

Work Participation and Income Generation of Tribal Women in India: A Case Study of Oraon Women of Odisha

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Abstract

Statement of the Problem: Women's participation in the workforce is important for increased income and economic security of the family. This paper studies Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) among the Oraon tribe living in and around the industrial center at Rourkela in the state of Odisha. **Research Methodology:** The paper is based on a case study of the Oraon tribe of Rourkela using mixed method research. Sample of 287 respondents is collected from different levels of industrialization within Rourkela. **Findings:** The data reveals high FLFP in the rural area compared to urban areas. Gender based segregation of occupation is evident in the job role composition of the respondents and is a major factor for high gender pay gap among the Oraons. The study finds low FLFP despite significant spread of education among women since the last 50 years in Rourkela. The paper highlights the importance of vocational skill development programs for girls and women in economically rewarding trades to achieve high FLFP among the Oraons.

Keywords: Labor, Participation, Tribe, Women, Oraons, Industrialization, Skills, Education, Gender, Rural, Urban

Introduction

Women's participation in the work force is a precondition for the development of the economy. It ensures increased income and economic security of the household. However, contrary to the idea of modernization opening up opportunities for freedom and progress of women, the World Bank Gender Data (2022) points out that structural transformation, declining fertility and increasing female education have not resulted in any significant increase in Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) in many countries. This is particularly applicable to developing countries like India where the FLFP is 24 percent as reported by World Bank in 2022. Evidence suggests gender-based segregation of occupation, stagnation of female dominated sectors, inverse relation of income and education with FLFP (ILO, 2014), skewed gender trajectories in choice of discipline at school level (Sahoo and Klasen, 2002), lack of formal education and supposed lower job commitments (Momsen, 2003) as reasons for low FLFP in India.

India has one of the lowest female labour force participation rates in the world despite rapid economic growth. According to ILO report (2014) increased education and higher levels of consumption in conjunction with lack of adequate job opportunities results in 60 per cent decrease in FLFP in India. Socio-cultural factors as well as structural characteristics in the labour market have created barriers to FLFP. The report also points out to the impact of gender based job segregation which prevented a growth of 20.7 million in FLFP between 1994-2010. Similarly, Lama (2021) observes the male dominated nature of jobs generated by gig economy in the urban areas in India. Singh and Mukherjee (2022) using the Young Lives Panel cohort data from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam finds more men of 22 years of age in full time salaried occupations while women of the same age are mostly self-employed. Marital status of the woman is an important contributor in gap of labour outcomes according to this study. In contrast to the ILO report, Bhalla and Kaur (no date) has claimed persistent growth in female employment corresponding with economic growth. The study suggests positive relation between education and FLFP and negative effect of husband's education on woman's employment. This is because women tend not to work when married to men having substantially high income.

Unlike modern societies, the subsistence tribal economy in its traditional form is characterized by Community Property Resources (CPR) with all the members having right to access to resources. The tribal women can freely access these resources for their reproductive as well as productive activities. Once alienated from their lands and resources, these women and their families are often pushed into poverty. Lack of education, training and exposure prevents the displaced women from joining decent paying jobs. Thus either they are compelled to join low pay informal sector jobs or restrict themselves to domestic duties. As per the Periodic Labor Force Survey by National Sample Survey Office (2021), 24.7 percent of tribal women are casual laborers and 67 percent of tribal women are self-employed in India. On the contrary, despite having 47 percent of tribal women in regular salaried jobs in urban areas, only 8.3 percent of combined populations of rural and urban tribal women are in salaried jobs, which is the lowest among all the social groups. The data points out to the gender biases in the existing labor market institutions and at the same time the preference for self-employment. Comparative freedom from social disabilities and customized work pattern allowing balance between unpaid care activities and employment make it a preferred choice for tribal women. The number of women as unpaid family workers at 50 percent is highest among the scheduled tribe population of all the social groups (NSSO, 2021). Lodha (2006) points out to the substantial amount of time invested in the farming activities and livestock rearing by tribal women to supplement low pay and seasonal nature of the jobs as casual labourers etc. Zaidi (2022) points out to the interlink between the reproductive and productive activities of tribal women wherein much of the unpaid labour performed by tribal women like collecting firewood, minor

forest produces (MFPs), caring of animals add to the resources of the family. Nevertheless, the scheduled tribe women lag behind scheduled castes, other backward castes and general communities in terms of regular employment and entrepreneurial activities as employers (NSSO, 2021).

