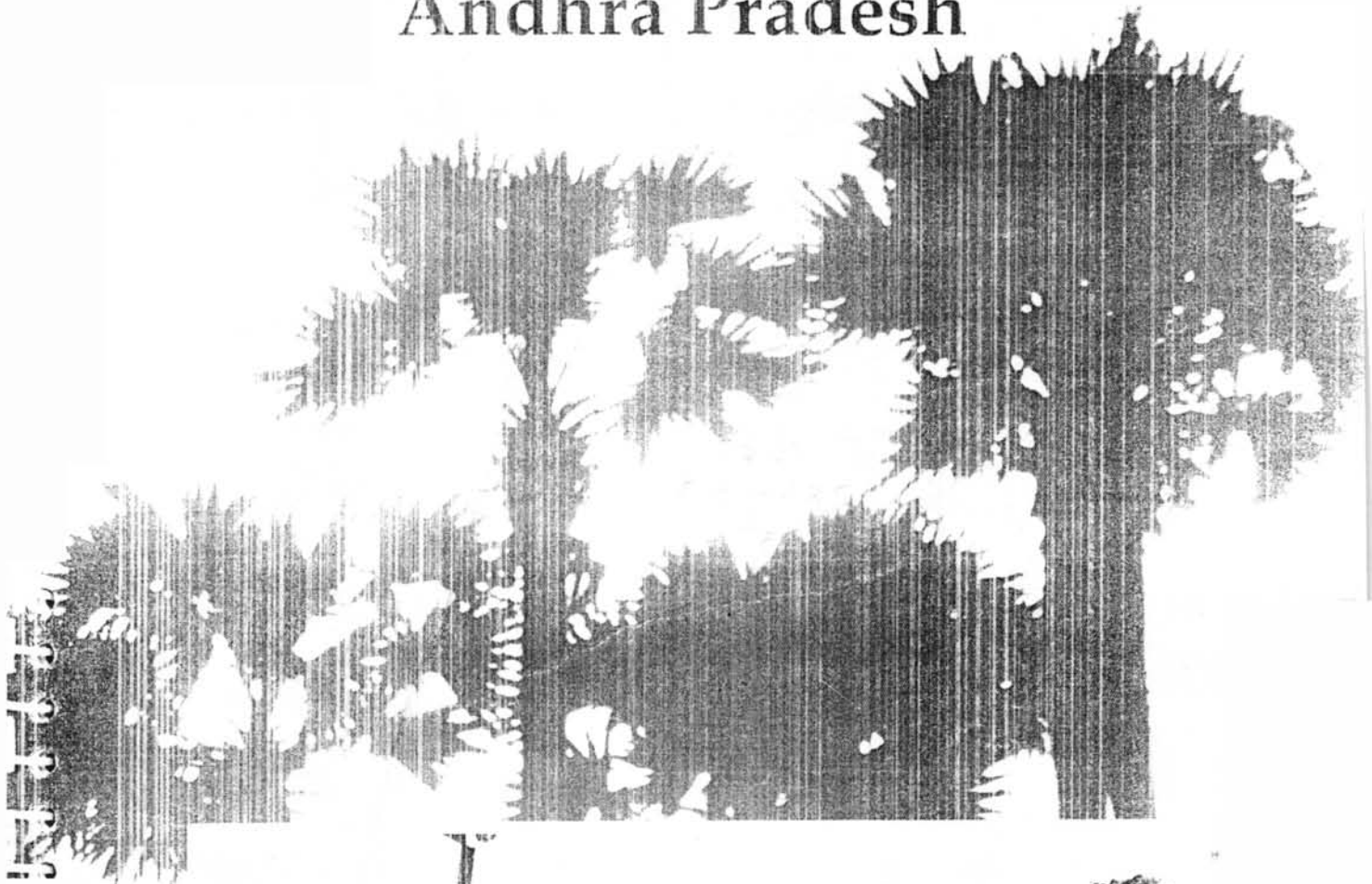


100-GEN015

Gender Profile

Andhra Pradesh



Gender Profile
ANDHRA PRADESH

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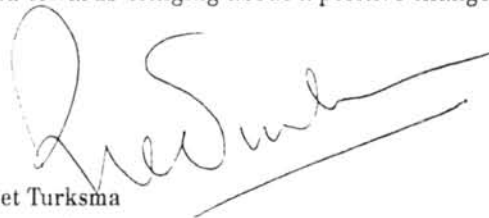
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PREFACE

First started as pure technical interventions in 1978, Indo-Dutch projects have today evolved into programmes with strong social objectives. These programmes, initiated by the Women in Development (WID) desk at the Netherlands Embassy, adhere to AVM* policy guidelines, seeking, through innovative ways, to overcome obstacles to Women's participation in the development process. They also aim at strengthening the influence of women over projects implemented in their vicinities.

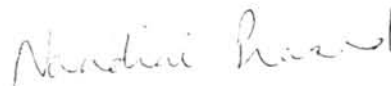
With experience in projects accumulating, it is becoming exceedingly clear that the role of men and women are complementary, often even overlapping. What has also emerged is a gender awareness that is enabling the agents of change (viz. consultants, activists, WID experts and others) to shape the process of planning and methods of implementation for schemes related to poverty alleviation, health and sanitation, and primary education, in areas where the gender development index is low.

This gender profile provides information for intermediaries who wish to know about the status of women in states where Indo-Dutch programmes are being implemented. And since knowledge is power, we hope the gender specific information compiled here will prove useful in making intervention beneficial for both men and women, and towards bringing about a positive change in the community.



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ANDHRA PRADESH



"The oppression and suppression of women, cruel and inhuman in itself, is depriving our societies of half their natural strength. It is morally incumbent upon us to end all discrimination against women, to give them every opportunity for education, employment, self-development and independence"

Rajiv Gandhi
(SAARC Summit, 1988)

1.1 There is a growing realisation that development has no meaning unless it encompasses the women who represent almost half the population. The Indian Constitution includes several Provisions and Directive Principles to safeguard the interests of women. Article 14 confers on men and women equal rights and opportunities in the political, economic and social spheres. Article 15(3) relates to the state making affirmative discriminations in favour of women. Changes were made in Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 and Criminal law 1983 to make offenses against women more stringent. The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act of 1986 seeks to curb abuse of womanhood in the media and negative portrayal.

1.2 Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest state in India both in terms of area and population. With an area of 275,068 sq.km., the state is divided into 23 districts spread over three regions. Coastal Andhra region comprises of the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar deltas in the south, and the former zamindari areas of north coast, bordering Orissa. It consists of nine districts and covers 34 per cent of the area. Telangana region was formerly part of the princely state of Hyderabad. It consists of ten districts and covers 42 per cent of the state's area. Rayalaseema region with four districts covers 24 per cent of the state's area. Most parts of Telangana and Rayalaseema are drought-

prone. Administratively, the state comprises of 23 districts, 1,092 mandals, 108 municipalities, 6 municipal corporations and 21,946 gram panchayats.

Physical Characteristics

1.3 Andhra Pradesh is bounded by the Bay of Bengal in the east, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states in the north, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in the south and Maharashtra in the west. The Krishna and the Godavari are the major river systems in the state. These are of great economic significance due to their irrigation and hydropower potential. The central coastal plain comprises of the agriculturally advanced East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts. The state has a long coastline making the coastal areas vulnerable to periodic cyclones and other natural calamities.

1.4 The state is principally fed by the southwest monsoon and the northeast monsoon contributes one-third of the rainfall. Climate is usually hot and humid. Vast tracts of the state are drought prone with low annual rainfall. Average annual rainfall ranges from 110 to 125 cm. in the eastern ghats to 50 cm. in the south.

State Formation

1.5 The state formation was preceded by an agitation demanding a separate state from the erstwhile Madras Presidency. The agitation took a heavy toll in the death of Late Potti Sriramulu who went on a fast-unto-death for the statehood and sacrificed his life on the 40th day of his fast. On the 1st October, 1953, eleven districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency together formed Andhra state. Subsequently, based on the State Reorganisation Commission recommendations, Andhra Pradesh came into being on 1 November, 1956 combining the Telugu speaking parts of the Nizam's regime with the Andhra state.

Among those in forefront of agitation for freedom from Nizam's rule and for joining Indian Union were Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Pidatala Ranga Reddy who fought the Rajakar movement. This historical background is critical in understanding the situation of women in the different regions of the state. The erstwhile Andhra state carved out of Madras Presidency had a wide network of educational institutions putting them ahead in the educational and economic sphere while Telangana region under a feudal regime lagged behind.

Culture

1.6 The state was ruled by different rulers at different points of time. The state consisted of several kingdoms, princely states and zamindaris. In the thirteenth century, Kakatiyas with Warangal as their capital city (see map) dominated the state. The Mughals conquered the Deccan. The Qutub Shahis laid the foundation of Hyderabad city. The rule by different rulers manifests in the cultural mosaic of the state.

Historical monuments abound in the state as tourist and pilgrim centres. Charminar and Golkonda in Hyderabad; 1000 pillar temple in Warangal and Lord Venkateshwara temple at Tirupati in Chittoor district are some of the examples for architectural and aesthetic excellence.

Andhra Pradesh is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. Official language of the state is Telugu spoken by 85 per cent of the population. Urdu is spoken by 8 per cent and other languages by 7 per cent of the state population.

Economy

1.7 Starting from a low growth rate of 1.9 per cent in 1960s, the SDP reached a growth rate of 4.4 per cent during 1986-87. The gross state domestic product at current prices for Andhra Pradesh was Rs.4,17,508 million in 1991-92. Share of agriculture in State Domestic Product (SDP) declined from 59 per cent in 1960-61 to 39 per cent in 1986-87. In this period, share of secondary sector and tertiary sectors rose from

13 per cent to 21 per cent and from 28 per cent to 40 per cent respectively. In 1988-89, the share of secondary and tertiary sectors in the net SDP was 18.1 per cent and 41.7 per cent respectively.

The per capita net SDP at constant (1980-81) prices increased from Rs.1380 in 1980-81 to Rs.1788 in 1991-92. This is lower than the all-India per capita NDP at factor cost which was Rs.2229 in 1991-92. In terms of economic development, the state lags far behind developed states like Punjab, Haryana and Maharashtra.

1.8 The agricultural sector which accounts for 40 per cent of the state income provides livelihood for 71 per cent of the working population. The major crops are paddy, jowar, groundnut, tobacco, chillies, cotton, castor and sugarcane. The annual rate of increase of the production of food grains from 1967-70 to 1989-90 was 2.5 per cent.

1.9 On the industrial front, major industries in chemicals, pharmaceutical, steel and cement have come up in the state. An emerging industry is that of computer software mainly for export. The state has a long coast line of 970 km. Aquaculture is a major industry with production and export of shrimps and prawns. The state had 828 large and medium industrial units and 98,868 small industrial units. The industry graduated from agro-processing to pharmaceuticals. In 1987-88, of the state's population, 34 per cent in rural areas and 26 per cent in urban areas were living below the poverty line according to the Planning Commission estimates.

State Finances

1.10 The state is well-known for the Rs.2 a kilo scheme with a subsidy of Rs.13,000 million in 1996-97 making it the most subsidised scheme in state sector in the country. The most disturbing aspect of government budget in the state is the galloping rate of growth in revenue deficits with revenue expenditure exceeding the revenue receipts in past 13 years ending 1996-97. The deficits are attributed to rice subsidy, revenue loss due to prohibition and highly subsidized power supply to the agriculturists, heavy subsidies for weaker section housing and poor recovery of relevant housing loans from the

weaker sections, and increase in government staff and wage bill. The public debt of the state is at a staggering Rs.173,720 million in 1996. As high as 82 per cent of fresh debt contracted is going towards the servicing itself leaving very little for fresh investment. These details were part of an official paper released in June, 1996 by the state government seeking solutions to the financial crisis gripping the state (The Hindu, 1996:4).

Land

1.11 Land is unequally distributed in the state. In 1986-87, about 10 per cent of large and medium farmers held 44 per cent of the area while bottom 50 per cent of the cultivators held less than 15 per cent of the area. Land reforms in the state, though not fully successful, has growth and percolation effects on poverty. They freed rural labour from the grip of Zamindars and their control over common property resources. The Zamindari and Jagirdari areas earlier covered 2/5ths of the area and were mostly located in north coastal Andhra, Telangana, Chittoor and Nellore districts. Most of these are historically deprived and are among the poorest in the state. The tenancy appears to be on the rise due to: (i) shift of large and medium farmers from agriculture to non-agriculture occupations and from rural to urban locations and (ii) entry of entrepreneurial agricultural class for capitalist mode of farming (Parthasarathy, 1995).

1.12 Most of the small farmers, marginal farmers and agricultural labour are from the backward castes, SCs and STs. The share of BCs, SCs and STs in the population is 38 per cent, 16 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. Sharp division among rural people, between land owning upper castes and landless dalits, specially in rich delta region lead to violent caste wars. The naxalite movement to fight feudalism, inequalities in land and exploitation started in Srikakulam in late 60s and in Telangana in 1980s. There has been a rising trend in real agricultural wages in southern coastal Andhra region due to agricultural growth and in Telangana due to the naxalite movement and a history of strong peasant movements. Among the tribals in the state, deprivation manifests in : alienation of tribal land mostly by non-tribals circumventing law and declining access to forest resources for a livelihood.

Population

1.13 The population of Andhra Pradesh increased from 19 million at the beginning of the century to 66.5 million in 1991. A disturbing aspect of the population is that the average annual exponential growth rate during the decade 1981-91 (2.41 per cent) was the highest since 1901. Among the regions the Telangana region has been consistently registering high growth rates. Among the million plus cities of India, two from the state, Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam achieved the dubious distinction of registering the highest population growth rates in 1991. These trends could spell disaster for the development of the state whose economy is already wilting under the weight of heavy subsidisation. In this regard the state's performance is the poorest in the southern zone. Though one of the forward ranking states in sex ratio, the state is educationally backward with two-thirds of all women (7 years and above) being illiterate in 1991.

Religion

1.14 The state is the home of all major religious groups in the country. In pre-independence period and after, each of the religions and their denominations tried to spread their preaching. According to the 1991 Census, the major religious groups are Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Others such as Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains constitute a small proportion of the population. Communal harmony is generally maintained except for occasional disturbances. Historic places for pilgrimage for devotees from all religions are found in the state.

Caste

1.15 In the social stratification, caste system is an important strata among Hindus. Despite the strong winds of modernisation and social change, caste continues to play a major role. Contrary to popular belief, grip of caste appears to be extending to more and more spheres as vote bank concept gains ground. The state witnessed caste related violence between Kapus and Kammas in coastal Andhra in 1986 when a popular Kapu leader was killed. In what is known as the Tsundur incident, clashes occurred between the SCs and the land owning

caste Hindus. Barring these, the conflict among caste groups remained latent and did not become a law and order problem till now.

Caste pervades every area of life - politics, government, family, marriage and so on. Caste defines the norms of acceptable conduct, purity, pollution, occupations and practices related to birth, death and marriage. There are sub castes within caste. Occupational mobility is taking place as people seek better opportunities. In the state, Kammas and Reddys are the dominant groups in terms of land ownership and wielding of political power with considerable representation in key elective positions. Rural institutions such as cooperatives and Panchayati raj institutions are controlled by the medium and upper castes and diffusion of power to others is slow (Rami Reddy, 1989). However, the trend seems to have changed with the new reservation system in urban and rural local bodies, in which women are taking up 30% of the seats.

Family and Marriage

1.16 In tune with the system of patriarchy and patrilocal relationships, women's status in general is subordinated to that of men. This extends to food, hospitality, property ownership, succession, inheritance, intra-family relationships, marriage, birth, etc. Traditionally the dominant mode was joint family specially in rural areas. It is breaking down due to urbanisation and occupational mobility in favour of nuclear family type.

1.17 Marriage is nearly universal in the state as revealed by the NFHS (1992). Women tend to marry early in the state. A study on child marriage (Dighe et. al., 1985) found its extensive practice among girls in four Telangana districts. Marriage is done outside one's 'Gotra' but within same sub-caste. Nearly one-fourth of all marriages are cross-cousin marriages (either on father's side or mother's side) in the state (PRC & IIPS, 1995). This is more common among lower socio-economic strata who find it difficult to pay heavy dowry. Change in the social sphere has been slow. In educated middle class families, age at marriage has increased and remarriage of women is also accepted.

Dowry

1.18 The transfer of wealth at the time of marriage in the form of agricultural lands, jewellery, gold, silver, residential plots, houses, money including cash, household items, clothes - in short anything with an economic value attached denotes dowry. The practice of dowry is near universal in the state though official statistics are not available. The heinous age-old tradition is the source of women's insubordination in her crucial shift from the natal family of her parents to the family of in-laws or of the husband after marriage.

1.19 The quantum of dowry a woman brings determines her status, prestige and power in the family. Neither the social reform movements nor social activists could effectively tackle this social problem which unleashes a vicious cycle of domestic violence and atrocities on women. These are proved convincingly by the Crime statistics though punishment of the guilty is slow. In 1993, there were 65 dowry deaths and 498 suicides in the state. Legally dowry is banned but enforcement is negligible. Unfortunately, the menace seems to extend to other religions aided by the consumerism sub-culture promoted through mass media like radio and television. This is a major arena for frontal remedial social action for women's empowerment in the state.

Summing up

- Andhra Pradesh represents a mosaic of varied religions, religious denominations and cultures. The state formed on a linguistic basis in 1956 consists of three regions: Telangana, Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. The state witnessed sharp growth of population in 1981-91. In the state, two-thirds of females aged 7 years and above are illiterate (1991).
- Agriculture occupies a pre-eminent position in the state with a contribution of 40 per cent of GDP. In governmental sphere, state economy is plagued by heavy fiscal deficit on account of high degree of subsidies on popular schemes. The per capita income is relatively lower than the developed states like Punjab, Haryana and Maharashtra.

There is a concentration of small industries in the state. Emerging industries are software development, aquaculture and pharmaceuticals.

- The social setting is characterised by a rigid caste system and its attendant norms, and folkways. These tend to, individually and cumulatively, subordinate the 'woman' to 'man' specially in the context of family and marriage. In marriages, cross-cousin marriage is also practiced. Dowry is nearly universal in the state and acts as a powerful tool for subjugation and physical violence on women. Deaths due to dowry are on the rise in the state.

2 DEMOGRAPHY

Growth of Population

2.1 Demographic changes have significant implications for the growth and development of the women in the population. Andhra Pradesh with a population of 66.5 million (1991) accounts for 7.9 per cent of the country's population. The decadal growth rate in Andhra Pradesh increased from 21 per cent for the period 1961-71 to 23 per cent for 1971-81 and further to 24 per cent for 1981-91. Andhra Pradesh experienced the most rapid population growth amongst the four southern states during the decade 1981 to 1991. As per 1951 Census, Andhra Pradesh (31 million) had the same population as Tamil Nadu (30 million). The difference increased to 11 million by 1991 Census: Andhra Pradesh with a population of 66.5 million and Tamil Nadu with a population of 55.8 million.

Table 2.1 Population Growth in Andhra Pradesh and India

Year	A.P.		India	
	Pop.	De.G. Rate	Pop.	De.G. Rate
1901	19.0	-	238	-
1961	35.9	15.8	439	21.5
1971	43.3	20.9	548	24.8
1981	53.5	23.1	685	25.0
1991	66.5	24.2	846	23.5

Pop. = Population, De.G Rate = Decadal Growth Rate
Source : Census of India, 1991.

Notes : Population in millions and decadal growth rate in per cent.

During 1901-1991, the exponential growth rate in the state (2.17) was higher than that in the country (2.14), a reversal of the trend in earlier two decades. The state population is projected to reach around 80 million by 2000 A.D. Reasons proffered for the reversal of the trend in population growth rate in 1981-91 are migration

and the sharp decline in mortality and a slower decline in fertility. In this period, death rate declined from 11.1 to 8.7 and the proportion of women in reproductive age group (15-49 years) increased from 48 per cent in 1981 to 52 per cent in 1991. Thus factors such as changes in mortality, fertility, and age structure seem to explain the phenomenon.

District-wise Population Growth

2.2 In the state, nine districts form part of the coastal Andhra region, four constitute Rayalaseema region and ten part of the Telangana region. In Telangana region many districts formed part of erstwhile Nizam state. Telangana region, which is economically backward lagged behind the other two in demographic accomplishments. Telangana had a decadal growth rate of 29 per cent as against 21 per cent for coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions revealing deep regional differences. In the state Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy districts recorded the highest growth rates. Districts like Adilabad and Khammam recorded 27 per cent decadal growth rate.

2.3 Policy makers in the state look to Kerala as a model to emulate in population stabilisation strategy. Kerala has already reached the third stage of demographic transition-- low population growth rate with low mortality and low fertility. In order to attain Kerala's position, Andhra Pradesh requires a holistic population policy for population stabilisation addressing issues like population size, age composition, IMR, female illiteracy, TFR and access to family planning services.

Religion-wise Population

2.4 The population composition in terms of religions is presented in Table 2.2 for the state and the country as available from the 1991 Census.

Figure 2.1

ANDHRA PRADESH

Growth of Population, 1901-1991

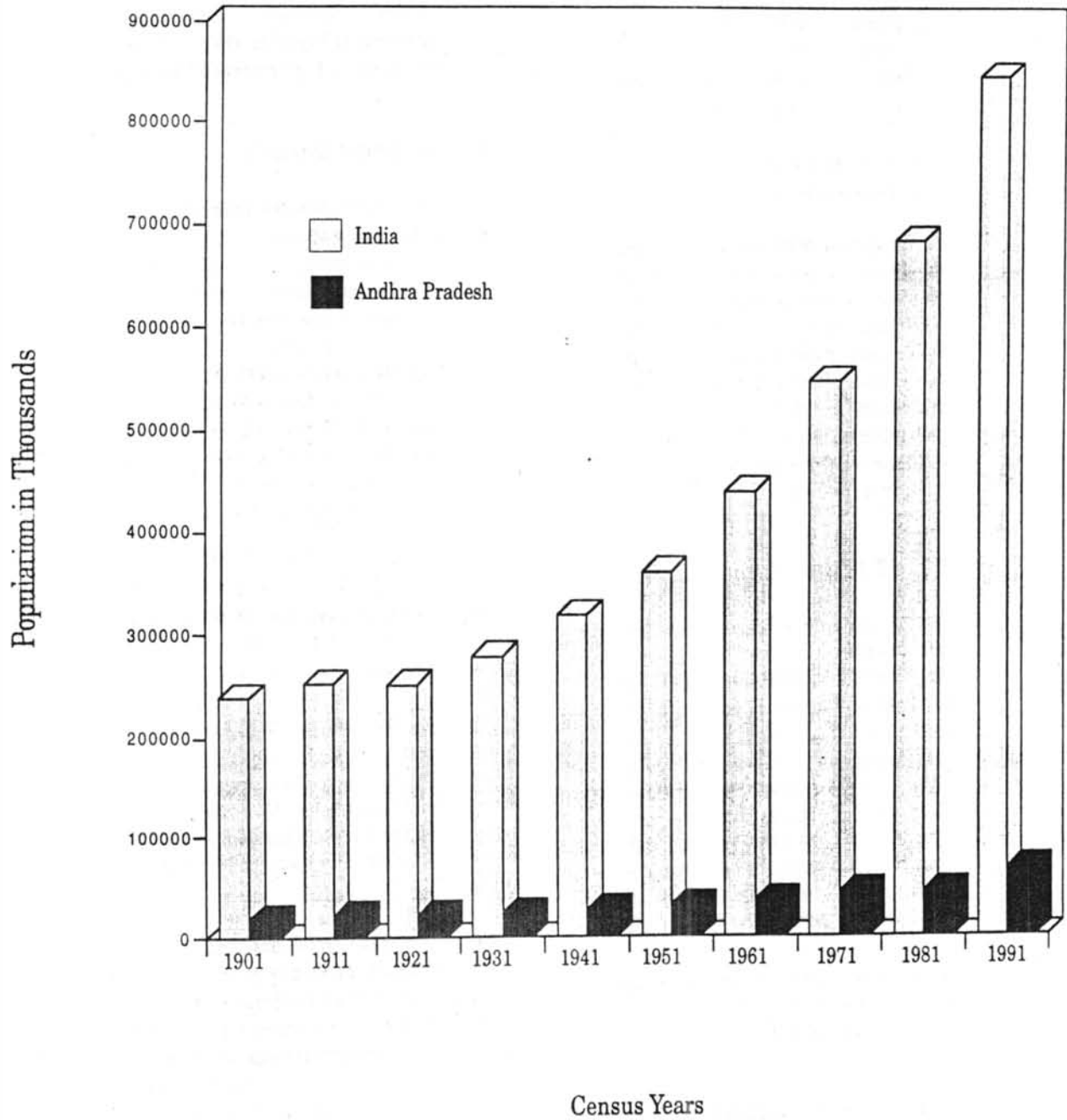


Table 2.2 Population by Religion in Andhra Pradesh and India

Religion	A.P.		India	
	1981	1991	1981	1991
Hindus	86.75	89.14	83.09	82.41
Muslims	8.47	8.91	10.88	11.67
Christians	2.68	1.83	2.45	2.32
Others	0.08	0.10	3.58	3.60
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Census of India, 1991.

