Employment

Chapter 2 noted tremendous inequality in the economic well-being of households and observed that much of this inequality is associated with sources of livelihoods. Households that rely only on agriculture are considerably poorer than those in which some members have a steady salaried job. Chapter 3 amplified this theme by documenting low average agricultural incomes for farmers. In this chapter, we focus on employment and examine the characteristics of workers who are able to obtain non-farm jobs and the nature of their work.

A focus on employment is particularly important in the context of rapid changes in the Indian economy in which rewards to formal sector work have rapidly outstripped rewards to other activities. For a barely literate manual worker, a monthly salaried job as a waiter in a roadside restaurant is far more remunerative, on an average, than seasonal agricultural work. However, if the same worker is able to find a job as a waiter in a government run canteen or cafe, his salary will most likely outstrip his earnings in a privately owned cafe. Two forces are at work here. First, movements from agricultural work to non-farm regular employment increase income by reducing underemployment. Second, employment in government or the public sector further boosts salaries. This chapter will explore some of these processes.

Another important theme of this chapter is gender differences in employment. Women are less likely to participate in the work force than men. When women work, they are largely concentrated in agriculture and the care of the livestock. Even when they engage in wage work, they work fewer days per year and at a considerably lower pay than men. Even education fails to bridge the gender gap in labour

force participation. Educated women seem to be *less* likely to be employed than their less educated sisters. The progressive decline in labour force participation with higher levels of education stops only at college graduation. However, college graduates form a very small segment of the female population.

Finally, regional inequalities in employment are pervasive. Both employment opportunities and wage rates vary dramatically by state. In some cases, state variations in employment mirror state development levels. There are informative exceptions in the hill states for rural non-farm work that demonstrate the potential for combining agricultural and non-agricultural employment. And the vast statewise variations in gender inequalities in employment are not at all related to state levels of development.

MEASURING EMPLOYMENT

This chapter exploits several special features of the IHDS. As already noted, the IHDS is one of the rare surveys in India to collect information on income as well as employment. The survey questions began by asking about different sources of household income. They then immediately asked which household members participated in each of those work activities and the level of their participation. For example, the IHDS asked whether the household owned any animals and, if so, who took care of these animals. Whether the household engaged in farming or gardening in the past year and, if so, who worked on these farms, and how many days and hours they worked. Whether any members of the household worked for payment, in cash or kind, and details about the work. Whether the household owned or operated a

small or large business, and if so, the names of the household members who participated and the days and hours of work in the past year. Interviewers were specially trained to ask about the participation of women and children as well as adult men in each of these activities. This combination of information from different streams of activity draws a holistic picture of the work undertaken by all individuals in the household in the preceding year.

The IHDS line of questioning provides results that are broadly similar, although not identical, to the work participation rates given by the 'usual status' employment questions used by the NSS or Census. The most important exception is that the IHDS questions on caring for livestock yield higher rates of rural female labour force participation. A second definitional difference is how the IHDS and NSS exclude work undertaken for fewer than thirty days. Under the IHDS definition, those working two hours per day would have to work 120 days in a year to be considered employed, while those working four hours per day would need to work sixty days. This definitional difference leads to a slight reduction in work participation rates using the IHDS definition.¹

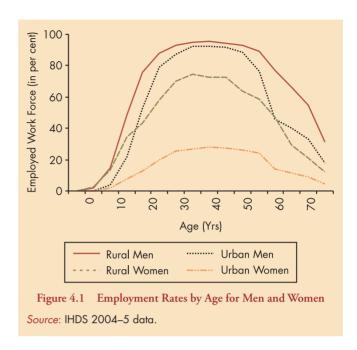
WORK FORCE PARTICIPATION

People are considered working if they were engaged for at least 240 hours during the preceding year in one or more gainful activities. Those working in household farms or businesses, or for a wage or salary are considered as workers. Additionally, persons who usually take care of animals are counted as workers. Tables A.4.1a and A.4.1b present these employment rates for different population groups and states.

The most striking differences in employment are those by age and sex (see Figure 4.1).

For both men and women, employment rates increase with age in the early part of the life cycle, although they increase somewhat later in urban areas, where an increasing number of adolescents stay in school. After age sixty employment rates decline for all groups, with the largest decline for urban men, who often face compulsory retirement from formal sector jobs between the ages of fifty-five and sixty. Nevertheless, work participation rates between ages sixty to sixty-four are high, at nearly 77 per cent among rural men, a theme explored in more detail in Chapter 9. Child labour is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

The striking difference between men and women is also evident in Figure 4.1. Most males work, the exception being boys and young men in school, or just entering the labour



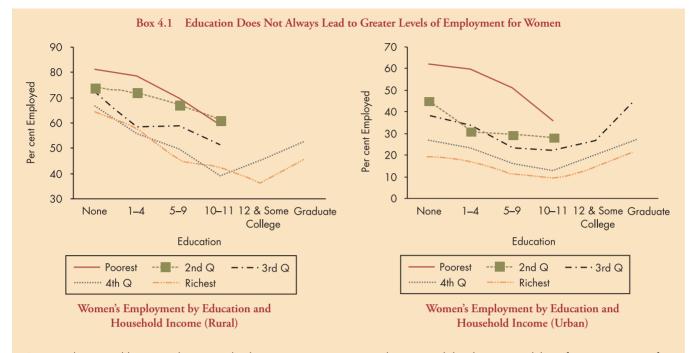
force, and the elderly, who are slowly withdrawing from the labour force. For men, the important difference among social groups and regions depends on their ability to find year-round work, as discussed in the following section. For women, work participation varies by their social background and place of residence, with urban women being the least likely to participate in the work force.

Women's labour force participation is concentrated at the lower end of the socioeconomic distribution (see Table A.4.1a). Women from households in the bottom income quintile are more likely to work than women higher up the income scale. Adivasi women are more likely to work than forward caste or other minority religion women, with Dalit and OBC women falling in the middle. Women in metro cities are the least likely to work, while women living in the least developed villages are the most likely to work. Some of these differences are quite large: for example, only 15 per cent of women in metro cities are employed, compared with 62 per cent in the least developed villages.

