

GENDER DISCRIMINATION SEX RATIO IMBALANCE IN PUNJAB

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Punjab, the one of the most prosperous state also called the wheat bowl of India is facing a situation of declining sex ratio. In this paper attempt has been made to study the factors which are responsible for this imbalance and gender discrimination; and the course of action being taken at all levels so that the disturbing trends should be reversed.

Keywords : Abortions; Gender Discrimination

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 20th century and as evident from the last census, India has been witnessing a sharp decline in the sex ratio. Sex ratio in India is defined as the number of females per thousand of population unlike internationally where it is defined as the number of males per hundred population. The skewed sex ratio in India is mostly attributed to lower status of women, high mortality, illiteracy and economic backwardness. In spite of being one of the most progressive and prosperous state with high per capita income and 70 percent literacy, Punjab is also facing a situation of sex ratio imbalance with strong preference of sons which is least expected from a state which boasts for its rich culture, heritage and social values.

Many demographers and economists have tried to highlight the causes for gender discrimination and the resulting imbalance in the sex ratio. Dasgupta (1987) in a study in Punjab recorded a female to male mortality ratio of 0.75 among 0-4 years of age in case of the first child. The ratio rose to 1.23 for the second child and doubled to 1.53 for the fourth or later children. Mortality rates were even higher amongst second born girls if the first surviving child was girl. Medical help reach more to boys than girls. In her analysis of Khanna in Ludhiana district she further says that girls are selectively eliminated and even the spread of education has not altered the results. According to Kundu and Sahu (1991) decreasing sex ratio is because of undercount of women comparative to men in different census in the country. The discrimination against females is increasing in respect of giving them nutritious food and access to good health. The migration of males from other countries and sex selective abortions also contribute to declining sex ratio in the country. Sundari and Thombre (1996) while studying the sex ratio in the state of Tamil Nadu points that high deaths in the age group of (0-4) and (15-34) indicating high infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate is responsible for low sex ratio in the state. Moreover the widening gap between sex ratio at birth and sex ratio at death tends to lower the sex ratio of the state. Sudha and Rajan (1998) have suggested that prenatal sex determination, neglect of girls and female foeticide are the factors which have resulted in adverse sex ratio observed in the 1991 census. Kulkarni (1999) have drawn inference from the NFHS data that in states of Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat and Punjab gender preference has stalled the fertility transition and the gender preference in the central northern states is more pronounced than in the western states. Wasim (2003) described that falling sex ratio (defined as males per 100 females) in Pakistan Punjab shows better coverage of females and reduced female mortality rate. As the main source of employment for women here is agriculture and allied activities like food grain processing, dairy, poultry, fishery and forestry, the policy makers should plan to improve such activities. Dhillon and Bhullar (2003) have found that preference for sons is due to their economic utility in agriculture, for carrying on the family line, to provide social security in the old age. People of the Punjab state also consider below dignity to live with their son-in-laws in the old age. They opined that though Pre Natal Diagnostic Technique Regulation and

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Prevention of Misuse Act (PNDT Act) has been in force, the damage done by revealing the sex of the child through amniocentesis have already resulted in large abortions in the past few years.

The one of the most important demographic feature of human population is its sex composition which should be always balanced otherwise the very survival of mankind is in danger. It is very difficult to understand that expectation of life of women is increasing but their number is decreasing. From 1901 to 2001 sex ratio in Punjab is quite less as compared to the national average (Table-1).

Table – 1, Sex Ratio in Different Years

Year	Punjab	India
1901	832	972
1911	780	964
1921	799	955
1931	815	950
1941	836	945
1951	844	946
1961	854	941
1971	865	930
1981	879	934
1991	882	927
2001	874	933
Source: Various Volumes of Census of India		

The number of female foeticide cases is the highest in Punjab earning it the dubious distinction of being the worst state in the country in terms of child sex ratio (UNPF).

Out of the ten districts in the country with least child sex ratio, seven are from Punjab itself including Fatehgarh Sahib which recorded lowest ratio of 754 in the country. Sex ratio at birth (SRB) defined as the number of males per 100 females in Punjab is 120 which is very high by any standard and hence suggest the high masculine character of the state.

Table – 2, Child (0-6) Sex Ratio in Different Years

Year	Punjab	India
1961	901	976
1971	901	964
1981	908	962
1991	875	945
2001	793	927
Source: Census of India, 2001		

Table – 3
Ranking of Districts by Sex Ratio: 1991 and 2001

Districts	Sex Ratio in 2001			Ranks in 2001			Sex Ratio in 1991			Ranks in 1991		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Punjab	874	887	848	-	-	-	882	888	868	-	-	-
Amritsar	874	885	859	11	8	12	873	871	876	12	13	12
Bathinda	865	868	860	14	15	11	884	888	873	7	7	13
Fatehgarh Sahib	851	859	832	16	17	16	871	870	873	14	15	13
Faridkot	881	876	892	9	11	2	883	882	884	9	9	8
Firozpur	883	893	857	6	6	14	895	898	887	6	5	7
Gurdaspur	888	895	868	3	5	8	903	905	895	2	4	3
Hoshiarpur	935	947	888	1	1	3	924	932	890	1	1	4
Jalandhar	882	904	859	8	4	12	897	907	883	4	3	9
Kapurthala	886	907	843	4	3	15	896	910	857	5	2	16
Ludhiana	824	877	784	17	10	17	844	880	812	17	10	17
Mansa	875	875	878	10	12	5	873	871	881	12	13	10
Moga	883	885	873	6	8	6	884	883	889	7	8	5
Muktsar	886	888	883	4	7	4	880	877	888	11	11	6
Nawanshehar	913	914	911	2	2	1	900	898	914	3	5	1
Patiala	864	862	868	15	16	8	882	875	899	10	12	2
Rup Nagar	870	869	871	12	13	7	870	870	870	15	15	15
Sangrur	868	869	864	13	13	10	870	866	881	15	17	10

Source: Provisional Series, Paper – I of Punjab, Census of India

Declining sex ratio generally means a high death rate of women. Yet here again Punjab presents contrasts. Overall death rates in Punjab are lower than the national level but female mortality is higher than the national average for the year 1997. The difference between male and female mortality is also higher in Punjab (1.2 percent) as compared to the national level (0.6 percent) (Punjab, HDR, 2004). According to Economic Survey 2007-08 India's maternal mortality per 100,000 live births remains as high of 450 as against 45 in China, 58 in Sri Lanka and 320 in Pakistan. The phenomenon of imbalance sex ratio is prevalent in almost all the districts of Punjab. Except Hoshiarpur and Nawanshahar district (table-3) all other districts have sex ratio below 900.