Note : Figures in per cent.

The proportion of others, who include the Sikhs, Buddhists, etc. is less in the state than at the national level. Otherwise the pattern is more or less consistent with the national scene. The Census and the NFHS seem to deviate slightly on the issue of religious composition of the population. The NFHS (1992) found the proportion of Hindus as 88 per cent, 8 per cent Muslims and 4 per cent Christians in its sample in Andhra Pradesh.

SC/ ST Population

2.5 The share of the SC population in state's population increased from 13 per cent in 1971 to 16 per cent in 1991. Like wise, the share of STs went up from 4 per cent in 1971 to 6 per cent in 1991. One of the reasons for the increase in the population of STs could be the inclusion of Banjaras of Telangana region in the list of STs in the 1981 Census. The state has 33 ST communities. Among the districts, Nellore has the highest percentage (21.85) of SCs while Khammam has the largest proportion (25.23 per cent) of STs as per the 1991 Census. The SCs are dispersed throughout the state. However, the ST population is concentrated in the four districts of Visakhapatnam, Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad.

Density of Population

2.6 Density of population in the state (242) is lower than the national average (274) as per the 1991 Census. Density of population increased

four-fold from 62 per sq.km. in 1901 to 112 per sq.km. in 1951, and more than double at 242 in 1991. In tune with the levels of development, density is high in a majority of the districts in the coastal Andhra region. In contrast, all the districts in Rayalaseema region had density lower than the state average in 1991. The fully urban district of Hyderabad had the state's highest density at 14,497 in 1991 jeopardising the carrying capacity of the urban basic services.

Rural- Urban Density

2.7 Inter-regional differences are sharp in degree of urbanisation in the state. In the state an uneven development is the rapid migration of people to large cities like Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam instead of small cities and towns increasing the problems of urbanisation. Visakhapatnam city recorded the highest growth rate in the state for 1981-91 demonstrating the strong role of 'pull' factors. An implication is the proliferation of slums and squatter settlements with adverse impact on quality of life of women, who tend to suffer the most in such circumstances.

Structural Features of Population

Sex Ratio

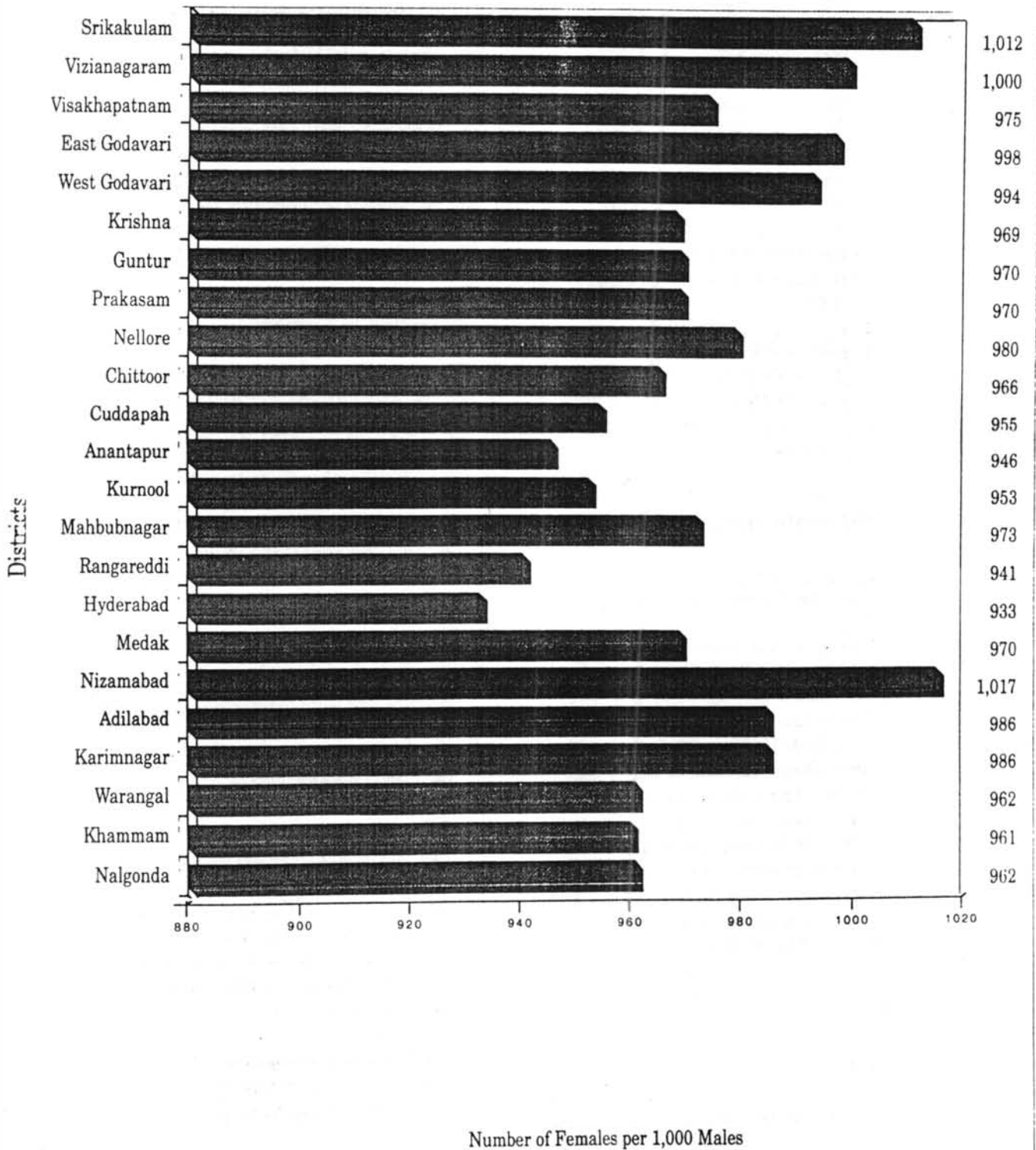
2.8 During the past several decades males outnumbered females in Andhra Pradesh. At the national level there has been a steady decline in the sex ratio over the last nine decades. Though the sex ratio in the state has been on the decline, the rate of decline has been smaller than at the national level.

Sex ratio decreased in the state from 986 in 1951 to 972 in 1991. In Andhra Pradesh there was no rural-urban difference in sex ratio during the first five decades of this century. This trend is contrary to the normal trend of urban sex ratio being less than the rural ratio due to sex-specific migration. Nevertheless, the consistent decline in the sex ratio in the state points to the relatively lower status of women in the society aggravated by low female literacy rate, low age at marriage for girls and high fertility.

Figure 2.2

ANDHRA PRADESH

Sex Ratio (Districts), 1991



**Table 2.3 Sex Ratio in
Andhra Pradesh and India, 1901-1991**

Census Year	A.P	India	Gap
1901	986	972	14
1911	992	964	28
1921	993	955	38
1931	987	950	37
1941	980	945	35
1951	986	946	40
1961	981	941	40
1971	977	930	47
1981	975	934	41
1991	972	927	45

Source : Census of India, 1981 and 1991.

Note : Sex ratio refers to the number of females per 1000 males.

2.9 As evident from the Table 2.3, the scene in Andhra Pradesh was invariably better and the state was one of the states in the country with relatively high sex ratios. Within the state, inter-district differentials reveal that 13 out of 23 districts had sex ratios less than the state average in 1991. These include all the districts in the Rayalaseema region.

Sex Ratio Among Tribes

2.10 It is heartening to note that three districts: Vizianagaram, Srikakulam and Nizamabad had sex ratios of 1000 and above in favour of women (1991). Among the social groups, sex ratio among the STs declined from 973 in 1971 to 962 in 1981. This is surprising as among social groups, the tribes are characterised by social homogeneity. Certain tribal groups like Lambada, Yerukula, Yanadi, Chenchu and Andh have lower sex ratio revealing the gender bias and discrimination against girls in tribal communities as well (Rao, 1991). However, tribes such as Gond, Gadaba and Kotia had sex ratios of over 1000 in 1981 revealing inter-tribe differences in gender equity.

Birth Rates

2.11 Population growth is a function of births, deaths and migration. Important sources of data

on birth rate are Civil Registration System and the Sample Registration System (SRS). The latter is widely acknowledged as a reliable source for assessment of births and deaths. The NFHS (1992) estimated the birth rates for the state. In the state crude birth rate (CBR) declined from 34.1 in 1971-73 to 23.8 in 1994 as per SRS. The National Goal for CBR is 21 per 1000 by 2000 AD. Though on a decline, CBR in the state is still high when compared to Kerala's 17.4 and Tamil Nadu's 19.2.

As per SRS (1994), while rural Andhra Pradesh has a lower birth rate (24.1) than rural India (30.5), urban Andhra Pradesh (22.9) has more or less the same birth rate as urban India (23.1). Figures on CBR at the district level are not available from SRS.

Decline in Fertility

2.12 In assessing trends in fertility, besides crude birth rate, other indicators like Total Fertility Rate (TFR), age-specific fertility rates and general fertility rate need to be taken into consideration. Over the two decades fertility has declined in the state following the decrease in the CBR and total fertility rate (TFR). The state is seen as not being too far away from the replacement level (PRC & IIPS, 1995).

Total Fertility Rate

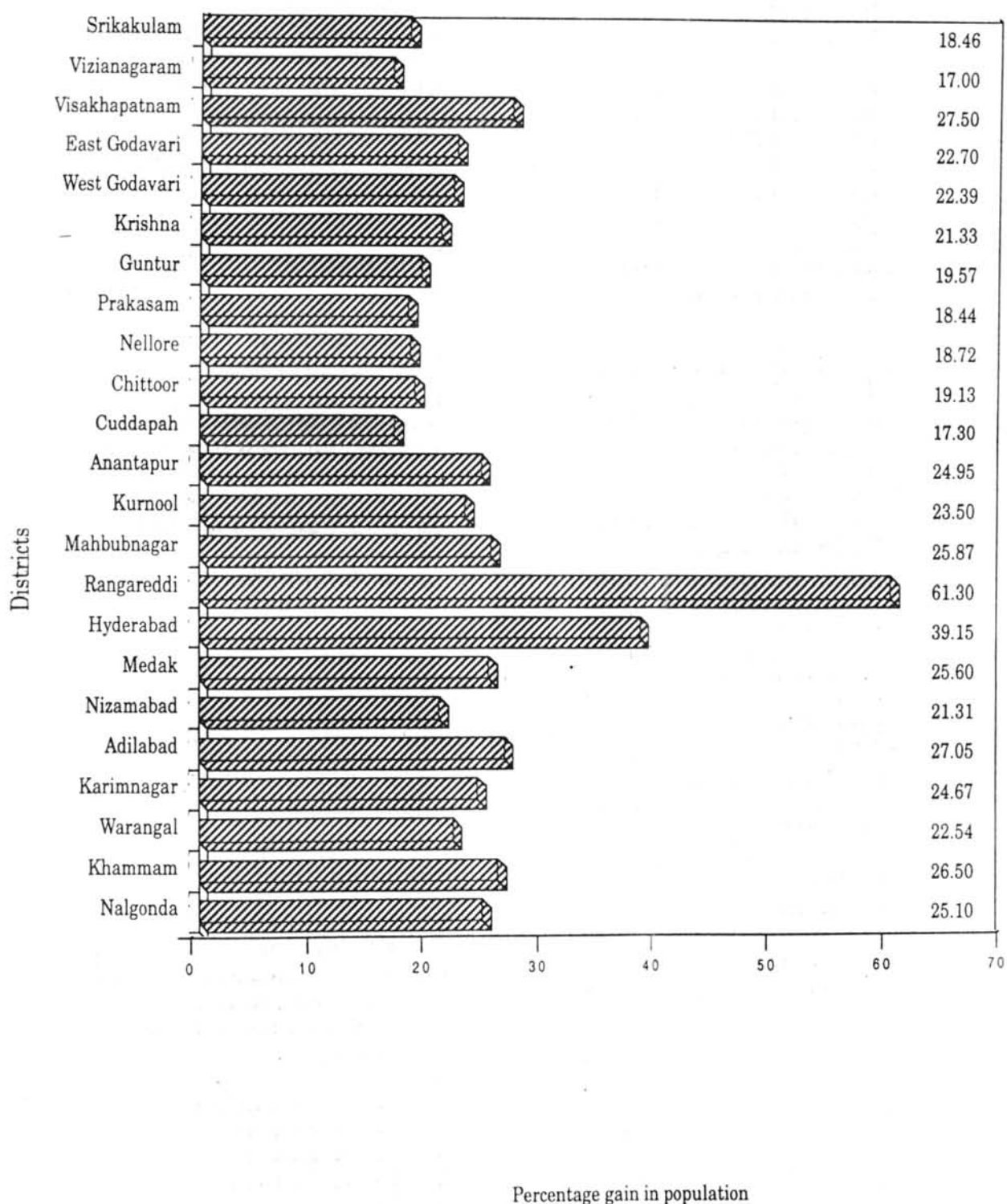
2.13 The total fertility rate (TFR) measures the average number of children a woman could expect to have before reaching the age of 50 years, given the prevailing levels of age-specific fertility rates. According to the SRS (1993) the TFR in the state was 2.7. In the 20 year period from 1971 to 1991, there was a decline of 1.6 children per woman in Andhra Pradesh as against 2.3 in case of Kerala and 1.6 for the country as a whole. The NFHS (1992) found that at current fertility levels, women in the state have an average of 2.6 children each during their child bearing years.

2.14 Education is a crucial socio-economic correlate of TFR. In the state, according to NFHS, women with at least a high school education have a TFR of 1.8 children per woman whereas illiterate women have a TFR of 3.0

Figure 2.3

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Decennial Population Growth Rate (Districts), 1991



which is about 60 per cent higher. Thus, as education increases, TFR tends to fall. However, considering the low female literacy rate and the low completion rates for girls in the state as discussed in the chapter on education, a majority of women lack educational opportunity. Rural TFR (2.7) is slightly higher than that for urban TFR (2.4).

2.15 The General Fertility Rate (GFR) according to the SRS was 106 in 1990. The age-specific fertility rates (NFHS) show that current fertility in Andhra Pradesh is characterised by a substantial amount of early child-bearing: 28 per cent of total fertility is accounted for by births in the age group 15-19 years and only 14 per cent of total fertility is contributed by births to women aged 30-49 years.

Differentials in cohort fertility (children ever born to women age 40-49) by place of residence, education and caste are smaller than the differentials in TFR. The socio-economic situation a woman lives in makes a great difference in fertility behaviour. The NFHS confirms this. The current fertility is lower than cohort fertility indicating the decline in fertility in Andhra Pradesh during the past three decades or so despite low women's literacy and high infant and child mortality.

Table 2.4 Fertility by Background Characteristics

Back-ground	TFR	Mean No. of Children Ever Born
Residence		
Rural	2.67	4.12
Urban	2.35	3.88
Education		
Illiterate	2.97	4.23
High School & above	1.84	3.15
Caste/ tribe		
S. C	2.61	4.32
S. T	3.74	(4.07)
Others	2.52	4.00

Source : National Family Health Survey - A.P., PRC & IIPS, Bombay, 1995.

Note : 1. Based on 25-49 cases

2. TFR for the three years preceding the survey (1992).

Marital Status

2.16 Marriage is important for its influence on women's status, fertility and population growth. The NFHS reveals that as many as four-fifths of women in 15-49 years age group are currently married and only 1 per cent of women have never been married. Thus marriage is virtually universal in the state and marriages take place at relatively younger ages. Child marriage is more in vogue in the rural areas. The proportion of ever-married at age 15-19 is twice as high in rural areas (63 per cent) as in urban areas (29 per cent).

Age at Marriage

2.17 According to the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1978, the minimum legal age at marriage in India is 18 years for women and 21 years for men. The median age at marriage in Andhra Pradesh is 17.2 years in Andhra Pradesh, 20.3 years in Tamil Nadu and 21.8 years in Kerala. As per NFHS, in the state, over three-fourths of rural women aged 20-24 have married below the legal age of 18 years (PRC & IIPS, 1995).

Table 2.5 Singulate Mean Age at Marriage, Andhra Pradesh

Year	Male	Female	Difference
1961	22.3	15.2	7.1
1971	22.8	16.3	6.5
1981	23.1	17.3	5.8
1992	23.6	18.1	5.5

Sources : 1. Census of India

2. NFHS - Andhra Pradesh (1992)

Out of 35 districts in India with female age at marriage less than 15 years as per 1981 Census, 6 districts belong to the state and all of them are from Telangana region. As per the NFHS (1992), the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) for females was 20.3 years in rural areas, 17.3 years in urban areas and 18.1 years overall. Age at marriage is higher in urban areas with urban women marrying, on an average, three years later than rural women. There has been a steady increase in the age at marriage for both males and females, the magnitude of increase being a meager 2.9 years among women over three decades. Factors for the increase could be rising

consciousness of need for education, media campaign on legal minimum age at marriage, urbanisation, etc.

Mortality

2.18 One explanation for the acceleration in population growth rate in the decade ending 1991 in the state was that while CBR remained constant in first six years of 1981-1991, the crude death rates (CDR) fell. In the first stage of demographic transition, mortality rates start declining while fertility rates continue to rule at relatively higher levels. In the state, CDR declined from 15.8 during 1971-73 to 10.0 in 1985-87. It further declined to 8.6 in 1993 (SRS).

Table 2.6 Crude Death Rates and Age-specific Death Rates, 1991

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-4	24.8	17.6	21.3
5-14	1.6	1.4	1.5
50+	40.0	32.6	36.2
CDR	10.7	8.7	9.7

Source : Office of Registrar General, Sample Regn. System, 1993.

The SRS data for 1991 shows that ratio of female to male rates for 0-4, 5-14, 15-49 and 50+ age group are below 1.00 indicating lower mortality for females in each of these age groups. Similar trend is found in most countries. The decline in CDR is attributed largely to better access to health care, improved health facilities and advances in medical sciences accompanied by improvements in life expectancy at birth which is higher for females in Andhra Pradesh.

2.19 The life expectancy at birth is higher in Andhra Pradesh (59.1 years for males and 62.2 years for females) than the country's average (58.1 years for males and 59.1 years for females) for the period 1986-91. The state is one of the few states in the country with a higher life expectancy for females. Life expectancy at birth increased by eight years from 1976-80 to 1986-91 in the state. Females have better life expectancy at birth than males with attendant decline in mortality and morbidity and improved ante-natal care. However, the most glaring inequality is between rural and urban areas.

Infant Mortality

2.20 Infant mortality refers to the probability of dying before the first birthday. Infant stage consists of peri-natal stage (still births and 1-7 days), neo-natal stage (up to one month) and post-neonatal stage (1-12 months). Overriding factors influencing the peri-natal and neo-natal stages are biological in nature and in case of post-neonatal stage, environmental factors predominate.

As per SRS (1994), IMR for the state (65) was lower than the country's (74) but much higher than that of Kerala state (16). The neo-natal component accounts for a substantial share of IMR in the state. Trends show that between 1971-75 and 1981-84, IMR in the state declined by 29 per cent as against an overall decline of 30 per cent in death rate. The rural-urban ratio of IMR in the state was 1.7 as against 1.5 in the country in 1994. Rural-urban differences were less glaring in 1990 than in 1971-75 (SRS).

Gender Differentials

2.21 Gender bias is a matter of concern at the national level as IMR among females is more than IMR among males. However, in Andhra Pradesh IMR of females is lower than that of males. The male-female gap narrowed in 1990 in comparison to 1979-80 in favour of males though overall IMR declined.

Table 2.7 Infant and Child Mortality, Andhra Pradesh

Indicator	Urban	Rural	Total
IMR	46	70	64
N.M	32.4	47.4	43.5
Pon.M	13.1	22.6	20.1
Pen.M	40.6	47.0	45.3
SBR	11.6	13.8	12.2
< 5 Mortality	73.7	97.1	91.2

N.M=Neonatal mortality Pon.M=Post-natal mortality
Pen.M=Peri-natal mortality SBR=Still Birth Rate

Source : 1. Office of the Registrar General, SRS, 1995.

2. NFHS-Andhra Pradesh, PRC & IIPS, 1995.

Note : 1. The data pertain to SRS for the year 1993 except for under 5 mortality rate which relates to 1992 (NFHS).

2. Peri-natal mortality is defined in SRS as deaths in first 7 days of life plus still births.

In all instances, urban mortality rates are less than rural mortality rates. Child mortality rate (1-5 year) in the state (22.4) is less than the national average (33.4) according to NFHS. Within IMR, peri-natal causes form a significant component of burden of diseases. Overall, 64 per cent of infant deaths recorded in NFHS in the state occurred during the first four weeks of life.

2.22 The NFHS (1992) examined the socio-economic correlates of IMR. It found that IMR fell from a high of 80 for illiterate women to a low of 36 among women educated up to high school stage. Religion-wise, every infant and child mortality indicator is lower for Muslims than for Hindus. Contrary to this NFHS finding, Mahadevan and others (1986) found that there were no religion-specific differentials in infant and child mortality in Andhra Pradesh.

Data on district level IMR estimates is not available from SRS. The Registrar General's Office published district-wise IMR values based on 1981 Census. These values show that Vizianagaram, Srikakulam and Anantapur districts had high infant mortality rates. A study (Subrahmanyam, 1991) noted that there is a positive correlation between IMR and poverty. It found that in the state 8 districts have high IMR and high poverty levels. It calls for special attention to the districts of Mahbubnagar, Anantapur, Kurnool and Adilabad due to their poor showing with regard to age at marriage, fertility, IMR, CPR and poverty ratios.

Age Composition

2.23 After consideration of the changes in mortality and fertility, it is pertinent to analyse their implications on the age structure of the population. The state's population is characterised by a large proportion of children (34 per cent) below the age of 15 years. This causes a high dependency on adult population. Due to fertility and other changes, child population (below 15 years) declined in relative terms from 37.3 per cent of total population in 1987 to 34.7 per cent in 1993 (SRS). There has been very little change in this proportion since the beginning of the century in the state.

Table 2.8 Population by Age and Sex, Andhra Pradesh in %

Age Years	SRS (1993)		NFHS (1992)		S.R
	M	F	M	F	
0-4	11.4	11.3	10.6	10.8	997
5-14	22.8	22.6	24.3	24.2	977
15-29	23.4	28.3	26.4	28.8	1066
30-49	23.7	23.5	23.5	21.3	888
50-64	9.9	10.0	10.3	10.8	1034
65+	3.9	4.3	5.0	4.1	812
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	979

M = Male, F = Female, S.R. = Sex Ratio

Source: 1. Office of Registrar General, SRS, 1995.

2. NFHS-Andhra Pradesh, PRC & IIPS, 1995.

Note: Sex ratios by age could not be computed from SRS as information on absolute numbers of population are not available.

