Labour Reforms: A Delicate Act of Balancing the Interests

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Liberalization of the Indian economy is almost a decade and a half old. Of all the economic liberalization reforms, labour market reforms have gained maximum attention. It is widely argued by many economists that in the open economy and liberalized trade, the country can no longer afford to carry on labour market rigidities. Employers have exceedingly been demanding more flexibility at work place on matters related to labour e.g. rule of hire and fire, flexibility in service conditions, subcontracting as per need.

The recommendations made by various task forces and commissions (Exhibit 1) clearly indicate that labour laws need to be amended to suit the changing economic scenario. However, different stakeholders like Employers, trade unions and political parties seem to differ on the issue. For e.g. the political parties in the ruling coalition of the Central Government possess contradicting ideologies on labour related matter. Leaders of the Communist Party of India (CPI), an important party of the coalition, have been opposing the flexibility to industry on labour related matters. The Congress has been arguing for "labour reforms" to attract Foreign Direct Investment in the country. The Prime Minister has stated in his recent speeches a need for labour reforms. However, the journey for labour reforms seems to be difficult owing to inherent contradictions among the stakeholders involved in the process.

In this paper we have comprehensively looked at these disputable provisions from the perspective of multiple stakeholders-Trade Unions, Employers, Political Parties and the Government. Based on the statements, appearing in the media, we assessed the views of these stakeholders. We have also looked upon the legal status of these provisions by examining their amendments in the past and their interpretations by the Supreme Court. These issues are governed by two important legislations:

- Industrial Disputes Act, 1947- It contains provisions relating to layoff, retrenchment and closure of industrial establishments.
- Contract Labour (Regulations and Abolition) Act, 1970- It contains provisions regarding abolition and regulation of contract labour.

Industrial Disputes Act (ID Act), 1947 is a principal legislation dealing with the core labour issues like investigation and settlements of industrial disputes, regulation of strikes, lockouts, lay-offs, retrenchment, and other related matters. According to the chapter VB of ID Act it is compulsory for any industrial establishment employing more than 100 workers to seek permission before resorting to lay-off, retrenchment or closure. Employers and some political leaders have been arguing for a change in this provision. Similarly, facilitation of outsourcing of activities without any restrictions has increasingly been demanded under the Contract Labour (Regulations and Abolition) Act, 1970.

Employers argue that these provisions of the respective labour laws need to be amended for the speedy development in all sectors of Indian economy. But the trade unions argue that reference to labour reforms in this context can only mean giving freedom to employers to 'hire and fire' as opposed to the sheltered environment that the labour enjoys at present. Trade unions feel that these amendments threaten their raison d'etre because the relevance of the trade unions lies in their ability to secure their members higher wages and benefits from the management.

Provisions relating to layoff, retrenchment and closure of industrial establishments in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (Chapter VB)

To begin with, the provisions of ID Act were rather lenient with respect to closures of the units, retrenchment and lay-offs. Workers could be retrenched by merely paying one month's notice pay and 15 days compensation. In case closure or lay off, employers needed to pay only compensation, and, even this payment could be deferred. The Act was amended in 1976, whereby Chapter VB was introduced (Exhibit 2). Chapter VB required that the industrial units wanting to close down, or retrench or even layoff workers has to get the proposal cleared by the state if it has more than 100 workers on the roll.

Current Status and Interpretation by the Supreme Court:

The provisions of Chapter VB have been interpreted by the Supreme Court in different judgments. In the Excel Wears v Union of India (AIR 1979 SC 25) case Supreme Court held that the right to close a business is an integral part of the fundamental right to carry on a business. According to the judgment it is wrong to say that an employer has no right to close down a business once he starts it. Section 25O dealing with the closure of undertaking as it stood was declared unconstitutional.