Evidence suggests the detrimental effect of forced displacement and subsequent exposure to the market economy on tribal women in India. De (2015) points out to the deplorable condition of displaced tribal women forced to live in urban slums while engaging in lowest paid jobs and subjected to caste discrimination. Similar observations are made by Lodha (2003) regarding tribal women in Girva and Badgaon blocks of Udaipur district in Rajasthan. Most of these women work as wage-labourer due to desertion by husband, his unemployment etc. Mathur (2009) narrates change in status of displaced ParajaPandi women who lost their opportunities to earn from selling forest produce after installation of the Upper Kolab Hydroelectric Project in Odisha. Fernandes (2009) points out to the loss of autonomy and the relative high status that tribal women enjoy, once they are alienated from their lands.

As tribal communities in India are culturally and economically heterogeneous, each case provides a unique situation. It calls for an analysis of individual categories. This paper attempts to study the impact of displacement on the FLFP among the Oraon tribe. The Oraons are settled agriculturalists and are guided by their customary laws. In the 1950s the Oraons in Rourkela were displaced from their lands to make way for the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP). This paper explores the FLFP among the Oraons in the context of half a century of industrialization.

Oraon tribe

The Oraons, a scheduled tribe, are mostly concentrated in the eastern states of India like Jharkand, Odisha and West Bengal. They have been practicing settled agriculture since a long time in their history. Oraons are a patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal society. Women have no right to property. They are entitled to maintenance as long as they are unmarried, while a widow cannot inherit her husband's property and is entitled to maintenance as long as she is staying with the husband's family. If the widow has a son, the property will be inherited by him. An adopted son can also be a substitute if the widow does not have a male offspring. Like many other tribal societies in India, the Oraons are also a Common Property Resources (CPR) based economy and the women are mostly engaged in collection and sale of MFPs which is most often the only source of income for the family with agriculture being largely subsistent in nature. Widow remarriages are traditionally recognized and allowed among the Oraons. Divorce too is allowed by the Oraon customary law. However the grounds on which divorce is granted is highly discriminatory against women. Dowry does not exist among the Oraons (Roy, 2004).

The Oraons have been extensively studied. One of the pioneering works on the Oraons is S.C. Roy's, 'Oraons of Chota Nagpur' first published in 1915 in which he explores the origin and history of the tribe in detail. Another important work on the Oraons is Abhik Ghosh's (2006) 'World of Oraons' in which he studies the tribe in relation with their cultural and social symbols in Ranchi. Xalxo (2010) studies the impact of dominant religions and culture on the Oraons. Sahoo & Mohapatra (1989) and Rath (1990) explore the economic impact on the Oraons of Rourkela after their displacement and installation of the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP).

The Oraons of Rourkela lived in ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous villages but homogenous hamlets before the 1950s. In the year 1956 the Government of India decided to set up a steel plant in the area. Subsequently, the land acquisition process started. In total 15,200 persons from different tribes and communities were displaced including 2,465 Oraon households. Plots were allotted to the displaced in areas nearby the plant, for instance, 1,373 were allotted plots in Jalda, 916 at Jhirpani and 176 at Bondamunda. Only 1,028 settled at Jalda, 637 at Jhirpani and 56 at Bondamunda. As a second line of action land for agricultural purpose was provided within the Hathidharsa forest ranges in reclamation camps such as Sili Kata (Census of India, 1961). In the course of time areas like Jhirpani and Jalda developed into urban and semi-urban localities while the isolated villages remained pre-dominantly rural.

Present Paper

Not many studies have been conducted on the status of Oraon women, especially their labor force participation as effected by forced displacement and industrialization in Rourkela.

The present paper is descriptive in nature and is based on a case study of the Oraon tribe of Rourkela. It studies the following:

- FLFP among the Oraons in the different levels of urbanization.
- FLFP among the Oraons based on their educational status.
- The job role composition based on gender and its economic consequences

In the first section the paper discusses trends of labor force participation of Oraon men and women in rural and urban areas, especially as affected by the process of displacement and industrialization. In the next section the paper delves on the educational status of Oraon women in Rourkela and its impact on their labor force participation. The last section of the paper compares the occupational composition of Oraon men and women in Rourkela and its economic consequences.