Even women's education has a generally negative association with work participation rates despite the incentives provided by higher earnings for the well educated. Women who have finished the 10th standard are less likely to be employed than illiterate women. The negative effect of low to moderate levels of education for women can be seen even when other family income is controlled (see Box 4.1).

State differences in women's work participation rates presented in Table A.4.1b are also interesting. Unlike house-

¹ For males, the IHDS work participation rates are 53.9 and 48.2 in rural and urban areas, respectively, compared with NSS rates of 54.6 and 54.9, respectively. For females, IHDS rates are 38.4 and 14.1 in rural and urban areas, respectively, compared with NSS rates of 32.6 and 16.7 (NSSO 2005a). For those who are employed for cash remuneration (that is, wage or salary), the daily income measured by the IHDS is about Rs 92 per day compared to Rs 96 per day as measured by the NSS.



In general one would expect education to lead to greater opportunities and wages and thereby increase labour force participation for women. However, educated women may also come from higher income families which would reduce the incentive for employment among educated women. Figures in this box plot levels of women's work participation by their own education levels and quintiles of other family income (that is, family income minus the woman's own earnings from wage or salary employment).

Higher levels of other family income show the expected disincentive for women's labour force participation. But regardless of family income, women's work participation declines as their education increases from none to 10th standard.

Only schooling beyond 10th standard has any positive incentive for women's work participation. The absence of skilled work preferred by educated women may be partially responsible for this negative relationship. The increase in employment for women with higher secondary and college education, especially in urban areas, suggests that a greater availability of suitable white-collar and salaried employment could lead to increased female labour force participation.

Source: IHDS 2004-5 data.

hold differences, state differences do not follow state income differences. Some affluent states like Himachal Pradesh have high rates of women's labour force participation while others like Punjab have very low rates. Some poor states like Chhattisgarh have high rates while others like Jharkhand have low rates. Regional differences in women's work participation appear to follow more historical and cultural trajectories than differences in household wealth. Inferring macro-level changes from the cross sectional household differences is especially hazardous, given these state differences.

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT

Most adult men are in the labour force and their well-being is governed by their ability to gain year-round work. Tables A.4.2a and A.4.2b report the number of days worked during the preceding year—whether family farm labour, other farm

labour, non-farm labour, salaried work, or time devoted to family businesses.²

The results paint an interesting picture. There is much less employment available in rural India than in urban areas. The average rural man works only 206 days per year, compared with 282 days for the average urban man. The average rural working woman works 106 days per year, compared with 180 days for the average urban working woman.

Table A.4.2a reports differences in days of employment by educational and social characteristics. Although men's employment varies less by population groups than across states, some results are noteworthy. Adivasi men are significantly less likely to be employed (200 days) than other forward castes, Muslims, and other minority groups, who range from 236 days to 265 days. The disadvantages for Adivasis come in part from their rural location, but even in urban populations Adivasi men work fewer days.

² Since the IHDS did not collect information on time spent in animal care, this type of labour is omitted from the table. Only people who were employed more than 120 hours in the previous year are reported in Tables A.4.2a and A.4.2b. Days of employment are calculated as full day equivalents, where a full day is assumed to be eight hours of work. Many employees who worked as drivers or domestic servants, or who held two jobs, reported working more than 365 full day equivalents in a year; thus, total days are capped at 365.

Poor states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, and Orissa have the lowest overall days employed by men (about 190-5 days; see Table A.4.2b); wealthier Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, and Maharashtra have the highest number of days employed (about 260-300 days). The state differences for women are also striking, ranging from eighty to eighty six days in Bihar and Jharkhand, to 196 in Maharashtra, and 204 in Delhi. These large differences in days worked are at least partly responsible for the many differences in well-being across the states. Some of these state differences are associated with greater urbanization, but most are based on the availability of work in rural areas. On the whole, differences in rural employment, across state boundaries, are larger than those in urban employment.³ On an average, employed men in rural Maharashtra work about 235 days per year, compared with only 172 days in Uttar Pradesh. Similarly, large differences in days worked are found for rural women.

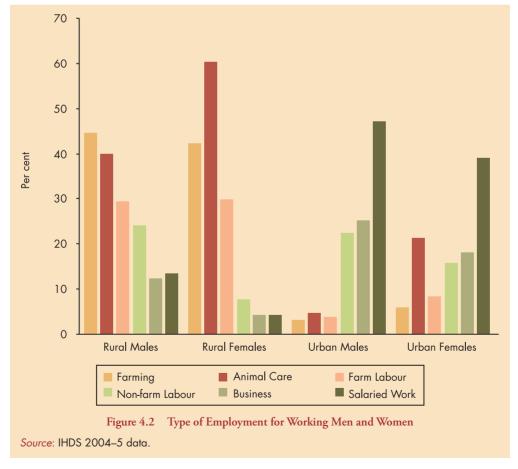
The inability to gain year-round work is one of the most important markers of economic vulnerability. Jobs that provide year-round work increase incomes by reducing underemployment. Year-round work is usually associated with salaried employment at monthly wages, non-farm work

in rural areas in sectors such as construction, and increased availability of agricultural work due to multiple cropping seasons in a year.

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT

The preceding sections suggest a need to look beyond the simple availability of work to explore the sectors of employment, since this determines the level of underemployment as well as income. In this section, work activities are classified into six categories grouped into farm and non-farm work (see Figure 4.2). Each individual can be employed in more than one of these six types of work. Indeed, this section focuses on who has multiple types of employment.

This figure highlights the differences between men and women, and between urban and rural areas. When employed, rural women are likely to work in farm related activities. Rural men also have access to some non-farm work, such as non-farm casual labour (24 per cent), salaried work (13 per cent), and business (12 per cent). More urban men engage in salaried work and business than do rural men, although non-agricultural wage work as daily labourers remains important for both. Interestingly, even among employed women



³ The coefficient of variation, which reflects the amount of variation in days worked across states, is twelve for rural and seven for urban male employment.

in urban areas, animal care remains an important activity. Taken in conjunction with the fact that rural women are far more likely to work than urban women, it is not surprising that an overwhelming majority of employed Indian women rely solely on agricultural work.