Education is generally believed to be a guiding force to curb discrimination through knowledge, information new ideas required for upliftment of the society. It brings openness change of attitude and behaviour of individuals towards society without any bias towards gender. But Punjab seems to be an exception when it is observed that highly educated pockets of the state tend to show very low sex ratio as compared to other areas lacking in education. Table – 4 illustrates this exception. The districts of Ludhiana and Fatehgarh which are highly literates as compared to other districts are the worst performers in case of sex ratio. In contrast Muktsar and Ferozepur which are at the bottom in respect of literacy levels are far better in sex ratio. Thus it means education could not be the criterion determining healthy sex ratio.

Table – 4, Ranking of Districts by Sex Ratio and Literacy Levels 2001

District	Ranking by Sex Ratio	Ranking by Literacy		
		Male	Female	Total
Amritsar	11	10	10	10
Bathinda	14	14	13	13
Fatehgarh Sahib	16	7	6	7
Faridkot	9	12	12	12
Ferozepur	6	11	15	14
Gurdaspur	3	5	8	6
Hoshiarpur	1	1	1	1
Jalandhar	8	4	2	3
Kapurthala	4	8	7	8
Ludhiana	17	6	3	5
Mansa	10	17	17	17
Moga	6	13	11	11
Muktsar	4	16	16	16
Nawanshehar	2	3	5	4
Patiala	15	9	9	9
Rup Nagar	12	2	4	2
Sangrur	13	15	14	15
Source: Census of India, Series 4, Punjab, Provisional Tables, 2001				

GENDER DISCRIMINATION

To achieve fatherhood or motherhood is the greatest, happiest and the most satisfying and soothing feeling in this world irrespective of the sex of the child. But in which circumstances the social structure of the state has tilted towards the preference for sons is a very tricky and difficult question to answer. The most important reason which is not talked about for the neglect of the girl child is that Punjabi society attaches too much “izzat” (honour) to the name of the daughter. Sons may indulge in any anti social or immoral activity but the honour of the family is not at stake. This is not the case with daughters. Newspapers daily carry reports of rape and sexual exploitation of girls. Loss of virginity for unmarried daughters is loss of honour for the family. It is considered to be a sin for which she can not be forgiven. She is the victim of the crime but becomes herself criminal in the eyes of the society. Social pressure is mounted to such an extent on the girl and her parents that they feel guilty without having done anything wrong. This fear of loss of “izzat” becomes the cause of their rejection at the prenatal stage.

The girls of the state are always under the influence of patriarchal and feudal values. When the girl is married the saying which is famous in whole of India is that “girls come to their in laws in a palanquin and departs only for pyre”. In case of any dispute with her husband due to absence of any support she bears the exploitation of the in laws of her own. She never leaves the in laws house inspite of all odds of life because of social customs of the state according to which the living of a married women outside her in laws house and in separation is termed to be a curse as per the existing social customs. The fresh cases of deserted married girls by their NRI husbands for their vested interests as reported in the media are eye openers for the society, social organization and the state. The women neither seems to be safe at homes where they face the dowry seekers and ruthless behaviour of their in laws nor at work places where they become an object of sexual harassment. According to UNICEF (1999) the girls in India are discriminated in the form of less medical help in case they fall sick, no special food and very little parental attention. Due to this girls are more prone to infections and diseases than boys which results in their poor health and short life span. This discrimination against girls throughout their life is more lethal than foeticide and infanticide. Punjab is a horrible and a fit case of such barbaric discrimination.

The green revolution in the state resulted in the increase of the family income to such an extent that women were easily withdrawn from work to manage home affairs. This resulted in loss of economic independence and social status.

Technology Misused

The preference of sons in the society is so much that it has lead to the misuse of the advanced technology. Though revealing the sex of the child through sonography is declared criminal offence in India yet people have found a alternative for that. To detect the sex of the foetus the blood sample of the expecting mother which contains DNA of the baby is sent outside the country through post and the result is sent via email. The success rate of the test is nine out of ten. People also travel to countries like Thailand for the termination of pregnancies as reported in the media. To have the desired child Ericsson method is used. This method involves the sorting the sperms on the basis of sex and then they are artificially inseminated. People are so obsessed with the desire to have male child that they do not hesitate to interfere in the natural biological phenomenon.

Steps Initiated to Improve Sex Ratio

Analyzing the gravity of the situation efforts have been initiated by NGO's, individuals and the government of Punjab so that the problems of declining sex ratio are reversed. In the district of Nawanshehar by the efforts of its then deputy commissioner Krishan Kumar, masses have started showing concern against

female foeticide. 'Uphar coordination society' has come into existence which is highlighting the ill effects of female foeticide by organizing various programmes. Recently its member held a dharna outside the house of women who had reportedly aborted her female foetus. Since 2005 massive awareness campaign has been launched. Computerize record of the pregnancies are kept and the girl students were called upon to act as "ambassadors of the drive against female foeticide". "Panghura Scheme" was initiated by K.S. Pannu, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar on January 1, 2008. A panghura (Cradle) has been put up by the district administration to receive the abandoned child. Till data 33 kids have been received among which 30 are girls.