Research Methodology

To get an insight on the socio-economic impact of industrialization on the Oraons, data for the present study have been collected from different levels of

industrializationlike rural, semi-rural and urban.A tabular description of the areas of study is as given below:

Table 1: Description of the areas of study

Area of Study	Type of area	Occupation	Average monthly income(₹)	House structure	Literacy level of respondents	Infrastructural facilities
Jhirpani	Urban resettlement colony. 7 Km North East of RSP	White and blue collar jobs, wage labour, business	5993.85	Electrified Brick structures with water and sanitation	85.10	All, transport health, education, banking and market facilities
Jalda	Semi-urban resettlement colony. 16 Km South East of RSP	Agriculture, wage labour, blue collar jobs	1347.11	Electrified Brick structures mostly	86.70	All, transport health, education, banking and market facilities
Tangarpalli	Partially acquired village. Located adjacent to RSP	Agriculture, wage labour, collection	1140.8	Mud and Brick structures	60.70	No basic facilities due to lack of
Sili Kata	Reclamation camp. Forest village. 56 Km south of RSP	Agriculture, wage labour, collection of MFPs	94.21	Mud structures without water and sanitation	46.90	Only SarvaShiksha Abhiyan school till 5 th

In order to compare the pre and post displacement situation the sample was divided on the basis of age between those who were above 60 years of age and those who were below it. Separate set of schedules were used to interview the persons in the two categories. The thesis relied on both quantitative and qualitative data. The sample structure of 287 is as given below:

Table 2: Sampling Design

Area of Study	Respondents between 15-60 years	Respondents above 60 years	Total
Jhirpani	114	21	135
Jalda	45	6	51
Tangarpalli	56	6	62
Sili Kata	32	7	39
Total	247	40	287

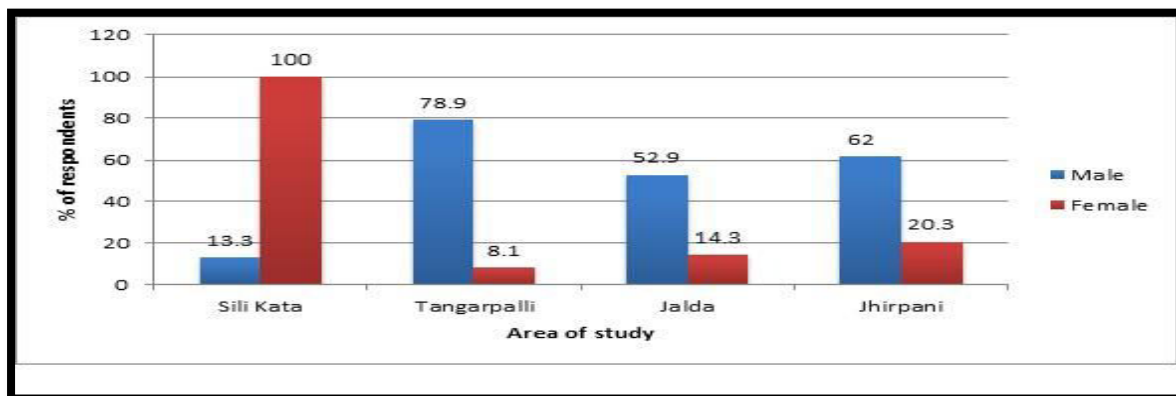
Findings

1) FLFP among Oraons in the urban and rural areas in Rourkela

As has been discussed earlier, the Oraons have been displaced from their lands in the 1950's during the land acquisition process for the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP). They were offered plots of land by the Government as a resettlement policy, near the upcoming steel plant or within the forest areas (Census of India, 1961). While the resettlement colonies near the plant became industrialized in the course of time, the reclamation camps inside the forest area remained isolated and rural.

The data for this study has been collected from different levels of urbanization with Jhirpani being the most urban with all the respondents working in non-primary sector. Another area of study is Jalda which is a semi-urban resettlement colony with respondents working in service sector while supplementing it with agriculture. Tangarpalli is a partially acquired village adjacent to the RSP. All the respondents in Tangarpalli depend on subsistent agriculture supplementing it with casual labour inside RSP during agricultural lean season. Sili Kata is a remote village located inside Hathidharsa forest range. All the respondents in Sili Kata solely depend on subsistent agriculture. A graphical comparison of male and female labour force participation in each area is given below:

