

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

## OPEN ACCESS

**Rural Non-Farm Employment in Assam: A Gender-Based Analysis**Dr Chandrama Goswami<sup>†\*</sup> and Manisha Bhattacharyya<sup>‡</sup>**Abstract**

This study explores the rural labour market in Assam. The Work Participation Rates (WPR) for males has increased during the period 1993-94 to 2009-10, whereas the same for females has been fluctuating around a lower level of 15 to 20 per cent. Thus, unemployment rates for females have been higher than males. A sector-wise distribution of workers shows that the proportion of males employed in the farm sector has been declining in favour of the Non-Farm Sector (NFS), while the females are more concentrated in the farm sector. Thus, females stand in a more disadvantageous situation in the rural labour market as indicated by their low WPR, higher unemployment rates and low level of diversification into NFS. However, gender equality is necessary for growth. This is more so with regard to education and employment. India has introduced the concept of inclusive growth in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Inclusive growth ensures opportunities for all sections of the population, with a special emphasis on the poor, particularly women and young people, who are most likely to be marginalised. A rapidly growing population in India has not only increased the size of the rural labour force but has also led to fragmentation of land holdings. Thus, this sector alone cannot create additional employment opportunities, even in high growth agriculture states of India. This has led to the growth of a vibrant non-farm sector. The study comes up with the suggestion that the NFS, with its greater potential of employment generation, can not only solve the unemployment problem, but can also lead to the increased access of women to resources and employment opportunities.

**Key words:** Non-Farm Sector, Work Participation Rate, Inclusive Growth, State Domestic Product, Usual Principal Status, Current Weekly Status, Current Daily Status.

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## Introduction

The heavy dependence of the Indian population on agriculture has continued in spite of the slowing down of agricultural growth. The proportion of rural workers engaged in agriculture in relation to the total workforce remained stagnant at around 78 per cent until 1993-94, and then declined to 68 per cent in 2009-10. This break away from agriculture in favour of the secondary and tertiary sectors reflects the importance of the Rural Non-Farm Sector (RNFS). In recent years, RNFS has received considerable attention from both policymakers and researchers in propounding and implementing rural development strategies (Lanjouw and Shariff, 2004). The important factors in favour of RNFS are: its employment-absorption capacity, growing potentiality, arresting rural-urban migration, and reducing inequality and poverty (Islam, 1997).

In the context of Assam, the RNFS is perceived to be a potent source of employment to the growing labour force in the face of heavy demographic pressure on land, small and fragmented land-holdings and iniquitous land-distribution structure. However, the importance of the RNFS needs to be analysed critically due to the changes brought about in the socio-economic scenario by economic reforms on all the sectors of the economy during the last two decades. The state witnessed an annual average growth rate of Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) of only 2.84 per cent during 1993-2007 against the national average of 6.16 per cent (Roy and Debnath, 2010). The growth rate of the agricultural sector has been a little over one percent during the period from 1994-2004 (Roy and Dey, 2010). With such a sluggish growth rate, the agricultural sector is unlikely to provide gainful employment opportunities to the rural labour force. At the same time, employment growth in the organised sector has been waning. Under these circumstances, the rural labour market is facing a daunting challenge with a large number of unemployed youths flooding the market. The dualism in the labour market has been sharpened (Chadha, 2003) with a handful

of educated and skilled job-seekers adaptable to the changing technology and marketing standards being absorbed in high productive well-paid avenues, whereas a significant proportion of less educated, unskilled or semi-skilled youths are being absorbed in low productive farm or non-farm activities. At the time when the rural labour market in Assam is at a crucial juncture, it is necessary to have a close look at the employment and unemployment situation and the changes occurring within it over time. With women constituting about 50 per cent of the population of India, it is necessary that they too have access to employment and education opportunities, as gender equality has a positive impact on economic growth. Studies (Kabeer, 2003; WDR, 2012) have shown that employment and education opportunities not only reduce the likelihood of household poverty but resources in women's hands have a range of positive outcomes for human capital<sup>1</sup> and capabilities within the household. Cliché (2011) studied rural women's empowerment by exploring the non-agriculture, non-farm components of the rural economy, and their growing importance in Latin America. It stressed on the fact that governments should provide social protection to rural women in the informal economy where a majority of them are actively engaged. Governments cannot wait for women to become part of the formal economic sector to recognise their rights. In addition, new rural development frameworks need to tackle both gender gaps and regional disparities within the countries. This makes it necessary to have a look at the involvement of women in the rural non-farm sector in Assam and how their participation can be increased. In fact, it needs to be studied whether the non-farm sector, with its greater potential of employment generation, can lead to women's access to resources and employment opportunities. This is likely to help in identifying

