the availability of a benchmark based on assessed gap in availability of public facilities? The general concern expressed is when women are under 50 % of the pop why should public expenditure on women be less than 5% of the Budget? There is no apparent rationale behind a WCP of 30% and that too only in the social sector's budget? Why not 50% or 75%?
- b) The overall size of allocation also obfuscates details like actual utilization of expenditure by women. Core issues like design of programme and its effectiveness from the gender perspective, too many small interventions, barriers to access etc, remain opaque in macro level analysis of quantitative allocation for women.
- c) A rising trend in allocation of funds for women does not necessarily translate into enhanced benefits or wider coverage. The rise in allocation may just cover enhanced cost of delivery of services with no increase in quantity of services or even quality.
- d) The tendency is to analyze expenditure of each level of Government in isolation. For example gender analysis of Union budgets is carried out without linking state expenditure. In the federal setup this gives an incomplete picture. Any comment on say expenditure on health for women is incomplete if we look at the Government of India Budget or State Budgets in isolation. Both have to be seen to get the complete picture.
- e) Without availability of gender-disaggregated data it is difficult to comment upon the true position of incidence of public expenditure from a gender perspective.

B) Gender Audit of sectors like Education, Agriculture, Health, Industry etc.

Many gender budgeting studies have presented gender profiles of sectors like health, education, agriculture, employment and so on at a national or state level. This is certainly a more effective mechanism than the first approach based on quantification of resources. However in most of these studies, the issues raised are deficiencies in design and/or implementation of programmes, based on field level surveys. Little attempt has been made to **benchmark** the scale of resources required to empower women meaningfully, based on adequate availability of resources and reliability of services. Another limitation is that this approach does not recognize the need for holistic empowerment of women. Can we address women's empowerment in isolation on a sectoral basis? If she has access to a Primary Health Centre but no income to feed herself and is debt ridden due to lack of adequate sustainable income, would we say she is empowered? Effective improvement in health for women requires not only access to a medical centre but also transport (road), employment (food), water and sanitation and so on. A sectoral approach is thus unidimensional when rated as an empowerment tool.

C) Gender audit based on position reflected by gender related Macro indicators.

Status and trends of certain gender related macro indices-MMR, Women's access to health, literacy rates, participation in PRI, employment statistics etc.- are quoted as proxy indicators for level of women's empowerment. Adverse gender indices are cited as justification for enhancement in quantum of allocation. However, this approach again is constrained in that there is no benchmarking of the quantum of allocation required to achieve the targeted improvement in these indices. Thus the effectiveness of this approach is questionable. Further, these are but averages. They require a reality check in terms of regional imbalances, class based differentials, gross inequalities and so on. These indices also do not address issues of availability and access. For example, if say, coverage of water & sanitation facilities is said to be universal for all habitations. Is this true of all areas in desired quantum and quality? Coverage has to be seen against an acceptable yardstick for availability and reliability of service. These indices are also found wanting on the scale of holistic empowerment. Planning for improvement in MMR cannot be done by merely addressing provision of health facilities. This has to go in tandem with education, adequate water sanitation, nutrition and roads for emergency situations. If a health infrastructure is created, manning it effectively may require basic infrastructure like water, sanitation, roads and electricity. A single macro indicator may thus not serve the purpose.

D) Women's participation in gender budgeting through Fiscal Decentralization and local level institutions.

This could prima facie be an ideal solution that would take into account field level requirements of women and with participation of women in planning and implementation, outcome achievement is more likely. However, desirable as it is, we have to recognize the constraints in the current context.

a) The biggest constraint is limited financial devolution.

The structure of public finances and expenditure in India is a multi tiered one and resources flow to the field through several layers of administrations and through a variety of modes- Centrally Sponsored, Central Sector, State sector, Additional Central Assistance and so on. The net result is that very little devolution of financial powers rests with the local level administrations. Further schematic designs and conditionalities leave them with virtually no flexibility. Accountability too is diffused. These problems are faced even in some of the states that are upheld as best models. In a study commissioned by World Bank "India- Fiscal Decentralization to Rural Governments", some key findings based upon studies in Kerala and Karnataka, indicate:-

- Inter-governmental relations are mostly hierarchical. The design and implementation of the decentralization program are a state government responsibility. However, implementation of key aspects of the programme is lagging. Districts and blocks have no taxing powers and little expenditure autonomy. Both in Karnataka and Kerala, they more or less function as spending agents of higher-level governments.
- II) Both States have weak, outdated and poorly functioning financial management systems that debilitate the policy making and planning process, as well as the management and accountability of the decentralized system. In the absence of reliable information on the revenues and expenditures of local bodies, neither the States nor the Centre can lead a reasonable fiscal decentralization programme.
- III) An important lesson learned in these case studies is that one necessary condition for a well functioning system of fiscal decentralization is a healthy State financial position. Because the Constitutional Amendment defined decentralization to be a State subject, until State Governments can improve their deficit position, local governments can

expect continued under-funding of their present grant entitlements, resistance to new program development, and hesitation to assign more own source revenues to local governments.

b) Another constraint is the limited effective participation of women in field level planning and implementation.