Figure.1: Male and female labour force participation in each study area

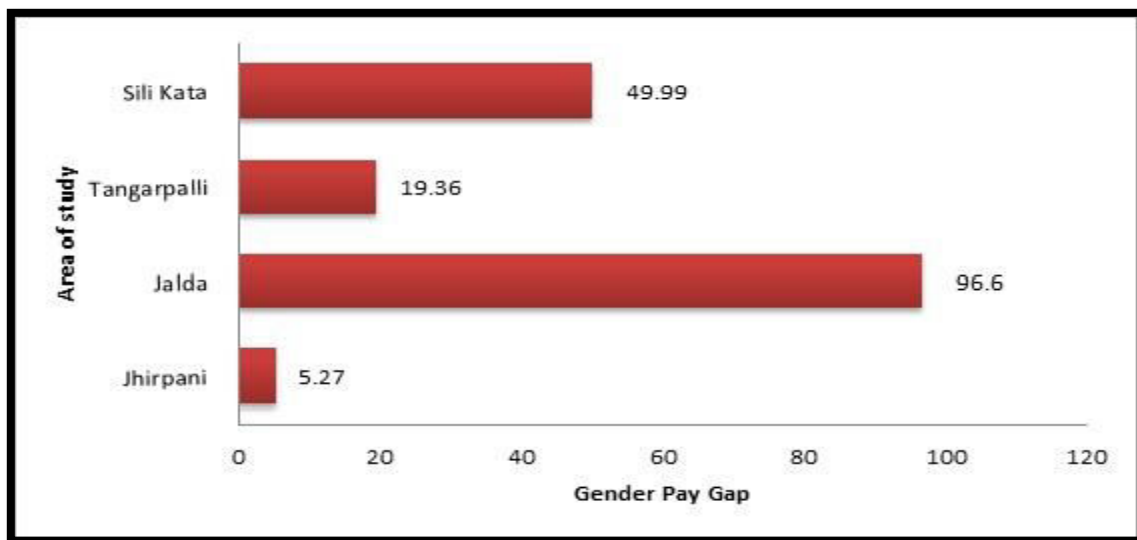


As shown in Fig.1 FLFP is low inside the urban areas as well as in Tangarpalli, a village located next to the RSP. In Tangarpalli, where FLFP is as low as 8 per cent, income generating activities mostly include hard manual daily wage labour inside the RSP premises which are undertaken by the respondents during agricultural lean season. During the interviews, the women in Tangarpalli have expressed their unwillingness to work as daily wage labourers citing the heat and hard manual labour involved. Eighty per cent of the men in the sample in Tangarpalli take up daily wage labour inside the RSP considering its proximity to their village. FLFP in Jhirpani and Jalda is 14 per cent and 20 per cent with most of the respondents engaged in the unorganized sector as casual labourers or housemaids.

FLFP is at hundred percent in Sili Kata, the most rural of the four study areas. Only thirteen per cent (2 nos.) of the Oraon men are engaged in any sort of income generating activity in that village. All women respondents in Sili Kata (which is the entire Oraon female population in the village) are engaged in collection and sale of Minor Forest Produces (MFPs), especially, *tenduleaves* which are used to make *bidis*(Indian cigars). Tribal women have been traditionally collecting MFPs for household consumption. With the intrusion of the market into these isolated villages, the women now sell MFPs to the middlemen for cash. In Sili Kata the Oraon women sell hundred bundles of *tenduleaves* with each bundle having 45 leaves to the middleman for Rs.40. They collect these leaves for months together. The high participation can be attributed to the easy accessibility of common property resources in the rural areas which happen to be important source of income for women.

A look at Figure 2, however, gives deeper insight into the complex nature of FLFP among the Oraons. The chart excludes respondents who are unemployed, practice subsistent agriculture or do unpaid work etc.

Figure 2: Gender Pay Gap in the areas of Study



Despite hundred per cent FLFP, the data finds women earning 50 percent less than their male counterparts in Sili Kata. One of the two earning Oraon men in Sili Kata is an auto rickshaw driver in the nearest town, and the other owns a confectionary shop within the village. Both these occupations are comparatively rewarding than collection and sale of MFPs.

In Tangarpalli women earn 19.36 percent less than their male counterparts. Men in this village are engaged as freelance contractors, self-employed electricians,

shop owners while Oraon women are solely engaged as casual labour at the RSP construction sites. The varied employment options for men are important factors for their better financial conditions.