2.24 The dependency ratio and ageing index reflect changes in age composition. The dependency ratio shows the ratio of the children and the old persons in the working age. With declining mortality rates, the proportion of 66+ population has been increasing. The dependency ratio in the state has been estimated at 70.4 per cent in 1991. Considering the low age at marriage in the state at over 70 per cent of women marrying before the minimum legal age and the maximum percentage of women in the 15-29 year age group underline the need for sharp focus on services for adolescent girls in the economic, educational and health spheres.

Demographic Goals

2.25 In juxtaposition to neighbouring south Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, Andhra Pradesh is way behind in its quest for population stabilisation. However, in relation to the demographic goals set by the National Health Policy (1983) of the Government of India, a feat already achieved by Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh seems set to achieve the goals set for 2000 A.D.

Table 2.9 Towards Population Stabilisation

Indicator	Goal (2000 AD)	A.P.	India	Kerala
Natural Growth Rate	1.2	1.57	1.94	1.14
Crude Birth Rate	21.0	24.3	28.7	17.4
Crude Death Rate	9.0	8.6	9.3	6.0
Infant Mortality Rate	60.0	64.0	74.0	13.0
Couple Protection Rate	60.0	46.1	45.8	50.7
Total Fertility Rate	2.2	2.7	3.6	1.7

Source : State Population Policy, No date.

Notes : 1. Data for A.P. for CPR and TFR is from NFHS (1992).

2. National Goals set by the Government of India (1983).

Summing up

- The 1981-91 inter-censal increase in population (24.2 per cent) was somewhat higher than that of the country as a whole (23.9 per cent). This represents a reversal of the trends in preceding decades when state's performance was better than national average. The sharp decline in mortality, a slower decline in fertility and migration during 1981-91 seem to explain high growth rate. The density of population in the state increased four-fold from 62 per sq.km. in 1901 to 241 per sq.km. in 1991. Andhra Pradesh is among the states with high sex ratio in India. At the same time sex ratio in Andhra Pradesh decreased from 986 in 1951 to 972 in 1991.
- The median age at marriage is 17.2 in the state. More than three-fourths of rural women aged 20-24 years have married below the legally prescribed minimum age of 18 years (NFHS). As much as 22 per cent of current fertility is contributed by women aged 15-19 years in the state. Substantial amount of early child bearing and low fertility after age 30 are the main features of current fertility in the state (NFHS).
- The state appears to be well set to accomplish the demographic goals set for the year 2000 AD in the national Health Policy (1983) but lags behind the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.
- The state has lower IMR than for the country as a whole (1990) but rural-urban differences are glaring. The state IMR for females is marginally lower than that of males in 1990. There is no evidence of female disadvantage in crude death rates (1990) in the state. Andhra Pradesh is one of the few states with higher life expectancy at birth for females (1986-91) but sharp rural - urban differences exist.
- Demographic scene in the state is characterised by inter-regional and inter-district differences. In Telangana region CBR is high at 28 as against a CBR of 23 in the coastal Andhra region. Mahbubnagar and seven other districts in the state have high poverty ratios and high IMR revealing the positive correlation between a demographic variable and an economic indicator.

3 EDUCATION

3.1 Andhra Pradesh is one of the nine educationally backward states in the country on the criterion of enrolment of children at the primary stage. It lags behind Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the south. The education scene in the state is characterised by convergence of social, economic and gender specific disadvantages. As practiced in the state, there are formal and non-formal systems of education. Formal system includes school and higher education. The school education includes different stages such as pre-school, primary, middle and high school. The higher education includes collegiate education through general and professional streams. Historically, within the state, areas which were part of the erstwhile Madras Presidency are somewhat educationally better endowed due to the stress on liberal education by the then rulers.

3.2 The Indian Constitution (Article 45) directs that "State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children before they complete the age of fourteen years". Notwithstanding the Constitutional mandate given in 1950, even after four and a half decades, universal education for all children, specially for girls, appears to be highly challenging. Special efforts through 'Akshra Jyoti' (Total Literacy Campaign) to universalise literacy and District Primary Education Project were launched by the state government to expand educational opportunities. At the policy level, the state seeks to universalise education.

Pre-school Education

3.3 The opportunities for children including girl-child for early childhood stimulation and learning to develop to their optimal levels, is shaped in the pre-school stage (3-5 years). Pre-school education is intended to be a culture-specific and child-specific process of early childhood care and preparation. Information on pre-school education is limited except for data

available regarding anganwadis in ICDS programme. However, pre-school education is usually the prerogative of the rich and well-off in urban centres except where anganwadis/balwadis are functional. A majority of the children do not have access to pre-school education.

Literacy and Literacy Levels

3.4 Female literacy in relation to men's literacy status is a significant variable in understanding the comparative position of women. It is significant to note that except in 1911, female literacy rate in the state has always been less than the national average. Among the four southern states, Andhra Pradesh has the least female literacy rate. Excluding 0-6 age group population, 23.83 million females are illiterates in the state as per 1991 Census. It is a gigantic challenge to reach basic literacy in the form of at least 3 R's for women in the foreseeable future. The situation is alarming in rural areas of the state where 76 per cent of the 24.02 million rural females excluding 0-6 year population are illiterate. In urban areas, of the 8.75 million females, 4.18 million are literate (1991).

Table 3.1 Growth of Literacy, Andhra Pradesh and India

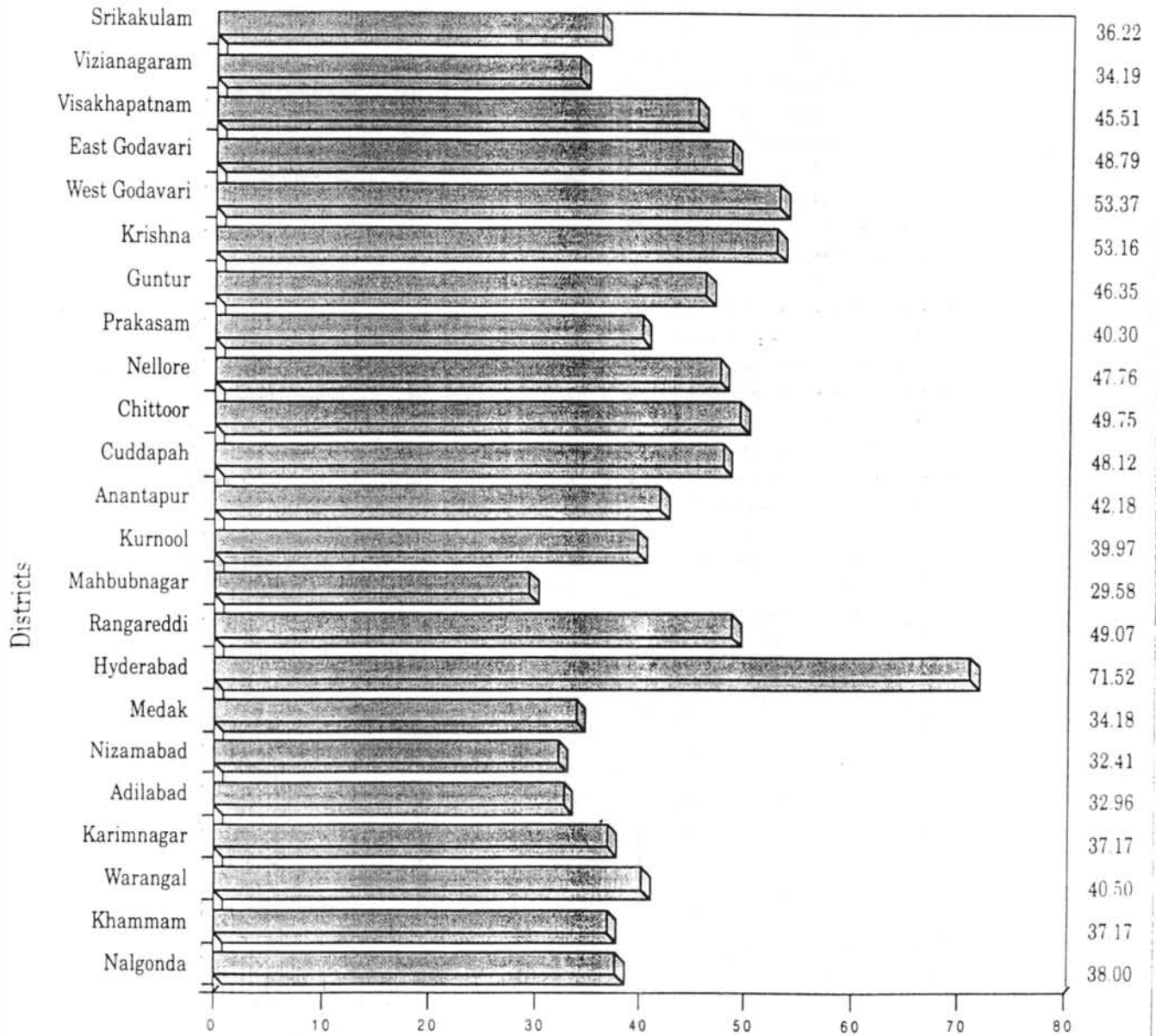
Census year	A.P.		India	
	Female	Persons	Female	Persons
1901	0.61	4.63	0.60	5.35
1911	0.87	5.08	1.05	5.92
1921	1.62	6.29	1.81	7.16
1951	7.62	15.21	7.93	16.67
1961	12.03	21.19	12.95	24.02
1971	15.75	24.57	18.68	29.45
1981	20.39	29.94	24.73	36.03
1991	32.72	44.09	39.29	52.31

Source : Census of India.

Figure 3.1

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Literacy Rate (Districts), 1991



Figures in percentage

Differences in Literacy Levels

3.5 In relative terms, gender differences in literacy rates declined from 1911 to 1991 at the state level. Gender differences are higher among STs than the SCs. The female literacy rates among the tribal communities are very low. Among the scheduled tribes in the state, the overall literacy rate is 17.16 per cent, male literacy 25.25 per cent and female literacy abysmally low at 8.68 per cent (1991). Thus 91 out of 100 females were illiterate in the state among STs in 1991 calling for extra-ordinary efforts to achieve total literacy. The situation is compounded by the large number of languages and dialects used by the tribal groups whereas the medium of teaching is usually official language, Telugu.

3.6 Due to continuous denudation and displacement, the STs are forced to live in inaccessible tracts without adequate facilities for education denying them educational opportunity. Even if facilities exist, personnel are unwilling to work in tribal areas. The issue of mobilisation and motivation of tribal women to enrol and learn has to be addressed. Unless the education builds in its curriculum concerns related to their livelihood and environment, interest will sustain. Further, as discussed in the second chapter, sex ratios among some tribes are highly adverse to women revealing deeper gender inequalities even among STs indicating that female education is interlinked with overall social construct of gender.

Inter-district Differences

3.7 The inter-district differences in effective female literacy rates for 1991 show that Hyderabad district ranks first (63.56 per cent) and Mahbubnagar the least (18.03 per cent). Other districts with very low female literacy rates are Nizamabad, Adilabad and Medak in Telangana region. These, along with Mahbubnagar rank among the least developed districts in the state. Conversely, districts showing good performance in female literacy are the highly developed and agriculturally advanced East Godavari, West Godavari and Krishna in coastal Andhra region.

There are 12 backward districts with over 80 per cent rural female illiteracy in the state (1991 Census). Male-female differences in literacy rates are the least in the highly developed East Godavari district in the coastal Andhra region suggesting that as development progresses, gender disparities in literacy may become less pronounced, though female disadvantage tends to persist.

Educational Attainments

3.8 The NSS provides information on the distribution of women by their educational attainments. The data show that a majority were illiterate in the state during 1986-87. A large

**Table 3.2 Rural Female Literacy:
Most Backward Districts (1991)**

Coastal Andhra	Telangana	Rayalaseema
Srikakulam	Kurnool	Mahbubnagar
Vizianagaram		Rangareddi
Visakhapatnam		Medak
		Nizamabad
		Adilabad
		Karimnagar
		Warangal
		Nalgonda

Source : Census of India, 1991.

proportion of women did not mention their educational attainment during enumeration.

Table 3.3 Women by Educational Attainment, Andhra Pradesh

Sl.	Education	Per cent
1.	Not literate	60.94
2.	Literate but below primary/ No further education	11.48
3.	Primary/ Junior Basic	6.97
4.	Middle/ Senior Basic	2.99
5.	Technical/ Vocational School Course	0.01
6.	Matric/ SSLC	0.71
7.	High Secon./ PUC/ Inter.	0.28
8.	Under. Diploma/ Cert.	0.05
9.	Degree/ Diploma	0.16

Source : NSS 42 Round, Sarvekshana, April-June, 1993.

Note : Total is less than 100 due to no response.

3.9 The educational attainments in the state among women are considerably less with less than one per cent completing tenth class. The other problem is that of considerable number of 'no response' cases. Only 11 per cent of the women studied up to primary and beyond despite the Constitutional directives and policy pronouncements. Since educational endowments are critical entry requirements, without them women will have settle for low paid and unskilled jobs perpetuating their subjugation.

Growth of Educational Institutions

3.10 Educational institutions in the state are managed by: (i) government, (ii) rural and urban local bodies and (iii) private sector. Within the private sector, there are two types of institutions: aided institutions and unaided institutions. Since education is in the 'Concurrent List', there are institutions managed by the union as well as the state governments. In the state, growth of educational institutions shows that: (i) in the past four decades, the overall thrust has been on expanding facilities for school education at the upper primary level and (ii) geographical distribution of the primary schools does not reveal any linkage with district's population.

Table 3.4 Expansion of Schools in Andhra Pradesh (1956-94)

Year	Primary Schools	Upper Primary	High Schools
1956-57	29,076	329	733
1965-66	37,320	2,578	2,297
1974-75	36,895	3,702	3,276
1982-83	41,203	5,709	4,036
1993-94	7,145	6,341	7,145

Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh, Education For All, 1994.

3.11 Physical expansion of facilities to reach remotest areas has been a significant feature of the Kothari Commission on Education and the New Education Policy (1986). In terms of availability of facilities, 97.30 per cent of rural population in the state have a primary school within a walking distance of one km. and 70.18 per cent rural population have an upper primary school within three kms. There are as 4,650 habitations in the state without a school. Most of them are in tribal areas, specially in Visakhapatnam district according to the Fifth All India Educational Census.

School Enrolment

3.12 The Eighth Five Year Plan's goal was to universalise primary education. India is a signatory to the Jomtien Declaration to ensure Education For All by the year 2000 AD.

Table 3.5 Enrolment Ratio in Classes I-VII, Andhra Pradesh (1993-94)

Category	Boys	Girls	Total
Class I-V			
General	78.67	67.75	73.29
S.C.	102.82	84.4	93.75
S.T.	102.77	67.62	85.43
Class V-VII			
General	51.25	36.01	43.74
S.C.	55.24	33.58	44.56
S.T.	38.83	14.90	27.02

S.C. = Scheduled Caste, S.T. = Scheduled Tribe
Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh, Education For All, 1994.

Note : Figures in Per cent

In the state, girls enrolment in Class I rose from 0.72 million in 1977-78 to 1.18 million in 1993-94. Though there is an increase in absolute numbers, in percentage terms about one-third of the girls in general category and among SCs do not enrol at school in the primary stage. As many of those enrolled in primary stage drop-out and many do not enrol at all, the percentage of girls enrolling in the upper primary stage is 36 per cent.

3.13 The enrolment of SC girls is almost the same as for girls in general category indicating the positive impact of scholarships, job reservations, stipends, accommodation and tuition provided by the government to SCs. In fact, the enrolment ratios of SCs at both the primary stage and upper primary stage are better than the enrolment ratios of other castes. Thus, in this respect, the SCs in Andhra Pradesh have overtaken the other castes and the STs.

Drop-out Ratios

3.14 Wastage in the education system is considerable. While some do not enrol at all leaving available amenities sub-optimally used, some others do enrol but leave mid-way either due to failure, inappropriate service structuring, disinterest or economic and social compulsions. Out of the 49 girls enrolling in the 1st class only 28 reach 3rd standard and 21 reach 5th standard (EFA Advocacy Forum, 1994). The NSS 42nd Round provides information on the reasons for drop-out of girls separately caste group-wise. The most important reason for drop-out is the

lack of interest in education or in pursuing further studies among all social groups. This could be a demand side constraint to access. It could also be a supply side constraint in terms of poor quality of education services or a combination of both (Government of India, 1993).

3.15 Economic reasons account for a significant proportion of discontinuance specially among the weaker sections underlining the economic value of a child in destitute to very poor households. There has been no perceptible decline in the drop out ratios of girls in the state reflecting not so positively on the various interventions to promote girl's education. Drop-out rates for girls in classes I to X was 85.49 per cent in 1982-83. Even after a decade, the ratio declined marginally to 81.18 per cent in 1992-93 (Government of India, 1995). In terms of scholastic achievement the girls excelled boys at the 10th class (SSC) public examination held in 1996.

Disadvantaged Groups

3.16 Learning opportunities are denied to a large number of scheduled tribe girls. As many as 85% of girls were not enrolled in classes V to VII in 1993-94. This situation corresponds to the lowest female literacy rates among STs perpetuating age old educational deprivation and backwardness. Enrolment ratios for classes V to VII among scheduled caste girls (33.5 per cent) are more than double the rates for ST girls and just three points less than girls from general category. Government provides pre-metric scholarships to SC/ST girls.

Table 3.6 Female Drop-outs by Reasons for Discontinuation Andhra Pradesh (Rural)

Reasons	S.T.	S.C.	Others
Not interested in education/ further studies	74.65	28.82	36.38
Participation in HH economic activities	1.83	14.80	12.85
For other economic reasons	23.52	21.10	12.65
Busy attending domestic chores	Nil	12.31	11.40
Failure	Nil	6.78	7.65
Others	Nil	16.19	19.08
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : NSS 42 Round (Education), Sarvekshana, April-June, 1993.

Note: HH = Household

Women Teachers

3.17 The share of women as teachers in the schools is low and limited to about one third of the total in high schools and primary schools. Due to mobility restrictions and familial responsibilities, educated women prefer to work as teachers near home. Cashing on these limitations, it is not uncommon to find very lowly paid trained teachers in private schools in urban and semi urban areas without security of tenure.

Inter district differences in proportion of women teachers to the total are considerable. In Hyderabad and Rangareddy districts women far outnumber men as teachers. In Srikakulam district women constitute less than 20% of the total teachers. The ratios are more favourable in relatively developed districts. The share of ST women among female teaching staff of colleges was 0.3% in 1993-94.

Table 3.7 Women Teachers in Schools and Colleges (1993-94)

Institutions	Total	Women	Percent
Primary Schools	1,06,114	32,944	31.04
U.Primary Schools	38,902	14,516	37.31
High Schools	96,518	33,728	34.98
Govt. Colleges	4,188	694	16.57

Sources : 1. EFA, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994.

2. Directorate of Collegiate Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1996.

Note : U = Upper, Govt. = Government

Higher Education

3.18 Girls' enrolment in the colleges for 1993-94 was 36 per cent in the state. Social group-wise the female enrolment ratios show that STs ratio is least, followed by SCs. Among the private and unaided colleges the equality was better as girls form nearly half of their total enrolment (1993-94). In terms of infrastructure, the state had in 1995-96, 611 boys' colleges and 139 girls' colleges. While girls' colleges are meant exclusively for girls, in some of the boys' colleges both boys and girls enrol. There has been a mushrooming of colleges in the urban areas by private managements due to the attraction of capitation fee/ donation. In the universities 30 per cent of the seats are reserved for females by the state government.

3.19 In backward and remote areas where a majority of the poor SC/ST girls live, the growth of institutions has been slow and tardy impeding physical access compounding the social discrimination and disadvantage that girls suffer in pursuing higher studies.

Professional Education

3.20 In professional education, gender stereotyping had been overcome to a certain extent as girls are increasingly getting enrolled in almost all courses including those offered in the Veterinary colleges and colleges of Agriculture. A major reason has been the large measure of success achieved by the girls in the various entrance examinations conducted by the universities for admission to professional

Table 3.8 Female Enrolment in Professional Courses, Andhra Pradesh

Course Name	1986-87		1989-90		%
	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	
Medicine	2,200	4,561	2,817	7,709	36.5
Engineering	957	16,130	1,608	22,238	7.23
Agriculture	114	417	177	428	41.3
Veterinary Science	19	144	311	162	19.1
Teacher Training	1,844	3,784	1,892	5,104	37.0
Education (B.Ed.)	2,108	4,820	3,057	7,795	39.2

Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1995.

courses in Engineering, Technology, Computer Science, Business Administration, Agriculture, Veterinary sciences, Education, Pharmacy, Architecture and so on.

3.21 The trend is towards increasing enrolment of girls in professional courses to improve their skills and employability in the state though gender disparities exist in all the courses for 1989-90. Gender specific preferences in choosing courses and specialisation areas persist. In engineering courses, the enrolment is highly unequal at less than ten per cent and in medicine courses about one-third are females. Therefore, it is not surprising that share of women in manufacturing is very low as per 1991 Census. A favourable factor has been 30 per cent reservation for girls in professional courses by the state government. A major emerging barrier for women is the cost of professional education even in government institutions as universities and colleges are expected to raise own resources instead of depending on UGC grants or state government grants.

3.22 In vocational courses, lot needs to be accomplished towards gender equality and to overcome negative images. In the polytechnic institutes, against a gross enrolment of 35,507 for 1993-94 girls constitute 20.63 per cent. Against this, at the all India level, there were 5.78 boys enrolled for every girl enrolled during the same period. Possible reasons for the low enrolment of girls are: (i) lack of facilities for girls to stay wherever the institutions are at a considerable distance from their homes; (ii) gender-based stereotypes of trades taught such as fitter, turner, etc.; (iii) gender bias in the job market.

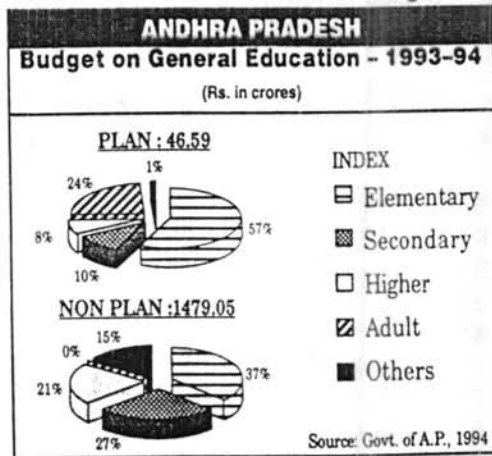
Government Expenditure on Education

3.23 The New Education Policy (1986) reiterated the earlier demand that public expenditure on education should be at least 6 per cent of the GNP (Government of India, 1993). In per capita terms, the expenditure on education in Andhra Pradesh increased from Rs.101.12 in 1985-86 to Rs.22,500 in 1991-92. The state government's budget on general education is allocated to elementary education, secondary education, higher education, adult education and others. Budgetary expenditure on elementary education in Andhra Pradesh was 1.7 per cent of State Domestic Product (SDP) as against all India average of 1.8 per cent of SDP. As a percentage of state's total budget (revenue), expenditure on elementary education was 8.9 per cent in 1990-91.

3.24 Budgetary expenditure is categorised as Plan expenditure and non-Plan expenditure. The former covers mainly the developmental aspects and the latter chiefly covers maintenance. In the state, for 1993-94, the Plan expenditure and the non-plan expenditure on education was Rs.465.9 million and Rs.14,790.5 million respectively on general education. In this 57 per cent was spent on elementary education in Plan expenditure.

3.25 Major schemes in the state in alternative education are: Akshara Jyoti (TLC) and Non-formal Education (NFE) programmes. The TLC campaign was launched in 21 districts of the state enrolling 8.95 million including women and making 3.83 million literate (Government of Andhra Pradesh, no date). In 1993-94, there were 16,398 general NFE centres and 6,202 NFE centres for girls in the state under Phase I of the NFE programme. The District Primary Education Project (DPEP) funded by ODA, Britain is being implemented in the state to achieve education for all through infrastructure development, micro-planning, minimum levels of learning (MLL), training and focus on girl-child. Though various interventions are underway through private and public channels to extend learning opportunities for the disadvantaged, the goal of EFA by 2000 AD appears to be highly challenging. Tackling this goal would by implication eliminate the blemish on the state of having the highest child labour participation rate (1981) in the country as more children enrol in schools.