Table A.4.3a shows how different population groups engage in various types of employment.

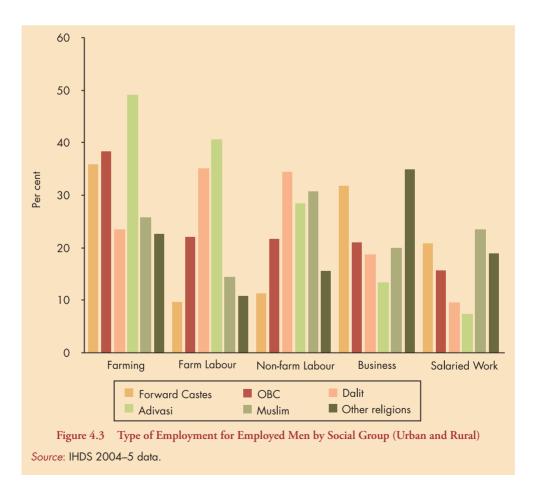
Although there is some decline in farming and animal care among women who are college graduates, men and women generally continue to engage in farming and animal husbandry, regardless of their educational level. In contrast, education is associated with substantial declines in the likelihood of working as an agricultural or non-agricultural wage labourer.

As Figure 4.3 shows, social group differences in employment types are striking.

Adivasis are most likely to be cultivators, reflecting their rural residence, followed by OBCs and forward castes. In contrast, Dalits, Muslims, and other religious minorities are the least likely to be cultivators. While lower levels of farming for Muslims and other religious minorities stem from urban residence, those for Dalits are associated with a lower probability of landownership (as documented in Chapter 3). Dalits and Adivasis are far more likely than other

groups to be agricultural wage labourers. Dalits, Adivasis, and Muslims are more likely than other groups to be nonagricultural wage labourers. As shown in Table A.4.3a, social group differences are most visible in salaried work. More than 30 per cent of men from forward castes, and from Christian and other religious minorities are employed in salaried jobs, while only 13 per cent of Adivasi men are so employed. Muslims are the most likely to be in business, particularly in rural areas, with many working as home-based artisans. When we examine social group differences among women, it is particularly striking that among employed women, forward caste and OBC womens' agricultural wage labour participation is considerably lower than that for Dalit and Adivasi women (13 per cent and 26 per cent for forward caste and OBC women, respectively, compared to 39 per cent for Dalit women and 45 per cent for Adivasi women).

Differences in economic activity across states are shown in Table A.4.3b. Relatively few individuals in southern states like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu engage in own account farming, partly reflecting the high urban concentrations in those areas. However, urbanization is only part of the story. Agricultural wage work exceeds own account cultivation in each of these states, pointing to the



importance of commercial farming there. Not surprisingly, the urban state of Delhi tops the list of states in rates of salaried employment. Other wealthier states with a large prevalence of salaried work include Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, the North-East, and Tamil Nadu. In contrast, salaried work is least available in the poorer states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa.

Piecing Together a Livelihood: Combining Farm and Non-farm Work

Table A.4.2b suggests that rural workers have difficulty finding year-round work. Without year-round work, rural households are faced with tremendous challenges to make ends meet. The IHDS results suggest that one household strategy may be to take on more than one activity. Chapter 2 documents that more than 50 per cent of the Indian households receive income from multiple sources. Although having different household members specialize such that one member farms, while another works as nonagricultural labourer, and a third takes up a salaried job may be a good way of mitigating risk. It is also interesting that a substantial proportion of rural workers hold more than one job. While farming normally goes hand in hand with animal care and should not be treated as a separate job, a substantial proportion of individuals engage in secondary activities that are diverse. These multiple activities are far more common in villages (34 per cent for men and 22 per cent for women) than in towns (5 per cent for men and 6 per cent for women).

In rural areas, one tends to imagine small and marginal farmers who work as casual wage labourers on other farms when their own farms do not need work. However, only 11 per cent of rural men fall in this category, and they do not represent the majority of multiple job holders in rural areas. Many men combine farm oriented activities with non-farm activities: while they manage their own farms, they also work as non-agricultural labourers. Similarly, casual wage labourers work in both the agriculture and non-agricultural sectors. When agricultural work is available—for example, during the harvesting period—they may work in agriculture. During the off season, they may work as construction or transportation workers.

Stagnating agricultural productivity heightens our interest in the nature of multiple activities in rural areas. Although the existence of the non-farm sector, even in rural areas, has been recognized for some time, estimates of non-farm work continue to underestimate its importance by ignoring the fact that many individuals combine farm and non-farm work. Figure 4.4 shows that 51 per cent of employed rural men engage solely in farm oriented activities,

including own account cultivation, animal care, and farm labour; 28 per cent engage solely in off-farm work, including non-agricultural labour, salaried employment, and own business, and 21 per cent engage in both.

There has been some debate among researchers⁴ about whether non-farm employment for rural residents reflects the pull of better paying jobs, or whether it reflects a push away from the poorly paid farm sector. Table A.4.4a suggests that individuals who rely solely on non-farm employment are located in the more privileged sectors of society. They tend to live in more developed villages, have higher education, and live in households that are at the upper end of the income distribution.

In contrast, combining farm and non-farm activities has little relationship with individuals' own characteristics and depends far more on agricultural productivity. Table A.4.4b indicates that the combination of farm and non-farm activities is most common in states like Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, where the weather restricts year round cultivation, or in states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa, where agricultural productivity is low.

In contrast, in the agriculturally prosperous states of Punjab, Haryana, and Gujarat, few working men combine farm and off-farm activities. Similarly, a combination of farm and off-farm work is most common in less developed villages. In more developed villages, most individuals engage either solely in farm oriented activities, or solely in non-farm activities. It is also important to note that since Adivasis are far more likely to live in less developed villages and in states with low agricultural productivity like Chhattisgarh, it is

Males

Females

Off-farm Work

Combined Farm and Off-farm

Figure 4.4 Distribution of Rural Workers between Farm and Non-farm Sector

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

⁴ For recent work in this area, see Lanjouw and Murgai (2009).

not surprising that Table A.4.4a indicates that Adivasis are the most likely to engage in the combination of activities, and the least likely to concentrate solely on non-agricultural work.