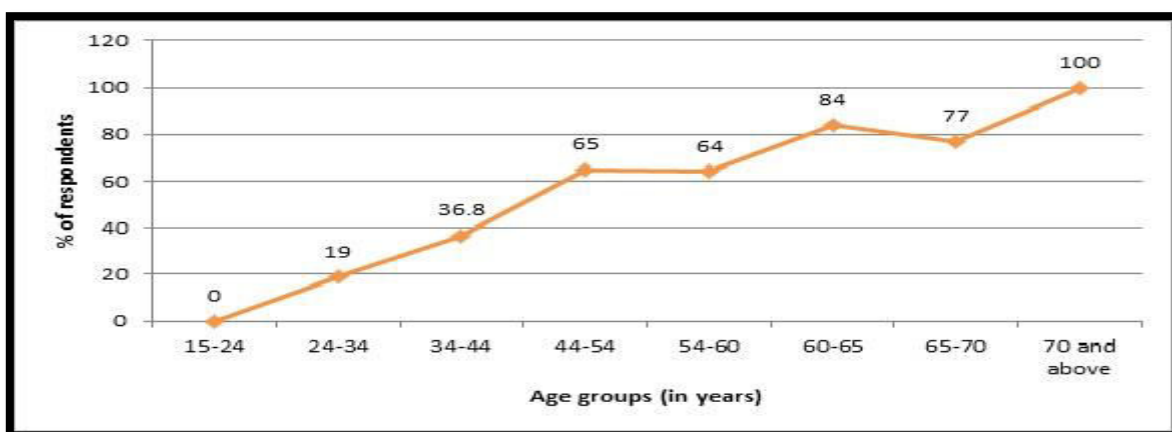
In Jalda Oraon women earn 97 per cent less than Oraon men. In semi-urban Jalda, one male respondent is working in the service sector as PS/PA with a monthly salary above Rs.20000, while couple of other men are self-employed electricians earning Rs.10000-20000 per month in the city. The rest of the men working as mason, tile fitters, electricians as casual labourers in construction sites earn between Rs.5000-10000 per month. Compared to men, women are restricted to low skill low pay casual labour jobs of coolies and small shop owners earning less than Rs.5000 per month. Like Tangarpalli, lesser employment opportunities for women in Jalda are likely to be responsible for the huge gender pay gap.

In Jhirpani the gender pay gap is lowest at 5.27 per cent. In this resettlement colony which is the most urban of all the four study areas, varied educational and employment opportunities have opened up owing to industrialization and urbanization. Men as well as women opt for these opportunities. Some women from this area in the sample have acquired post-graduation degrees in specializations. These women have a monthly income of Rs.60000 or above at par with their male counterparts. Five women from the sample in Jhirpani are engaged as doctors, managers, store keepers in the RSP, Anganwadi teachers, cooks etc. Availability of employment opportunities for both men and women in Jhirpani is likely to be responsible for narrow gender pay gap.

2) FLFP among the Oraons based on their educational status in Rourkela

The data reveals a rise in the literacy status of tribal women, with a hundred percent literacy rate among the youngest age group of 15-24 in the sample as shown in Fig. 3.

Figure 3: % of unlettered female respondents in the corresponding age groups



The data reveals a positive relation between illiteracy and age among the Oraon women, that is, the higher the age of the respondent the more likely she is unlettered and the younger the respondent is the more likely she is literate. There is hundred per cent literacy rate among the young women between 15-24 years of age in the sample. This signifies the spread of education among women since the last 60-70 years in Rourkela which corresponds to an era of industrial activities in the area including the setting up of RSP.

Female illiteracy is widespread mostly in rural areas like Tangarpalli and Sili Kata with 71 per cent and 69.6 per cent of the women in the sample being illiterate, while in resettlement colonies like Jalda and Jhirpani located within the city, 25 per cent and 21.5 per cent of the women respondents are illiterate.

Despite the rise in the educational level of Oraon women, only 37 out of 146 women between the age-group of 15-60 years are earning members of their family. A chi-square test of independence is performed to examine the relation between education of women and their participation in the labour force at 0.001 level of significance. A cross-tabulation of the two variables is given below:

Table 3: Cross tabulation of Educational Status and Employment status of women between 15-60 years of age

			Status of Employment		Total
			Not working	Working	
Education	No	Count	38	22	60
		Expected Count	44.8	15.2	60.0
	Yes	Count	71	15	86
		Expected Count	64.2	21.8	86.0
Total		Count	109	37	146
		Expected Count	109.0	37.0	146.0

The relation between these two variables is significant, $X^2 (1, N=146) = 6.90, p = .009$. The phi value is $-.21$ indicating an inverse relation between the two variables. Oraon women who are not educated and have never been to school are more likely to

join the labour force. A chi-square test of independence is also performed to examine the relation between education of men and participation of men in the labour force. The relation between the two variables is found to be significant, $X^2(1, N=101) = 16.06$, $p = .00$. The phi value is .39 indicating a direct relation between the two variables with educated Oraon men more likely to join the labour force.

For further analysis, a comparison of labour force participation of men and women based on the level of education completed is given below.