Workmen, Meenakshi Mills Ltd V. Meenakshi Mills Limited, (AIR 1994 SC 2696), the constitution bench delivered a landmark judgment upholding the validity of Section 25N of the ID Act (Exhibit 2). The court unanimously held that the restrictions imposed by Section 25N are not unreasonable. The court held that the object of Section 25N is to avoid hardship to employees and to preserve industrial peace and harmony. The right of the employer to terminate employee's service is not absolute and the retrenchment envisaged under Section 25N is not restricted to terminate the service of surplus labour (as suggested in the amendment of 1984).

In Papnasam Labour Union v Madura Coats Ltd (AIR 1995 SC 2200), the court held that Sec 25M requiring employer to obtain the prior permission of the concerned authority before effecting lay-off is not ultra vires and void. The restriction imposed on the employer's right is in greater public interest for maintaining industrial peace and to prevent unemployment and is therefore presumed to be reasonable.

Now Employers want that the limit for the application of Chapter VB should be raised to 1000. NDA government, during its tenure had expressed its willingness through various statements to amend ID Act to free employers from the restrictions on them in the chapter. It was proposed to give an additional retrenchment compensation of 45 days wages for every completed year of service. But trade unions are very much opposed to it, as almost every unit would come under this limit, giving employer's unrestrained right to close their units.

The *Second National Commission on Labour* (SNCL), which submitted its proposals in the year 2002, recommended:" Prior permission is not necessary in respect of layoff and retrenchment in an establishment of any employment size. Workers will however be entitled to two months notice or pay in lieu of notice, in case of retrenchment." With respect to closures NCL has freed employers from the obligation of obtaining permission from the government for closing down establishments employing up to 300 workers. For industrial units with more than 300 employees, Commission recommended that an application for the closure could be made 90 days before the intended date of closure. If permission is not granted by the appropriate government, within 60 days of the receipt of the application, the permission will be deemed to have been granted.

The majority of central trade unions have opposed the idea of labour flexibility to management. They argue that the report of Second National Commission of Labour (SNCL) had little to do with the interests of industrial working class.

According to trade unions, anti-labour thrust of recommendations of the Commission was found in:

- Freedom to close down all the establishments employing up to 300 workers.
- Varying rates of compensation to workers, rewarding the employers who manage to have their units declared sick.
- Provisions of Section 9A of the IDA relating to change in conditions of service diluted and rendered practically ineffective in favour of the employers.
- 'Go slow', 'Work to Rule' termed misconduct.
- A façade of equating lockout to strike.

Some of the trade unions like the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), and the Hind Mazdoor Sangh (HMS) boycotted the commission as they had not been consulted in the framing of the terms of reference.

According to Gurudas Das Gupta, General Secretary, "AITUC" IDA does not provide protection against retrenchment and non-payment of dues. One has to approach a Tribunal, which may take years. Time is no limit for the settlement of disputes." (Source: Frontline, September 2003)

M.K.Pandhe, General Secretary, CITU stated, "Though IDA gives right to strike, but certain provisions makes it practically difficult to conduct a legal strike. It says that if the workers give a strike notice and the Labour Minister gives a call for conciliation proceedings, then the strike becomes illegal if organized during the pendency of the conciliation. Also the government has been given powers to declare certain services as essential services. Under this it gets power to ban a strike." (Source: Frontline, September 2003).

Hasubhai Dave, National President, Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh said, "There should be reforms and comprehensive legislation covering all sections. But we oppose the amendment to Section VB of the ID Act, wherein the restrictions to 'hire and fire' are sought to be removed." (Source: Frontline, September 2003)

Position taken by different stakeholders: The responses of different stakeholders indicate the positions taken by them. In the table below we provide the major interests of those stakeholders behind the positions.