These observations point to the diversity within the rural non-farm sector. The non-farm sector involves regular salaried work, family business, and casual wage work at a daily rate. Salaried work requires a far longer and more stable time commitment than casual wage work and is difficult to combine with farm demands. In contrast, non-agricultural wage work at a daily rate, often in construction, is easier to combine with agricultural demands. However, as we will show in the following section, salaried work is far more remunerative than daily wage work.

Salaried Work

In keeping with the conventional definition, the IHDS defines salaried workers as those who are paid monthly rather than daily.⁵ The IHDS asked whether the employer is in the government/public sector or is a private employer, and whether employment arrangements were permanent or casual. Salaried workers in India represent a small portion of the workforce. Tables A.4.3a and A.4.3b indicate that 22 per cent of employed men and 9 per cent of employed women are salaried workers. Nevertheless, salaried work is the most remunerative and deserves a more detailed analysis.

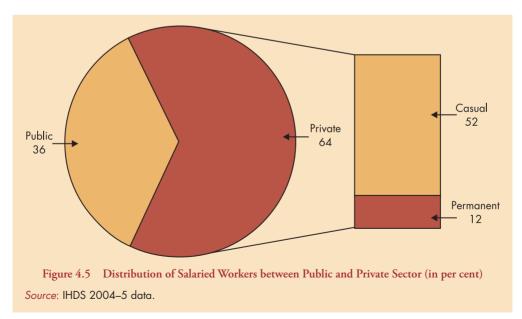
Figure 4.5 shows that 36 per cent of salaried workers are employed in the public sector, while the remaining 64 per cent are in the private sector.

Among private sector salaried workers, most are employed as casual workers, and relatively few classify themselves as permanent employees (52 verses 12 per cent). Many of these casual workers are employed as drivers, domestic servants, salespersons in small shops, and similar occupations, in which they are unlikely to benefit from labour legislation.

Actual salary differences among these sectors conflict with a common belief that private sector salaries are soaring and that the public sector is unable to keep pace. The average salary for casual workers is Rs 2,303 per month in the private sector; Rs 4,640 for permanent workers in the private sector; and Rs 6,974 for public sector employees.⁶

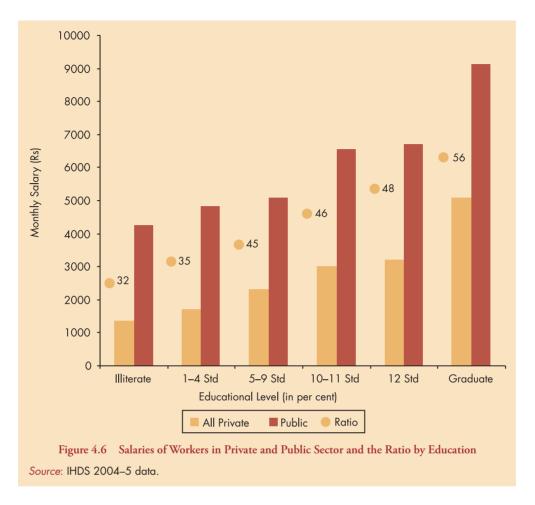
Figure 4.6 presents private and public sector salaries by education as well as the ratio between them.

At each level, private sector salaries are below public sector salaries, with the public sector benefit being the greatest at the lowest educational levels. These advantages for public sector workers are not inconsistent with extremely high salaries in the private sector for a few highly skilled workers, but the results suggest that the small number of well paid MBAs or technical workers fail to counterbalance the overall disparities between public and private sector salaries. The results also demonstrate the importance of public sector employment for individuals with low levels of education. Due to a guaranteed minimum salary in government service, a cleaning worker in a government office is likely to earn far more than a domestic servant doing the same work in a private home or business.



⁵ Less than 1 per cent of workers receiving annual remuneration are also classified as being salaried workers. Note also that the IHDS contains employee-level data, in contrast to the enterprise statistics often presented in national data that are limited to enterprises of ten workers or more.

⁶ In calculating monthly salary, we have included bonuses as well as imputed values for housing and meals. This imputed value for housing is assumed to be 10 per cent of the salary for rural areas and 15 per cent for urban areas. The value of meals is assumed to be Rs 5 per day for rural areas and Rs 10 per day for urban areas.



Government or public sector employment also serves as a moderating influence on other forms of social inequalities. While women earn lower salaries in both the public and private sector, the ratio of female to male salaries is considerably higher in the public sector (0.73) than in the private sector (0.53). Similarly, salary inequalities among various social groups are larger in the private sector than in the public sector. Regardless of the sector, forward castes and other minority religions have higher salaries than OBCs, Dalits, Adivasis, and Muslims. As Chapter 6 on education points out, these groups have higher educational attainment, so they should be expected to be in the upper rungs of the bureaucracy and have higher salaries. But it is also interesting to note that the disadvantages of caste, tribe, and religion are moderated in public sector salaries, partly because of better government salaries for low skill workers. Even for higher skill levels, however, differences in government salaries by social background are lower than those in the private sector.

Wage Work

Wage workers are paid at a daily rate. Their income depends on both the amount of work they are able to find and the prevailing wage rate. The average all India agricultural wage rate recorded by the IHDS was Rs 50 per day for men and Rs 33 for women (see Table A.4.5a). The average non-agricultural wage rate was Rs 76 for men and Rs 43 for women.

Beyond gender, there is little individual variation in the agricultural wage rates by education or social background. The main differences are geographic. Less developed villages have lower agricultural wages than more developed ones. In wealthier states, such as Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and Kerala, agricultural labourers average Rs 75 per day or more. In poorer states, such as Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa, the daily agricultural wages are less than Rs 40 (see Table A.4.5b). Some of the social differences we observe result from these geographic differences. Thus, Adivasis, who are located more often in the least developed villages in poor states, receive lower wages.