Fig. 4: % of working men and women between 15-60 years of age and the corresponding different levels of education

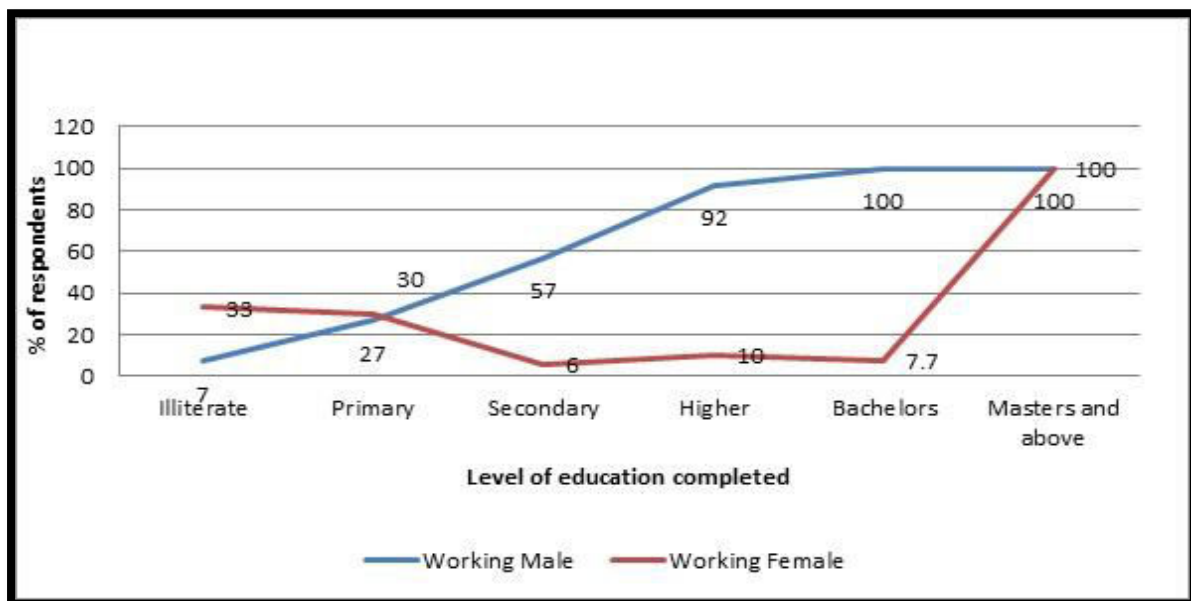


Fig 4 shows a positive relation between level of education and labour force participation among men. Among the women, however, high rate of labour force participation is evident only on the two extremes that is, among those who are illiterate and those who have completed post-graduation and have higher professional degrees. The labour force participation by the Oraon women of Rourkela is higher among the illiterate women but declines with rising educational qualifications starting from primary school till the bachelors and then shoots up to hundred percent among those with a post-graduation degree. In the sample, 18 respondents between the age group of 15-24 years are still continuing with higher education.

3) Job Role Composition and the Economic Consequences

Segregation of occupation exists in both the organized and unorganized sector. A look at the comparison of job roles among Oraon men and women in both the sectors clearly indicate the stereotypes and discriminations faced by women in modern societies.

Table 4: Distribution employment based on gender among the Oraons

	Men	Women
	Unorganized Sector	
Casual Labourer	26	8
Plumbers/Electricians/Carpenters/Driver	8	0
Housemaid/Servant	2	2
Contractor/Businessman	2	0
Politician	1	0
Selling MFPs	0	17
Petty shops	1	4
Total		
	Organized Sector	
Riggers/Fitters/Welders (ITI Engineers)	12	0
Managers	4	1
Doctors	0	1
Teacher	0	1
Assistant/Typist	1	0
Health Worker	0	1
Cook	0	1
Store Keeper	0	1