Stakeholders	Position taken	Interest(s)
Trade Unions	• Limit specified in Chapter VB should not be raised to from 100.	• Unions' influence at the workplace • Bargaining power • Workers' economic welfare • Job security to workers • Boost their identity as saviour of worker's rights
Employers	• Limit specified in Chapter VB should be raised to 1000.	• Flexibility at the workplace • Cost reduction • Managerial control • Saving from legal battles • Flexible exit policy • Gain global competence
Political Parties	• Lack of consensus among different key personnel in political parties	• Political support of workers • Financial support of employers to meet election expenses
Government	• Varies with the political party in power; NDA government seemed more inclined to amend the provision for 1000 workers.	• Attracting FDI • Revival of sick units to protect employment • Economic growth • Compliance with norms laid down by WTO • Making economy globally attractive

Suggestions: As seen from the above list of interests, the ruling political parties carry a dilemma as to how to balance their interests regarding political support of the workers, financial support of the employers and attracting foreign investments. Clearly the interests of the trade unions and the employers are conflicting on the issues of managerial control at the workplace. The freedom to retrench people would construe to significantly higher managerial control of employers at the workplace. Unions are unlikely to agree to such scenario.

- One way to maintain the balance of control at the workplace between the employers and the trade unions would be to develop well specified procedures to retrench employees. Such procedures do not provide flexibility to the employers to retrench arbitrarily. Hence, it could protect the balance significantly.
- Some mechanism could be developed whereby, the company retrenching the employees should take an undertaking that whenever it needs to diversify or need more manpower, it shall give preference to the workers it is retrenching at present.
- Companies could also opt for unconventional problem solutions:
    - ✓ Cutting working hours of workers to avoid possible retrenchments, transfer or redeployment of labour from excessive labour to labour deficient units.
    - ✓ Also labour can be given three to six weeks break and encouraged to go in for skill enhancement. It will lead to a two way gain: personal growth for the employee and employer can put to use worker's enhanced skills.

  There are a number of companies, for e.g. Volkawagen, who have successfully used these methods to steer themselves out of the economically tough situations without opting for conventional means like freezing recruitments, going in for retrenchment or lay off, etc.

- A formal scheme for unemployment insurance can be provided whereby compensation money can be paid to retrenched workers. Some token contribution can be made mandatory for all workers in the organized sector. Such a stipulation can be made for the employers also.

- Amendments under Industrial Relations Bill of 1982 should be implemented as it contains many provisions that would attend to the current concerns like setting up of a time-bound grievance redressal, fixing a time limit for the adjudication of individual and collective disputes.

We take the view that the amendment to the current provisions of the act will not be possible unless the interests of all the stakeholders are not examined and addressed appropriately. Hence, the alternatives, suggested by us, should be chosen with complete understanding of all possible consequences to the interests of the stakeholders.

Provisions regarding abolition and regulation of contract labour in Contract Labour (Regulations and Abolition) Act, 1970

For some time past there has been growing agitation for the abolition of employment of contract labour, as it was realized that the execution of work on contract through a contractor, who as an employer of the employed labour, was primarily to deprive of its due wages and various privileges of labour laws. It was also realized that certain works by their very nature can conveniently be executed by contractors through contract labour, or by labour on contract basis. In this regard, the matter of abolition and regulation of contract labour caught attention of law makers. According to the Section 10 of the Act, "Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the appropriate Government may, after consultation with the Central Board or, as the case may be, a State Board, prohibit, by notification in the official Gazette, employment of contract Labour in any process, operation or other work in any establishment."

Current Status and Interpretation by the Supreme Court:

Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act (CLRA), 1970 has its roots in the collective learning process that Indian courts went through since 1950s. In 1960s, ten years before the Act came into being; Supreme Court issued a landmark judgment in a case involving the employment contract labour in the Standard Oil Company. The Supreme Court ruled that the Company could not employ contract workers. It went further by ruling that the contract workers would be justified in raising an industrial dispute demanding the abolition of contract labour, using the provisions of ID Act. In effect, the court's interpretation of the ID Act led to the enactment of the law to abolish contract labour.

In 1970, Parliament passed the law, that direct employment instead of using the device of labour contractors, would lead to better terms of employment for workers. In 1976, the government issued a notification marking out the activities to be placed under where contract labour is permitted and also where it is prohibited. Section 10 of the Act lists the areas where contract labour is prohibited.