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<sup>1</sup> Human capital is the stock of competencies, knowledge, social and personality attributes, including creativity, embodied in the ability to perform labour so as to produce economic value (See Hakim, 2000; Bhattacharyya, 2009)

the causes which can form the bases of a programme of policy-oriented research on women's economic empowerment.

In the context of Assam, the RNFS can act as a potent source of employment. The role of RNFS is important here because it is generally organised on a small scale and it provides employment opportunities, mostly using local labour and local resources as well as labour-intensive techniques. Therefore, as concern about employment expansion and poverty-alleviation in rural areas has grown, and since urban-based industrialisation cannot provide a solution, attention has therefore shifted towards the rural non-farm sector, which, as an intermediate sector, straddles the urban economy, on the one hand, and the rural agriculture economy on the other (Islam, 1997). The types and patterns of non-farm employment are different for the richer farming households than for the poorer ones. This provides an opportunity for all to engage in non-farm activities. The poor engage in low-paid employment, often as wage labourers, or they are self-employed at home. The rich are often engaged in industry, commerce and trade as entrepreneurs and employers. The RNFS provides an opportunity for women to combine household obligations with work, including care of children, with additional employment and income, especially if these activities can be carried out at or nearer to home. This is important for the poorer households. Thus, growth is inclusive by providing an opportunity for all to take part in the growth of the economy. It can also lead to women's empowerment as it provides paid work.

Analysis of non-farm employment opportunities and earnings has discovered strong evidence on the importance of education in determining access to non-farm occupations (Lanjouw and Shariff, 2004). Education, including primary and secondary, improves the productivity of agriculture through the use of technological innovations and modern inputs on one hand and through the expansion and improvement of productivity of the non-farm sector with the development

of skill, managerial capacity and the capacity to perceive market possibilities and profit opportunities in the non-farm sector arising from linkages with the farm sector on the other. Investment in health is equally important (Islam, 1997). The extension of health and sanitation facilities reduces morbidity, enhances the benefits of food intake, improves nutritional status, and increases labour productivity. Increased women's education reduces the fertility rate and increases their participation in income-earning activities. This strengthens their decision-making power in the household and improves children's nutrition and education. This leads to a circular flow of interaction between agricultural growth, growth of the non-farm sector, and the improvement of human capital.

### **Objectives of the Study**

Within the context discussed above, the specific objectives of the present study are:

- To examine the male-female work participation rates (WPR) and unemployment rates in the rural areas of Assam,
- To study the sectoral distribution of workers (disaggregated into males and females) with a particular emphasis on non-farm activities, and
- To examine the status of employment of rural workers in Assam.

### **Data and Methodology**

The present study is based on secondary data collected from various rounds of National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) and Census of India. The trends in employment and unemployment as well as the sector-wise distribution of workers have been explained by using NSSO's surveys on employment and unemployment situation in 1993-94, 1999-2000, 2004-05 and 2009-10. Growth rates of employment have been calculated following a three-step procedure. First, as the NSSO estimates of population are lower than the census data, therefore, population figures for the mid-points of NSSO periods are estimated for rural males and females separately by

applying the annual exponential growth rates based on census data on population for the year 1991 and 2001. Next, the number of total workers was obtained by using the work participation rates among males and females separately. Then the numbers of farm and non-farm workers and workers in different sectors were obtained by multiplying the figures for males and females by the ratios for different sectors provided by NSSO. Finally, the growth rates are computed from the corresponding figures of workers in different sectors by using the formula:

$$Y_T = Y_0 (1+r)^t$$

$$\text{Or } \log Y_T = \log Y_0 + t \log (1+r)$$

$$\text{Alternatively, } \log Y_T = a+bt, \text{ where } a = \log Y_0, b = \log (1+r).$$

Estimated compound average growth rate =  $b \times 100$ .