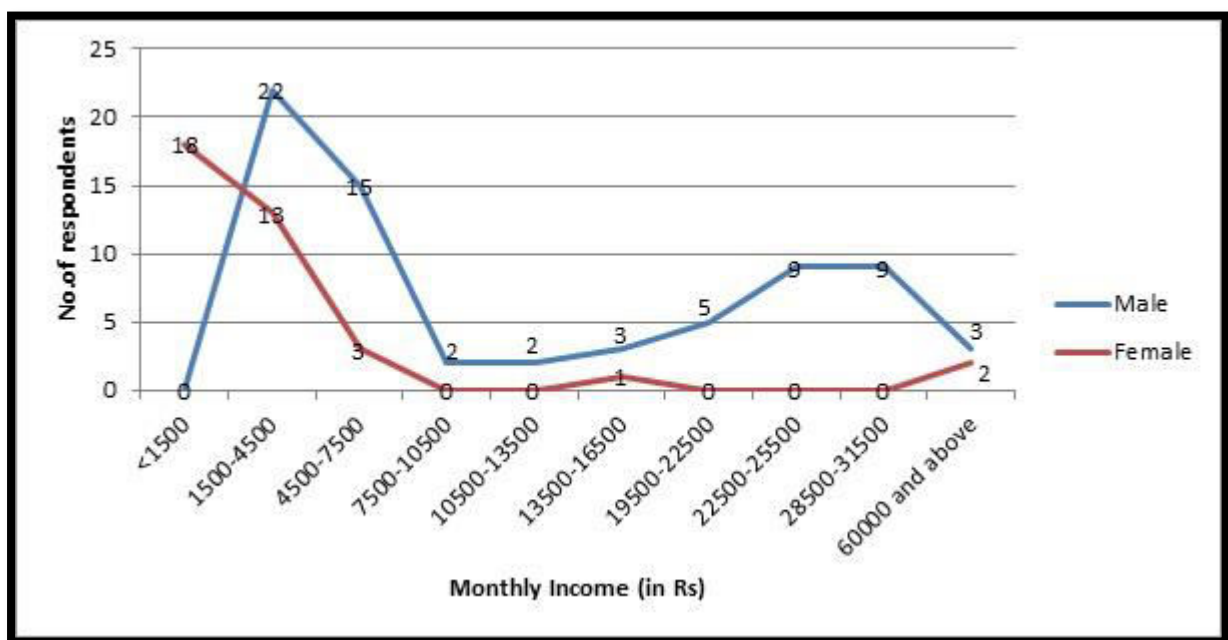
In the unorganized sector eight of the women in the sample work at construction sites where they are hired as unskilled casual labourers for short term. The works for women as casual labourers involve carrying cement or debris on their head for short distance within the site. Men as casual labourers perform more skill based roles like painting, masonry work, tile fitting etc which fetch higher wages. The daily wages for the casual labourers differ with the type of work.

In the organized sector, Oraon men are engaged in capital intensive roles as riggers/fitters/welders in the RSP. These are permanent recruitment in the steel plant. Most of the respondents are trained at the Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs). There is no woman rigger/fitter/welder in the sample. There is only one woman in the managerial position, hailing from the urban resettlement colony in Jhirpani, compared to four men in similar positions. There is one doctor among the women in the organized sector. Most of the Oraon women work in gender typical roles as teacher, health worker, cooks in Anganwadis (Government crèches). A lone woman is employed on permanent roll in the RSP as a store keeper. As per the respondent it is a mercy recruitment after her husband, who worked in this position, died. She had to file a case in the court to get this job. All of these women in organized sector are from urban resettlement colony- Jhirpani.

While the participation of women in the labour force in the unorganized sector mostly involves casual labour, domestic help, small shop owners and sale of MFPs, among the men the jobs involve capital intensive roles like electricians, plumbers, carpenters and drivers as shown in table 5. Men are also involved in financially rewarding occupations like that of a contractor. The monthly income of the freelance contractor is close to Rs.60000 per month, which is the highest monthly income in the sample. As has already been discussed in detail in the previous sections, one of the occupations with frequent participation of Oraon women is collection and sale of MFPs in Sili Kata.

The gendered segregation of occupation has resulted in income disparity among male and female respondents. Given below is the income distribution among the Oraons based on gender.

Figure 5: Monthly Income of male and female respondents between 15-60 years of age



Eighteen of the women from the sample earned less than Rs.1500 per month. Seventeen of these women belong to Sili Kata where they collect and sell MFPs. None of the men in the sample earn below Rs.1500 per month. The line diagram shows concentration of women in the below Rs.6000 per month bracket while a significant number of men earn monthly income of Rs.20000 and above. The reason for the income disparity can be attributed to the concentration of Oraon women in low paying unorganized sector while men are engaged in diverse and monetarily rewarding occupations in the organized as well as unorganized sectors.

The data found low positive correlation between years of education and monthly income of the Oraon women, $r(145) = .321, p < .001$. As discussed earlier, a decline in work force participation is observed from primary school onwards till the bachelors' level. However, all the Oraon women who have completed post-graduation or above are working on permanent high salary posts in organized sector. This shows that though increasing educational qualification of women may not necessarily ensure participation in labour force but women with higher degrees are likely to earn more than their less educated counterparts. The data found moderate correlation between years of education and monthly income of the Oraon men, $r(100) = .532, p < .001$ showing stronger correlation between the two variable in the case of men.

Discussion

This paper explores FLFP among the Oraon tribe in Rourkela. The Oraons in Rourkela were displaced from their lands in the 1950s to make way for the RSP and were resettled in the nearby areas or in the surrounding forest areas. Since, then the Oraons have experienced 60 years of industrialization in varied degrees depending on their area of residence.