The Akal Takht (The Supreme Sikh Temporal Seat) has issued an edict on April 18, 2001 directing all Sikh masses that anyone indulging in female foeticide could be ex-communicated as the practice is forebidden under Sikh principles and to commit it is a "Bajjar Kurahit" (Unpardonable Sin). The direction had come after a meeting of five sikh high priests. The message also warned that no member of the community should go far sex determination of the foetus. On November 18, 2007 Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) had announced that it would set up cradles at the selected Gurdwaras to receive unwanted children so as to give parents a humane alternative to female foeticide (The Tribune 8 March, 2011).

The sex ratio in Punjab as started to look up as 83 panchayats in the state have achieved a sex ratio of 1000 girls for the same number of boys. Though these panchayats are small in number as compared to 12000 villages in the state yet it is a good beginning. The department of Health and Family Welfare has given 1.5 lakh cases to each of these panchayats as a reward which will further encourage other panchayats to follow in their foot steps. The department has inspected 3642 ultrasound centres across the state since April 2010 to ensure they did not indulge in female foeticide. Notices have been sent to 144 of the centres under section 20 of the PNDT Act. Licenses of 96 centres were suspended where as license of 5 centres were cancelled following different violations (The Tribune January 6, 2011).

The programme under the name of "Nanhi Shan" has been launched in whole of Punjab by Harsimrat Kaur Badal member of Parliament representing Bathinda constituency to protect "Rukh Te Kukh" (Womb and Plants). Under this programme various plants and the literature about the protection of girl child is distributed free of cost. The lectures, seminars and debates are organized enlightening the importance of girls and trees in our life. In the mid of January a festival 'Lohri' previously which was reserved to be celebrated exclusively for sons born in that year in the family is now being celebrated for the newly born daughters also. State level Lohri functions are planned for the girls in order to realize the society about the equality of sons and daughters.

In the legal sphere a milestone has been achieved by amending the Hindu Succession Law of 1956. The Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act of 2005 has come into force which has brought the daughters at par with sons in terms of law of inheritance. This will help for the empowerment of women in the state.

CONCLUSION

Though various isolated steps have been initiated at various levels in the state but whether these have been able to be translated into a mass movement will be clear from the next census. To have better results the steps should be vigorously followed and given wide publicity in order to involve whole of the society so that these become successful. For this newspaper items, TV documentaries, personal contacts at the level of NGO's, public fairs and state sponsored programmes should be regularly launched to keep the general public aware. Religious ideas which give importance to girls should be highlighted in the programmes. According to the Hindu scriptures "Kanya Dan" (gift of daughter in marriage) is one route to salvation. The

first Guru of Sikhs Guru Nanak has held women in high esteem. In his words:

*“Bhand jammee-ai bhand nimmee-ai bhand mangan vee-aahu.
 Bhandahu hovai dostee bhandahu chalai raahu.
 Bhand inu-aa bhand bhaalee-ai bhand hovai banDhaan.
 So ki-o mandaa aakhee-ai jit jameh raajaan.
 Bhandahu hee bhand oopjai bhandai bajjh na ko-ay.
 Naanak bhandai baahraa ayko sachaa so-ay.
 Jit much sadaa salaah-ee-ai bhaagaa rate chaar.
 Naanak tay much oojlay tit sachai darbaar”.*

(Guru Granth Sahib Page 473)

Which means:

From woman, man is born; within woman, man is conceived; to woman he is engaged and married. Woman becomes his friend; through woman, the future generations come. When his woman dies, he seeks another woman; to woman he is bound. So why call her bad? From her, kings are born. From woman, woman is born; without woman, there would be no one at all. O Nanak, only the True Lord is without a woman. That mouth which praises the Lord continually is blessed and beautiful. O Nanak, those faces shall be radiant in the Court of the True Lord.

The problem of declining sex ratio is a social problem and the solution should also be social rather than the legal. Religious ideas can influence the social behaviour of the society and the same should be propagated to achieve the desired result. Though this change of thinking can take time but the efforts can never be fruitless. It is then and only then when the imperious daughters will become preferred daughters rather than imperilled daughters.

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RESEARCH NOTES

GLOBALIZATION, GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT: IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

Indian economy was in a deep crisis during 1990-91. Fiscal deficit was very high, foreign exchange reserve was very low, balance of payment problem reached its peak, Indian economy was losing confidence at the international sphere. International pressure was increasing to effect some fundamental changes in the content and approach to economic policy. Government of India yielded to the international pressure and adopted the policies recommended by World Bank and IMF. The new economic policy, popularly known as, Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG model) aimed at making the Indian economy globally competitive. Major measures initiated as a part of the liberalization, globalization and privatization strategy in the early nineties included devaluation of Indian currency, disinvestments of public sector units, dismantling of the industrial licensing regime, allowing foreign direct investment and removal of quantitative restrictions on imports etc. Globalization means gradual integration of national economies through free movements of goods, services and capital. In the context of India, this implies opening up the economy to foreign investors by lifting the restrictions on foreign direct investment, providing facilities to foreign companies, gradual removal of all types of trade restrictions, reduction of government control over all types of economic activities, removing constraints and obstacles to the entry of MNCs in India, allowing Indian companies to enter into foreign collaborations and also encouraging them to set up joint ventures abroad, carrying out massive import liberalization programs by switching over from quantitative restrictions to tariffs and import duties etc. All these were basically policies for growth and development based on market forces. It was hoped that the new policies would raise productivity, efficiency and competitiveness of Indian economy. Freeing Indian economy from the impasse of the government control would also bring benefits to the poorer section through enhanced employment, wages and incomes. This new development strategy, it was argued, would lead towards sustainable and inclusive growth. The proponents of this strategy of growth were encouraged by the dramatic surge in the growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The annual compound growth rate of GDP became 6.36 percent during the period 1993-2004. However, this high growth of GDP during the post-reform period was not commensurate with the growth in employment opportunities in the industrial sector. During the pre-liberalization period (1982-83 to 1993-94), the growth rate of employment was 2.04 percent per annum and it declined to 1.85 percent per annum during the post-reform period (1993-94 to 2004-05).