Figure 3.2



Private Expenditure

3.26 Besides the government, the households too incur expenditure on their dependents schooling in rural areas and urban areas.

Table 3.9 Per Capita Expenditure by Households on Education

	Rural		Urban	
	Female	Total	Female	Total
Primary				
Govt. Inst.	36	38	116	115
Pvt. Inst.	296	317	482	509
Secondary				
Govt. Inst.	241	218	344	307
Pvt. Inst.	531	501	654	680

Govt. = Government, Pvt. = Private, Inst. = Institution

Source : NSS 42 Round (1986-87), Sarvekshana, Apr.-Jun., 1993.

Note : 1. Figures represent average amount of annual expenditure in rupees per student.

2. Total represents the average per capita expenditure on boys and girls put together.

Household expenses on education include tuition and other fee, payments for books and stationery, school uniform, transport, coaching, etc. It is evident (Table 3.7) that: (i) per capita expenditure is higher on secondary education than on primary education, (ii) households in most cases spend less on educating their girls than on boys reinforcing the disparities, (iii) urban households incur more per capita expenditure on education than their rural counterparts and (iv) significantly, private schools are 2-5 times more expensive than government schools for households. The data demolishes the myth that education in governmental schools does not cost any money for households either in rural areas or in urban areas.

Economic Liberalisation

3.27 Economic liberalisation in the education sector is expected to: (i) increase the role of private educational institutions with larger self-financing, (ii) decelerate the growth of educational institutions in governmental sector

with increasing pressure on available in-take capacities, (iii) cause a stagnation or even a decline in public expenditure in education in real terms due to resource crunch of the state exchequer, (iv) prune the fiscal support from the center for special schemes like TLC, NFE, DPEP, etc. and (iv) cumulatively, impact very adversely on expanding educational opportunities for females from the downtrodden strata. In the realm of education, the role of self-financing private colleges in the field of professional education is increasing to the detriment of the poor and needy who cannot afford the often exorbitant donations and high cost of education.

Summing Up

- Andhra Pradesh is one of the nine educationally backward states in India. Among the four southern states, the state has the least female literacy rate for 1991. There are 12 districts wherein the female illiteracy is 80 per cent. Among the rural females excluding 0-6 year population, 76 per cent are illiterate. Female ST literacy rate (1991) is further low at 8.61 per cent.
- Educational attainments of females in the state are quite low as in case of literacy. Only 11 per cent of females studies up to primary or above in the state according to the 42nd Round of NSS. However, 97.3 per cent of the children have a school within a walking distance of one km.
- In relative terms, enrolment ratios for girls from SCs are better than those of general category at primary and upper primary stage in the state. However, girls from ST category lag far behind in school enrolment. Drop-out ratios of ST girls are high. Enrolment of girls in colleges was 36 per cent of the total in 1994-95. In professional courses too it is far from equal with boys. Share of girls in medicine was 36.5 per cent and in engineering further less at 7.23 per cent in 1993-94.
- Women constitute about one-third of the teachers in high schools and primary schools in the state.

4

EMPLOYMENT

4.1 The two main sources of employment data in India are the decennial Census of India and the quinquennial Rounds on employment-unemployment of the National Sample Survey. These two sources are extensively used in the discussions relating to women's employment.

Definition of Worker

4.2 There is a slight difference in definition of work in the two sources. The Census defines "work" as "participation in any economically productive activity ... including unpaid work on farm or in family enterprise" during a reference period of one year preceding the date of enumeration". Among workers, those who worked for the major part of the year (183 days or more) are treated as "main workers" and the others as "marginal" workers.

4.3 In NSS gainful activity or work is defined as any activity pursued for pay, profit or family gain. The NSS adopted three different approaches to measure employment. These are; "usual status" approach with a reference period of 365 days preceding the date of survey, "current weekly status" approach with a reference period of seven days preceding date of survey; and "current daily status" approach with each of the seven days preceding date of survey as the reference period.

Undervaluation of Women's Work

4.4 A criticism often voiced is the undervaluation of the contribution of females in the employment sphere. In NSS, execution of household chores and social commitments are not treated as gainful activities. A study (World Bank, 1991) notes that existing methods of measuring labour force participation have imposed a "statistical purdah" rendering much of women's work invisible even though women are important productive workers. In a conventional

sense women's activities such as collection of fuel and fodder, or in dairy, poultry or kitchen garden production for the family, though productive in nature, are not treated as gainful activities. A common differentiation is the outside market-oriented work vis-a-vis subsistence-oriented and non-monetised work within the household.

Work Participation Rate

4.5 According to the 1991 Census, out of the state population of 66.35 million, 30.03 million are workers. The work participation rate (WPR) works out to 45.27 per cent which is far higher than the country's average of 37.64. The state recorded highest WPR in 1981. The female work participation rate for 1991 at 34.81 in the state is the highest among major states of India as it happened in case of 1981 Census as well. The WPR of females (FWPR) was lower at 34.81 per cent in relation to male WPR of 55.44 per cent in the state in 1991.

4.6 Among the 30.03 million workers, 28.39 million are main workers and 1.64 million marginal workers. Women workers in the state number 11.39 million reflecting a sex ratio of 610 female workers for 1000 male workers. This is substantially higher than the national level worker sex ratio of 409 females workers per 1000 male workers. The population sex ratio for the state was 973 in 1991 as discussed in the chapter 2 on Demography.

4.7 The time-series trends show that from a longitudinal perspective, WPR for males and females declined during 1961-91. If one sees from 1971 onwards, then the FWPR increased both in the state and in the country. The FWPR is influenced by a host of factors such as state of agriculture, infrastructure, development levels, natural resource endowment, poverty, socio-cultural barriers of women's labour force participation and growth rates. It is also

Table 4.1 Work Participation Rate by Gender,
Andhra Pradesh and India (%)

Year	<u>A.P.</u>	Males	Females	<u>India</u>	Males	Females
1961	51.87	62.22	41.32	42.97	57.16	27.93
1971	43.39	58.38	28.04	34.17	52.75	14.22
1981	45.76	57.68	33.54	36.77	52.65	19.77
1991	45.27	55.44	34.81	37.64	51.52	22.69

Source : Census of India, 1991.

conditioned by the women's access. Access to human capital in terms of education and skills; to factor markets-credit and land ownership; to technology, raw materials and to productive associations such as producer/service cooperatives, etc. (World Bank, 1991).

District-level Differences

4.8 At the district level, during 1981-91, FWPR went up in all districts except in case of Mahbubnagar, Rangareddi and East Godavari. Among the districts in the state, Nizamabad (45.29 per cent) and Mahbubnagar (44.72 per cent) recorded the highest FWPR in 1991. The data indicates that the most backward district have the highest FWPR. In contrast, relatively well-off Krishna, W.Godavari and E.Godavari districts secured 20,21 and 22 ranks in WPR in the state.

4.9 Viewed in juxtaposition to the on-going debate of what triggers a rise in FWPR - poverty or prosperity, the district level data seems to favour

the argument that deepening poverty is forcing females into the labour market for family survival.

Rural-Urban Differential

4.10 As in the case of India, in Andhra Pradesh the female work participation rates are considerably higher than rural areas. In Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of male workers in the rural population has come down by nearly two points whereas the percentage of female workers in rural areas has increased by nearly three points from 1981 to 1991. In the same decade, the rural FWPR increased by six points. Studies suggest that poorer the family, the more it depends on the woman's earnings through employment.

4.11 Agriculture is the main source of employment in the countryside while in urban areas the informal sector is the principal source. Agriculture employs over four-fifths of the women workers primarily as agricultural labour. Three prominent reasons for increased share of

Table 4.2 Female Work Participation Rate by Residence

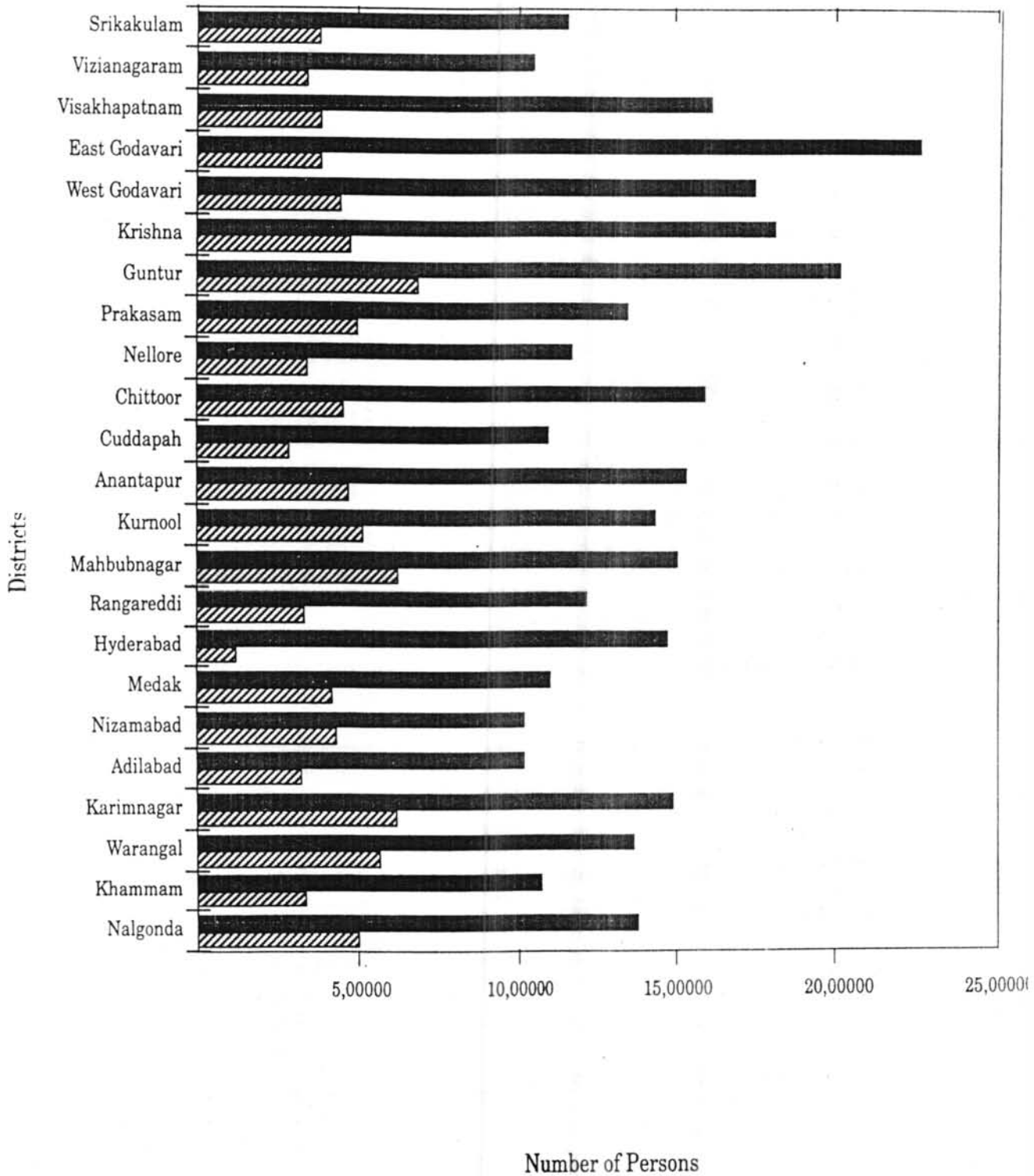
Year	<u>Andhra Pradesh</u>			Total	<u>India</u>	
	Total	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
1961	41.32	46.00	18.74	27.93	31.42	11.16
1971	28.04	31.87	11.72	14.22	15.92	7.18
1981	33.54	40.03	11.81	19.77	23.18	8.32
1991	34.81	42.92	12.49	22.69	27.06	9.73

Source : Census of India, 1991.

Figure 4.1

ANDHRA PRADESH

Proportion of Female Main Workers to Total Female population, 1991



women's employment in agriculture could be the introduction of high-yielding new agricultural technologies requiring higher per hectre use of labour, movement of males from the least preferred farm sector to the non-farm employment and greater demand for female labour in commercial agriculture. Like 'jasmine' and tobacco forcing women to go further away from home and negotiating contracts.

Main Workers and Marginal Workers

4.12 Marginal workers are those who have worked any time at all during the year preceding enumeration but have not worked for a major part of the year. In absolute terms, from 1981 to 1991 while the main workers increased, the marginal workers declined in the state. Gender-wise, while the male marginal workers increased during the inter-censal period, the number of female marginal workers declined.

Table 4.3 Main and Marginal Workers in Andhra Pradesh

Census Year	Main Workers		Marginal Workers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1981	15.48	7.14	0.15	1.72
1991	18.43	9.96	0.21	1.42

Source : Census of India.

Sectoral Changes

4.13 Conventional definitions of work suggest that women are largely unpaid family workers. But expanded concept of labour force tends to include even subsistence or household production for self-consumption or market and domestic activities and collection of goods, maintenance of kitchen gardens, work in poultry or dairy, sewing, weaving, etc. Though significant, measurement of non-monetised services like caring for one's own children, preparing food for family could pose methodological problems. The Census and the NSSO approached these issues differently. In NSS, in select Rounds, efforts were made through Code 92 and Code 93 to include non-monetised domestic and related activities.

Table 4.4 Sectoral Distribution of Main Workers by Gender, 1991

Sectors	Males	Females
Primary	64.49	83.72
Secondary	9.74	7.07
Tertiary	25.63	9.09

Source : Census of India, 1991.

4.14 Agriculture and allied activities in the primary sector account for four-fifths of women's work as main workers in Andhra Pradesh. Among males, the proportion of cultivators and agricultural labour is similar. In contrast, reflecting the women's limited control of means of production such as land there is one cultivator for every three female agricultural labourers. In the state, the population directly dependent on agriculture increased slightly in 1991 when compared to 1981. Though the share of agriculture in the Gross Domestic Product at the national level has been falling, very large number of female main workers continue to depend on the inelastic source of land for employment.

4.15 Relatively, more males are engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors. The proportion of non-agricultural workers among male labour force (main workers) increased. These sectors are less accessible to females due to structural and socio-cultural barriers. Thus, in terms of sectoral composition of work force, Andhra Pradesh is still in early stages of structural transformation (Jose, 1988).

Household Industry

4.16 Household industry relates to production, processing, servicing, repairing or making and selling of goods. The share of female main workers in household industry increased by 1.21 per cent and 2.49 per cent in rural and urban areas respectively during 1981-91 in the state. Such a change at the district level was most pronounced in Nizamabad wherein the increase was 6.31 and 10.36 in rural and urban areas. In Warangal district's urban areas the proportion of urban female main workers in household industry went up by 18.47 per cent. (In the state there were 897 female main workers per 1,000 male main workers in household industry).

**Table 4.5 Industry-wise Distribution of
Female Main Workers, 1991**

Industrial Category	Percentage Distribution of Female workers
<u>I. Primary</u>	
1. Cultivators	22.37
2. Agricultural Labourers	60.33
3. Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations & Allied activities	0.66
4. Mining	0.42
<u>II. Secondary</u>	
5. Household Industry	4.58
6. Manufacturing etc., Processing in Other than Households Industry	2.49
<u>III. Tertiary</u>	
6. Construction	0.58
7. Trade and Commerce	2.50
8. Transport, storage and Communication	0.17
9. Other services	5.84
	100.0
Total Female Main Workers	9.85 million

Source : Census of India, 1991.

Non-household Industry

4.17 Female employment as main workers in manufacturing other than household industry in the state accounts for a negligible 2.49 per cent of the total (Table 4.5). In non-household industry (1991), there are 187 female main workers per 1000 male main workers revealing the highly adverse worker sex ratio. There are 0.24 million female main workers and 1.31 million male main workers in non-household industry in the state as per 1991 Census. As the work setting becomes more organised and wage and working conditions tend to improve, the share of women falls, partly due to lack of education and skills required in non-household industry and socio-cultural barriers precluding women's participation. A major thrust of programmes like women's economic programme of the Government of India is to promote, through training and capital subsidy, employment for women in non-household industry.

4.18 In manufacturing, an important activity is beverages and tobacco. Household sector

accounts for about two-thirds of workers in this activity. Other major activities are cotton textiles, repairs and fishing.

Beedi (indigenous cigarette) Industry

4.19 The largest employer of female labour in the informal sector after agriculture in the state is the beedi industry. A majority of the 2.5 million work force in the industry are females, mostly engaged in rolling of beedis. Many of them are piece-rated workers concentrated in the district of Nizamabad. Notwithstanding the welfare and protective Provisions of the Beedi and Cigar Workers Act, women workers are underpaid and exploited by middlemen and traders. A dominant mode is dispersed factory system in which females work on piece-rate system at home. Beedi industry is notorious for engaging child labour, specially girl children from an early age thereby discouraging school education.

Services

4.20 In tertiary sector the major source of employment is trade, commerce and other services. After agriculture, other services provide maximum female employment in Andhra Pradesh. Other services comprise of a variety of occupations from public administration to domestic service. In absolute numbers, 17,635 females were engaged in other services in the state (1991).

4.21 The National Industrial Classification (NIC) is based on clarifying and sub-classifying economic activities on the basis of final product or service. Major activities in the state were (1981 Census): retail trade in food and food articles, personal services, tobacco and beverages, cotton textiles and others. Women constitute 30 per cent of the estimated 0.17 million (1983) work force in fishing in the state, mainly in selling of fish (Moiuddin, 1991).

Educational Profile of Working Women

4.22 Education is a key factor in occupational mobility and occupational diversification. The NSS 43 Round provides information on the educational attainments of female workers in rural and urban areas of the state for 1987-88. (The same are captured in Table 4.6).

4.23 The situation as seen in case of Census data on literacy is far from encouraging with a bulk of females being illiterate in the state, specially in rural areas where nine out of ten females are illiterate. Situation in urban areas is relatively better with 31 per cent having studied up to primary and above. The share of women in state government jobs improved marginally over a period of time. Qualitatively viewed, education partly explains the larger share of women in non-gazetted category than the gazetted category of state government employment in the state.

Table 4.6 Economically Active Females by Education, Andhra Pradesh

Education	Rural	Urban
Not literate	901	687
Literate upto primary	79	154
Middle	12	51
Secondary	5	64
Graduate & above	2	44
All	1,000	1,000

Source : NSS 43 Round, Sarvekshana, Oct.-Dec., 1992.

Note : Figures are for every 1000 economically active females.

Economic Census - Enterprises Survey

4.24 As agriculture reaches a plateau in terms of elasticity for employment, the secondary and tertiary services are becoming increasingly important. In this regard, economic enterprises are likely to offer more potential to absorb women. Thus far, their access to women was limited due to entry level restrictions, deficiencies in marketable skills, inevitable access to institutional credit, negative social images on female entrepreneurial capacities and cultural proscriptions. Enterprises may be classified (World Bank, 1991) by their size (intermediate, small or tiny), by sector (e.g., manufacturing, trade, transport, services); by location (household, rural or urban); and by their technology (traditional or modern, with or without electricity)

4.25 The Central Statistical Organization (CSO) categorises enterprises into three groups: 'Own account enterprises' (OAE) employing only the owner-worker or his or her family workers; 'non-directory establishments' (NDE) with one to five workers with at least one hired worker and 'directory establishments' with at least six workers including at least one who is hired. The findings of the Economic Census (1990) offer a

Table 4.7 Enterprise Survey, Andhra Pradesh and India (Rural)

No. of Entrepreneur (Million)	Agri-culture %	Non-agri-culture %	Workers		Worker/ Entrepreneur Ratio	Without power %
			Male %	Female %		
1.72	22.7	77.3	67.7	32.3	2:3	83.9
12.79	16.1	83.9	77.7	22.3	2:2	70.8

Source : Economic Census (1990), Central Statistical Organization.

profile of the enterprises in Andhra Pradesh. It found that 0.69 million women are working in non-agriculture sector. Of them 46.1 per cent are in manufacturing, 25.8 per cent in retail trade and 19.3 per cent in community, social and personal services. Out of those in manufacturing and repair services, one third are in beverages, tobacco and tobacco products and one-fourth in cotton textiles.

A majority of the rural enterprises were Own-Account Enterprise (OAE) in Andhra Pradesh like a grocery shop, a pottery, a cotton handloom, a bicycle repair shop, etc. A typical rural enterprise in the state (Table 4.7) consists of two persons, of whom one is hired eking out a living with limited capital and lacking electricity and premises (SGNES, 1994). In the state, share of female workers in enterprises (nearly one-third of the total) was higher than the national average but not equal to that of males. The units were mostly small as shown by the average workers per entrepreneur (2.3). In the country, the state had the highest percentage of units without power perhaps in tune with the power crisis facing the state. Power shortage is a drag on industrial development in the state. The sectoral share of non-farm enterprises in the state is about two-thirds of the total.

Struggle for Survival

4.26 The economic health of many units is far from satisfactory afflicted by a number of functional disabilities (SGNES, 1994). Reports of the National Commission on Self-employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (Government of India, 1988) extensively documented the women's struggle in different

states of India. Basic problem is to generate a surplus in the face of squeeze on margins after finding the market for goods and services. Since access to cheaper institutional credit is almost impossible, usurious money lenders reign the scene. Raw material supply and technical know-how and do-how pose problems. The constraints often lead to losses, sickness and even closure making the (female) entrepreneur highly vulnerable to market forces in urban and rural areas. One of the key constraints being addressed by the NGOs and the government relates to credit for women entrepreneurs in informal sector.

Self-help/ Thrift and Credit Groups

4.27 Extensive systems extend productive credit to unorganised female entrepreneurs do not exist in the state. The State government's "Podupu Lakshmi" programme and the large number of thrift and credit groups of women promoted by the government and the NGOs with the assistance of Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) scheme of the government provide, on a localised basis, small business, industry and service loans, with low interest and liberal terms managed by women themselves.

The fact that the state ranks first in terms of loans disbursed by RMK (Rs.32.82 million to 23 NGOs in the state upto 30th June, 1995) indicates the tremendous unsatiated demand of the women for productive credit (Government of India, 1995). Under "Podupu Lakshmi" programme in Nellore district of the state over

Rs.20 million were mobilised through women's savings. At the end of 1994-95, in the state, Rs.116.56 million were saved by 0.48 million women according to the State Department of Rural Development. In three districts of the state: Kurnool, Mahbubnagar and Anantapur, a UNDP supported project of the State government is being implemented with a singular stress on women's self-help groups revolving loan funds for economic activities. These depend to a large measure on the propensity of rural women to save for a rainy day due to economic insecurity pervading them and the uncertainty about the future especially if abandoned, divorced or widowed from the husband. Though precise data is not available, repayment appears to be satisfactory.

Economic Liberalisation and Enterprises

4.28 The on-going economic liberalisation is expected to reduce state control, directly, through licensing and regulation; and indirectly, through control of infrastructure, inputs and credit. In the short run, this is likely to hit hard on the fragile artisanal enterprises engaged in handloom weaving, handicrafts, khadi and village industries, bidri-ware, silk reeling/twisting, etc. which heavily depend on state subsidies in input provision and marketing. Removal of the protectionist environment could lead to survival of the few with strong competitive edge and value addition. Secondly, it could hasten the process of disengagement of artisans from traditional enterprises and movement to agricultural or casual labour through seasonal or permanent migration. As an example of the urgency: in 1995 starvation deaths occurred in the weavers' community.

Urban Informal Sector

4.29 According to the ILO (1972) characteristics of informal sector are: ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour intensive and adapted technology, etc. Three categories of workers in the informal sector are wage-earners, piece-rated workers and self-employed. An important segment are the home-based female workers. However, data

regarding them is very limited. In the urban context, surveys reveal that in slums female participation rates are low and so are unemployment rates compared to males (Rama Devi, 1991). A survey in Visakhapatnam found that female workers (85 per cent) are mostly unskilled and those possessing modern skills form a negligible proportion (1 per cent). A majority of them were migrants from rural areas with low literacy and skills belonging to the socially backward communities. Women were concentrated in traditional trades like fishing, basket making and cobbling while men have greater diversification of skills. Tailoring was the only modern skill among females. The women have fluctuating incomes and those in trades like hawking and vegetable vending are under constant threat of eviction by the municipal authorities. There is no umbrella organization like the chamber of commerce and industry to safeguard their rights and interests. A sample survey in Visakhapatnam (NIUA, 1988) found the urban female work force participation rate to be 40.68 per cent and less than one per cent of them to be working in the formal sector.