In contrast, non-agricultural wages vary more widely by age, level of education, and social background and somewhat less by location. Dalits and Adivasis are particularly disadvantaged in non-agricultural wages. Increased returns to education are not especially noticeable until secondary school for both men and women. These agricultural and non-agricultural wage rates must be viewed in conjunction with the rampant underemployment discussed earlier. With only 206 days of average work available to rural men compared to 282 days for urban men, a rural agricultural wage labourer can expect to earn about Rs 10,242 per year, while the urban non-agricultural labourer can expect to earn about Rs 22,395. All of these wages are a far cry from the average annual earnings of over Rs 50,000 per year for an illiterate male working in a salaried government job. Thus, it is not surprising that salaried jobs in the government sector are so coveted.

An earlier section in this chapter identified that a substantial proportion of individuals, about 20 per cent of male workers in rural areas, engage in both farm and off-farm activities. These workers are more disadvantaged than their brothers who engage in only one type of work. For agricultural wages, rural men who work only in the farm oriented sector receive Rs 50 per day, compared with Rs 43 for those who combine farm and non-farm activities. On the other hand, for non-agricultural work, men who undertake only non-agricultural work receive Rs 83 per day, compared to Rs 63 per day for those who engage in both farm and non-farm work. This suggests that the phenomenon of combining work in different sectors may be due more to a lack of other options than to a preference by individuals.

EARNINGS

Differences in total earnings⁷ result from a combination of better jobs (especially salaried work), more work days, and a higher wage rate. These advantages accumulate across educational level, age, social group, gender, and especially, urban location. Thus, employed rural women earn an average of Rs 42 per day, that is, Rs 4,491 earnings per year. Rural men work more days and at a higher average rate (Rs 79) and, thus, earn 3.6 times as much (Rs 16,216) as rural women in a year. Employed urban women work about as many days as rural men but at a much higher average rate (Rs 118), and so they earn more in a year (Rs 21,263) than rural men or women. Finally, urban men work the most days and at a higher rate (Rs 173), and so they have the highest annual earnings (Rs 48,848).

These daily wage rates are strongly affected by investments in human capital, especially education. Figure 4.7 shows returns to years of schooling, separately for men and women in urban and rural areas.

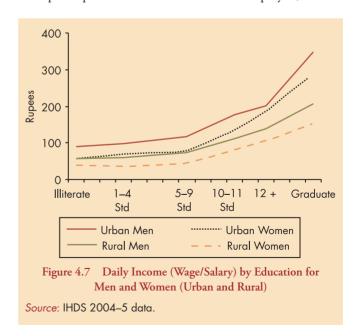
Urban wage rates are higher than rural wage rates at every educational level and men's wage rates are higher than women's for every educational level except urban secondary school completion, for which there is little difference. Only a small proportion of urban women work. It may be that

among the high education category, only women who can obtain high salaries work, reducing the difference between males and females for this select category. The educational differences, at least for secondary school and beyond, are larger than even the gender or rural—urban differences. However, there appear to be negligible economic returns to primary school. Primary school graduates earn little more than illiterates.

Other group differences are smaller than the underlying educational, rural—urban location, and gender differences, and are, in part, attributable to these underlying differences (see Table A.4.5a). For example, Dalits and rural Adivasis have low wages and annual earnings, while forward castes and other minority religions have higher wages and earnings. These earnings differences mirror the educational differences among these social groups reported in Chapter 6. State variations are again substantial.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined the broad shape of employment in India. Chapter 2 identified the inequalities in economic well-being along the lines of caste, educational status, and region. This chapter has focused on employment as the key mechanism through which these inequalities emerge. Lack of access to an adequate quantity of work, coupled with inequalities in remuneration, based on occupation and industry, as well as individual characteristics generate the inequalities in income recorded earlier. Several dimensions of this phenomenon deserve attention. Access to employment remains limited for many sectors of society. Female labour force participation rates are low and when employed, women



⁷ Daily earnings here include monthly salaries divided by 22, and daily wages for labourers.

consistently earn less than men in both agricultural wage work and salaried employment. While male work participation rates are high, the vast majority of the men do not have year-round employment and often struggle to make ends meet by working multiple jobs, often combining agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Access to a sufficient income seems closely tied to access to government and public sector jobs, since salaried work pays considerably more than daily wage work, and public sector jobs pay far more than private sector jobs. Government and public sector jobs are particularly important to less educated workers and workers who may experience more discrimination in the private sector based on gender, caste, ethnicity, or religion.

The importance of government employment goes far beyond the income it provides. Stability of income and job security offered by government employment is unparalleled in private sector work. As noted, only one in five salaried workers in private sector see themselves as permanent workers. Job security is an important dimension of individual well-being. Moreover, social prestige associated with government work and growth in social networks has a substantial impact on the long term well-being of families, and must be recognized as an important marker of human development. Consequently, it is not surprising that access to public sector jobs has emerged as one of the key areas of contestation around which a variety of groups jockey for job quotas and reservations.

Gender differences in work and remuneration patterns deserve particular attention. While deeper probing by the IHDS on animal care and agricultural work has increased the enumeration of women's work, gender differences in the quantity and quality of work remain stark. Women are far less likely to participate in the labour force than men, with the differences being particularly stark in urban areas. When women do work, their work is largely limited to labour on family farms, the care of the animals and, to a lesser extent, daily agricultural labour. Their participation in non-farm work remains limited, especially in towns and cities. Their wage rate for agricultural labour is only 66 paise for each rupee earned by a man. In non-agricultural labour, it dips to 57 paise. Even when women are able to get a salaried job, their income remains significantly lower than men's. The only silver lining is that gender differences in salaries are lower in government jobs than in the private sector; but even here, women's salaries are only 73 per cent of men's salaries. Some of these disparities may be attributable to gender inequalities in educational attainment, which we document in Chapter 6. However, although higher education may lead to better incomes by women, their labour force participation seems to decline with education—even when income of other family members is taken into account—and this decline reverses itself only at the college graduate level.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Work participation rates for men and women rise with age and decline after age 60. However, nearly 77 per cent of rural men and 47 per cent of rural women continue to work at ages 60–4.
- While most men work, womens' labour force participation rates are considerably lower, reaching their peak around age 30-4 at about 70 per cent for rural women and 25 per cent for urban women.
- Workers who receive monthly salaries are better paid than those who work at daily wages.
- The average monthly salary is Rs 2,303 per month for casual workers in the private sector; Rs 4,640 for permanent
 workers in the private sector; and Rs 6,974 for government or public sector employees.
- For each rupee earned by men, rural women earn only 54 paise and urban women earn 68 paise.