The resettlement and rehabilitation process in 1950s was guided by the Land Acquisition Act (LAA) 1894. The compensation money for the acquired land was given to the owner of the land, usually men, or the male head of the family. The LAA 1894 did not have any provision for compensating the displaced women, either monetarily or through training and employment in the industries. According to the narrations and focus group discussions, the steel plant chose displaced Oraon men as labourers and workers, initially on daily wage basis and later on permanent payrolls. Displaced Oraon women were not given any such employment options. Boserup (1970), Bossen (1975) and Korieh (2001) in their study on transition of pre-industrial societies, points to the gender biased nature of the industrialization policies and the consequent decline in the economic status of women in different parts of the world.

This study observed low FLFP in urban areas compared to rural area where women are traditionally engaged in collection and sale of MFPs. Simple technology, easy accessibility to the common property resources and the interlink between the productive and reproductive activities resulted in high FLFP. Citing example from pre-industrial American society, Olivetti (2013) points to the involvement of women in the labour force when home and work activities could be performed in the same place. However, their participation fell with the change in the processes of production and shift of work activities to factories and offices.

Despite high FLFP, however, Sili Kata has a gender pay gap of 50 per cent. This is because while women in Sili Kata are restricted to collection and sale of MFPs at an amount of Rs.45 per month, men in Sili Kata are engaged in economically rewarding occupations like driving in the nearby town and running confectionary shop inside the

village. In Jalda and Tangarpalli the gender pay gap is as high as 96 per cent and 19 per cent. The male respondents in these two areas, especially in Jalda-being a semi-urban area, are engaged in financially rewarding occupations like electricians or plumbers, drivers, contractors or as PA/PS in a formal set up. Women in both the areas are restricted to casual labour or at the most run small shops inside the premises of their houses. None of the Oraon women in the sample reported of undergoing vocational skill development program. The data shows domination of Oraon men on capital intensive job roles like ITI engineers, carpenters etc. Women are mostly engaged in roles based on human interaction like teaching or a part time job of an Anganwadi cook, health worker or household shop. Such gender based segregation of occupation leads to gendered class with concentration of women in the less than Rs.6000 monthly income bracket while a significant percentage of male respondents earn a monthly income of Rs.20000 and above.

Increase in literacy rate among the Oraon women, did not result in increased FLFP. FLFP among the Oraons is higher among the illiterate women. Thereafter there is a continuous decline in FLFP from primary education level till the bachelors' degree. FLFP shoots up to hundred per cent among women with post graduate degrees, mostly specializations, for instance, MBBS, MBA etc. All these highly qualified women hail from Jhirpani. As observed by Chaudhary and Verick (2014) higher education is critical to women's access to regular wage and salaried jobs. In Jhirpani, the most urban of all the areas of study gender pay gap is only 5 per cent owing to high educational specialization and qualification of some of the women. This has been possible due to the highly urban nature of the area.

The negative relation of FLFP with levels of education can be accrued to two complementary factors. First, with rising level of education and income there is a likely aspiration among women refusing to join low pay low skill jobs. There is also the inclination to continue with education. Eighteen girls in the 15-24 years age group in the sample were continuing with higher education. According to Mammen and Paxson (2000) with rise in educational status women aspire for better job opportunities. They desist from joining low pay low skill jobs. As such jobs are scarce at that level of development; women tend to withdraw from the labour force, only to join it at an advanced stage where appropriate employment opportunities will be available. Secondly, despite completing school education they still lack vocational skills required for economically rewarding job opportunities. For instance, high growth and high demand trades covered by the ITIs like mechanics, electricians, plumbers, drivers etc, requiring only education till 10th standard, are dominated by men. No woman in the sample reported of undergoing such vocational training under the ITI or the poly-techniques. According to a study sponsored by Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship and World Bank (No Date) enrolment of women in ITIs in 2018-19 is recorded at 21 per cent of total ITI enrolments. Only 10 per cent of

the total enrolment in engineering trades is that of girls, while they comprise 60 per cent of the total enrolment in non-engineering trades. The main barriers identified by the study for women's participation in skill training are gender biases where skilling of girls is not considered a priority and when it comes to finances their brothers get preference. Other issues like connectivity, safety, finances etc are identified as barriers to girl's enrolment in ITIs (MSDE and World Bank, No date).

Conclusion

This study explores the impact of industrialization on FLFP among the displaced population. It points out to the gender biased policies of industrialization and low FLFP despite spread of education due to gender based occupational segregation. The study observes lack of vocational skill development for school and college drop-out girls and women in high demand trades of an industrial economy. Further, targeting gender based occupational segregation in the industrial set up is pertinent to achieve high FLFP.

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