Organised Sector

4.30 Information on women in organised sector is available from the Directorate of Employment and Training and the periodic census of state public sector employees. A small proportion of the working women totalling 2,60,303 in the state are in the organised sector, mostly in the public sector.

The largest proportion of women were in community and social services followed by those in manufacturing. The Census of state public sector employees shows that the number of female employees nearly doubled in state government and in state public sector undertakings in 1988 over that of 1981. In this period while no increase occurred in university sector, share of women grew by 22.2 per cent in the local bodies.

In absolute terms, there were 0.86 million male and 0.13 million female employees in state public sector in 1988 revealing the very low representation of women in the state public sector (13.65 per cent). There was a

**Table 4.8 Women in Organised Sector by Industry,
Andhra Pradesh, 1992**

Industry	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total	%
Agriculture	1,203	123	1,326	0.50
Mining & Quarrying	3,084	392	3,476	1.34
Manufacture	7,152	79,578	86,730	33.3
Electric, Gas & Water	1,340	18	135	80.52
Construction	3,589	23	361	1.39
Trade & Commerce	766	1,626	2,392	0.19
Trans, Stor. & Commn.	10,955	186	11,141	4.28
Finance & Insurance	10,964	878	11,842	4.55
Community & Social Service	1,15,490	22,936	1,38,426	53.18
Total	1,54,543	1,05,760	2,60,303	100.00

Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of A.P., 1995.

Note : Commn. = Communication, Trans. = Transport, Stor. = storage

deterioration in qualitative terms. Share of women in administration and technical category of state public sector undertakings declined from 44.6 per cent in 1976 to 29.1 per cent in 1988. In 1988, the share of women employees among gazetted and non-gazetted employees in state public sector was quite low at 9.8 per cent and 18.0 per cent respectively.

4.31 Unless the educational situation of women improves, their share is not likely to register a significant improvement despite a reservation of 30 per cent for women in government jobs. Further, for the past several years recruitment in government has been curtailed due to austerity and resource crunch (The Hindu, 1996) projecting a grim scenario for the future. Thus a cumulative effect of low literacy, low educational attainments and low share in professional courses for women is visible in very low share of women in state public sector (13.65 per cent) highly disproportionate to their population in the state. There is no positive discrimination so as to get more females into service.

Even in the realm of education, it was seen in the third chapter that women teachers constitute only a third of the total, though it is traditionally a dominant arena for women in organised sector. Unless definite affirmative changes to promote female education and job-related training are initiated, the women will continue to languish, as at present, in the irregular, ill-paid and exploitative unorganised

sector vulnerable to vagaries of market aberrations and gender bias.

Child Labour

4.32 Andhra Pradesh has the dubious distinction of having the highest number of child workers to: (i) total population (3.28 per cent), (ii) to total workers (7.75 per cent) and (iii) to child population (8.5 per cent) in the country according to the 1981 Census. The state has 20.6 million child labourers (1981). Of them, 99 per cent are main workers. Pockets of concentration of child labour in the state are lime in Kurnool, slate in Prakasam, granites in Khammam and Cuddapah, tobacco/ beedi in Guntur, Chittoor and Nizamabad and fishing in coastal districts.

Female Child Labour

4.33 The incidence of female child labour is the highest in Andhra Pradesh as 7.29 per cent of the total female child population are workers as against the country's average of 2.95 per cent (1981 Census). Most of the child workers are main workers (99 per cent) with negative implications for school enrolment. In this regard, girls are worse off as they also assist in domestic work in addition to outside work. Situation of females is adverse as they work outside as well as perform domestic duties. In a survey of 495 households in 32 villages around Markapur

known for slate industry, Naidu and Parthasarathy found that there were 251 boys and 244 girl child workers. Compared to boys more number of girls are engaged in removal of slate waste which is unskilled work while raw slate cutting involving certain skills is mostly done by boys confirming the gender bias in child labour, while both are of course to be pitied for not having a 'childhood'.

Regional and District-level Differences

4.34 Region-wise, in coastal Andhra, the problem of female child workers is less intense than in Rayalaseema and Telangana. At district level, Khammam and Kurnool occupy the first and second ranks in percentage share of rural female child workers to total workers at the district level in the state (1981 Census). The corresponding districts with larger proportion of urban female child workers are Karimnagar and Warangal. Rural girl child workers largely work as agricultural labour. An ominous trend is that while females can do the work of adult females in agriculture, the same is not true of boys.

As farm labour increases, with rising poverty and modernisation of agriculture, rural female child work participation may grow as girls can perform the traditional tasks performed by women in agriculture and cost much less in wages. Data on a related segment, street children is scanty. A study of street children in Hyderabad city (Rao and Malik, 1992) found that 82 per cent of girl street children are not working. Of those who work, 42 per cent work for 7-9 hours a day and 35 per cent for 10-12 hours a day.

Summing Up

- Primary sector accounts for four-fifths of the female main workers in the state though the share of agriculture is declining in the state's SDP. Share of women in household and non-household industry is very low at about five per cent. Largest employer of female labour in informal sector in the state is beedi industry, notorious for low wages, exploitation of labour and non-compliance with the labour laws.
- In the organised sector, share of women in the state public sector is very low at 13.65 per cent in 1988 despite 30 per cent reservation for women in government jobs by the state government. Among the gazetted employees, women's share is 9.8 per cent underlining the deep-rooted gender inequalities.
- The state has a large proportion of child labour (1981). Among the female child population of the state, 7.29 per cent are workers. Among them nearly all are main workers denying them schooling opportunity.
- Andhra Pradesh has the highest female work participation rate (FWPR) at 45.27 per cent in the country as per 1991 Census. Within the state, backward districts in general had very high FWPR as against very low FWPR in relatively developed districts suggesting that as development takes place women tend to withdraw from the labour market.

5

UNEMPLOYMENT

5.1 Work participation rates may not be very meaningful as unemployment could be one of the reasons for non-participation.

Work participation rates based on usual status for 27th Round, 32 Round and 38th Round show that female participation rates are substantially lower compared to males in all three Rounds. In a detailed analysis, Reddy (1991) attributes the difference to: (i) limited access of women to better paid activities, (ii) withdrawal of women first from the labour market with improvement in economic condition of the household and (iii) 'men' first attitude which makes female participation prone to peak season expansion and slack season contraction.

Concept of Unemployment

5.2 The National Sample Survey in its quinquennial rounds on employment-unemployment attempted to provide information on unemployment. The NSS uses two concepts of unemployment. One pertains to those who are willing and available for work but have not been able to find any for the greater part of the reference period preceding the date of enumeration. This category broadly provides a view of the 'chronic unemployment'. The other concept is that of current unemployment. Thus, NSSO assesses unemployment on usual, weekly and daily status.

Magnitude of Unemployment

5.3 Data from the 27th, 32nd and 38th Rounds reveal that unemployment rates based on weekly and daily status are distinctly higher among females (Table 5.1). According to daily status, unemployment rates for females declined from 8.4 per cent in 1972-73 to 4.7 per cent in 1983.

5.4 Unlike usual weekly status and usual daily status, the unemployment rates were higher among females in case of usual status in the 27th and 38th Rounds with a narrow difference between male and female rates. Considering the seasonality of farm employment fluctuating between peak and slack periods, the period of enumeration assumes importance as weekly and daily status is reckoned to be related to the date of enumeration, close in time frame for reference.

Rural Unemployment

5.5 According to the NSS data for 43rd Round (1987-88), for rural areas, usual status which indicates chronic employment in rural India was 2.8 per cent for males and 3.5 per cent for females.

Table 5.1 Unemployed to Total Persons (5+) in Andhra Pradesh

Round/ Year	Usual Status		Weekly Status		Daily Status	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
27th ('72-73)	0.46	0.14	3.74	5.80	6.90	8.44
32nd ('77-78)	0.69	0.82	3.04	4.31	5.67	6.29
38th (1983)	0.74	0.19	2.73	2.78	5.59	4.70

Source : Sarvekshana, Vol.XI, No.4, April, 1986 cited by S.Reddy (1991)

Table 5.2 Usual Status Unemployment in Andhra Pradesh and India

	Unemployment rate per 1,000 persons	
	Male	Female
A.P.	25	45
India	28	35

Source : National Sample Survey, 43rd Round cited in SGRNS (1994).

Chronic employment among males was 2.5 per cent and among females, substantially higher at 4.5 per cent in Andhra Pradesh (Table 5.2). Thus the unemployment rate was higher in case of females in Andhra Pradesh during the 43rd Round.

Rural Unemployment in Agriculture

5.6 According to the NSS 32nd Round rural survey data for 1977-78, person day unemployment rates are: (i) higher among the agriculture labourer households in comparison to the households self-employed in agricultural occupations and (ii) higher among the females than males within both the categories, namely, agriculture labourer households and households self-employed in agricultural occupations in Andhra Pradesh. Similar trends existed at the national level as well. In the state, among the agricultural labourer household females the unemployment rate was 23.75 in comparison to 15.05 among males. The brunt of unemployment among self-employed in agricultural occupations was substantially lower at 2.81 for the same period underlining the criticality of access to productive tangible assets among rural households to insulate against unemployment specially among females.

Development and Labour Participation: Linkages

5.7 Considerable debate has been going on about the linkage between level of regional and agricultural development and female labour participation. Many argue that female agricultural labourers are among the poorest

sections of Indian society with lowest wage levels and highest unemployment. Due to their lack of mobility and marketable skills the female farm labour are highly vulnerable to seasonal fluctuations in labour demand (World Bank, 1991).

A study (Reddy, 1991) on regional variations in employment situation found an inverse relationship between development and female labour participation.

Regarding wage differentials, the study found that wages are higher in a developed region across age and sex differences. Wages of a female child in a developed region are twice the corresponding wage in the backward region.

Women, Technology and Agriculture

5.8 The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in 1984 identified five determinants of women's participation in agriculture. These are: (i) wet season with peak labour demand, (ii) stage of family cycle, (iii) presence of adult males in the household, (iv) socio-economic status of the family and (v) cropping pattern. Recent evidence suggests that incidence of female agricultural labour is linked to agricultural growth rates unlike earlier writings which propounded that modern agriculture pushes women out of employment as its technology displaces female jobs. Modernisation of agriculture appears to be the most important aspect explaining the rising proportion of females in agriculture and concomitant male migration towards non-farm employment.

5.9 An important facet of modernisation in agriculture is mechanisation. Mechanisation in agriculture relates to use of pump sets, tractors, power tillers, threshers, power sprayers, harvest combines, etc. In the state threshers and harvest combines are not popular as the principal cereal crop is paddy instead of wheat as in Punjab and Haryana. Rama Devi (1991) in a study found that female labour use is higher on machinery owned farms followed by machinery hiring farms and the least in case of non-machinery farms confirming the positive correlation between mechanisation and female labour use.

Sharing a similar view point, in a multi-

dimensional study in the state, Maria Mies (1987) repudiates the argument that commercial agriculture and mechanisation displace female labour. The study found that women formed the majority of the daily wage labour in food and commercial crops. Also, the women workers work longer hours each day than their male counterparts in all activities.

5.10 Studies found that female labour participation declines in case of economic prosperity implying that rise in per capita income and cropping intensity leads to withdrawal of female labour reinforcing the survival aspect of women's work in casual labour market. The NSS definition of unemployment seeks to build-in the aspect of willingness and availability for work.

Domestic Duties

5.11 Concurrently, a significant aspect, often statistically ignored, is the non-monetised contribution of women as non-wage labour to the family income by collection of fuel, raising of vegetables, rearing of animals, etc. A study (Gita, 1987) assessed the magnitude of time spent on domestic work by women in a village as a case study (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Domestic Duties -Time Allocation

Activity	Time spent by Landless Women (Hours / Household / Day)
1. Food Preparation	2.46
2. Collecting Water	1.20
3. Collection/ Preparation of Fuel	0.71
4. Cleaning	1.84
5. Child Care	1.17
6. Marketing	0.11
Total	7.49

Source : Gita, D. Household Energy, Hyderabad, 1987.

5.12 Among the landless women in village studied, on an average as much as a person day of 8 hours is devoted to domestic duties. Reasons for a high degree of the drudgery of women can be found in neglect by the state of providing access to basic needs like water, cheap and alternate sources of fuel for cooking, proper

housing and of child day care facilities for the poor. In other words, the institutional factors and the socio-cultural practices reinforce each other oppressing women. The situation is adverse in Andhra Pradesh as the state ranked first in female work participation in the country during 1981 and 1991 Census, confirming the agony of multiple-burdens shouldered by women and no sign yet of sharing of the burden by men.

As discussed in the chapter on Housing, with over 80 per cent of the households using wood as fuel for cooking in the state, the burden of fetching and preparation of fuel can well be imagined as village commons are things of past, shrubs and twigs are hard to find and prices of firewood prohibitive. Cooking gas is the privilege of a few in urban areas and the state failed to offer any alternative cheaper fuel for villagers even while advocating the need for environmental preservation. Public policies and increased social awareness need to address the core issues of women's drudgery side by side with poverty reduction and employment generation for authentic women's empowerment.

5.13 A World Bank (1991:12) study notes, "men are concentrated in the market-oriented side of the continuum of work and women in the statistically less visible, non-monetised subsistence production and domestic side: they account for 60% of the unpaid family workers, and 98% of those engaged in domestic work".

Confirming the tenor of the proposition, the NSS 48th Round (January-December, 1992) data on per 1,000 distribution of females by broad usual activity shows that 148 in rural areas and 397 in urban areas are engaged in domestic duties which refer to a host of activities related to collection of fuel, fetching water, backyard poultry, food processing, cooking, child care, etc.

Educated Unemployed

5.14 It was seen during the discussion on education that a small percentage of women complete collegiate education and a much smaller proportion, a professional education. Invariably the degrees and diplomas are viewed as a means for securing jobs in the formal sector, the universal preference being for government jobs for security and status. For others there is no choice but to settle for whatever is available

as too many chase too few a jobs. The scene is not evenly balanced as girls are forced to consider additional aspects like safety at work place, hours of work, accommodation, place of work, means of transport and familial acceptance besides usual things like pay, perks and job content. In order to redeem the situation and encourage women's work, government promoted working women's hostels through grant-in-aid and provided job reservations but they touch a fringe of the problem.

5.15 Data on unemployment among educated women is scarce. A prominent source is the data on registrants at employment exchanges in the state. However, it is fraught with limitations as many do not de-register once they secure employment in the hope of getting a better opportunity. In 1992 there were 528,117 women seeking employment on the registers of the exchanges (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1995). Additional details are:

No. of applicants seeking employment at beginning of 1992	497,454
No. of registrants during the year	74,963
No. of placements during the year (provided jobs)	3,292
No. ceased to be on roll for reasons other than placement	41,008
No. on current registers at the end of 1992	528,117

5.16 There are three scenarios visible in respect of female educated unemployment in Andhra Pradesh. Firstly, education is the prerogative of only some as many either do not enrol or drop-out early. Secondly, those who study and qualify and register at the employment exchanges await a job for long periods as placements are few and far between. The third scenario is the very low share of women (14 per cent in 1992) in public sector and private sector put together in the organised sector in the state. Even in non-gazetted positions of state public sector, women's share is low as discussed in the chapter 4, on Employment.

Summing up

- The unemployment rates are higher among females than males. The unemployment is higher among the agricultural labour households than among the self employed households in agricultural occupations.
- A significant proportion of women and women's work goes toward household activities or domestic duties not recognised adequately in a statistical sense. Women were found to expend almost eight hours a day in household activities which are non-monetised in nature. As environment deteriorates and vegetation disappears, the women's drudgery is likely to increase as 80 per cent of households in the state rely on wood or cowdung, which is collected and/ or prepared by women for fuel.
- Technologies like mechanisation in agriculture seem to have a salutary than a deleterious effect, as earlier assumed on employment of women in agriculture. Further, women's employment was found to be the highest in farm machinery owner farms and the least in non-machinery farms. Due to migration of men towards non-farm sectors. There is increased demand for female labour.
- Problem of educated unemployment is acute among girls and women in the state as per the registrations at employment exchanges. Share of women in organised sector employment in the state is abysmally low at about 14 per cent.

6.1 The National Health Policy (1983) which governs the delivery of health services in the state emphasises primary health care for all by 2000 A.D. In the context of women's health needs, the focus is on:

1. nutrition
2. immunisation
3. maternal and child health care and
4. safe drinking water and sanitation.

Health Services

6.2 Health and family planning services are provided through a network of primary health centers, sub-centers, community health centers, post-partum centers, urban family welfare centers, health centers run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Employees State Insurance (ESI) hospitals, government hospitals and a vast network of private hospitals and clinics. The state has separate directorates to administer health and family welfare services. The Andhra Pradesh Vaidya Vidhana Parishad looks after government hospitals with 30 beds or more. Each institution serves a population of 32,000 with one bed for 2,000 population and a doctor for 9,500 population serving as referral units as well. These institutions are located in urban areas demonstrating the urban bias in location of health facilities.

6.3 The rural areas are served by Primary Health Centers (PHC) known as Mandal PHCs in the state for a population of 30,000. As part of PHC facilities a sub center was established for a population of 5,000 in the plains and 3,000 in tribal areas. As in rest of the country, in the state PHC is the core institution of rural health services infrastructure. These are staffed with doctors, nurses, multipurpose Health Workers (MPW), sanitary inspectors and supporting staff like pharmacists and laboratory technicians. However at any given time a large number of

posts of pharmacists, laboratory technicians, Auxiliary Nursing Midwife (ANMs) and doctors are vacant impeding service effectiveness. There are 175 Community Health Centers (CHC), 1,309 Primary Health Centers (PHC) and 10,568 sub-centers (SC) in the state. Each district is served by a district hospital located at the district headquarters and having facilities for gynaecology, paediatrics, ENT, general surgery etc.

6.4 Data relating to health services in government sector are often published very late and information regarding private sector is scarce. The system-wise distribution of medical institutions in government sector shows that, numerically, modern western allopathic institutions are more than the combined strength of ayurvedic and homeopathic institutions.

6.5 Utilisation of health services depends upon a variety of factors. These are availability, type and severity of illness, prior experience with the health set-up, attitudes towards the service, costs involved, distance from place of residence, affordability, support in the city, traditional practices, knowledge/ awareness of the facilities, accessibility for women etc. Gender bias exists in the health system as in other structures of the society. Few women venture to visit a clinic, health centre or a hospital if they can help it. Despite higher morbidity among women, more treatment is sought for men/ boys. Families are more willing to spend on medicine for males than on women. Higher percentage of ailing men than women receive treatment and higher proportion of services are provided to men (UNICEF, 1991).

6.6 The state has an extensive network of medical care institutions practicing Allopathic, Ayurvedic, Unani and Homeopathic systems of medicine in the government sector.

Table 6.1 Government Medical Institutions, Andhra Pradesh, 1992-93

System	Per.	Hos.	Dis.	Pat.
Allopathy	7,171	331	1,547	-
Ayurveda	715	-	715	1,189,921
Unani	160	-	160	1,476,308
Homeopathy	245	-	245	2,144,590

Per. = Personnel, Hos. = Hospitals, Dis. = Dispensaries, Pat. = Patients

Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994.

Note : 1. Personnel under allopathic system are doctors.

2. Personnel under other systems include doctors, demonstrators and/ or physicians.

6.7 Allopathic institutions dominate the government sector. Numerically they outnumber the combined strength of Unani, Ayurveda and Homeopathy dispensaries in the state under governmental sector. After allopathy, the largest number of institutions are of ayurvedic system of medicine. In the private sector too allopathic institutions predominate. As discussed medical institutions in the government sector follow a hierarchical pattern converging in super specialities hospitals at the state level.

6.8 An indicator of health service utilisation is the number of patients availing services. The ratios were disproportionate to the number of dispensaries under systems other than Allopathy (Table 6.1). Homeopathy appears to be popular with 2.14 million patients availing the services at 245 dispensaries. The total bed strength of the allopathic medical institutions in government sector was 32,406 in 1992-93 (Table 6.2).

6.9 The largest number of beds are in Telangana region among the three regions due to the fact that the state capital is situated in this region.

In all the regions, disparities exist in the beds available to women vis-a-vis those intended for men.

The focus of health services for women has been on pregnant women and nursing mothers. These priorities are eloquently orchestrated in the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood (CSSM) Programme (Government of India, MHFW, 1992). There is no epidemiological data concerning health problems of non-pregnant women: gynecological and metabolic disorders such as prolapse, hypertension, bleeding, fibroid, coronary heart diseases and infections (Shatrugna and Murthy, 1991). An important maternal care indicator is antenatal care (ANC).

ANC refers to pregnancy related health care provided by a doctor or a health worker in a medical facility or at home. Safe motherhood initiative declares that it is compulsory for all pregnant women to receive ANC (Harrison, 1990) as it impacts substantively on reduction of morbidity and mortality. The CSSM monitoring data for 1994-95 shows that the ANC registration was 88.8 % in the state as against 75.8 % for all India. The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) found that for a majority of births (86%) in the state during four years preceding the survey (1992), mothers received antenatal care during pregnancy. The utilisation of ANC services during pregnancy was marginally higher for births to mothers below age 35 relative to older mothers. In tandem with the earlier observation that IMR was relatively low in case of women educated upto high school, the NFHS found that ANC was almost universal for births whose mothers were educated (PRS & IIPS, 1995).

6.12 Equally important are the number of antenatal visits and their timing. Obstetricians recommend a minimum of four antenatal visits

Table 6.2 Bed Strength in Government Medical Institutions (Allopathic)

Region	Hos & Dis	Men	Women	Child.	Common	DIMS	Total
Coastal A.P.	800	5,723	5,369	747	256	285	12,400
Rayalaseema	359	2,700	2,116	302	70	50	5,299
Telangana	719	5,960	5,807	1,229	1,199	512	14,707
Total	1,878	14,443	13,313	228	1,525	847	32,406

Hos & Dis = Hospitals & Dispensaries, DIMS = Director of Indian Medical System, Child. = Children

Source: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994.

beginning from the third month of the pregnancy. Ramachandran (1992) found that even if the visit is as late as in third trimester, there is a substantial reduction in peri-natal mortality. The NFHS found that the median gestational age for the first ANC visit in Andhra Pradesh is 4.8 months. The median number of ANC visits for those women receiving ANC was 4.9, slightly above the recommended minimum of four visits (NHFS).

Tetanus Toxoid (T.T.) Vaccination

6.13 A major cause of death among infants below the age of 1 month is neonatal tetanus, which is caused by infection of the new born by tetanus organisms. As it is a vaccine preventable disease, pregnant women are given two doses of T.T. vaccination. Three fourths of births in Andhra Pradesh were to mothers who received two or more doses of T.T. vaccine (NHFS,1992).

Attendance at Birth

6.14 Trained attendance at birth is stressed upon for safe delivery and to deal with problems such as bleeding, eclampsia, obstructed labour, retention of placenta etc. if a need arises. The SRS provides data on attendance at birth by residence but not about the place of delivery.

Over half of the deliveries (CSSM,1995) in Andhra Pradesh are attended by untrained persons notwithstanding the large public and private health infrastructure and availability of a large number of trained 'dais' (local birth attendants) in the state. This endangers maternal and child survival.

Table 6.3 Attendance at Birth, Andhra Pradesh and India

	Insti- tutional	Trained Persons	Untrained/ Others
A.P.			
SRS, 1993	38.1	24.8	51.3
CSSM, 1995	22.2	21.4	56.3
India			
SRS, 1993	24.5	24.3	51.3
CSSM, 1995	35.1	13.2	51.6

SRS = Sample Registration System, CSSM = Child Survival and Safe Motherhood

Source : 1. Office of Registrar General, SRS, 1995.