### Work Participation Rates (WPRs) and Unemployment Rates

Work Participation Rate shows the proportion of population that actively contributes to the production of goods and services of a country. This ratio is useful in analysing the employment situation of a country (Kumar, 2010). The data pertaining to WPR in India and Assam are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: WPR in Rural Assam/India according to Usual Status (PS+SS) (in percentages)**

Years/Rounds	Assam		India	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
93-94(50th)	51.6	15.9	55.3	32.8
99-00(55th)	52.9	15.1	53.1	29.9
04-05(61st)	55.1	20.9	54.6	32.7
09-10(66th)	55.3	15.8	54.7	26.1

**Source: NSSO, Various Rounds, Government of India.**

As can be seen from the Table 1, there exists a significant gap between the WPR of males and females in rural areas. The lower participation of rural female workers reflects the social status of females, wherein the work done by female workers is generally not recognised as an economic activity (Reddy, 2009) The fluctuation in WPR of females across the time

period may be because of income effect, which states that females participate in the labour force if there is a fall in the reservation income of the households (Unni, 1989; Srivastava & Srivastava, 2010). A sudden increase in the WPR of females in Assam in 2004-05 is because of the negative growth rate of agriculture in the preceding year, and the decline in WPR in 2009-10 can be explained by the recovery of agriculture in the subsequent years.

While the WPR gives an overview of the employment situation of a region, information on unemployment situation is important to acquire a better understanding of the nature of rural labour in Assam. The economy of Assam is largely based on agriculture with a weak industrial structure. Rural households are mostly engaged in agriculture. Agriculture being seasonal, a large proportion of those engaged in agriculture remained unemployed in the slack season or some of them are absorbed in household work or other self-employment activities or in wage employment. To capture such a complex situation of unemployment, all the three estimates—Usual Principal Status (UPS), Current Weekly Status (CWS) and Current Daily Status (CDS) of unemployment are shown in Table 2.

The UPS measures open and chronic unemployment whereas CWS and CDS mainly capture seasonal unemployment. It can be seen from Table 2 that unemployment rates in rural Assam for both males and females accelerated during the initial phase of reforms: 1993-94 to 1999-2000 by all the three estimates of unemployment, then decelerated in the 61st round, but again increased in the 66th round.

As a whole, the unemployment situation in Assam worsened during the period of reforms. Unemployment rates for females are higher than that of males in all the three categories, thus reflecting their low participation. Further, there are fluctuations in unemployment rates for females, confirming the fact that a large number of rural females seek employment at the time of distress, and once normalcy returns, withdraw from employment. As compared to other parts of rural India, chronic

unemployment is far more widespread among both males and females in Assam. This is primarily due to lack of industrial development and increasing pressure of population caused by large-scale infiltration from neighbouring places (Bhattacharyya, 2009; Roy and Dey, 2010).

### Sectoral Distribution of the Workforce

To map the changes in the structure of employment caused by reforms, it is necessary to analyse the structural distribution of workers. This will show the declining or expanding avenues of employment for the rural

labour force. Such an analysis is important from the perspective of undertaking policy initiatives in such activities where employment has slackened. Table 3 presents data on the percentage distribution of workers in two broad categories—farm and non-farm, along with a further break-up of non-farm activities into a number of sub-sectors. Table 3 shows a structural transformation in the rural sector of Assam with an accelerated but fluctuating decline in the proportion of male workforce engaged in the farm sector in favour of the non-farm sector from 78.2 per cent in 1993-94 to 66.6 per cent in 2009-10. However, in case of