The main objective of this study is to shed light on the debate on the growth rates of GDP and employment across sectors during the pre and post-reform periods. Agriculture was also brought under the new policies of world trade since 1994 when the Agreement on Agriculture (AOA) was signed in Marrakesh in the Uruguay Round of negotiation. There were three basic clauses in AOA: market access (tariffication), domestic support and export competition. As far as India is concerned, agricultural exporters in India do not get any direct export subsidies. India provides income tax exemptions for profits from agricultural exports under Section HHC of the Income Tax Act. After AOA, the Government allowed the import of agricultural commodities by reducing tariffs and in few cases tariffs were withdrawn, input subsidies were reduced which increased the cost of production. On the other hand, the prices of agricultural commodities did not increase due to import of agricultural commodities from developed countries (where the farmers were given

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huge subsidies in order to keep the international prices of agricultural commodities at a lower level with a view to capture foreign market). As a result, farmers of our country suffered from losses and growth of agricultural production has declined. The share of agriculture in GDP also declined during the post-reform period. Though the share of agriculture in GDP declined, its share in employment declined at a lower rate. Agricultural sector is now overcrowded and is not able to absorb additional population. It is necessary to transfer additional population from agriculture to industrial sector. The industrial sector is also unable to absorb the additional population because this sector followed the capital intensive method of production. Globalization and economic liberalization have made a section of working class redundant, encouraged labour market flexibility, informalised the labour market, increased the workload, lengthened the working hours, feminized the labour force, and suspended the trade union rights. This has, in turn, lowered the real wages, and curtailed both incomes and employment. Hence this type of growth is not sustainable and exclusionary in nature since it excludes a sizable section of the workforce from social security network (Nath, 2008).

GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Globalization of agriculture mainly implies the exposure of Indian agriculture to international market forces through free exports and imports of agricultural commodities. It is expected that India is likely to be benefited from the globalization of Indian agriculture. The exports of agricultural commodities will increase if the government follows policy of globalization in the Indian economy. This is because India has a comparative advantage in the production of agricultural commodities. Therefore, a number of policy changes have been introduced to make agriculture competitive. But the outcome of globalization of Indian agriculture does not seem to be encouraging. In fact, it has increased the plight of farmers and rural labourers. The distress in the agrarian economy has witnessed some sad, unprecedented and dramatic developments such as the large number of suicides by farmers. In India, there have been 156,562 farmer suicides during 1995-2004. More than four-fifths are males. The suicide mortality rate (SMR, suicide death per 100,000 persons) for male farmers nearly doubled in ten years from 9.7 in 1995 to 19.2 in 2004 (Mishra, 2007). Mishra characterizes the agrarian scene in post-reform India as one of the 'distress, despair and death' (Kanan, 2007). The distress situations of farmers and low growth rate of agriculture also adversely affected the condition of agriculture labourers. The growth rate of real wages of agricultural labourers has decelerated from 3.41 percent per annum during the period 1983-84 to 1993-94 to just 1.98 percent during the period 1993-94 to 2004-05. Agricultural labourers are unorganized and vulnerable section of the society and suffer from exploitation due to low level of literacy, lack of awareness, persistent social backwardness, and the absence of unionization and other forms of viable organization. Laws that protect the interest of the agricultural labourers such as minimum wage act, stability of employment, access to remunerative employment, risk coverage and adequate social security for the group need to be adequately addressed and some concrete effort is needed to achieve what the plan describes as a more 'inclusive growth'.

The low growth rate of agriculture as compared to non-agricultural sectors has resulted in a declining share of agriculture in the total GDP. Agriculture's share in GDP declined from 38.82 percent in 1983-84 percent to 32.93 percent in 1993-94 and to only 21.82 percent by 2004-05 (Table 2). Although the share of agriculture in GDP declined rapidly, its share in employment declined at a much slower rate because the employment intensity in agriculture was higher than the non-agricultural sectors. This validates the lower employment diversification of the economy. The share of employment (UPSS) in agriculture declined from 68.27 percent in 1983 to 63.95 percent by 1993-94 further to 56.52 percent in 2004-05 (Table 5). The growth rate of employment in agriculture declined from 1.41 percent per annum during 1983-84 to 1993-94 to only 0.06 percent per annum during 1993-94 to 1999-00 – a near collapse of employment growth in agriculture. However, during 1999-00 to 2004-05, the situation has improved and the growth rate

of employment has increased to 1.49 percent per annum. During the entire post-reform period 1993/94-2004/05, the employment growth in agriculture declined to .71 percent per annum. The employment elasticity of agriculture also declined from .46 during 1983/84 – 1993/94 to 0.01 during 1993/94 – 1999/00. The sharp fall in it during 1993/94-1999/00 bringing it to virtual zero level is a matter of serious concern keeping in view that the bulk of population still lives in the rural areas and they depend on agriculture for the primary source of livelihood. However, the value of employment elasticity has improved to 0.80 during 1999/00-2004/05. During the post-reform period (1993/94-2004/05), the value of employment elasticity in agriculture was low (0.28) as compared to pre-reform period. Low value of employment elasticity implies higher labour productivity and the people, who have remained behind in agriculture, are, on the average, better off. On the other hand, the low and declining level of employment elasticities in the agricultural sector indicate that this sector will not be able to create enough jobs for the rapidly growing rural labour force. The diffusion of labour-saving technologies in agriculture reduced the employment availability within this sector and people move out from agriculture to non-agricultural sector. Increased employment in manufacturing and services has to be generated through the expansion of the food processing, textiles, and services sectors to absorb rural labour force. However, for non-farm productive employment, skilled labour is required, which puts agricultural workers, especially agricultural labourers, at a great disadvantage.