2. All India Level CSSM Monitoring, NIDC, 1994-95.

6.15 The state's maternal mortality rate (MMR) is high, almost close to national average. Despite the large investments by governments, NFHS reveals that only 14% of the deliveries occurred in public institutions (government / municipal hospital ,PHC/ CHC etc) and 19% in private medical institutions. Among social groups, scheduled tribes had the least access (only 7%) to institutional deliveries (NFHS). Urban- rural differentials in attendance at birth as per SRS (1993) are very wide. In urban areas 81 per cent of the deliveries took place at institutions and in rural areas the corresponding per centage was 20.2 in 1993. The wide differences point to the need for better provision of services in rural areas. As noted by Shatrugna and Murthy (1991) in rural areas: "dais know from their years of experience that referral services are not easily accessible for a large number of people. Primary health centres are not equipped for major surgery, blood transfusion and other emergencies (like caesarian). They are not even equipped for normal deliveries round the clock. Because of poor transport facilities in remote areas women often can not reach the hospital in time leading to still birth. It is therefore not surprising that dais try as far as possible to save the mother by manual extraction of the dead child."

Figure 6.1

ANDHRA PRADESH			
Place of Delivery & Assistance during Delivery			
Place of Delivery	%	Assist. in Delivery	%
Public Inst.	14	Doctor	37
Own home	44	Relative/ Other	16
Private Inst.	19	Nurse/ Midwife	13
Parent's home	22	TBA	34
Other	1		

Source: NHFS, Andhra Pradesh, 1992

Maternal Mortality

6.16 Maternal mortality rates (MMR) are high in Andhra Pradesh. In the state MMR is high at 400-500 per 1,00,000 live births. Based on this estimates the number of maternal deaths are estimated at 11,200 per year in the state. The

major immediate causes of maternal mortality are: bleeding (22%), abortions (12%) and obstructed labour (10%). Underlying factors are: malnutrition, early marriage, early and frequent child bearing and poor availability of maternity services (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994). Maternal factors such as low weight, smaller height, young age at pregnancy, nutritional deficiencies, low weight gain during pregnancy and toxemia contribute to low weight at birth. Weight at birth was not recorded for a majority of the children as the recording rate for birth weight (BWRR) is low at 19.15 in Andhra Pradesh as against 58 for the country as a whole. Among those children weighed, at birth in the state 60.5 per cent weighed less than 2500 grams at birth as per CSSM.

Child Health Care

6.17 In the state infant mortality rate (IMR) is on the decline and stood at 64 per 000's live births: in 1993 compared to 74 for the country as a whole. Neo-natal mortality contributes substantially to total IMR whose causes include low birth weight due to maternal malnutrition, prematurity, inadequate new born care, etc.

Two important sources of immunisation coverage data are the official CSSM data and the data from nation Family Health Survey. The CSSM figures are compiled from the returns from health officials at various levels and NHFS (1992) data based on a field survey. The official figures show that the State attained universal immunisation in 1990 and has been trying to sustain this since then. Coverage evaluation surveys and NFHS (1992) show that measles coverage needs improvement (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994).

Table 6.4 Immunisation Coverage in Andhra Pradesh

	BCG	OPV3	DPT3	Mea.	All	None
Male	78.6	68.9	68.9	56.8	46.6	14.6
Female	69.4	67.1	63.4	50.9	43.5	20.4

Mea. = Measles

Source : National Family Health Survey, 1992.

6.18 Coverage ratio for each antigen for females is lower than males. The CSSM monitoring data for 1994-95 (upto March, 1995) reveals deep gender disparities for the state. Sex differential could be one factor underlying higher female than male mortality in childhood (NFHS). Inter-district variations exist in immunisation coverage. Against a state average of 85 per cent coverage for measles, Mahbubnagar and Hyderabad achieved less than 80 per cent coverage (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994). The NHFS (1992) data, however, as presented in Table 6.4 shows an average state coverage of 54 per cent for measles. With regard to the incidence of poliomyelitis, the illness is endemic in nine districts and 14 districts in the state are in control stage according to Government of India's criteria (The State Programme of Action for the Child for 1990, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994).

Abortion: Medical Termination of Pregnancy

6.19 Even though abortions were legalised to protect women's health since 1972 through the Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) Act, 1971, maternal mortality and morbidity due to 'illegal' abortions by incompetent persons and in unhygienic conditions is a major problem. Unsafe abortions account for 15 per cent of maternal mortality in the state. It is also estimated that there are ten times as many illegal abortions as legal abortions in a year. At the national level, it was estimated that only nine per cent of induced abortions are legal (UNICEF, 1991). Unmarried adolescents constitute a sizeable proportion of abortion seekers and most of them often delay their abortion due to ignorance of MTP facilities, social stigma or non-availability of MTP services. MTP services are limited and thinly spread at district hospitals and community health centres. Taking advantage of this, quacks and under-qualified persons carry out abortions, sometimes clandestinely cashing on social inhibitions or ignorance of women specially in rural areas (UNICEF, 1991).

Bias Before Birth

6.20 It has been often stated that gender bias starts from conception itself and goes on till reaching the grave. Exact figures related to sex-selective abortion of female fetuses in the state are not available. However, the magnitude of such cases is likely to be large in the state where a host of socio-cultural attitudes and practices reinforce gender inequalities in all regions and even among select scheduled tribes whose sex ratios are much adverse than among general population. This inference is reinforced by a study in Bombay (1984) on abortion after sex-determination in which 7,999 out of 8,000 of the aborted fetuses were female. Similar studies are needed in the state to shed further light. Practice of dowry is not only increasing in intensity and quantity but also spreading to other castes, religions and sects gaining respectability concomitant with rising expenditure on marriages in Andhra society. This practice is aided and abetted by consumerist sub-culture spread through television, radio and press raising demands on brides and their parents. Confirmation to high(er) caste customs are on the increase. Sex-selective abortions are part of a vicious cycle along with female suicide, domestic violence and social discrimination.

Disabilities

6.21 Physical disabilities are classified as: locomotor, visual, hearing and speech. The state has a high prevalence of disabilities. As per 1981 Census, there were 1.497 million disabled persons in the state, 0.529 million orthopedically handicapped, 0.369 million visually handicapped, 0.371 million hearing handicapped and 0.228 million speech impaired. The state has second highest rural prevalence after Punjab and third highest urban prevalence rate after Haryana and Tamil Nadu. Two sources of data on disabilities are Census, 1981 and NSS 36th Round (1981). As per NSS (1981) a large proportion of the disabled in the state (81.8 per cent) are concentrated in rural areas while most of the services are situated in urban areas. Females account for 46.9 per cent of the total disabled. Though females are better placed than males in prevalence of disabilities in general, prevalence of visual and multiple disabilities is more among females as per NSS data. The third

and more recent source of data is National Family Health Survey (NFHS, 1992) but it covered only two types of disabilities: blindness and physical impairment of limbs.

Table 6.5 Prevalence of Disabilities, Andhra Pradesh

	Blindness		Physical Impairment of Limbs
	Partial	Complete	
Male	49.0	8.5	10.3
Female	53.9	8.4	7.9

Source : NFHS - Andhra Pradesh, PRC & IIPS, Bombay, 1995.

6.22 The NFHS estimate of complete blindness in the state is 10 times in excess of Census, 1981 estimate. It could be due to reporting errors or the increase in blindness over a decade. Incidence of physical impairment of limbs is lower among females than males. None of the three sources-- NFHS, Census and SRS assessed the prevalence of mental handicaps in the state. Using the 2 per cent national estimate of, the population of the mentally handicapped in 1981 in the state would be one million.

Family Welfare

6.23 During 1981-91, the exponential growth rate of population in the state (2.17 per cent) was slightly higher than that for India (2.14 per cent). This represents a major reversal of earlier trends, though to some extent Andhra Pradesh achieved a fertility decline. In the state, couple protection rate (CPR) is 49 per cent as against 51 per cent in Kerala and 26 per cent in Bihar. The female literacy rate, an influential factor in this regard, is 33 per cent in the state as against 87 per cent in Kerala for 1991. In Kerala, 11.2 per cent of the contraceptive prevalence is accounted for by the spacing methods compared to 4 per cent in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

6.24 There are regional differences in CPR. The Telangana region shows a CPR of 41.1 per cent compared to coastal Andhra region's 56.5 per cent. At the district level, CPR is highest in East Godavari (63 per cent) and the lowest in Ranga Reddi (29.6 per cent).

According to NFHS (1992), knowledge of family planning is nearly universal in Andhra Pradesh but only 40 per cent of those married ever practised. The most commonly used method is female sterilisation and it accounts for 81 per cent of current contraceptive prevalence putting all the burden on women in the age groups with the highest fertility (15-19 and 20-24) contraceptive prevalence are only 5 and 32 per cent. Contraceptive use increases steadily from 2 per cent for women with no children to 74 per cent for women with three children (NFHS, 1992). The proportion of terminal method users in the state is 9 per 1,000 but over 60 per cent of terminal method users are couples with 3 children and above. In relentless pursuit of targets, family planning programmes in the state ignored the aspect of living children and age factor.

Table 6.6 Use of Contraception among Currently Married Women Andhra Pradesh, 1992

Resi.	Non-Users	METHOD				
		Pill	IUD	Con-dom	Tubec-tomy	Vasec-tomy
Urban	43.4	1.1	1.0	2.1	44.1	7.2
Rural	56.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	36.0	6.4
Total	53.0	0.5	0.6	0.7	38.1	6.6

Resi. = Residence

Source : PRC & IIPS, NFHS - Andhra Pradesh, 1995.

6.25 There are gender biases denying the reproductive rights of women due to lop-sided official policies focussed on tubectomy and limited choices. Three-fourths of women in 30 years and below, who are non-users of contraception, attribute it to desire for more children. Despite educational advances, preference for male child persists owing to social prejudices against girl children, as they will need dowry to get married, go to the husband's family and will not be provided with old age security.

AIDS in Andhra Pradesh

6.26 The state government established an AIDS Cell as part of the Directorate of Health and

Family Welfare. Statistics relating to AIDS are periodically published by the National Aids Control Organisation (NACO). Out of 2,109 AIDS cases in India, the state had 5 AIDS cases at the end of 1995 (Government of India, 1996). Under-reporting of the cases could be very high as facilities for screening are few, private diagnosis is expensive, fear of social stigma and most importantly, lack of knowledge of AIDS. There are five sero-surveillance centres in Andhra Pradesh for AIDS. Three of them are attached to the medical colleges in different regions of the state.

Table 6.7 Sero-surveillance in Andhra Pradesh

Centre	Screened	Pstv.
1. Osmania Medical College	11,991	23
2. S.V. Medical College	10,057	71
3. Andhra Medical College	9,653	49
4. Inst. of Preventive Medicine	1,280	71
5. Indian Naval Ship Hospital	8,618	NA
Total	41,599	214

Pstv. = Positive, Inst. = Institute

Source : National Aids Control Organisation, New Delhi, 1995.

6.27 Hetero-sexual promiscuity is a major source of AIDS in India. Other reasons are blood transfusion, blood product infusion, homosexual contact and intravenous drug addiction. Although the NFHS assessed the levels of awareness of AIDS among women in different states, in case of Andhra Pradesh, no information regarding knowledge of AIDS was included.

Referring to the social issues concerning AIDS, Mane and Mitra (1992) mention that AIDS transmission from males to females is three times more than female to male transmission. The vulnerable groups such as commercial sex workers and 'devadasis' lack control on the use of their bodies for sheer and surrender abjectly regardless of the implications. Thus AIDS education campaign's focus on use of condoms, etc. remains as a rhetoric as customers of prostitutes have their say and prefer the natural way.

Summing up

- The focus of health services in the context of women has been on reproductive health, i.e. pregnant women and nursing mothers. Coverage under ante-natal care for women is high (86 per cent). Affecting child and maternal survival is the attendance at birth by untrained persons in half of the deliveries. State's MMR is considerably high.
- The state has the second highest prevalence of rural disabilities and the third highest in urban prevalence of disabilities in the country. Females account for 46.9 per cent of the disabled in the state.
- The CPR in the state is 49 per cent though knowledge of family planning is nearly universal. Female sterilisation accounts for 81 per cent of the current contraceptive prevalence demonstrating the gender bias inherent in the state's family planning programme.
- Though exact figure of groups vulnerable to HIV infection are not known, it is likely that AIDS may emerge as a potential problem in the state.

7 HOUSING

7.1 Housing is a basic need as well as a human right. It is closely allied to quality of life of citizens as poor and insanitary housing leads to aggravation in morbidity and mortality and thereby on productivity of people. The problem of shelter is more visible in urban areas than rural areas as about one-third of the urban population live in slums and squatter settlements. A distinction is drawn between acceptable housing conforming to certain 'norms' or minimum standards and actual housing. The Census of India compiled information on housing during the house listing operations. Besides, NSS carries-out special surveys on housing.

7.2 According to the Census (1991), magnitude of housing shortage in Andhra Pradesh was 20-30 per cent in urban areas and 10-20 per cent in rural areas. At the national level the housing shortage is 12.24 per cent of the households. Out of 23 metropolitan cities in the country two, namely, Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad are in Andhra Pradesh. These two towns incidentally registered the highest decadal growth rates of 74.27 per cent and 67.04 per cent respectively in the country during 1981-91. The high growth of population is bound to aggravate the housing shortage.

7.3 The housing shortage is caused by the proliferation of slums with unabated migration from rural areas to the cities, shooting-up of land prices in urban areas making them beyond the reach of a majority and lack of space in densely populated settings for expansion. Though the National Commission on Urbanisation (1988) made useful recommendations for planned habitat development, the recommendations have not been fully translated into action. Nearly half of slum dwellers stay in own houses but 17.4 per cent have durable or 'pucca' roof (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994).

Table 7.1 Housing Shortage, Andhra Pradesh and India, 1991 (in thousands)

Particulars	Andhra Pradesh		India	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Resi.houses	3,310	10,197	38,743	1,08,474
Households	3,368	10,341	39,523	1,11,588
Difference	48.99	143.5	779.52	3,113
Homeless HH.s	27.0	27.0	217.00	305
N.S.K. Houses	186	947.8	1,138.9	10,306
Housing short	771.18	1,118.3	4,773.5	13,724
% shortage	22.90	10.81	12.08	12.30

N.S.K. = Non Servicable Kutcha

Source : Census of India, 1991.

7.4 The intensity of the housing shortage is considerably higher in urban areas of the state as it is more than double the quantum at national level. The widening gap in urban context is largely a middle class concern with the much bigger and more acute need of the slum and pavement dwellers, hardly receiving priority attention. Skyrocketing of land prices and encroachment of public land leaves little space for social housing. The housing shortage in rural areas is less visible. The breakdown of traditional joint family and rising preference for nuclear family among the upper, middle and lower middle classes and consequent demand for living separately accentuate the shortage. New technologies in building materials, low in cost and environment friendly were invented but they are largely confined to the laboratories.

Quality of Housing

7.5 The estimated numerical shortage of houses in the state is 1.88 million (1991). A critical aspect of housing is its quality. The Census provides information on qualitative aspects of housing.

Table 7.2 Distribution of Households by Quality of Housing

Year/ State	Pucca	Semi-pucca	Kutcha
1981			
India	32.67	33.29	34.04
A.P.	26.22	24.18	49.60
1991			
India	41.61	30.95	27.44
A.P.	38.41	22.58	39.01

Source : Census of India, 1991.

7.6 Housing situation in Andhra Pradesh is worse than the situation for the country as a whole. A large proportion of the households in Andhra Pradesh live in non-durable or 'kutcha' houses: 45 per cent in rural areas and 20.6 per cent in urban areas (1991). In kutcha houses, the roofing is thatched made from straw, palmira leaves and bamboo. It is prone to leak in monsoon and requires periodic repair and replacement. The walls are made of mud and floor plastered with dung. In rural and urban areas the kutcha houses run a high risk of fire accidents and inundation in monsoon. At a deeper level, quality of housing is a reflection of the economic status of the family and its level of poverty and prosperity.

7.7 Over a period of time, from 1981 to 1991, in the state there has been an improvement in the quality of housing of the households. The proportion of the households with kutcha housing declined by 10 per cent and the proportion of those with pucca houses rose by 12 per cent during 1981-91. It could be attributed to better earnings, more employment and an overall improvement in the quality of life.

7.8 Social housing programmes like sites and services, liberal housing loans, housing for slum dwellers and 'Indira Awas Yojana' (IAY) could have also contributed to the improvement in the housing stock. In case of IAY, as provided in its guidelines, the government allots houses in the name of female beneficiary in case the plot is in her name, or else jointly in the name of wife and husband (Government of Andhra Pradesh, no date). The state government decided that in case of grant of house site title deeds 'pattas', they are to be issued only in the name of spouse/ wife/ women members of the family vide government

order Ms.No. 33/ Rev. dated 21.4.1991. The state is front-ranking in the country in provision of weaker section housing on a subsidy is Rs.499.7 million in 1995-96 (revised estimate) was spent. However, recovery of loans under weaker sections housing programme was poor in Andhra Pradesh. As against the total demand of Rs.3,798.7 million at the end of January, 1996 recovery was only Rs.216.6 million (The Hindu, 1996). Despite these efforts, the proportion of pucca houses in urban and rural Andhra Pradesh is lower than the percentage for India indicating the backwardness of the state in housing sector.

7.9 Major challenge in amelioration of the housing stock is to tackle the problem of the non-serviceable 'kutcha' houses numbering 1,86,075 in urban areas and 9,47,840 in rural areas. One aspect of the problem is housing in coastal areas vulnerable to periodic damage due to cyclonic storms and high velocity winds as the state has a long coast line of 974 km. inhabited mostly by the backward fishing communities. In the aftermath of cyclones, the government and voluntary organisations built pucca houses for affected families as part of cyclone rehabilitation programmes.

Drinking Water

"If in the 1970s, the world went to war over oil, in the next 50 years it could go to war over water."

W.N. Dow
Secy.General, UNCHS (1996)

7.10 Investment in water supply is of paramount importance not only to quench thirst but also to reduce disease, save women's lives and drudgery and improve living standards. Water is a key constituent of the natural life support systems along with air and land. The threat to fragile symbiotic relationship between human kind and nature is manifesting in soil erosion, floods, changes in rainfall, depletion of sub-soil water and green cover, damage to aquifers and occurrence of salinity.

Of all the water available, domestic use account for only five per cent, 85 per cent for agriculture and 10 per cent for industry (The Hindu, 1996). Water-borne diseases are leading killers. Epidemics like cholera, gastro-enteritis and

jaundice periodically surface due to unsafe water consumption. The density of population rose three fold in last four decades increasing the pressure on available water resources.

Table 7.3 Households with Safe Drinking Water, 1991

	Rural	Urban	Total
A.P.	48.98	73.82	55.08
India	55.54	81.38	62.30

Source : Census of India, 1991.

Urban Water Supply

7.11 In urban areas households having safe drinking water increased by ten per cent during the censal period of 1981 to 1991. With a coverage of 73.82 per cent in urban areas, state lags behind India's coverage of 81.1 per cent in 1991. Urban water supply is plagued by over-population, shortage of funds, poor recovery of cess, pilferage and most importantly, inadequacy of water to distribute and leakage.

Table 7.4 Municipalities: Deficiency in Water, Andhra Pradesh

Sl.No.	Deficiency (%)	Municipalities (No.)
1.	100	7
2.	75 - 99	9
3.	50 - 74	37
4.	>50	48
5.	0*	13

* (but needing services)

Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994.

7.12 Thus a large number of municipalities suffer from water shortage against the norm of 140 Litres Per Capita Daily (LPCD) in urban and semi-urban areas and 100 LPCD in towns with less than 0.1 million population.

7.13 Experts attribute a major portion of the water problem to mismanagement, wasteful practices and bad maintenance. Inadequacies of state water supply are being increasingly substituted by the private vendors. Urban poor suffer the most in case of water rationing in

cities and urban poor spend 15 per cent of their disposable income on water (The Hindu, 1996:7). However, coverage ratios in urban areas are higher than in rural areas as in the case of sanitation confirming the theory of urban bias in development process.

Rural Water Supply

7.14 Variations in geo-hydrological, technological and socio-economic aspects determine the access to water. National policy focusses on problem villages for coverage. A problem village is defined in terms of access (located within a distance of 1.6 km.) to a reliable water source; quantity and quality (free from toxic substances and contamination). Quantity is defined in terms of one hand pump or stand post for every 250 population.

Habitation Survey

7.15 A survey of rural habitations was done in 1992-93 to assess the drinking water situation by the Ministry of Rural Development (Government of India, 1995). The survey covered habitations in terms of : (i) population coverage as per defined norms and (ii) physical coverage of habitations with requisite facilities. Full coverage denoted availability of 40 litres of safe drinking water per capita per day from a public source within a distance of 1.6 km. or an elevation differential of 100 meters.

Table 7.5 Rural Population and Habitations by Water Supply (%)

	Not covered	Partially covered	Fully covered
A.P.			
Population	2.19	44.26	53.56
Habitations	5.99	28.95	65.06
India:			
Population	5.26	45.81	48.93
Habitations	10.69	32.64	56.67

Source : Ministry of Rural Development, Govt. of India, 1995.

7.16 Problem of drinking water is acute in semi-arid and arid regions; interior tribal and hilly

pockets and villages whose riverain/sub-soil sources are contaminated by environmental or fluoride pollutants. A study on pollution levels in rivers of the state found that bicarbonates, chlorides and nitrates were recorded in high concentration in state's rivers (The Hindu, 1996:3). The residents of certain neighboring villages of Hyderabad have been on war path over industrial effluents destroying their water sources, cattle and crops and succeeded in getting compensation through public interest litigation. Half of the population in the state have full access to safe drinking water and 44.26 per cent suffer from inadequacy and related problems.

7.17 Since traditionally, as part of women's institutionalised discrimination, water is drawn and carried by women as part of domestic duties, at least in about half of the settlements in the state women suffer considerably due to source level inadequacies. In tribal pockets of Adilabad, Visakhapatnam and Khammam women have to trek long distances to fetch water for survival. Predominantly, unsafe sources such as open wells, streams, ponds and rivers are used, increasing morbidity and mortality.

Sanitation

7.18 Sanitation is closely linked to conditions of housing and the sources of water supply. Besides the environmental degradation and health problems associated with poor sanitation, there are social dimensions like denial of minimum of privacy and extreme inconvenience to women due to open defecation and public exposure. The inhuman practice of carrying 'night soil' by outcastes (Harijans) persists due to continued use of dry latrines, though the system is legally abolished. The urban-rural divide is sharp in sanitary access.

Table 7.6 Households having Toilet Facility, 1991 (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
A.P.	54.60	6.62	18.40
India	63.85	9.48	23.70

Source : Census of India, 1991.

7.19 Less than one-fifth of the households, mostly in urban areas, have a toilet facility. According to an estimate there are 1,63,000 individual latrines and 1,900 community latrines in rural areas of the state resulting in a rural sanitation coverage of 1.7 per cent, which is much less than the Census figure for 1991 (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994).

According to the Planning Commission, in urban areas, in terms of population, 20 per cent use water flush systems linked to drainage, 14 per cent use wet toilets linked to septic tanks, 33 per cent use bucket or dry latrines and 33 per cent use open drains, road side berms and open spaces (UNICEF, 1991).

7.20 Schemes such as Low Cost Sanitation and sanitary marts were implemented by the government to promote sanitation. While efforts were concentrated on hard ware aspects of the sanitation schemes, due to inadequate preparation and motivation of user groups and lack of sanitary education, utilisation of the facilities created remains sub-optimal causing neglect and wastage.

7.21 Waste disposal is a pre-requisite for environmental sanitation. Barring major urban centres, drainage services are inadequate in the state due to public indifference and resource crunch.

Electricity

7.22 According to the Census (1991), 37.5 per cent of rural households and 73.3 per cent of urban households have electricity in the state. The state has been experiencing power cuts. The proportion of households having toilet facility, drinking water and electricity are 14.84 per cent (Census, 1991).