Women's participation in local administration is constitutionally provided. However the effective impact would require immense capacity building and overcoming socio-economic barriers. Field level studies conducted in Karnataka indicate a few problems like Elected women representatives (EWR s) in PRI s are not well endowed or trained in technicalities of budgeting even though they may be aware of their needs at the local level like water, sanitation, security etc. They are not always given an equal opportunity to express themselves or impose the perceived requirements of women.

E) Identification and promotion of Gender Audit based best practices -

There are abundant instances of best practices in the realm of gender empowerment. Projects have been taken up to successfully demonstrate the strength women draw in collectivity- self-help group schemes and cooperatives etc. There are also projects reflecting the potential for women in skill upgradation, micro credit based entrepreneurship etc. However, most of these efforts are not taken to scale in a universal manner. The best practices tend to be project and culture specific. National level applicability often poses problems.

F) Reliance on women specific schemes

Women-specific schemes are devised for nutrition, education, vocational training and so on. These are no doubt critical in the empowerment process. However, these tend to be unidimensional in focus and do not serve as a tool for holistic empowerment.

G) Reliance on Convergence of interventions.-

Given the multitude of schemes and programmes for women, spread across various Departments and Ministries of the Government, one approach towards empowerment of women is seeking to converge these interventions, mostly through self help groups (SHG s) or women cooperatives. This could prove an effective empowerment approach and also finds support in the 10th Plan documents.

ROLE OF SELF HELP GROUPS (SHG'S):-

The SHG is an association of people belonging to similar socio-economic characteristics, residing in same locality. The SHG's are voluntary associations of people formed to attain some common goals. These are groups which have similar social identity, heritage, caste or traditional occupations and come together for a common cause and manage resources for the benefit of the group members. The SHG is a group of rural poor who have volunteers to organize themselves into a group for eradication of poverty of its members. They agree to save regularly and convert their savings into a common fund and such other funds that may receive as a group through a common management. SHG's are presently promoted by governments, development banks and voluntary agencies, with focus on social and economic issues, mainly thrift and credit programmes.

The SHG have given a new lease of life to the women in villages for their social and economic empowerment. The main focus of activity of the SHG's is to generate savings for income generating projects in the village. The seed capital is provided by UNDP. This has pioneered a unique participatory method for the identification of ventures as well as beneficiaries

at the grassroots level in the spirit of planning from below. Although the entry point of the project is mainly credits and savings, the SHG's benefit the people in every aspect of life in a village community. Enabling women to help themselves through entrepreneurship, it raises their sense of self worth, making them even more eager to be productive members of society. These benefits indicate the worthiness and viability of assisting entrepreneurial women in the developing world, though multiple challenges still exist.

CRITICISMS:-

However, the point being made here is that this gender budgeting exercise is based on numerous assumptions relating to the proportion of allocations under a scheme that directly benefits women. Several of these assumptions seem unrealistic and such unacceptable assumptions weaken the relevance of this particular gender budgeting exercise. One can take many examples to prove the unrealistic pattern of this concept. Like the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme is targeted at all children up to six years of age and also includes pregnant women and nursing mothers, as beneficiaries. Hence, inclusion of 100 per cent allocations under ICDS as women specific is not justifiable, although a lesser proportion would have been. Likewise, many of the schemes for children are meant both for boys and girls; including 100 per cent allocations under these child specific schemes as women-specific is problematic.

The entire allocations for Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) have also been included as women-specific, apparently because the houses built are registered in the name of women members. However, the houses built benefit men and women equally and hence should not be seen as solely for the benefit of women. Moreover, the guidelines provided in the Indira Awas Yojana also have a provision for allotting houses in the name of both husband and wife, and in cases where there is no eligible female member in the family available/alive, IAY houses can also be allotted to male members. Thus, including 100 percent allocations under Indira Awas Yojana as women-specific is questionable. According to the gender budget statement, almost 65 per cent of total budget provisions under the department of health and family welfare are meant substantially for the benefit of women. This seems unrealistic and needs to be looked at carefully.