Table 1, Growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Across Sectors (Compound Growth Rate)

Sector	1983/84-1993/94	1993/94-1999/00	1999/00-2004/05	1993/94-2004/05
Agriculture etc.	3.08	3.14	1.79	2.47
Mining and Quarrying	7.28	4.61	5.61	5.11
Manufacturing	6.13	7.40	6.64	7.02
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	8.97	6.76	2.59	4.68
Construction	5.52	6.26	8.02	7.14
Secondary	6.97	6.25	5.72	5.98
Trade, Hotels and Restaurant	5.55	9.06	8.17	8.62
Transport, Storage and Communication	5.94	8.62	14.08	11.35
Financing, insurance, real estate and business service	10.14	9.47	6.71	8.77
Community, Social and Personal service	5.86	8.61	5.15	6.54
Tertiary	6.49	8.91	9.39	9.15
Total	5.37	6.64	6.07	6.36

Source: CSO, National Account Statistics, Various Years

The main reason for the near collapse of employment growth in agriculture was a sharp deceleration in the growth rate of agriculture in general and crop production in particular. The growth rate of all crops taken together -- the dominant component of agricultural sector -- decelerated from 3.46 % p.a. during 1980-81 to 1990-91 to only 2.38 % p.a. during 1990-91 to 1999-00. This sharp decline in the growth of crop output adversely affected employment growth in agriculture during the nineties. The agriculture sector has exhausted its potential for absorbing additional labour force and that it contains surplus labour. A decline in the growth rate of infrastructure investment in agriculture over a prolonged period of time, declining efficiency of input use, technological stagnation, and surplus cereals production and falling prices have all contributed to the deceleration of the agricultural growth in India (Bhalla, 2004) and which in turn leads to low employment growth. The rising cost of cultivation, low remunerations, high risks with crop failure occurring frequently and mounting debts have led the farmers to a distress situation. Agriculture now becomes unprofitable activity for a large section of farmers. A section of farmers are not willing to continue the farming activities and tried to shift their occupation from farming to non-farming activities. A special survey of farmers carried out by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO, 2003) reveals that nearly 40 percent of the farmer households disliked farming and wanted to give up the profession due to its unprofitable nature. These farmers largely belong to the small and marginal category (84 percent of the farmer households belong to this group), which are characterized by extremely low levels of income and mainly undertake subsistence cultivation. Their production and incomes can be enhanced through increase in public investment in agriculture, which has witnessed an alarming decline during the last decade or so.

The concentration of land holdings also reduced the growth rate of employment in agriculture. Financial liberalization measures that include a reduction in priority sector lending by banks, have effectively reduced the availability of rural credit, and have thus reduced farm investment, especially by smaller farmers. In the absence of availability of credit, many small and marginal farmers find it impossible to pay for the necessary inputs and are being forced to lease out their plots to rich farmers. When a particular plot of land is occupied by small and marginal peasants working on household farms it is likely to show higher use of labour than when the same plot is taken over by a large farmer using hired labour. Not all of this may be disguised unemployment, since the fact that small/marginal cultivators also use other non-land inputs more intensively suggests that they would use this additional labour to increase per hectare productivity. The Green Revolution technology was expensive and compelled many small farmers to lease out or sell their plots of land and work as agricultural labourers on the fields of the large farmers, the technology nevertheless necessitated the use of more labour as the new seeds required more irrigation, more pesticides, more fertilizers, etc. However, recent advances in agricultural technology have been more labour-saving, thereby making life even more difficult for agricultural labourers, in search of employment.

The phenomenon of marginalisation (below .4 hectare of land) of peasantry and landlessness of the rural population increased over the periods. The households who operate on less than 0.4 hectare of land can be described as just below marginal holding, which fails to provide employment for all the household members. Some household members will be forced to seek outside employment. The proportion of such households (landless plus marginal) by 1999-00 was nearly two-thirds of the total numbers of rural households. The viability of small farmers declined day by day due to the lack of credit facilities for small farmers from organized sources, high cost of production due to withdrawal of fertilizer subsidies and high input prices, and low prices of their product. The economic reforms package of the 1990s has seen declines in central government revenue expenditure on rural development, substantial declines in public infrastructure and energy investments that affect the rural areas, reduced transfers to state governments that have been facing a major financial crunch and have therefore been forced to cut back their own spending, particularly on social expenditure, and financial liberalization measures that have effectively reduced the availability of rural credit and raised input costs. These have been among several measures that have

adversely affected the rural population - the small and marginal farmers in particular - since liberalization. Due to liberalization of trade, domestic agricultural prices have less relation to domestic demand and supply conditions and are more correlated with international price movements than before. This means that even when the harvest is poor or when there is crop failure, the cultivators do not get any recompense in terms of higher prices. For all these reasons, the proportion of rural households not operating any land increased so much over the period. This in turn would mean that are less people reporting themselves as self-employed in agriculture (which is what is observed), and a general reduction in employment generation because less people would be hired than had lost employment from own cultivation (Ghosh and Sekhar, 2003).

Table 2, Shares of Different Sectors in Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

Sector	1983-84	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05
Agriculture etc.	38.82	32.93	27.74	21.82
Mining and Quarrying	1.52	2.14	2.02	1.98
Manufacturing	18.35	14.86	13.27	13.21
Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.81	1.26	1.33	1.26
Construction	4.70	5.55	6.22	7.04
Secondary	25.38	23.81	23.04	23.49
Trade, Hotels and Restaurant	12.99	13.84	15.23	16.83
Transport, Storage and Communication	3.64	5.40	6.18	9.48
Financing, insurance, real estate and business service	8.51	11.54	12.91	13.61
Community, Social and Personal service	10.66	12.46	14.19	14.76
Tertiary	35.80	43.84	48.51	54.68
Total		100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: CSO, National Account Statistics, Various Years

GROWTH AND EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRY AND SERVICE SECTORS