**Table 2: Unemployment Rates In Rural Assam/India (in percentages)**

Region	Years/Rounds	Male			Female		
		UPS	CWS	CDS	UPS	CWS	CDS
Rural Assam	93-94(50th)	3.3	2.8	3.5	1.4	1.6	1.3
	99-00(55th)	4.7	4.5	6.4	11.9	8.8	12.5
	04-05(61st)	3.0	3.6	6.0	7.0	6.2	8.7
	09-10(66th)	3.6	4.0	5.6	6.8	7.2	11.9
Rural India	93-94(50th)	2.0	3.1	5.6	1.3	2.9	5.6
	99-00(55th)	2.1	3.9	7.2	1.5	3.7	7.0
	04-05(61st)	2.1	3.8	8.0	3.1	4.2	8.7
	09-10(66th)	1.9	3.2	6.4	2.4	3.7	8.0

Source: NSSO, Various Rounds, Government of India.

**Table 3: Distribution of Rural Workers in Farm and Non-Farm Sectors (Assam)**

NSS Rounds	Male				Female			
	50th	55th	61st	66th	50th	55th	61st	66th
	93-94	99-00	04-05	09-10	93-94	99-00	04-05	09-10
<b>Farm Sector</b>	<b>78.2</b>	<b>64.7</b>	<b>69.6</b>	<b>66.6</b>	<b>83.2</b>	<b>79.4</b>	<b>88.3</b>	<b>86.2</b>
<b>Non-Farm Sector</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>35.3</b>	<b>30.4</b>	<b>33.4</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>13.8</b>
i. Mining & Quarrying	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0	0	0	0
ii. Manufacturing	2.2	2.9	2.9	3.7	8.7	8.3	3.7	2.8
iii. Electricity, water, etc	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0	0	0	0
iv. Construction	0.8	2.2	3.0	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.8	0.9
<b>Total i-iv</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>3.7</b>
v. Trade, hotels, restaurants	8.2	9.9	11.6	11.2	1.9	1.5	1.1	2.8
vi. Transport, storage, community	1.6	3.3	3.2	3.3	0.1	0.3	0.2	0
vii. Financial, insurance, etc	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
viii. Community & other services	8.2	16.3	8.8	10.1	5.8	10.2	5.7	7.2
<b>Total v-viii</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>29.8</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>25.1</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>10.2</b>

Source: NSSO, Various Reports, Government of India.

females, the proportion of workers engaged in the farm sector has remained high, with a fluctuating trend in the range of 80 to 88 per cent. There has been a gradual increase in the proportion of male workers in the non-farm sector from 21.8 per cent in 1993-94 to 33.4 per cent in 2009-10, whereas for females, the same has fluctuated at around 12 to 20 per cent. Thus, employment of females is heavily tilted in favour of agriculture.

The excessive dependence of females on agriculture can be explained by two factors. First, a weak human capital base of rural females in the face of increasing competition and critical challenges posed by economic reforms renders them unfit to switch over to the non-farm sector (Chadha, 2003). Second, as more than 83 per cent of farmers fall in the category of marginalised farmers, there is little scope for mechanisation of agricultural operations. Income generated by these uneconomic holdings is insufficient for survival. Thus, male members migrate to non-farm activities, and agricultural activities are carried out by family labour, thereby increasing the number of females in the farm sector. Within the non-farm sector, it is the tertiary sector that provides more employment opportunities. The secondary sector provided employment only to 8.3 per cent of rural males and 3.7 per cent of females in 2009-10, as against the corresponding figures of employment of 25.1 per cent and 10.2 per cent respectively for males and females in the tertiary sector. In the secondary sector, manufacturing is the major contributor of rural non-farm employment. However, during the period from 1999-2000 to 2009-10, there has been an increase in the share of employment in the construction sector, absorbing a large number of rural casual and seasonal labours.

Within the tertiary sector, trade, hotels and restaurants, transport and communication, community and other services absorb a certain percentage of the labour force. There is, however, a limit to which the service sector can be expanded, and unless the economy has a

sound industrial base, the service sector remains fragile and susceptible to external shocks, leading to a sudden fall in employment.