Rural Energy

7.23 The Census, 1991 details the various types of fuel used in cooking separately for rural and urban areas. In Andhra Pradesh a large majority in rural areas (91.56 per cent) use wood as fuel other types of fuels used by households in rural areas of the State for cooking are cowdung (3.37

per cent), charcoal (0.30 per cent) and cooking gas (2.07 per cent). In urban areas types of fuel used and user percentages are: cooking gas (25.19), wood (47.99) and kerosene (21.53). On the whole 80 per cent of the households in the state depend on wood as fuel. Use of cowdung cake as fuel for cooking among households in the State is lower at 2.76 per cent in comparison to the national average of 19.39 per cent.

Summing up

- Availability of housing and housing amenities such as drinking water, sanitation and electricity in Andhra Pradesh present a grim picture calling for fresh investments to ameliorate the living standards of the population.
- Access to sanitation is limited to a fraction of rural population. Notwithstanding the health hazards and environmental importance, open defecation is widespread in the state with a minimum of privacy and extreme inconvenience for women, both in rural and urban habitations.
- There are a large number of habitations with partial or no coverage in terms of access to safe drinking water in rural areas of the state. Women are the primary victims of the drinking water situation as they shoulder the drudgery of collection and carrying water from a distance in rural, tribal and urban households.
- Four-fifths of all households in the state use wood as the fuel for cooking. It suggests that women are overburdened not only with carrying water but also in cutting, collecting and carrying wood such as twigs, shrubs, straw and small branches for the households for cooking food, every day. Women's misery is getting accentuated by the shrinkage in village common property resources forcing women to go farther and farther away to fetch wood.

8 POVERTY

8.1 Conceptually, at least two prominent approaches to poverty are prominent. One is relative poverty and the other absolute poverty. The latter is defined mainly with reference to physiological needs of a person which depends upon the qualitative and quantitative aspects of food consumed. In relative poverty, certain minimum standards with reference to average expectations of a population group are defined. Calorie intake as per defined norms is being widely used in the country to assess poverty. A summary index of poverty is derived by drawing a line between the poor and the non-poor through the mid-point of the monthly per capita expenditure class having a daily calorie intake of 2400 per person in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas.

Poverty Ratios

8.2 Several economists estimated the poverty trends in the state. As the methodologies used differ, their estimates are not strictly comparable. Ahluwalia (1978) estimated the rural poverty ratios for the period 1957-58 to 1973-74 using the poverty line of Rs.15 per capita per month at 1960-61 prices. These showed that poverty declined during early sixties but rose in late sixties. Reddy (1989) estimated the incidence of poverty from 1977-78 to 1986-87. The results indicate that there was a very sharp decline in absolute rural poverty in late seventies and early eighties in the state. According to the Planning Commission estimates, 34 per cent of rural population and 26 per cent of urban population were living below the poverty line in 1987-88 in absolute terms (Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, 1991).

Rural Poverty

8.3 A survey (1992) by the state government in rural areas showed that 43.4 per cent of the rural families were living below the poverty line

based on the norm of Rs.11,000 income per family per year. Largest proportion were in the very poor to destitute (12.03 per cent) and poor (13.52 per cent) category.

Table 8.1 Rural poverty in Andhra Pradesh, 1992

Sl. No.	Annual income of families (Rs.)	%
1.	0 - 4,000	12.03
2.	4,001 - 6,000	13.52
3.	6,001 - 8,500	10.52
4.	8,501 - 11,000	7.47
Total		43.44

Source : Commissioner of Panchayati Raj, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Note : Poverty level Rs.11,000 and below at family level.

8.4 In absolute terms, out of 10 million rural families surveyed, 4.34 million families were living below the poverty line. Of them, 2.36 million already secured assistance. Information about incidence of poverty among those already assisted was not available. The survey does not offer information on the incidence of poverty among female headed households. However, such households are invariably among the poorest as the frequent cause of such households is death of the male (head) of family. Widowhood is a painful phase of life both economically and socially due to social stigma. Marriage, as seen in the chapter on Demography is nearly universal among females in the state.

Data on monthly per capita expenditure from the NSS are useful in knowing the share of different items of expenditure at household level. According to the NSS 48th Round, food accounts for 64.74 per cent of the average monthly per capita consumer expenditure in rural areas and 55.13 per cent in urban areas of Andhra Pradesh.

District-wise Poverty Level

8.5 The rural poverty survey by the government provides information on percentage of families living below the poverty line to total families at the district level. In Andhra Pradesh, Visakhapatnam, Cuddapah, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Srikakulam districts had the highest incidence of rural poverty at 49 per cent. Krishna district with 36 per cent ratio had the least incidence of rural poverty in the state. Five districts had a rural poverty ratio of less than 40 per cent in the state. Among them, four are from coastal Andhra region and one (Medak) from the Telangana region.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP)

8.6 The Eighth Plan (1992-97) document makes a fervent plea for a frontal attack on the problem of poverty through better implementation of the poverty alleviation schemes in rural and urban areas. A basket of programmes covering income generation, employment promotion, wasteland development, human resource development and women development form part of PAP. While acknowledging the adverse effects of economic liberalization on the poor, it calls for special safeguards like safety net to shield the poor. The PAPs cover a broad canvass of schemes, multi-sectoral in nature to address multiple target groups including women by economic and social inputs. The policy document of the Union Government known as "Common Approach Programme" accords highest priority to rural development and poverty alleviation (The Hindu, 1996).

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

8.7 In the realm of rural development, IRDP is the biggest PAP started in early seventies. The objective of IRDP is to assist the rural poor families through credit and subsidy to cross the poverty line with the help of additional incomes generated. The central guidelines stipulate a reservation of 30 per cent for women beneficiaries in IRDP. The state government fixed the target of 40 per cent for women beneficiaries in IRDP.

During the financial year 1995-96 (upto Feb.96), 20,245 women constituting 25.39 per cent of the total were assisted with a per capita investment of Rs.10,143. In sectoral terms, of the total beneficiaries three-fourths were assisted in primary sector, 10 per cent in secondary sector and 13 per cent in tertiary sector in 1995-96 upto February, 1996.

8.8 There have been numerous studies concerning IRDP. According to the three rounds of concurrent evaluation of IRDP in Andhra Pradesh done by the NIRD during 1985 to 1989 16 per cent of the families assisted earned over Rs.6,400 and crossed poverty line. In 79 per cent of the cases the asset is intact. A study on financial services to rural poor (Price Waterhouse, 1994:127) cited in a national report on non-farm sector (SGRNS, 1994) observes:

"...the results of these schemes have been very disappointing, with cascading lower rates at every stage:

- asset acquisition (76 per cent actually used the loan)
- asset retention (46 per cent did not have the asset when surveyed)
- income generation (could not be determined, but was lower than a third) and
- loan repayment stagnated (only 16 per cent were regular in repaying)

The study shows that at each stage beginning from asset acquisition to income generation to loan repayment, the success rates gradually declined: of the total beneficiaries of the IRDP, 76 per cent acquired the asset, 54 per cent returned the asset, less than a third of the total beneficiaries could generate additional income from the asset and finally as many as 84 per cent of the beneficiaries were irregular in repaying the loans received under the IRDP programme. Thus the poverty alleviation loans have only managed to create, on the one hand, a large pool of wilful or unwitting defaulters, and on the other hand, bankers who are cynical about lending to the poor. This has caused an enormous set-back to the possibility of the formal sector ever addressing the credit needs of the poor." A possible explanation may be that the people were already so indebted at extreme high rate that they used the loan for debt alleviation.

8.9 Thus, the study questions the wisdom of overburdening the poor with a loan in excess of their annual income for promotion of self-employment, when two-thirds of the enterprises do not take-off. Improvement of the design of the loan based on the needs seems appropriate.

Training of Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM)

8.10 The scheme was started in 1979 to promote employment among those in the age of 15-35 years in rural areas through skill transfer. It envisages training of selected youth from families living below the poverty line in trades and crafts to enable them to secure employment. In the scheme 40 per cent of the beneficiaries are to be women.

For the year 1995-96 (upto February, 1996), in Andhra Pradesh, 13,825 youth were trained under TRYSEM. Among them 48.26 per cent were female youth. In the same period, out of those women trained, according to government figures, 43.7 per cent secured self employment and 9.32 per cent wage employment. The problems associated with the training largely relate to placement of the ex-trainees as bankers are not enthusiastic in providing loans, in the aftermath of the economic reforms and increase in accountability norms for banking personnel for recovery of loans.

Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)

8.11 The DWCRA programme is intended to strengthen the women's groups through credit and subsidy besides promoting thrift. Covering all the districts in the state, there were 11,432 women's groups with a total membership of 169,824 in February, 1996. Among them the largest number (80,200) belong to the scheduled castes. The scheme's major strengths were: collectivisation of women, social mobilisation, promotion of thrift, building awareness and economic activities. A potential danger is dormancy of groups as limited development personnel were assigned large targets in group formation affecting attention and supervision. An evaluation of DWCRA in the state (Rao and Vimla, 1987) refers to marketing problem, wrong

selection of beneficiaries and lack of technical know-how.

Urban Poverty

8.12 Nearly one out of every four persons living in an urban area lives in slums. A study (IDPS, 1988) in Visakhapatnam showed that 77 per cent of the slum population live below the poverty line. Urban poverty alleviation programmes accordingly target their effort at those living in slums. The major programme is Nehru Rojgar Yojana (NRY) launched as a counterpart of IRDP, seeks to extend credit and subsidy to initiate enterprises for income generation among urban poor including women. The Urban Basic Services for Poor (UBSP) seeks to improve overall quality of urban women and children. Both are under implementation in the state.

Economic Empowerment -- State Agencies

8.13 Besides the centrally sponsored programmes implemented through the District Rural Development Agencies, poverty alleviation programmes are also implemented through other departments/corporations of the state government. A major initiative in this regard is the A.P. Women's Cooperative Finance Corporation Limited started in 1975. It provides technical know-how through training and financial assistance for economic activities. It organises gender sensitisation activities and production-cum-training activities under schemes like women's economic programme known as NORAD scheme, TRYSEM, etc.

8.14 There are special projects limited to regions/ districts of the state. The UNDP project on institutional development at the grassroots for poverty alleviation, seeks to organise through NGOs, women into self-help groups and promote incomes in the drought-prone Mahbubnagar, Kurnool and Anantapur districts. The IFAD project in tribal areas seeks to promote and strengthen mahila mandals as the local agencies for programme implementation. The Directorate of Sericulture is implementing a women's action plan to increase the involvement of women in sericulture through group formation, training

and production. In the cooperative sector, there are 546 women welfare cooperatives with a membership of 23,364 and 388 mahila cooperative super bazars. There are Mahila Urban Banks as well. The A.P. Dairy Development Cooperative Federation has organised 346 societies for women. In the state out of the 0.8 million primary producer members of milk cooperatives, 1,04,000 are women. There are 3,500 fishermen cooperative societies in the state with nearly 0.3 million members including women. The Action Plan for Women 2000 A.D. formulated by the Government of Andhra Pradesh unveils ambitious plans for economic and social empowerment of the women in the state (Department of Womens Development and Child welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, no date).

Nutrition

8.15 As explained in 8.1, a critical parameter in determination of poverty is calorie intake which is a function of the food consumed. Nutrition and poverty are closely allied. Nutritional well being is a function of food production, distribution and consumption across regions and classes. The National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau (NNMB) at the National Institute of Nutrition periodically carries out surveys on nutrition. Studies by the NNMB suggest that gender bias in nutrition is either non-existent or negligible based on standard parameters.

Table 8.2 Means of Proteins(g) and Calories(K cal) Intakes by Age and Sex, Andhra Pradesh

Age	Boys Proteins	Girls Proteins	Boys Calories	Girls Calories
2+	19.47	21.76	745	851
5+	25.33	27.07	1,044	1,089
7+	31.50	30.63	1,241	1,205
12+	39.59	38.21	1,592	1,445
17+	59.38	44.83	2,325	1,609

Source : Rural Surveys (1975-80), NNMB, NIN, Hyderabad.

However, a study on intra-family differences in dietary intake using 24 hour recall method (Rao and Sastry, 1991) revealed that intake levels of girls are fairly comparable to boys upto the age

of 17 years. In late adolescence and adulthood, males consume more. However, in relation to Required Dietary Allowance (RDA) gender differences are small and females fare a shade better than males. However, intake levels when it matters most, i.e. of pregnant women and nursing mothers showed a deficit of 12.5 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. The strong linkage between nutrition and poverty is exemplified by the Rs.2 a kilogramme rice scheme of the state government.

Poverty and Public Distribution System (PDS)

8.16 Parthasarathy (1995) attributes the stellar performance of Andhra Pradesh in poverty reduction from 1970-71 to 1987-88 to agricultural growth in the '70s but in the '80s to the Rs.2 a kilo rice scheme as part of the (PDS). The PDS scheme was introduced in 1983 as a populist measure as part of PDS for families with an annual income of Rs.6,000 or less at the rate of 5 kg. per member per month subject to a maximum of 25 kg. per family per month. The state subsidised the difference between issue price of Food Corporation of India and trading costs. The State Government in order to overcome the financial resource crunch raised the price of rice from Rs.2 a kilogram to Rs.3.50 a kilogram and reduced the maximum rice admissible to a family per month to 20 kilograms from 25 kilograms effective from August, 1996. The subsidy in 1995-96 (anticipated) went up to a whopping Rs.13,000 million (The Hindu, 1996). Citing the NSS 42nd Round (1991) which showed that among bottom 40 per cent of rural poor, rice bought from PDS varied from 36-40 per cent, Parthasarathy maintains that the scheme kept the poverty levels under check in the '80s.

Summing up

- The levels of poverty have been oscillating since 1961 but there is gradual decline in population below the poverty line and the state secured the first rank in poverty reduction performance from the '70s to '80s among the states in the country.

- Rural poverty ratio is 43.4 per cent in the state, with considerable variation at district level. Six districts have about half of their population living below the poverty line defined as Rs. 11,000 annual per family income.
- Gender differences in terms of nutrition appear to be negligible if one goes by the studies conducted at the NNMB. However, after 17 years of age, pregnant women and nursing mothers suffer from gross nutritional deficiencies.
- The saliency of the PDS is underlined by the role it played in combating poverty in the '80s through the Rs. 2 a kilo rice scheme, the largest subsidised programme among states in the country.



HOUSEHOLDS

9.1 The population of Andhra Pradesh is distributed over 13.93 million households. Of them, 10.32 million are rural households and 3.61 million urban households as per the 1991 Census. The number of occupied residential houses in the state is 13.47 million yielding a ratio of 1,034 households per 1,000 occupied residential houses.

9.2 As discussed in the chapter 2 on Housing, a considerable proportion of households lack access to basic amenities such as electricity, sanitation and safe drinking water. Among the total households, 1.11 million need housing. About half of the rural households and one-fourth of the urban households do not have safe drinking water (1991). The difference in access ratios of SCs, STs and others is not significant though rural-urban differences are substantial. A majority of the households use wood as fuel for cooking (1991).

Profile of Rural Households

9.3 A survey was carried-out by the state government for identification of families living below the poverty line for support through the rural poverty alleviation programmes was done in 1991 in rural parts of all districts in Andhra Pradesh except in Hyderabad which is fully urban. The results of the survey offer a brief profile of the rural households in terms of annual income, occupation and social affiliation.

Table 9.1 Rural Households by Income, Andhra Pradesh, 1991

Sl. No.	Income Range (Rs.)	House-holds (Millions)	%
1.	0- 4,000	1.20	12.03
2.	4,001- 5,000	1.34	13.50
3.	6,001- 8,500	1.05	10.52
4.	8,501-11,000	0.74	7.47
5.	> 11,000	5.65	56.55

Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh.

9.4 The survey covered 10 million rural households. Out of them, 56.5 per cent were above the poverty line of Rs.11,000 annual income. Among the rest, 12.03 per cent belong to the very poor to destitute category earning annually Rs.4000 or less. The social composition of the households shows that, in percentage terms, 20.26 belong to scheduled castes, 8.10 to STs, 8.04 to religious minorities and 63.5 per cent others.

Female Headed Households

9.5 The 1991 survey put the figure of female headed households at one million in the state constituting 10.08 per cent of the total rural households. Female headed households are few as in a patriarchal society households are headed by males,-- not necessarily husbands or fathers. The female headed households come into being for a variety of reasons. It implies that, in the household, decision making, the bread-winning and managerial responsibilities are shouldered by the women to a considerable extent.

Reasons for a household to become permanent female headed household are: death, desertion and divorce forced by the particular circumstances. Widowhood appears to be the most common reason in this category. Besides these, there could also be single woman families headed by unmarried women. However, the NFHS (1992) data as discussed in the chapter 2, shows that in Andhra Pradesh marriage is nearly universal and singulate mean age at marriage for females is low.

9.6 Some households become female headed temporarily as in case of migration of the men-folk to other areas. Cause of migration is invariably employment. These include seasonal migrants, fairly common among tribals and the landless in arid regions and those who migrate abroad.

Table 9.2 Female Headed Households by District, 1991

District	%	District	%	District	%
East Godavari	9.45	<u>West Godavari</u>	<u>14.07</u>	<u>Krishna</u>	<u>11.35</u>
Srikakulam	9.45	Vizianagram	11.1	Visakhapatnam	9.45
<u>Guntur</u>	<u>10.57</u>	Prakasam	9.81	Nellore	9.45
Kurnool	9.79	Anantpur	11.3	Cuddapah	9.38
Chittoor	9.78	Ranga Reddi	2.38	<u>Nizamabad</u>	<u>13.49</u>
Medak	10.9	Mahbubnagar	9.45	Nalgonda	9.45
Warangal	8.18	Khammam	9.45	Karimnagar	9.57
Adilabad	8.26				

Source : Commissioner of Panchayati Raj, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1994.

Incidence of Female Headed Households

9.7 In the state, the proportion of rural female headed households is considerable at ten per cent of the total households (one million). Among the districts, highest incidence of female headed households is found at East Godavari followed by Nizamabad. Least incidence is at Ranga Reddi adjoining Hyderabad city (Table 9.2).

Female headed households are not only the poorest of the households but also the head of family is not prepared for the additional responsibilities thrust upon her. She faces social disabilities and vulnerable to exploitation by near and dear. There are regional and caste variations in this regard. In tribal and Muslim communities remarriage is allowed.

9.8 Widows belonging to the other castes like Brahmins, life is an ordeal indeed. It is inauspicious for them to attend social functions where the 'Muttaiduvas' (Married women) are present, should avoid colourful sarees and wear white dress instead, avoid putting the vermilion mark on the forehead and in the parting of the hair to let others know that she is a widow and mostly stay indoors. What sustains them is the personal 'sense' of responsibility of upbringing children, educating them and marriage of daughters despite severest of the social and economic odds - values deeply ingrained in the female 'psyche' generation after generation as a sacrificer of personal comfort for the good of 'others' in the family - first the in-laws, then the husband and then the children. History of social

reform movement in the state traces its origin to barbaric treatment of widows within the families in the 19th century with the oppression legitimised by the religion and ritual practices and patriarchal system. For Muslims and Christians there is no social stigma attached to widowhood.

Summing up

- There are 13.93 million households in the state of which 10.32 are rural households and 3.62 urban households (1991). Among the rural households 43.5 per cent are living below the poverty line.
- Female headed households occur due to migration of the male head of household or for permanent reasons like death of male head, desertion or divorce- circumstances mostly unexpected. They suffer from extreme economic hardship, social disabilities and exploitation.
- Incidence of female headed households is highest in West Godavari (14.07 per cent) and the least in Ranga Reddi district (2.38 per cent).
- Public policies have not been fully responsive to the needs of permanent category of female headed households in the realm of social housing and employment. The widow pension scheme's coverage is low and so is the pension amount. Government needs to urgently evolve special tailor made programmes to support female headed households.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN MOVEMENTS AND POLITICS

State Initiatives

10.1 The Government of Andhra Pradesh evolved a blue print titled Action Plan for Women 2000 A.D. The document comprehensively covers the different sectors identifying the actions contemplated to strengthen social, economic and political empowerment of women in the state. Subsequently, in 1996, the State Government introduced a discussion paper to stimulate wider discussion to evolve a policy for women's development. This document titled "A Movement for Women Empowerment" outlined the measures contemplated for women's development. The goals set therein are:

- Equality with men
- Justice for women
- Social security
- Elimination of discrimination against women in all fields
- Women's economic development
- Enabling women to become equal partners in economic sphere

The State Programme of Action for the Child for 1990s, builds in several concerns while reviewing the accomplishments made with regard to the National Plan of Action for Women and Child (1992) in Andhra Pradesh.

Special Provisions for Women

10.2 It will be apt to recollect the various affirmative measures taken by the state government for women's welfare and protection:

- reservation of 33 per cent seats in panchayat and municipal bodies.
- reservation of 30 per cent posts in state government and other state public sector

- coverage of a minimum of 30 per cent women among beneficiaries of development programmes implemented through various development corporations in public sector
- free education for girls up to graduate level
- equal property rights for daughters and sons under the Hindu Succession Act since May, 1986
- entrustment of fair price shops exclusively for women
- grant of house 'pattas' or land in joint names of wife and husband
- imposition of ban on sale of arrack in entire state.

History of Social Reform Movements

10.3 Historically, social reform movements as distinct from the political movements in Andhra Pradesh were directed at the pathetic condition of women in the society and the concomitant evil social practices. These endeavours emerged in the context of 19th century tradition of liberal education from the west and the inspiration from the works of national reformers like Raja Rammohun Roy and Keshub Chandra Sen. These movements took a variety of forms and means to achieve emancipation of women.

Leadership

10.4 The leadership and control of these movements largely remained outside the domain of women. Concomitantly, the movements were pre-occupied with externalities such as the institutionalisation of young women who became

widows and did not address the root causes of evil practices such as unequal gender relations within the family and subjugation of female interests. Thus gender issues occupied centre-stage in the social reform movements in the state which however were limited to a few segments of the society like the educated urban middle and lower middle class which was also the source of leadership for them.

Widow Remarriage

10.5 The most renowned social reformer of the state, Tanguturi Veereshalingam Pantulu (1848-1919) launched a relentless struggle for widow remarriage and for abolition of child marriage. He established social institutions at Rajamundry in East Godavari district to promote his mission. These include educational institutions and residential homes to educate young girls and women to lead a better life. Gurajada Apparao, an eminent writer, thinker and novelist roused public opinion against the practice of child marriage. His work, 'Kanyasulkam', considered as a 'magnum opus' in Telugu literature, revolves around the themes like child marriage, domestic violence, exploitation of young widows, female suicide and the orthodox and dogmatic belief system of that period of time.

Contemporary history dating to the past one hundred years of social reform movement in Andhra Pradesh is synonymous with the history of the social movements for emancipation of women. Even in the struggle for national independence, women's problems were addressed. Women's participation in the freedom struggle was significant. Over a period of time, rather long one, leadership slowly graduated into the hands of women from men in the realm of women's movements and the approach changed from welfarism towards development as part of an on-going evolutionary process as women come forward and seize initiative to fight oppression.

10.6 Modern architect of women's development from the state is Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, the founder of Andhra Mahila Sabha and the founder chair-person of the Central Social Welfare Board. During the movement for separate Telangana state and separate Andhra

state in the '70s, women took an active part. The Mandal agitation in the 90s saw a sharp division of women and their leadership into two groups: pro-Mandal and anti-Mandal just as it divided the society on caste lines. Nevertheless, women staged demonstrations and protest movements mostly against reservations for Backward Classes recommended by Mandal Commission.

Anti-arrack Movement

10.7 In recent past, the biggest women's movement in the state related to the struggle to achieve prohibition in the state. In the struggle which began as a campaign at Dubagunta village in Nellore district by the neo-literates gradually gained momentum culminating in the imposition of prohibition in the state from October, 1993. In the campaign leaders such as Vavilala Gopalkrishnayya, Malladi Subbamma and others played a prominent role through district level and state level campaigns. However, news reports suggest that due to insincere implementation and leakages, enforcement of prohibition is not a total success.