The effects of globalisation i. e. freer trade in goods and services, coupled with international mobility of capital and labour migration on a limited scale, would generally be to accelerate the rate of growth of economy mainly secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Apart from technological advancement, revolutions in information and communication technology, and advancement in transport have reduced cost of production and increased productivity. Historically, manufacturing sector has been a key sector in raising productivity and in job creation in all the high-income countries of the world. The growth rate of GDP in manufacturing sector in India is 7.02 percent per annum (table 1) in the post-reform period (1993/94-2004/05), which is higher than pre-reform period (1983/84-1993/94) due to high growth rate of industrial sector in the post-reform period. Service sector in India has also grown rapidly since the last decade and its growth has in fact been higher than the growth in agriculture and manufacturing sector. It now contributes around 54 percent of GDP (table 2). The entire decline in the share of agriculture sector in GDP, i.e., from 32.93 % in 1993-94 to 21.82 percent in 2004-05, has been picked up by the service sector while manufacturing sector's share has remained more or less the same. The growth pattern in the service sector has not been uniform across all services in India. Some services have grown fast in terms of their share in GDP. We find that the service sector (tertiary sector) in India witnessed a phenomenal growth in the decade of 1990s. During 1983/84-93/94, its output grew at the rate of 6.49 per cent per annum, while during 1993/94-99/00 the growth rate increased to 8.91 per cent per annum. In the last ten years (1993/94-2004/05), the service sector has grown on an average by 9.15 per cent per annum, ahead of agriculture with growth of 2.47 per cent per annum and tertiary sector with growth of 5.98 per cent per annum. A closer scrutiny of India's service sector reveals that amongst services, financing, insurance, real estate and business service has been one of the fastest growing services in the 1983/84-93/94 closely followed by transport, storage and communication (as seen in Table 1).

Table 3, Number of UPSS Workers, 1983 to 2004-05 (In Million)

Sector	1983 - 84	1993 - 93	1999 - 00	2004 - 05
Agriculture etc.	206.68	239.35	240.26	258.77
Mining	1.83	2.76	2.26	2.55
Manufacturing	32.28	39.91	43.78	55.89
Electricity	0.84	1.43	1.04	1.21
Construction	6.77	11.94	17.53	26.00
Secondary	41.72	56.04	64.61	85.65
Trade	19.1	28.48	40.86	49.59
Transport	7.5	10.74	14.63	18.58
Services	26.7	39.66	38.08	45.39
Tertiary	53.3	78.88	93.57	113.56
All Workers	302.76	374.27	398.44	457.85
Non-Agricultural Workers	96.08	134.94	158.18	199.17
Labour Force	308.71	382.54	407.03	468.50

Source: NSSO, Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, Various Rounds

In the 1993/94-2004/05, we find that growth rate of transport; storage and communication services exceed the growth of other services. Further, we find that increase in the share of services in GDP has not been the same across the board for different services. Table 2 compares share of different sectors in GDP in the last twenty years, i.e., 1983-84 and 2004-05. The most important services in terms of their share in GDP in 1983-84 were trade, hotels and restaurant (12.99 percent) followed by financing, insurance, real estate and business service (10.66 percent). In 2004-05, we find that the sectoral contributions have changed to some extent. The trade, hotels and restaurant has maintained their highest share (16.83 percent) followed by community, social and personal service (14.76 percent). The financing, insurance, real estate and business service have not able to maintain their positions but their share has increased during this period. The shares of other services also increased during this period.

Table 4, Annual Growth Rate of UPSS Workers, 1983 to 2004-05 (Percent)

Sector	1983/84 – 1993/94	1993/93 – 1999/00	1999/00 – 2004/05	1993/94 – 2004/05
Agriculture etc.	1.41	0.06	1.49	0.71
Mining	4.01	-3.27	3.04	-0.45
Manufacturing	2.04	1.56	4.96	3.09
Electricity	5.56	6.61	8.21	7.33
Construction	4.92	-5.25	4.65	-0.87
Secondary	2.60	2.84	5.81	4.18
Trade	3.88	6.20	3.95	5.17
Transport	3.48	5.28	4.75	5.04
Services	3.84	-0.67	3.55	1.23
Tertiary	3.81	2.89	3.92	3.35
All Workers	2.04	1.05	2.82	1.85
Non-Agricultural Workers	3.29	2.69	4.72	3.60
Labour Force	2.29	1.04	2.88	1.88

Source: NSSO, Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, Various Rounds

In spite of the rising share of services in GDP, there has not been a corresponding rise in the share of services in total employment. This jobless growth of India's service sector, with no corresponding growth in the share of manufacturing sector, has raised doubts about its sustainability in the long run. The share of manufacturing sector in GDP was 13.21 percent during 2004-05 but in employment, the share was only 12.21 percent only. It created about 32.28 million new jobs in the 1983 and 55.89 million jobs in the 2004-05 in India (table 3). Although output growth (GDP growth) had accelerated to some extent during this period, employment growth has virtually collapsed, leading to low elasticity estimate. The employment elasticity in this sector declined from 0.33 in 1983/84 to 1993/94 to 0.21 in 1993/94 to 1999/00. In the manufacturing sector, larger industries are generally capital-intensive and create a smaller number of jobs in relation to investment per capita. If more capital-intensive technologies of production are pursued, fewer

jobs will be created and the employment elasticity will decline further. Small and cottage industries, on the other hand, create more jobs, but tend to be characterized by low productivity. Empirical evidence shows that small and medium industries (SMIs) are both productive and relatively labour-intensive. Therefore, policies to facilitate the development of small and medium industries may be appropriate. Though capital intensive manufacturing itself creates fewer jobs, it might have very strong forward/ backward linkages in the forms of vendors, retailers, workshops, maintenance chains etc. However, there are indications towards reversal of the declining trend in employment growth, particularly in manufacturing and expectations of a growth structure in which sectors with higher employment elasticity will grow faster. The employment growth in the manufacturing sector increased from 2.04 percent per annum during 1983-1993/94 to 4.96 percent per annum during 1999/00 to 2004/05 and employment elasticity has improved during this period. During 1983-84 to 1993-94, the Indian economy registered employment growth rate of 2.04 percent per annum but accelerated to an all time high of 2.82 percent per annum during 1999-00 to 2004-05. Acceleration in growth of employment has taken place due to rapid increase in labour force during this period. The introduction of flexible labour market policies in India raises the issue of loss of direct control of jobs, changes in job content and responsibility, job deployment, redundancy and redeployment etc. This has led some people to think that any job, be it a 'bad job' or a 'good job' is better than no job at all. A poor person has little choice in the face of massive unemployment and is compelled to take up any available job at the prevalent job rate, without pausing to consider whether it is decent work or indecent work. Amartya Sen (2000) sees decent work as 'freedom', whereas Rodgers (2001) views it as a development objective.