The relative employment-absorbing capacity of different sectors and the changes within them during the post-reforms period in the rural labour market of Assam can be better understood by analysing the employment growth rates in different sectors. Such an analysis also bears special importance from the perspective of policy formulation as it helps in identifying sectors, which require special attention to improve employment growth. Table 4 shows the sector-wise Annual Compound Growth Rates (ACGR) of employment in rural areas for both males and females during three sub periods: 1993-94 to 1999-2000, 1999-2000 to 2004-05 and 2004-05 to 2009-10. The overall rate of growth of employment for rural males increased from 1.89 per cent per annum during 1993-94 to 1999-2000 to 2.28 per cent during 1999-2000 to 2004-05 and then declined to 1.53 per cent during 2004-05 to 2009-10 due to high base effect of 2004-05. For rural females, the same increased abruptly from a low level of 0.73 per cent during 1993-94 to 1999-2000 to a high level of 8.08 during 1999-2000 to 2004-05, but fell to a negative figure of -4.02 per cent during 2004-05 to 2009-10. This sudden increase or decrease in the growth rate for females is mainly due to their large involvement in the farm sector, which witnessed a similar type of abrupt increase and decrease of employment growth rate with 10.20 per cent during 1999-2000 to 2004-05 and -4.50 per cent during 2004-05 to 2009-10. Thus, the employment growth rate of females suffered a severe setback during the post-reforms period in rural Assam. The employment situation of females worsened due to their social exclusion and exploitation on account of their lack of access to education, information and mobility (Unni, 1989). The trends in the ACGR of employment for the non-farm sector have been similar for both males and females across the period of study.

**Table 4: Sector-Wise ACGR of Employment**

Sectors	ACGR of Employment					
	Male			Female		
	93-94 99-00	99-00 04-05	04-05 09-10	93-94 99-00	99-00 04-05	04-05 09-10
<b>Farm Sector</b>	<b>-1.27</b>	<b>3.74</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>10.20</b>	<b>-4.50</b>
<b>Non-Farm Sector</b>	<b>9.92</b>	<b>-0.71</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>4.12</b>	<b>-3.24</b>	<b>-0.72</b>
i. Mining & Quarrying	8.65	2.28	7.29	0	0	0
ii. Manufacturing	6.49	2.28	6.41	-0.06	-8.08	-9.60
iii. Electricity, water, etc	-16.42	16.14	-13.53	0	0	0
iv. Construction	18.75	8.48	7.78	12.28	35.80	-1.67
<b>Total i-iv</b>	<b>9.42</b>	<b>5.31</b>	<b>6.72</b>	<b>-0.58</b>	<b>-4.64</b>	<b>-7.94</b>
v. Trade, hotels, restaurants	5.03	5.45	0.83	-3.21	1.87	14.66
vi. Transport, storage, community	13.95	1.67	2.15	19.04	-0.03	0
vii. Financial, insurance, etc	1.89	-5.83	19.86	12.28	-5.79	9.84
viii. Community & other services	13.34	-10.05	4.29	10.13	-3.56	0.65
<b>Total v-viii</b>	<b>10.02</b>	<b>-2.22</b>	<b>2.60</b>	<b>7.97</b>	<b>-2.75</b>	<b>6.96</b>
<b>All sectors</b>	<b>1.89</b>	<b>2.28</b>	<b>1.53</b>	<b>0.73</b>	<b>8.08</b>	<b>-8.82</b>

**Source: Authors' Calculation.**

The employment growth rate of males was 9.92 per cent during 1993-94 to 1999-2000, declined to -0.71 in 1999-2000 to 2004-05 and then increased to 3.42 per cent during 2004-05 to 2009-10. Similarly, for females, it was 4.12 from 1993-04 to 1999-2000, declined to -3.24 per cent in 1999-2000 to 2004-05 and then improved but remained negative at -0.72 per cent in 2004-05 to 2009-10. Table 4 gives a disparate picture of employment growth rates across different sub-sectors within the non-farm sectors for both males and females in rural Assam. In the category of the non-farm industrial sector, employment growth rates in construction has been the highest for both males and females during the post-reforms period. Provision of rural roads under PMGSY (Prime Minister Gram Swarojgar Yojana), housing under IAY (Indira Awas Yojana) and other rural development programmes have generated employment opportunities for rural males and females. Manufacturing is another sector where the employment growth rate of rural males remained positive during the study period. The employment level in the two sectors—mining and quarrying, and electricity, gas and water supply had been too low and insignificant as these activities are largely