It is quite disturbing to note that in the 2006-07 BE, the entire (i.e., 100 per cent) allocations for Safdarjung Hospital, Vardhaman Mahavir Medical College and AIIMS (all three are in New Delhi), under the department of health and family welfare, have been included as the women-specific allocations in the gender budget. It must be noted here that it might have been the intention of the government to include in the gender budget statement only the allocations for gynecology and obstetrics out of the total allocations for these institutions, but if that is the case the total allocations for these institutions are unrealistic figures which must be rectified by the government.

Entire (100 per cent) allocations for Nehru Yuva Kendra and Promotion of national Integration under ministry of youth affairs and sports have been included as women-specific, which could imply an assumption that welfare of children is the sole responsibility of women. The government must explain on what basis they have included almost the entire allocations under the department of women and child development as women-specific.

The gender budget exercise thus presents problems at several levels. First and foremost, the total magnitude of gender budget of 5.1% is low in itself. Budget 2006-07 revealed that women are low in priority in the allocation of resources by the government in many crucial sectors, like rural development, secondary and higher education and police, etc, which need to be

stepped up significantly. Moreover, the assumptions that have been made in arriving even at this meager figure are highly problematic and need to be challenged. On one hand, some of these assumptions are clearly wrong, for instance, putting 100 per cent allocations for Nehru Yuva Kendra and promotion of national integration under ministry of youth affairs and sports in the gender budget. On the other hand, other assumptions are deeply patriarchal, for instance, the assumption that anything that has to do with children, anything that has to do with contraception and family planning is for the exclusive benefit of women. The eternal clubbing of women and children as one category by the policy-makers in India should end, and the specific needs of these two sections of the population must be addressed distinctly. And, unless the misleading assumptions are rectified, the relevance of gender budgeting attempted by the government will be diluted.

CONCLUSION:-

However, it cannot be denied that Gender Budgeting Initiatives is an attempt to give women "agency: i.e., the power, the place in the structure of governance that enables them to direct the local and the macro economy to serve their choices. This will enable women to direct the economy in a space where they can do so. Thus we should appreciate the fact that at least an effort has been made for which the credit goes to women's activism and NGO's like National Commission for Women who submitted an 111 page draft of demands relating to Gender Budgeting to the government. The need today is to empower the women and not confine her to the traditional roles assigned to her since the time immemorial. Today, the need is not to create a revolution but to make people understand the concept of "Gender Equality" which in the context of present day India seems to be a myth!!

References:-

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- Eighth Five Year Plan Document (1992-1997), Planning Commission, Government of India
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- Approach Paper to Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012), Planning Commission, Government of India.
- Union budget 2006-07, (www.indiabudget.nic.in)
- Union Budget 2007-08 (www.indiabudget.nic.in)
- Nirmala Banerjee and Maithreyi Krishnaraj: "Sieving Budgets for Gender", Economic and political Weekly, October 30, 2004.
- Subrat Das and Yamini Mishra: "Women's Component Plan and Gender Budgeting in India: Still a Long Way to Go!, Yojana, Vol. 50, October 2006.
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Women's Health - urban India

Women in Emerging Indian
Economy-Silence to Voice: Problems
and Possibilities

26th November, 2007

Community Health Cell Bangalore

Framework of discussion

- Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease. *WHO*,1948
- Health is a human right "Primary Health care approach" Alma Ata Declaration, 1978
- Globalization led Structural Adjustment –
 Decreasing state responsibility in health
 Private sector-curative health care
 Dismantling of public health services

Women's ill health

 Maternal mortality – risk of death of women is highest during the child bearing years due to pregnancy and delivery related causes.

Biological Causes – toxemia, hemorrhage, infection, obstructed labour.....
What are the reasons leading to or precipitating maternal mortality?

Maternal mortality

- Poor nutritional status
 - Chronic undernourishment
 - Anemia at the time of marriage and child bearing
- Discrimination of girl at the household and in the society (access to food in a poor household!)
- Overwork household work and engaged in other work – Inadequate food intake

Maternal mortality

- Unable to access to affordable and quality obstetric and medical care
 - Health services- Absent / Not equipped
- Lack of power in choosing to become pregnant or seek abortion or space pregnancies
- Forced to prioritize others' needs over her needs

Maternal Mortality

- No maternity benefits in the workplace
- Frequent childbirth, early age at childbirth poor health status of women
- Poor Educational status of women
- Lack of sensitive health services and health programmes – Women's health has always been Reproductive and Child Health!!

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No. 326, V Main, I Block Koramangala, Bangalore - 560 034.