	Table A.4.1a V	Vork Participation	Rates for Men and W	Women Aged 15–59	Years	
	Ru	ral	Uri	ban	T	otal
	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)
All India	82	58	71	20	79	47
Age						
15–19	49	34	22	8	41	27
20–9	81	50	65	16	77	40
30–9	94	72	90	26	93	59
40–59	94	68	89	27	92	56
Education						
None	91	69	82	33	90	63
1-4 Std	88	59	84	27	87	51
5–9 Std	80	47	<i>7</i> 1	16	78	37
10-11 Std	76	37	66	11	72	25
12 Std/Some college	71	35	58	13	66	23
Graduate/Diploma	75	38	76	23	76	27
Place of Residence						
Metro city			71	15	<i>7</i> 1	15
Other urban			<i>7</i> 1	22	<i>7</i> 1	22
Developed village	80	54			80	54
Less developed village	84	62			84	62
Income						
Lowest Quintile	82	64	60	30	80	61
2nd Quintile	85	63	73	25	83	57
3rd Quintile	85	60	75	25	83	52
4th Quintile	81	53	73	21	78	42
Highest Quintile	78	46	70	16	74	30
Social Group						
Forward Castes	81	52	70	15	77	37
OBC	83	60	72	24	80	51
Dalit	82	59	72	25	80	51
Adivasi	87	72	72	32	85	68
Muslim	79	46	71	17	76	36
Other religion	69	39	70	18	70	30

	R	ural	Uri	ban	To	otal
	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)	Male (per cent)	Female (per cen
All India	82	58	71	20	79	47
States						
Jammu and Kashmir	72	60	61	21	70	53
Himachal Pradesh	86	84	75	37	85	79
Uttarakhand	82	74	70	18	79	63
Punjab	71	36	63	9	68	26
Haryana	79	57	73	15	77	47
Delhi	71	29	66	11	66	11
Uttar Pradesh	87	57	74	19	84	49
Bihar	83	48	67	17	81	45
Jharkhand	80	41	65	17	77	37
Rajasthan	82	63	74	27	80	55
Chhattisgarh	92	82	75	29	88	<i>7</i> 1
Madhya Pradesh	87	72	73	24	83	59
North-East	69	43	65	25	68	39
Assam	76	39	55	12	<i>7</i> 1	33
West Bengal	83	51	72	14	80	40
Orissa	83	57	69	18	80	52
Gujarat, Daman, Dadra	88	69	74	16	83	49
Maharashtra/Goa	83	67	70	20	77	46
Andhra Pradesh	82	66	74	27	80	56
Karnataka	83	64	75	28	81	52
Kerala	68	33	66	14	68	28
Tamil Nadu/Pondicherry	73	51	73	28	73	41

	Table A.4.2a: Numl	oer of Days Worked f	or Employed Men a	and Women Aged 15-	-59 Years	
	F	Rural	Ur	-ban	1	Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All India	206	106	282	180	226	115
Age						
15–19	132	<i>7</i> 1	216	146	144	77
20–9	205	106	272	179	222	115
30–9	230	119	293	186	248	128
40–59	213	104	289	181	234	115
Education						
None	209	109	269	161	217	113
1–4 Std	207	110	269	163	218	117
5–9 Std	200	94	278	165	219	104
10-11 Std	212	99	293	192	239	118
12 Std/Some college	208	110	282	222	236	144
Graduate/Diploma	220	164	293	245	262	214
Place of Residence						
Metro city	NA	NA	299	226	299	226
Other urban	NA	NA	276	169	276	169
Developed village	219	119	NA	NA	219	119
Less developed village	195	94	NA	NA	195	94
Income						
Lowest Quintile	162	94	209	150	165	96
2nd Quintile	203	113	249	147	208	115
3rd Quintile	212	114	280	155	227	119
4th Quintile	224	111	284	184	243	123
Highest Quintile	232	96	294	211	263	127
Social Group						
Forward Castes	204	101	292	205	238	118
OBC	202	107	279	172	219	114
Dalit	214	111	273	1 <i>77</i>	227	118
Adivasi	194	129	262	1 <i>7</i> 0	200	131
Muslim	213	67	279	154	236	83
Other religion	236	84	303	229	265	122

Note: NA—not available due to possible measurement errors and/or small sample sizes.

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

Table A.4	.2b: Statewise	Number of Days Wor	ked for Employed I	Men and Women Age	ed 15–59 Years	
		Rural	Ur	-ban	1	-otal
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All India	206	106	282	180	226	115
States						
Jammu and Kashmir	194	61	297	133	212	67
Himachal Pradesh	223	67	275	102	228	69
Uttarakhand	210	70	291	209	226	78
Punjab	282	57	309	186	292	73
Haryana	242	86	298	194	254	93
Delhi	246	29	304	222	302	204
Uttar Pradesh	172	42	268	111	191	47
Bihar	190	83	247	103	196	84
Jharkhand	191	82	266	125	201	86
Rajasthan	205	74	276	145	221	82
Chhattisgarh	185	131	260	116	198	130
Madhya Pradesh	191	128	273	180	210	133
North-East	219	110	289	231	234	129
Assam	230	81	236	216	231	91
West Bengal	216	65	277	147	232	73
Orissa	178	62	267	138	190	66
Gujarat, Daman, Dadra	210	119	282	163	233	125
Maharashtra/Goa	235	190	302	221	262	196
Andhra Pradesh	235	172	303	235	252	180
Karnataka	214	157	278	201	234	166
Kerala	227	106	256	172	235	115
Tamil Nadu/Pondicherry	216	143	277	188	242	157
Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.						