Service sector in India has been the fastest growing sector in the last decade. Within the service sector, we find that the fastest growing services in the post-reform have been trade, hotels and restaurant, community, social and personal service, financing, and insurance, real estate and business service. Though there has been a phenomenal growth in the service sector, this growth has not followed by a corresponding high growth in employment in the post reform period. The rise in the share of services in employment has been much slower than the decline in the share of agriculture and manufacturing in total employment (as seen in Table 5). This shows that while output generation has shifted to services, employment generation in services has lagged far behind. In the year 2004-05, services contributed around 24.80 percent of total employment. A close scrutiny of contribution of different services to employment reveals that the percentage growth of employment differs significantly across services in the post-reform period as compared to the pre-reform period (as seen in table 4). There is a fall in the growth of employment in financing, insurance and business services; community, social and personal services from 3.84 percent annual growth rate in the period 1983-1994 to -0.67 percent in the latter period. Fall in employment in this sector has important implications for employment potential of the entire services sector, as this sector witnessed a rise in its growth in this period (i.e. it grew by around 9.47 percent and 8.61 percent in the period 1993-94). To analyse this further we look at the employment elasticities in these sectors. Trends in employment elasticity of different services are reported in table 6. The trends show that the overall employment elasticity in the economy declined sharply from 0.38 in the 1983/84-93/94 to 0.15 in the 1993-/94-99/00. But it increased substantially in the transport, storage and communication sector. However, there has been a fall in employment elasticity in sectors that are faster growing sectors amongst the services and have relatively higher contribution to GDP, e.g., financial and business services; community, social and personal services. Trade, which provided maximum employment in the service sector also, witnessed a fall in its employment elasticity.

The probable reason for fall in employment in faster growing services can be improvements in their labour productivity. Of the few studies, a report by McKinsey and Co. (2001) estimates labour productivity in six segments of India's services sector - telecommunication, software, retail banking, housing construction, energy distribution (electricity) and retail distribution. It finds that India's software services have the highest productivity levels amongst all segments, followed by telecommunication, banking and construction. These

are also the services that are growing faster and have high shares in GDP and employment. The higher labour productivity in these segments has lead to slower growth in employment in the services sector. The global competition has forced domestic private as well as state enterprises to raise labour productivity and adopt lean production methods involving large scale retrenchment of workers. Further, the neoliberal focus on fiscal discipline and inflation – targeting has eroded the power of the state to otherwise create employment. In other words, job destruction has out pace job–creation in the formal sector, forcing those thrown out of employment to eke out a living in the informal sector. The recent global financial crisis speeded up the enforcement of job cuts, lay-offs and significant upheavals in (organised and unorganised) labour markets especially eight sectors i. e. mining, metals and metal products, textiles and garments, automobiles, gems and jewellery, construction, transport and information technology / business process outsourcing (Nachane, 2009).

Table 5, Shares of Different Sectors in Employment - UPSS (Percent)

Sector	1983	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05
Agriculture etc.	68.27	63.95	60.30	56.52
Mining	.60	.74	.57	.56
Manufacturing	10.66	10.66	10.99	12.21
Electricity	.28	.38	.26	.26
Construction	2.24	3.19	4.40	5.68
Secondary	13.78	14.97	16.22	18.71
Trade	6.30	7.61	10.25	10.83
Transport	2.48	2.87	3.67	4.06
Services	8.82	10.60	9.56	9.91
Tertiary	17.60	21.08	23.48	24.80
All Workers	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation, Employment and Unemployment Situation
In India, Various Rounds

Note: UPSS denote Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT AFTER GLOBALISATION

Though the manufacturing and service sectors of India have maintained high growth rate, the corresponding employment growth is low during the post-reform period. The shares of informal, part time and casual workers in total workers have increased over the periods. Countries around the world also have experienced periods of jobless growth in which output expands, but formal sector employment has stagnant or declined. The developing countries (India, China etc.) are characterised by labour market dualism where there is co-existence of the modern sector with the traditional sector, organised sector with unorganised sector, formal sector with informal sector etc. The National Commission for Enterprise in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS, 2007) has estimated that the unorganised informal enterprise workers of India constitute 92.4 percent of all workers and out of the 60.7 million jobs created during the period 1999-2004/05, 52.3 million are working in the informal sector and only 8.5 millions are employed in the organised sector. Even

jobs created in the formal or organised sector are informal in nature. This is nothing but informalisation of the formal sector employment wherein old jobs are being created in the formal sector, which are being dubbed as casual, temporary and contractual jobs. Formal sector permanent employment is, no doubt, providing regularity, stability and social dignity but employers are replacing the permanent employees with casual, contract workers, hired from the labour suppliers or contractors on a lease basis due to reduce cost and to increase competitiveness ignoring the labour legislation. The textile mill closers in Ahmedabad cost over one lakh jobs resulted in informalisation of a vast majority of sacked workers due to the liberalisation policy introduced by the Government of India in 1985. The exploitation and exclusion of these sacked workers in the informal sector speaks volume about the changing world of work in the globalized scenario (Breman, 2002, Nath, 2008).