carried out by the public sector, and economic reforms have not downsized the burden of the public sector. However, the growth of employment in mining and quarrying has been higher in the initial period and though the employment rate declined, it remained positive in the subsequent period as the state of Assam is rich in minerals like oil, gas, coal and lime. Transport, Storage and Communication and Community and Other Services witnessed a comprehensive growth rate of employment for males during the initial period from 1993-94 to 1999-2000. For females, the growth rate has been phenomenal for the three sectors—Transport, Storage and Communication, Financial, Insurance, etc and Community and Other Services.

Trade, hotels and restaurants is the only sector where the employment growth rate for males increased in the later period from 1999-2000 to 2004-05 over the initial period. This sector became an important contender in the employment of rural labour force because of the growth of rural roads and increased flow of tourists into the state. Community, Social and Personal Services emerged as a major absorber of rural labour force during the period from

1993-94 to 1999-2000. The share of this sector in rural employment for both males and females almost doubled between the period 1993-94 and 1999-2000, leading to an annual compound growth rate of 13.34 per cent and 10.13 per cent respectively for males and females. There has also been a greater emphasis on this sector by the government which implemented many employment-generating schemes like National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) now Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) now Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), etc. However, the growth rate declined sharply and became negative during the period 1999-2000 to 2004-05. The employment created by Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate has been low, employing only a handful of men and women possessing the required skills for this sector. Thus, the broad trends as observed from Table 4 suggest that almost all sub-sectors within the non-farm sector performed well in terms of employment growth during the initial reform period but suffered a setback in the next period. However, these trends seem to have recovered to some extent in the period 2004-05 to 2009-10. A large-scale involvement of the private sector in Trade, Insurance and Other Financial Services along with an expansion of Health, Education and Community Services due to a number of schemes like National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), MGNREGA, etc. adopted by the government in recent times has led to an increase in the growth rate of employment in the service sector.

### Conclusions

This study explores the trend and status of rural labour market of Assam with an emphasis on RNFS during the post-reforms period. The WPR for males increased from 51.6 per cent in 1993-94 to 55.3 per cent in 2009-10. However, a fluctuating trend was observed in WPR for rural females at around 15 to 20 per cent. Thus,

there is a significant gap between the WPR of males and females in rural Assam. Corresponding to this, the unemployment rates for females have been higher than they have been for their male counterparts, reflecting their low WPR, mostly due to social customs and traditions. As there is fluctuation in the WPR for females, it means that a large number of rural females seek employment only at the time of distress situations of the households, and once normalcy returns, they withdraw themselves from employment. The situation of unemployment in rural Assam worsened during the post-reforms period as compared to rural India due to the lack of industrial development and increasing pressure of population caused by large-scale infiltration from neighbouring places. An analysis of the sectoral distribution of workers revealed that the proportion of male workers engaged in farm sector declined considerably in favour of non-farm sector, while the females have been heavily tagged within the farm sector. As a result, there has been a gradual increase in the proportion of male workers in NFS from 21.1 per cent to 33.4 per cent during 1993-94 to 2009-10, but for females, the same remained fluctuating around a lower level of 12 to 20 per cent. Thus, rural females in Assam are found to be at the most disadvantageous position in the rural labour market as indicated by their low WPR, higher unemployment rates, lower employment growth rates and low level of diversification into NFS. Therefore, the focus of policymakers should be on the upliftment of the status of rural female workers by improving their educational levels and employment skills. There exists strong empirical evidence to prove that gender equality can promote economic growth. This is more so with regard to education and employment. Women's access to employment and education opportunities results in the alleviation of household poverty. Thus, women should be active agents in the growth process. The RNFS provides an opportunity for women to combine household obligations and work, including care of children, with additional employment and income, especially if these activities can be carried out at or near the

home. This is important for the poorer households. Thus, growth is inclusive by giving an opportunity to all to take part in the growth of the economy. It can also lead to women's empowerment as it provides paid work.

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