Tabl	e A.4.3a:	Type of Em	ploymen	for Employe	ed Men an	d Wom	en Aged	15–59 Year	rs (Urbar	and Rural)		
				s (Per cent)						Females (Per	cent)	
	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness
All India	34	31	23	24	22	16	38	56	27	9	9	6
Age												
15–19	33	40	23	22	10	10	32	57	25	8	4	4
20–9	33	27	22	28	20	15	37	50	26	10	10	6
30–9	32	28	24	25	24	18	38	55	30	10	10	6
40–59	35	33	23	21	26	16	40	59	26	7	8	6
Education												
None	35	36	42	34	9	9	40	58	35	10	4	4
1-4 Std	38	34	35	29	11	13	42	54	26	8	7	7
5-9 Std	37	32	20	27	18	16	38	57	17	7	8	8
10-11 Std	31	26	11	15	34	19	32	51	8	6	19	11
12 Std/ Some college	31	26	7	10	36	24	23	44	7	3	34	13
Graduate/ Diploma Maximum Adult Educa	18	16 e Household	2	4	60	22	8	17	1	1	70	11
None	33	35	44	36	8	8	33	53	43	13	5	4
1-4 Std	37	36	39	32	10	11	37	54	39	12	4	4
5–9 Std	37	33	23	29	16	15	42	59	24	9	7	6
10–11 Std	33	28	13	18	28	18	41	58	16	6	8	8
12 Std/ Some college	35	28	10	13	31	22	43	58	13	4	11	10
Graduate/ Diploma	24	21	4	6	50	22	30	46	6	3	30	8
Place of Residence	1	1	0	1/	/ 1	0.1	0	7	1	1.1	/ 0	10
Metro city	1	1	2	16	61 42	21	2 7	7	10	11	63	19
Other urban	4	6	4	25		27		25	10	17	34	18
Developed village Less developed	37	32	29	22	16	14	38	54	32	7	6	6
village	51	47	30	26	11	11	46	66	28	8	3	3
Income				-								
Lowest Quintile	49	44	40	24	6	8	42	58	34	7	4	4
2nd Quintile	36	36	39	34	9	10	36	54	40	11	5	5
3rd Quintile	34	31	27	31	15	15	36	55	31	12	7	6
4th Quintile	28	26	16	24	27	19	35	54	20	9	11	8
Highest Quintile	25	20	4	10	46	23	34	54	6	4	21	9

(Table A.4.3a contd)												
			Male	s (Per cent)						Females (Per	cent)	
	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness
Social Group												
Forward Castes	36	28	10	11	32	21	42	58	13	3	13	7
OBC	38	36	22	22	21	16	43	56	26	7	8	7
Dalit	24	25	35	34	19	10	25	53	39	12	8	4
Adivasi	49	44	41	29	13	7	56	49	45	13	5	3
Muslim	26	22	15	31	20	24	24	64	9	12	8	8
Other religions	23	12	11	16	35	19	16	55	7	5	23	9

Note: Distribution of workers across categories is not exclusive to only one category. For example, a person might be engaged in cultivation as well in animal care at different times in a day, or on different days. This person would then get classified as worker in the cultivation as well as animal care category. Consequently, the row totals for both male and female categories will not add up to 100 per cent.

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

Table A	Table A.4.3b: Statewise Distribution of Type of Employment for Employed Men and Women Aged 15-59 Years											
			Male	s (Per cent)					Femal	es (Per cent)		
	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness	Culti- vation	Livestock Rearing	Agri- cultural Labour	Non- Agricutural Labour	Salaried Work	Busi- ness
All India	34	31	23	24	22	16	38	56	27	9	9	6
Jammu and Kashmir	45	30	3	1 <i>7</i>	40	11	51	78	0	3	6	2
Himachal Pradesh	58	54	12	22	31	14	69	87	1	1	4	3
Uttarakhand	38	43	7	39	20	15	61	84	4	9	6	1
Punjab	22	16	15	18	32	1 <i>7</i>	14	83	3	2	12	4
Haryana	31	28	12	17	26	14	33	81	7	5	5	3
Delhi	1	2	1	15	65	1 <i>7</i>	1	19	0	16	53	14
Uttar Pradesh	40	53	16	31	14	18	30	85	10	3	4	5
Bihar	39	40	32	21	13	21	45	59	27	4	3	7
Jharkhand	37	31	7	37	20	18	60	57	12	19	6	3
Rajasthan	44	22	7	34	19	15	45	78	6	10	5	4
Chhattisgarh	57	55	46	31	15	10	62	54	56	19	3	4
Madhya Pradesh	44	44	33	23	14	13	50	39	46	15	4	6
North-East	27	24	11	11	41	20	39	43	7	4	21	10
Assam	46	29	2	29	20	13	59	73	1	5	6	4
West Bengal	28	25	27	22	24	20	9	73	12	10	14	5
Orissa	49	40	26	26	17	1 <i>7</i>	31	70	26	7	5	5
Gujarat, Daman, Dadra	36	20	28	14	24	16	46	54	37	4	7	5
Maharashtra/Goa	32	28	22	13	30	18	52	30	40	6	12	9
Andhra Pradesh	19	15	41	19	24	11	21	23	54	11	14	8
Karnataka	37	27	30	17	20	15	42	32	41	9	9	9
Kerala	14	5	20	39	22	11	1 <i>7</i>	47	14	11	17	8
Tamil Nadu/ Pondicherry	9	14	24	27	34	9	16	34	36	16	18	10