STATEMENT OF AFFAIRS AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER 2006 CONSOLIDATION

LIABILITIES	SCHEDULE	AMOUNT	AMOUNT	ASSETS	SCHEDULE	AMOUNT	AMOUNT
N. 100 (100 (100 (100 (100 (100 (100 (100	CONTRACTOR PROPERTY OF THE	Rs.	Rs.			Rs.	Rs.
CORPUS FUND			323,255.30	FIXED ASSETS			
				As per Schedule	V		411,200.91
FUNDS CARRIED OVER	1						
Depreciation Fund		1,214,576.80	-	SUNDRY DEBTORS			
General		1,207,406.36	2,421,983.16	Loans and Advances	l vi l	•	54,159.09
The same of the sa		.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	5.00 0000 1.0 0000 0 0 0	PHM - SECRETARIAT	22.5		2
PROJECTS CARRY OVER				PHM - Secretariat (OWA)		229,157.43	
Mitanin Evaluation / SHRC	_	99,635.00		PHA 2 Health Asembly (OWA)		686,188.73	915,346.16
Tsunami - Misereor		444,065.80					
CH Fellowsip Scheme (SRTT)	iii	439,767.25	983,468.05				
or removalp deficitie (dix r)		400,7 02.20		INTEREST ACCRUED			29,694.62
PROVISIONS				III I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I			20,004.02
Provision for Gratuity	l IV		614,996.00	DEPOSITS			
Provision for Graculty	''		014,550.00	CHC - Rental Deposit		155,000.00	
SUNDRY CREDITORS				Electricity Deposit		880.00	
Staff deduction - PT			200.00	Telephone Deposit		2,280.00	158,160.00
Staff deduction - PT			200.00	relephone Deposit	1	2,280.00	136, 160.00
				CACH AND DANK DALANCES			
				CASH AND BANK BALANCES		44 407 40	
				Cash on Hand		14,493.40	
				Cash at Bank		245,571.03	
				Fixed Deposits - Funds		895,157.30	
				Fixed Deposits - Others		1,620,120.00	2,775,341.73
TOTALS			4,343,902.51	TOTALS			4,343,902.51

Place: Bangalore

Date:

EXAMINED AND FOUND CORRECT for M. MARULASIDDIAH & CO.,

(M. MARULASIDDIAH)
PROPRIETOR

Women's health

- We have to address the socioeconomic,political,gender dimensions that determine health status
- Medical needs other than reproductive role have to be catered – Nutrition
- We need to create enabling conditions for women to realize their Reproductive rights
- We need to free women from the systemic Gender based Violence in their lives

Urban India

- Contributes to economic growth 2/3rd of GDP and 90% of government revenues
- Rapid expansion –unplanned (slums constitute 1/4th of urban housing)
- Inadequate infrastructure (eg. sanitation) and crucial deficiencies in services (eg. water)
- · Deteriorating environment

Context of Urban Poverty

- · Urban Poor- reflection of rural poverty
- Identity crisis Unrecognized settlements, lack documents of citizenship,
- Unaccounted people Ignored in resource allocation
- Socialization is stressful urban perils of corruption,no land rights,no social security,isolation
- · Hazardous, unorganized occupations
- · Urbanization slum eviction and demolition

Women in Urban India

Determinants of their health status

- 1. Poverty
- 2. Malnutrition
- 3. Overcrowding
- 4. Lack of basic sanitation
- 5. Lack of potable water and water for other uses
- 6. Inadequate housing
- 7. Gender roles and norms double burden of work

Women in urban India

- 7. Domestic violence
- 8. Desertion women headed families
- 9. Harassment at workplace
- 10.No financial or social security
- 11.Psychologically stressed
- 12.Lack of power in the larger societal structures
- 13.Lack of affordable and quality health care

Social status of women

- Violence against women: Ever married women who have experienced spousal violence urban- 30.4%, rural –40.2%
- Currently married women who usually participate in household decisions: urban-61.4% rural- 48.5 %
 (National Family Health Survey – 3 2005-06)

Indicators of Women's health status – NFHS- 3 (2005-06)

Demographic Indicators	Urban %	Rural %
1.Women married by age 18	28	52.5
2.Total fertility rate (children per woman)	2.07	2.98
3.Median age at first birth for women 25-49	20.9	19.3

Maternal Health –NFHS 3	Urban %	Rural %
Mother who had 3 antenatal visits in the last birth	73.8	42.8
2.Mothers who consumed IFA for 90 days or more when they were pregnant with their last child	34.5	18.1
3.Births assisted by a skilled birth attendant	75.2	39.1
4. Institutional births	69.4	31.1

Nutritional status of women NFHS-3 (2005-06)	Urban %	Rura I %
Nomen with Body Mass Index below normal	19.8	38.8
2.Women who are overweight or obese	28.9	8.6
3.Ever married 15-49 women – anemic	51.5	58.2
4.Pregnant women 15-49 - anemic	54.6	59