Outside the issue-specific social reform movements, but more mass based is the association of women in hundreds of thrift and credit groups/ self-help groups promoted under DWCRA, RMK, SHG, etc. scattered in every part of the state and joining by a common strand - an urge to save for a better tomorrow and a better life. Other issues relating to women such as rape (the case of Rameeza Bee) and several dowry related offenses and deaths were among those on which campaigns were held with media support.

Devadasi System

10.8 Historically, devadasis served a god to which they were ritually married by 'dancing and singing' in the temple. Gradually the system degenerated due to superstition, dogmatic belief, extreme poverty and misuse of priests. Other traditional groups are 'Joginis' in Nizamabad estimated to be around 5,000 and 'Basavis' in Kurnool. The devadasi system is found in parts of Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Medak and Adilabad districts. Neither the arms of protective legislation nor rehabilitation services could reach a majority of 'devadasis'.

Legally the system is banned as per the A.P. Devadasi (Prohibition of Dedication) Act, 1988 but the problem lies in the political and social will to enforce the Act (Iftexhar, 1996).

Commercial Sex Workers (CSW)

10.9 Commercial sex workers (CSW) include call girls, street prostitutes, casual prostitutes and seasonal prostitutes. In Andhra Pradesh, commercial sex is practiced in major centres like Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada and in business centres specially in the southern and central coastal Andhra region. Estimates of the number of CSWs is not available. Caste based prostitution is also practiced by 'Bhogamma' in Vijayanagaram, Peddapuram, Rajahmandry and Kakinada. There are an estimated 8,000 Dommara tribe prostitutes in Telangana initiated into the flesh trade at puberty by the community itself abusing the woman's body for a living by the men. In coming years, AIDS has the potential to emerge as a major health problem in the state as about 30 per cent of the CSWs are estimated to suffer from HIV infection (Mane and Mitra, 1992). The CSWs are exploited and are unorganised. They have minimal services for education and rehabilitation of their children and themselves in old age.

Child Prostitution

10.10 A large number of children, mostly girls in the age group of 6-18 years are being forced into prostitution in major cities, though exact figures are not available. It has emerged as a new growth industry (Iftexhar, 1996). It received a fillip due to scare of AIDS as men are willing to pay more for a very young girl under the mistaken impression that they are less likely to carry HIV virus. It is also due to false beliefs that a man can get rejuvenated by sex with a child. Contributing key factor is poverty for child prostitution though other causes such as ill-treatment by parents, social customs like Devadasi, desertion by spouse, widowhood and restriction on widow remarriage are also there. Devadasis are estimated to account for 20 per cent of child prostitutes (Iftexkar, 1996).

Denial of Control Over Body

10.11 The practice of child prostitution, Devadasis, Joginis and Bhogamma represent a pernicious process in which the young girls and women are robbed of the control over their body in the name of religion, caste and family tradition. Oppression by men of women has been sanctified in the name of religion, worship, tradition and survival - all combining to deny basic rights to women. Worst form of gender oppression is seen among Dommara where men force women in their families in to commercial sex. Invariably, the fundamental right to have physical control over their body is denied to women. Laws as Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 and the Juvenile Justice Act, 1986 have not been effective in curbing child prostitution and trafficking in women due to inadequacies in the legal system and a socio-cultural system which treats women as a commodity.

Atrocities on Women

10.11 Atrocities against women could be categorised as: (i) offenses such as rape, immoral trafficking, molestation and eve-teasing; (ii) offenses for gains and (iii) dowry cases and atrocities perpetuated in the name of custom (Akhileswari, 1991). Crimes against women are increasing in the state (Table 10.1).

10.13 The trends are ominous and the incidence is increasing alarmingly each year. From 1993 to 1994, highest increase was recorded in cases under Dowry Prevention Act (67 per cent), bigamy (60.8 per cent), harassment (43 per cent) and abetment of suicide (39.9 per cent).

Regarding women's oppression, the Action Plan for Women (Government of Andhra Pradesh, No date:14) rightly observes:

"The greatest amongst all fears is that caused by the awareness of their own physical vulnerability, witnessed daily in the increasing number of dowry deaths, rising number of rapes and crimes against women. The breakdown of joint family system, the rising consumerism and value for material prosperity inculcating greed,

Table 10.1 Atrocities Against Women, Andhra Pradesh

Head of Crime	1992	1993	1994
Dowry Murder (498A,302IPC)	41	56	57
Dowry Deaths (498A, 304-B IPC)	256	328	368
Suicide Abetment (498A,306IPC)	420	486	680
Harassment (498A IPC)	1,402	1,634	2,337
Murders (women) 302 IPC	407	409	472
D.P. Act (Sec.4 of DP Act)	67	67	112
Rape Cases (376 IPC)	737	769	826
Kidnapping & Abduction (366IPC)	409	421	536
Bigamy (494, 495 IPC)	160	227	364
Outraging of Modesty (354 IPC)	1,936	1,870	2,258
Total	5,835	6,267	8,010

competition, violence and sexual license in the name of modernism have made women even more vulnerable, even as they struggle to adjust to the dual responsibilities of home and outside world...The inadequacies in the legal system and the general lack of sensitivity to the problems of women by law regulating agencies have together resulted in making women victims of the system."

10.14 The special provisions made in the state to combat crimes include setting-up of Women's Protection Cells under the aegis of Police in select places including Hyderabad. The

unreported cases of atrocities due to social taboos, tolerance as ill-luck and fear of police and reprisals by in-laws are believed to be quite substantial. Further, convictions are invariably slow and legal processes expensive. Legal aid is difficult to access.

Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs)

10.15 A number of NGOs are working with women in tribal, rural and urban areas of the state to ameliorate their livelihood. Pioneering

Table 10.2 Women's Organisations in Pre-independence Period

Organisation	Place	Established Year	Main activity
Sarada Samajam	A. Puram	1918	Women's Development
M.J.Vidyalayam	Kakinada	1924	Education
Sevasadan	Madras	1925	Education
S.H. Mandali	Bapatla	1931	Women's Welfare
Labour Pro. League	Nellore	1933	Women's rights
Andhra Mahila Sabha	Madras	1938	Education & Training
G.W.C.C.I. Society	Gudur	1939	Cottage Industries
Mahila Samajam	Madanpalle	1942	Women's upliftment

Source : Subbamma, M. Women's Movement and Associations, 1994.

Notes : The list is indicative and not an exhaustive for the period 1900 to 1947.

NGOs in the realm of women development include Hithakarini Samajam, Andhra Mahila Sabha and Prema Samajam. The efforts of the NGOs working in the sphere of women are enormous spread-over different parts of the state (Subbamma, 1994). Some of them are listed in Table 10.2. The NGOs have been advocating the need for women's protection and fighting against injustices such as dowry, rape and eve-teasing. In the mean time one of the NGO objectives is to make women aware of their legal rights.

10.16 The major political parties have their women's wings organised as separate entities. There are a large number of mahila mandals mainly engaged in socio-cultural activities. There is a wide network of small, medium and big NGOs in Andhra Pradesh. Some of them focus exclusively on women but a majority consider women as one of the 'target' groups. The NGOs organise programmes directed at awareness generation, skill transfer, income generation, savings promotion and group formation in pursuit of women development. Their efforts are supported by governmental and international donor funding.

10.17 Often bilateral and multi-lateral funding is routed through governmental machinery with involvement of the NGOs. Examples are projects aided by IFAD for health and education in Tribal areas, UNICEF for the girl-child, NORAD for skill training, SWISS AID for animal husbandry, SIDA for sericulture, UNDP for self help group promotion, World Bank for environment and poverty alleviation, ODA (UK) for primary education and slum improvement and Netherlands Development Cooperation for sanitation drinking water and small scale irrigation. The Netherlands also finances a non-

mainstream project: "Mahila Samakhya" (Education for women's equality). This approach combines the strength of government and the innovativeness, flexibility and participatory approach of NGOs. However, it should be realised that NGOs are not automatically gender sensitive.

A large number of foreign donor organisations assist the NGOs directly in the state. Such agencies include NOVIB, HIVOS, IDRC, AWS Intercooperation, CARE, Christian Aid, CCF, SCF, Ford Foundation, Misereor and EZE to name a few whose priority is women's empowerment. Data on the exact quantum of inflow of foreign funds as grants to the NGOs is not available, but may not be substantial, compared to bilateral and multi-lateral funds usually as 70 per cent loans and 30 per cent grants.

Political Participation

10.18 Women's participation in politics is low in Andhra Pradesh (Table 10.3).

Table 10.3 Women in Legislative Assembly, Andhra Pradesh

Year	Total seats	Women (nos.)	%
1978	294	14	4.7
1983	294	16	5.4
1985	294	14	4.8
1989	294	6	5.4
1994	294	7	2.28

Table 10.4 Women in Local Bodies, Andhra Pradesh, 1995

Sl.	Category	Election Held	Women	Posts
1.	Z.P. Chairperson	22	7	22
2.	Z.P.T.C. Representatives	1,073	363	1,093
3.	M.P.T.C. Representatives	14,643	5,054	14,643
4.	President, M.P. Parishads	1,092	366	1,092
5.	Sarpanch, Gram Panchayat	20,570	6,912	21,946
6.	Chairperson, Municipality	95	28	108

Source : Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Notes : Posts refer to the total posts in various bodies.

The share of women in the highest decision making body of the state - the assembly has declined from 4.7 per cent in 1978 to 2.28 per cent in 1994. The trend is in conformity with the general backwardness of women in educational sphere, marginalisation of women in political parties in organised sector of employment, in gazetted cadre of government employees, in the category of teachers in schools and in the realm of main workers. In fact, in the Lok Sabha, at central level, the share of women has been low. Women membership declined from 44 in 1984 to 40 in 1996. Out of 42 members of Parliament elected in the state during the 1996 Lok Sabha election, only three are women. An important indicator of political participation is voting. Among the electorate eligible to vote in the Lok Sabha election the/ state during 1996, women outnumbered men. Female eligible voters were 24,726,535 in comparison with male eligible voters (24,708,401). In a detailed analysis of voting trends in the Lok Sabha election in the State during 1996, Sujata (1996) bemoans the absence of awareness among women of the importance of voting in elections as a means for women's equality in the society as female voting percentage in general elections is usually low when compared with that of males. Out of a total of 42 Lok Sabha constituencies in the State, in as many as 25 constituencies female eligible voters significantly outnumber male eligible voters. But the share of women among Members of Parliament (Lok Sabha) in the state was abysmally low about 8 per cent of the total in 1996 elections.

Participation in Local Bodies

10.19 The participation of women improved substantially following the reservations made for them in the urban and rural local bodies (Table 10.4). Membership is the first step for effective participation.

10.20 The Andhra Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 (Act no.13 of 1994) was enacted in terms of the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 and came into effect from 30.5.1994. There are 22 Zila Parishads and 1,092 mandals in the

state. One-third of all elective positions are reserved for women from SC, ST, BC and unreserved categories. Select women leaders from the local bodies were trained on development issues by the state government and the NGOs to enhance their role effectiveness.

Summing up

- In the history of social reform movement in Andhra Pradesh abolition of child marriage and widow remarriage were the two major issues addressed.
- Leadership potential and significance of awareness generation among women is demonstrated by the anti-liquor movement in the state. The movement was triggered-off by a lesson in a book used during the Total Literacy Campaign (TLC).
- The atrocities against women, reported to the police, specially those relating to dowry, harassment and abetment of suicide are sharply increasing. Punishing the guilty is protracted and slow, further, unreported atrocities could be substantial.
- The women's organisations in the state have a long history in working for the cause of women's emancipation. The state has a large network of NGOs assisted by governmental and foreign sources.
- Women's political participation as members of legislative assembly is very low at 2.38 per cent of the total. However, in Municipal and Panchayati Raj bodies in the state, women occupy one-third of the posts.



BACKWARD DISTRICTS

11.1 The discussion in preceding chapters centered around poverty, employment, health and education in the state of Andhra Pradesh. As discussed, there are inter-district variations in the social and economic dimensions of (women's) development in the state. Efforts for women development in an integrated manner call for a systematic understanding of the situation at the micro-level and a prioritisation of needs to reach the most needy. The discussion on districts is conditioned by the limited availability of data at the district level. District level information on female life expectancy at birth, unemployment, death rate, poverty ratio, IMR, <5MR, etc. are difficult to obtain.

Infant and Child Mortality

11.2 The Census 1981 collected information on IMR at district level and it happens to be the only recent source of information for inter-district analysis as SRS is limited to state level. Among the districts, female IMR is usually lower than male IMR. Vizianagaram had the highest female IMR in the state and the least in Hyderabad district against the state average of 82. The female IMR is higher than the goal of 60 planned for 2000 A.D. Five districts with female IMR over 100 per 1,000 live births are Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Anantapur. Differentials in female child mortality rates are considerable. The districts with high female IMR also have high child mortality rates. Against the state average of 135, districts with over 160 female child mortality rate are: Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Anantapur, Kurnool and Mahbubnagar. It is interesting to see that three districts with high female IMR also have high female child mortality. Thus special efforts are required in the two north Andhra coastal districts of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram and in all the districts of drought prone Rayalaseema (see 1.2) in the realm of health and nutrition to reduce rates for infants and child mortality.

Fertility Differentials

11.3 The state witnessed a reversal of the population growth trend in the decade 1981-91 with the state's average annual exponential growth rate exceeding the all India average. Unlike Kerala and Tamil Nadu, two south Indian states, the state lags far behind in accomplishing the population stabilisation.

Table 11.1 Family Welfare: Backward Districts, Andhra Pradesh

High Fertility	Low age at marriage	Low CPR
Mahbubnagar	Mahbubnagar	Mahbubnagar
Adilabad	Adilabad	Adilabad
Warangal	Warangal	Anantapur
Ranga Reddi	Ranga Reddi	Cuddapah
Nalgonda	Nalgonda	Kurnool
Anantapur	Karimnagar	Karimnagar
Kurnool	Madak	Medak

CPR = Couple Protection Rate

Source : Subrahmanyam, S, UNICEF, 1991.

11.4 The analysis of the fertility indicators clearly brings-out the correlation among the factors involved, namely, age at marriage, couple protection rate and fertility rate. In tune with the ground reality of Telangana (the former Hyderabad State, see 1.2) reporting consistently higher population growth rates, five out of the eight districts identified as backward in fertility performance, belong to the Telangana region. In fact all the districts with low age at marriage are from the Telangana region which suggests continued high fertility rates as in the state optimal fertility is reported up to the age of 30 years for women (PRC & IIPS, 1995).

Poverty and Indebtedness

11.5 Parthasarathy (1995) identifies five critical components of poverty alleviation. These are:

- provision of access to land and water
- asset and skill development
- employment provision and payment of minimum wages
- access to basic needs, PDS, shelter, etc.
- social security

Poverty is closely tied to gender as access for women to the factors of production (land, labour and capital), to investments in human capital and to basic services like health, education and nutrition are conditioned by social constructions of gender. Thus a crucial component of poverty, besides those mentioned by Parthasarathy (1995) is gender discriminational inequality.

11.6 The identification of backward districts in the realm of poverty is a gigantic task considering the multiple dimensions involved in evolving a composite indicator. The state government identified the families living below the poverty line in rural areas through a survey in 1991. The survey provides data on the poverty, female headed households and indebtedness for rural areas. The most backward districts for each of the indicator are presented in Table 11.2.

11.7 The proportion of female headed households is considered as an indicator of poverty for they are thought to be the poorest of all households (feminisation of poverty). In the ranking of districts, however, two relatively developed districts like West Godavari and

Krishna have the largest proportions of female headed households and occupy first and second ranks.

11.8 In as many as five districts of the state, the rural families living below the poverty line are as high as 49 per cent, substantially higher than the Planning Commission estimates based on consumer expenditure. The high incidence could be due to methodological differences in estimation.

Indebtedness to the tune of Rs.2,000 and above is very high in Anantapur district as 45.13 per cent of the rural families are in debt as against the state average of 18.11 per cent. Other districts ranked in terms of degree of indebtedness in Rs.2,000 and above category are: Nizamabad (34.83), Adilabad (24.55) and Medak (24.3). Besides being drought-prone, a reason for high indebtedness in Anantapur could be large-scale implementation of anti-poverty schemes like IRDP, DWGRA, etc. and special projects like UNDP anti-poverty project and World Bank sericulture involving provision of loans to the rural poor families for asset generation.

Literacy

11.9 Wide disparities exist in female literacy in the state. Mahbubnagar has a female literacy rate of 18.03 nearly one-third of the female

Table 11.2 Poverty : Backward Districts, Andhra Pradesh

Female Headed Households	Below Poverty Line	Indebted	Female Literacy
West Godavari	Srikakulam	Anantapur	Mahbubnagar
Krishna	Visakhapatnam	Nizamabad	Medak
Nizamabad	Cuddapah	Adilabad	Adilabad
Cuddapah	Karimnagar	Medak	Nizamabad
Vizianagaram	Adilabad	Karimnagar	Vizianagram
Medak	Chitoor	Guntur	Karimnagar
Prakasam	Mahbubnagar	Krishna	Srikakulam

Sources : 1. Government of Andhra Pradesh, 2. Census of India

Notes : 1. Districts arranged in a descending order for female headed households (FHH), poverty (Below poverty line families) and indebtedness of Rs.2000 and above.

2. Districts arranged in ascending order for female literacy (1991) in the state.

3. The first three columns relate to rural areas of the districts while fourth covers urban and rural (combined).

literacy rate of Hyderabad. Most backward districts in female literacy rate are Medak (19.25) and Adilabad (20.60). The districts are listed in descending order on female literacy as per 1991 Census in Table 11.2.

Employment

11.10 In the realm of female work participation, among the districts, Mahbubnagar has highest female work participation rate (44.77) while it is the lowest in Hyderabad district (6.55 per cent). In other words, the FWPR in Mahbubnagar is six times the FWPR in Hyderabad. It is also low in central coastal districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur where in fact the female literacy rates are relatively high. Districts in Telangana ranking poorly on a host of social and economic indicators reported high female work participation rates supporting the argument that as family incomes increase women tend to withdraw from the labour market. In poorly endowed regions, women's wage-paid work is more for survival than a choice.

11.11 Among poverty alleviation programmes, coverage of women as beneficiaries in 1996-97 (up to February, 1996) under IRDP about 80 per cent in Srikakulam and 4.42 per cent in Prakasam district.

Summing up

- Identification of backward districts facilitates affirmative action to improve the situation of women and their communities. In the realm of infant and child mortality, the highest female IMR (116) and highest female child mortality (190) were found in Vizianagaram district in north coastal Andhra demonstrating the need for selective approach to reduce IMR and < 5MR in the district.
- In the realm of fertility performance, the districts with high fertility are Mahbubnagar, Ranga Reddy, Khammam and Warangal. Among them, Mahbubnagar also has the lowest female literacy rate (1991) in the state. A related variable is couple protection rate which is very low in the districts of Adilabad, Medak and

Mahbubnagar. Age at marriage is low at Karimnagar, Medak, Warangal and Nizamabad.

- Nearly half of the rural families living in the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, Cuddapah, Karimnagar and Adilabad were living below the poverty line (1991). Among the rural families indebted (Rs.2,000 and above), the largest proportion are living in Anantpur (1991).
- The backward districts need well planned approach to make a dent on the problem of socio-economic backwardness in general and women development in particular.

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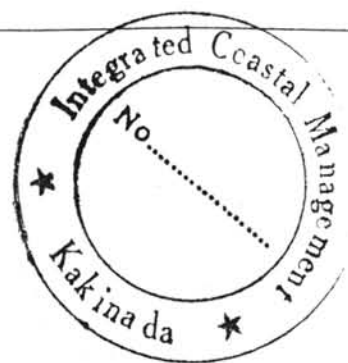
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13 ABBREVIATIONS



AIDS	: Acquired Immuno-deficiency System	NACO	: National Aids Control Organisation
ANC	: Ante-natal Care	NDP	: Net Domestic Product
ANM	: Auxiliary Nurse Mid-wife	NFHS	: National Family Health Survey
AWS	: Action for World Solidarity	NNMB	: National Nutrition Monitoring Bureau
BWRR	: Birth Weight Recording Rate	NIN	: National Institute of Nutrition
CARE	: Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere	NIDC	: National Industrial Development Corporation
CBR	: Crude Birth Rate	NGO	: Non-governmental Organisation
CCF	: Christian Children's Fund	NIC	: National Industrial Classification
CDR	: Crude Death Rate	NABARD	: National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
CPR	: Couple Protection Rate	NORAD	: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
CHC	: Community health Centre	NSS	: National Sample Survey
CSO	: Central Statistical Organisation	NSSO	: National Sample Survey Organisation
CSSM	: Child Survival and Safe Motherhood	NFE	: Non-formal Education
CSW	: Commercial Sex Worker	NDE	: Non-directory Establishments
DPEP	: District Primary Education Project	OAE	: Own-account Enterprises
DWCRA	: Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas	ODA	: Overseas Development Administration
EFA	: Education For All	PDS	: Public Distribution System
ESI	: Employees State Insurance	PHC	: Primary Health Centre
FWPR	: Female Work Participation Rate	RMK	: Rashtriya Mahila Kosh
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product	SC	: Scheduled Castes
GFR	: General Fertility Rate	SC	: Sub-centre
ICDS	: Integrated Child Development Services	SHG	: Self Help Group
IDRC	: International Development Research Centre	SIDA	: Swedish International Development Agency
IFAD	: International Fund for Agriculture and Development	ST	: Scheduled Tribes
IPC	: Indian Penal Code	SMAM	: Singulate Mean Age at Marriage
LAY	: Indira Awas Yojana	SRS	: Sample Registration System
IRDPA	: Integrated Rural Development Programme	SDP	: State Domestic Product
IMR	: Infant Mortality Rate	TFR	: Total Fertility Rate
LPCD	: Litres Per Capita Daily	TRYSEM	: Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment
MMR	: Maternal Mortality Rate		
MPP	: Mandal Praja Parishad		
MPTC	: Mandal Parishad Territorial Council		
MPW	: Multi-purpose Worker		

TLC : Total Literacy Campaign
UGC : University Grants
Commission
UNDP : United Nations Development
Programme
UNICEF : United Nations Children's
Fund
WPR : Work Participation Rate
ZPTC : Zilla Parishad Territorial
Council.

14 GLOSSARY

Anganwadi	:	Early childhood care and education centre	Mandal	:	Intermediary administrative unit between village and district in Andhra Pradesh
Akshara Jyoti	:	Literally means 'Lamp of Letters' but refers to the Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) programme in Andhra Pradesh	Mandal Praja	:	
Ayurveda	:	A system of indigenous medicine	Parishad	:	Mandal level People's Council
Balwadi	:	A pre-school education centre	Mandal Parishad	:	
Beedi	:	Tobacco rolled in a tendu leaf - indigenous cigarette smoked widely	Territorial Council	:	An elective body at Mandal level.
Banjaras	:	A numerically dominant tribe	Municipality	:	Town level urban local body
Basavis	:	A group of women dedicated to God	Muttaiduvus	:	Married women excluding widows
Devadasi	:	A Woman dedicated to serve God	Naxalite	:	Followers of an anti-establishment movement for radical reforms in society
Gram panchayat	:	Village-level Council	Panchayati Raj	:	A democratic system of rural self-governance. In Andhra Pradesh, It consists of elected bodies at three tiers - at the district, the Mandal (intermediate tier) and the village level.
Gotra	:	Clan within a sub-caste	Patta	:	Title-deed for a piece of land
Harijans	:	A group of persons who traditionally carry "night soil".	Pucca	:	durable
Homeopathy	:	A system of medicine	Podupu Lakshmi	:	A mass programme to promote women's savings
Jagirdari	:	A system of land revenue management	Zamindari	:	A system of land/revenue management, landlord system
Jogini/ Bhogamma	:	A woman dedicated to God to pray and dance	Zilla Parishad	:	District Council
Kutchha	:	Non durable	Zilla Parishad	:	
Lok Sabha	:	Lower House of the Indian Parliament	Territorial Council	:	An elective body at the district level.
Mandal	:	Head of a Commission which recommended reservations for backward castes		:	

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