Note: As in Table A.4.3a. Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

		Males (Per cent)			Females (Per cent)	
_	Farm Oriented	Combine Farm & Non-Farm	Non-Farm Work	Farm Oriented	Combine Farm & Non-Farm	Non-Farm Work
All India	51	21	28	84	7	9
Age						
15–19	66	13	21	88	4	7
20–9	49	20	31	82	7	11
30–9	46	25	29	82	9	9
40–59	52	22	26	86	7	7
Education						
None	55	24	21	85	8	6
1-4 Std	57	21	22	85	7	8
5–9 Std	51	21	28	85	5	10
10-11 Std	48	17	35	78	5	1 <i>7</i>
12 Std/Some college	46	18	36	67	7	26
Graduate/Diploma	33	22	46	42	6	52
Place of Residence						
Developed village	50	17	34	82	6	12
Less developed village	52	26	22	85	9	6
Income						
Lowest Quintile	66	20	14	88	6	6
2nd Quintile	53	25	22	82	10	8
3rd Quintile	49	22	29	82	9	10
4th Quintile	43	21	36	82	7	12
Highest Quintile	41	20	39	85	5	10
Social Group						
Forward Castes	57	17	26	88	4	7
OBC	54	21	26	86	6	8
Dalit	46	25	29	82	9	10
Adivasi	55	26	19	81	13	6
Muslim	39	21	40	82	7	12
Other religions	50	8	42	81	4	15

		Males (Per cent)			Females (Per cent)	
	Farm Oriented	Combine Farm & Non-Farm	Non-Farm Work	Farm Oriented	Combine Farm & Non-farm	Non-Farm Work
All India	51	21	28	84	7	9
States						
Jammu and Kashmir	40	27	34	93	3	4
Himachal Pradesh	38	45	18	93	4	2
Uttarakhand	36	35	29	89	9	2
Punjab	51	9	40	92	3	6
Haryana	51	13	37	91	5	4
Delhi	23	13	64	90	3	7
Uttar Pradesh	47	34	20	92	5	3
Bihar	52	26	22	87	7	6
Jharkhand	29	24	47	75	13	12
Rajasthan	41	26	33	86	9	5
Chhattisgarh	53	38	9	77	21	2
Madhya Pradesh	63	23	14	81	12	7
North-East	39	19	42	76	7	16
Assam	43	11	46	90	2	8
West Bengal	47	22	31	77	9	14
Orissa	48	28	24	86	7	7
Gujarat, Daman, Dadra	69	10	22	92	2	6
Maharashtra/Goa	64	16	21	87	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	61	12	27	77	7	17
Karnataka	69	11	20	86	4	10
Kerala	33	8	59	71	3	26
Tamil Nadu/Pondicherry	44	9	47	67	10	23

	Daily Inc	ome in Rupees	(Wage work o	or Salary)	Daily Wages for Labourers (Rs)				
_	Ru	ıral	Urk	oan	Agric	ultural	Non-Ag	gricultural	
_	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
All India	79	42	173	118	50	33	76	43	
Age									
15–19	51	38	65	59	43	33	59	36	
20–9	66	40	115	105	48	33	73	43	
30–9	79	42	165	113	51	33	80	42	
40–59	95	46	228	141	51	34	80	47	
Education									
None	57	38	91	58	48	33	68	42	
1-4 Std	60	37	98	72	48	33	70	38	
5-9 Std	73	43	11 <i>7</i>	78	52	34	78	43	
10-11 Std	111	80	177	133	55	35	92	56	
12 Std/Some college	139	104	202	184	51	44	95	58	
Graduate/Diploma	206	153	347	290	48	40	102	94	
Place of Residence									
Metro city			216	167	74	69	109	71	
Other urban			157	104	70	33	91	47	
Developed village	87	46			55	34	80	43	
Less developed village	71	39			44	32	63	40	
Income									
Lowest Quintile	47	33	57	39	42	29	51	32	
2nd Quintile	54	35	67	41	46	31	61	36	
3rd Quintile	62	39	81	48	51	35	72	41	
4th Quintile	89	51	116	75	61	40	93	58	
Highest Quintile	198	114	282	236	72	42	123	67	
Social Group									
Forward Castes	112	56	243	192	55	34	89	49	
OBC	77	40	154	93	49	33	79	44	
Dalit	69	41	142	81	52	35	71	42	
Adivasi	62	40	180	174	39	30	58	42	
Muslim	86	45	114	76	53	32	77	39	
Other religions	147	104	228	208	105	77	141	66	

	Table A.4.5b	: Statewise Dai	ly Income for	Wage and Sala	ry Workers Ag	ged 15–59 Year	s	
	Daily Inc	ome in Rupees ((Wage work o	r Salary)		Daily Wages fo	or Labourers (R	?s)
_	Ru	ıral	Urk	pan	Agrica	ultural	Non-Ag	gricultural
_	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All India	79	42	173	118	50	33	76	43
States								
Jammu and Kashmir	170	112	97	188	99	0	115	62
Himachal Pradesh	135	121	251	215	78	77	85	76
Uttarakhand	92	68	176	124	81	48	80	56
Punjab	105	68	193	205	75	52	103	73
Haryana	116	72	213	272	82	63	94	71
Delhi	228	124	222	219	80	0	126	76
Uttar Pradesh	67	38	145	101	45	32	63	40
Bihar	<i>7</i> 1	48	159	156	51	41	76	53
Jharkhand	89	55	243	183	48	33	60	39
Rajasthan	81	50	147	127	60	41	72	46
Chhattisgarh	49	33	218	112	30	27	56	44
Madhya Pradesh	51	32	130	58	37	31	54	35
North-East	201	169	336	338	77	59	136	58
Assam	126	73	198	149	56	44	70	47
West Bengal	73	51	209	149	48	45	66	33
Orissa	63	36	162	134	39	29	57	35
Gujarat, Daman, Dadra	63	46	182	145	41	37	72	52
Maharashtra/Goa	74	32	180	137	48	28	79	39
Andhra Pradesh	64	38	164	70	51	34	84	43
Karnataka	69	34	168	102	47	28	92	45
Kerala	155	123	159	137	123	88	149	85
Tamil Nadu/Pondicherry	88	45	132	82	68	34	89	38
Source: IHDS 2004–5 date	a.							