Urban Health Services

- Family welfare bureaus
- · Urban Family Welfare Centres
- Urban Health posts
- Maternity Homes
- Tertiary referral centres

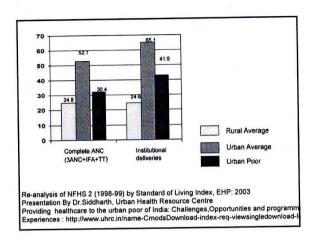
Lacking in Preventive and Primary
Health care services

Status of Health Care services

- One urban health centre for every 230,000 persons, where as there should be one for every 50,000 (recommendation of Krishnan committee report ,1982)
- The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) covers only a sixth of the urban poor.
 (Rajalakshmi TK. Urban Crisis.Frontline 24(9):May 5-18,2007)

Status of Health Care services

State	Govt. I	ated in Hospital 1000)	Per capita Public expenditure
	Rural	Urban	on health (Rs.)
Karnataka	458	298	54
India	453	431	70



Women, Work and Health

- Globalization, Liberalization Change in workforce composition –more women
- Major share manufacturing and services
- Probably –women get recognition and remuneration,improvement in the relative bargaining power within households
- Double burden of both inside and outside work

Pattern of women's employment

- Increase in self-employed (increase in domestic services,home based activities to cater to the manufacturing industry)
- Poor wages, poor work conditions
- Assembly line production, hazardous industry
- Much of women's work –remains unpaid Unpaid activities was more for females (51%) as compared to men (33%) [Time use survey -CSO 2000]

Health effects -Women workers

- Bottle washer- Severe pain in hands, unable to lift hands; Risk of injuries when bottle breaks
- Pharma- capsule filling Injuries in hands while handling tablet strips
- Leather Constant itching in hands and legs
- Salt skin itching,blurring of vision, dysentery and stomach ache
- Garment Sneezing, Cough; Headache; Hip & Back pain

The costs of work:Social transformation and perceptions of health in a region of transition: A study of Chengalpattu,TamilNadu. Jeyarajan J,Swaminathan P 2000.

Health effects -Women workers

- Constant smell-Nausea and Loss of appetite
- Acidity-stomach upset and Giddiness- Come to work skipping breakfast
- · Psychological stress -
- Target oriented work
- Work allocation
- Harassment by male supervisors- subtle
- Burden of household work

Health effects -Women workers

- Lack of protective gear absent /misfit
- · Strict supervision and no rest allowed
- · Absenteeism during menstrual cycles
- No maternal health care- casual/contract workers
- No appropriate health care to solve the occupation induced problems

Health effects - Macro Concerns

- Repetitive movements musculoskeletal problems- aches and pains
- Small forces exerted repeatedly No ergonomic standards set
- Postural constraints in both heavy work and light work – no ergonomic standards
- Injuries
- Psychological and physical Stress is never accounted in health interventions

Women's health issues-Neglected

- Women are never recognized as "Workers"
- Perception that women's complaints are psychological
- Use of inappropriate scientific methods to measure illness
- Lack of organization of workers

Initiatives

- In 2004- Guidelines for health projects in slums by the Centre
- Urban Health Task Force (UHTF) of the National Rural Health Mission has submitted its report on improving Urban Health Care
- JNNURM promised opportunities for health infrastructure and basic services to the poor -USAID, World Bank funded project with public-private partnership, privatization of services (Delhi-water), Construction - change in laws, simplifying conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes.

Recommendations-UHTF

- Urban Health should receive priority and dedicated attention by all levels of the government
- Need a long term view and perspective planning to address the issues in a comprehensive, systematic and time-bound manner
- Specifically target the urban vulnerable population

Recommendations-UHTF

- Reorganization of the health centres
 Urban health Centre for 50000 population
 First referral unit for 250000 population
- Create Link workers
- Primary UH infrastructure be maintained by the urban local body

Civil society reflections and Initiatives

- People's Health Movement Women's Health Charter
- National Health Assembly March 2007
- Women's health NGOs and other civil society organizations

Vimochana, Garment workers' union – Bangalore

Dilassa ,Mumbai

SAMA, Delhi MASUM, Pune SAHAJ, Baroda

PHM's demands for Urban Health

- Rural development
- Habitation housing,water,sanitation
- Recognize existence of slums
- · Urban health infrastructure
- Intersectoral committee for public health
- Integration of vertical programmes (such as Tb,HIV/AIDS) with the primary health care system
- Strengthen primary health care in urban areas