Table 6, Trends in Employment Elasticity

Sector	1983/84-1993/94	1993/94-1999/2000	1999/00- 2004/05	1993/94-2004/05
Agriculture etc.	0.46	0.01	0.83	0.28
Mining	0.55	-0.70	0.54	-0.09
Manufacturing	0.33	0.21	0.75	0.44
Electricity	0.62	-0.97	3.17	-1.56
Construction	0.89	0.83	0.57	0.12
Trade	0.70	0.68	0.48	0.59
Transport	0.58	0.61	0.28	0.44
Services	0.48	-0.08	0.59	-0.16
Total	0.38	0.15	0.46	0.29

Source: Computed from Table 1 and Table 4

After globalisation, labour market became flexible in respect of both wages and employment. Flexibilisation of labour market and cost reduction strategy of employers increased the number of informal workers, part time workers, home workers, casual and contract workers in the economy. This excess cheap labourer worked either in rural non-farm sector or urban informal sector. The rural non-farm sector workers include blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, barbers, petty traders, small-scale rural manufacturing units and rural self-employed persons etc. The increasing number of self-employment activities is one of the recent employment trends of India. In recent years, due to liberalisation of trade and commerce, and opening up of the economy to the outside world, there has been a surge in trade, commerce, private business, outsourcing, sub-contracting, home-based working, and provision of services, among other things. Self-employment is also an index of marketisation of the economy. Now the market is gaining importance over the state. As the 61st Round NSS data reveals, nearly two-thirds of the jobs are in the category of self-employment, in which there is no direct employer. The NCEUS (2007) has segregated self-employed persons into two categories: independent self-employed workers, and dependent home-based workers or home workers. The latter are disguised wage workers, working out of their homes, ordinarily using their own tools and equipments. Many of the activities undertaken by home workers are conducted within a value chain which contains a number of intermediaries between home workers or producers and final consumers. The home workers or actual producer may be exploited by the parent firms. Industries such as food processing,

textiles, garments, catering, lace-making, embroidery work, making of incense sticks (agarbattis), bidi and cigar rolling, the packaging industry, which require low level of skills, employ considerable number of temporary, part-time home-based female workers. Gender related discrimination in the work place has led to low wages and income, and consequently, poverty of the household. The increasing work participation rate of females in the labour market has been as a feminisation of the workforce. The most common method of exploitation that has been detected by the NCEUS (2007) is to deduct the wages of home workers for rejection on ground of poor quality, making of partial payments to maintain a hold on the worker and discourage the workers from going to other middlemen, and the use of their own house premises, electricity and other infrastructures (Nath 2008).

CONCLUSION

The liberalization of trade and increasing capital mobility from advanced countries have accelerated the phenomenon of growth with contraction of jobs in the formal sector, increase of the pool of casual labours in the informal sector and rise in the share of part-time job-workers. Globalization and accompanying labour market flexibility have increased the work load. Contractual employment based on 'filling up the target' approach has increased the working hours and has reduced the employment and undermined the trade union activities. These new jobs do not maintain minimum condition of work. Therefore, there is a need to evolve minimum conditions of work, which may cover principles such as minimum wages, regulation of hours of work, prevention of child and bonded labour, non-discrimination irrespective of social and geographical origin, freedom of association etc. The NCEUS (2007) has felt that the unorganized workers are covered in a piecemeal fashion in various legislations and lack comprehensive protection in terms of working conditions. Hence NCEUS (2007) has drafted a comprehensive bill to ensure decent conditions of work and promotion of livelihood in the unorganized sector in India. The NCEUS (2007) shows that only 7 percent of the work force enjoyed employment security in India. Thus for a vast number of workers, there is no social security at all. Even when some provision of social security is available to a small segment of the formal sector, all workers are not included under its purview. A large section of workers are unable to attain the desired level of labour market protection. Hence, there is a need to expand the base of protective legislation for the unprotected labour market. Labour market discrimination can be reduced by increasing health and education facilities. Education, training and skill formation are the basic factors that facilitate access to the labour market. Educational disabilities prevent a vast majority of the people from getting highly paid jobs whereas those who enjoy an educational advantage have better access to good jobs. Therefore it is necessary to step up the infrastructural investment, increase in expenditure on social security and human resource development, and provide education and health facilities, among other things. All these require the visible hand of the state more than the invisible hand of market (Nath, 1995).

Some Policy Suggestions

- In the circumstances of declining growth of agriculture, the main thrust of the policy should be on encouraging improvement in the productivity of different crops like cereals, pulses, oilseeds etc. For this purpose, proper steps should be taken to implement rural development programmes such as watershed management, minor irrigation works, soil conservation, a forestation, non-conventional and renewable energy programmes and so on. Since the mid 1980s, public investment in agriculture has gradually declined. Private investment has also failed to fill-up the gap. This led to low capital formation in agriculture. So increase in public investment on land development, irrigation, research, extension, credit and marketing etc are essential for the development of agriculture as well as for the protection of the interest of small and marginal farmers who hardly get any support from institutions. It is also necessary to increase public expenditure on rural infrastructure including those on the ground such as Bharat Nirman

consisting of rural roads, electrification, housing, drinking water and sanitation, strengthening and expanding the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programmes (NREGP).

- At the same time, it is also necessary to increase public investment on urban development programmes like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) for the development of urban basic infrastructure as housing for the poor, water supply and sanitation, repair and strengthening of public schools and skill training centres and so on. A special programme for skill formation and up gradation could also be thought of under urban employment programme, given the high share of casual workers with low levels of education and their lack of employable skill.
- Proper steps should be taken to implement the agriculture specific programmes for mitigating the risk of agricultural production such as minimum support prices, crop insurance, the national Calamity Fund etc. As far as natural risk is concerned, farmers in the risk prone areas should devise their own cropping mechanism. These may involve self-provisioning on the one hand and diversification to supplementary (animal husbandry, dairying etc.) enterprises on the other hand.
- There is need to implement the self-employment programmes properly both in rural and urban areas. Training would be a major component in such self-employment programmes. But the critical factor here is that of access to credit. It was reported (NCEUS, 2007b) that only 5 percent of micro enterprises have access to institutional credit. Further 5 percent of the net bank credit flows to the micro enterprise sector (Kanan, 2009).
- There should be a guarantee of basic social security consisting of food, employment, basic health and education for the workers. There is also need for a measure of providing contingent social security in the form of fall back mechanisms to take care of sickness, maternity, old age and death or disability of bread winner in the household.
- It is also necessary to set up 'minimum conditions of work' for workers, abolition of bonded labour, fixation of working hours, safety requirement, guidelines for handling hazardous items that are applicable to any work.

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