In disputes relating to contract labour, courts face the major challenge of establishing the employer employee link (see Exhibit 3). Employers, in order to bring flexibility at work place, begin to induct contract workers in permanent positions where the work is perennial. For better management, a contractor is involved. The work done by these workers is invariably part and parcel of the work of the establishment. It goes on for years, without obtaining required licenses and Registration certificates. When these contract labour approach government in desperation, for the abolition of contract labour, company and the contractor swing into action and the future of contract labour is at stake.

A Supreme Court bench headed by Justice K. Ramaswamy delivered a landmark judgment in Air India Statutory Corp. vs. United Labour Union AIR 1997 SC 645. It ruled that contract workers, who were working at the time the scheme to abolish contract labour was being implemented, had the right to be absorbed in the workforce on a permanent basis. However, in 2001, Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL) vs. National Union Waterfront Workers, a Constitution Bench of Supreme Court ruled that contract workers were not entitled to "automatic absorption."

On the current status, union leaders are of the opinion that a reference to labour reforms in the current context of economic libearlisation can only mean a freedom to the employers to resort to a policy of 'hire and fire' as opposed to some what sheltered environment that the labour enjoys with the stringent norms on retrenchment, lay-offs and closure of industrial establishments under the present regulatory framework.

Gurudas Das Gupta, General Secretary, AITUC said"Any bid to dilute the labour laws allowing hire and fire, contractualisation and casualisation would be opposed jointly by the trade unions" (Source: Frontline, September 2003)

The law may forbid retrenchment or closure, but in practice employers simply stop paying salaries or running mills. Owners prevented from downsizing see no point in putting any more money or effort into a revamp. Instead they strip the assets of their ailing companies. Industrial sickness has been growing and many workers in the sick industries have employment security only in the theory. Employers search for escape routes has led to greater use of casual and contract workers. The growing casualisation of labour is reflected through employer's preference to outsource drivers, gardeners, canteen staff, etc.

"In particular, fixed term contractual employment should be permitted in relation to the business needs. Contract labour should also be allowed in non-core activities, without any registration and licensing procedure", adds Mr. R.B. Mittal.

Position taken by different stakeholders: The responses of different stakeholders indicate the positions taken by them. In the table below we provide the major interests of those stakeholders behind the positions.

Stakeholders	Position taken	Interest(s)
Trade Unions	• Section 10 should not be amended to the disadvantage of contract workers	• Ensure due wages to workers. • Job security. • Get benefits of labour laws.
Employers	• Amending Section 10 to facilitate outsourcing of activities without any restrictions.	• Reduced costs. • More flexibility at work place. • Power and control at work place. • Saving from legal battles. • More flexibility leads to better outputs and a more competitive working environment.
Political Parties	• Lack of consensus among different key personnel in political parties	• Political support of workers • Financial support of employers to meet election expenses Contract labour is suitable in specific industries like mining.
Government	• Varies with the political party in power; NDA government seemed more inclined to allow outsourcing and engaging workers on contract.	• Attracting FDI • Revival of sick units to protect employment • Economic growth • Compliance with norms laid down by WTO • Making economy globally attractive

Possible Alternative Suggestions: Though there are significant conflicts in the interests of the trade unions and employers, the contract workers are quite freely changed by employers owing to high vulnerability of those workers. The high job insecurity and unemployment in the country virtually forces the contract workers to ensure compliance to the employers. It enhances the control of the employers at the workplace. Hence, the trade unions are keen to develop strict norms of employing least number of contract labour and higher number of regular employees. In such scenario, it is a challenge to both the employers and trade unions to reach to a common ground to get solution to the present situation.

It is worth mentioning here that there is substantial data to support the fact that over the past few years, there have been more lockouts than strikes (Exhibit 4). Economic survey 2003-04 points out that the number of strikes and lockouts have declined sharply from 295 in 2002 to 244 in 2003 and lockouts came down from 284 in 2002 to 245 in 2003. The total mandays lost on account of strikes and lockouts have declined by 4.80 million. According to the Survey, the mandays, lost due to strikes declined by 7.66 million to two million whereas those due to lockouts increased by 3.08 million to 20 million between 2002 and 2003.

Possible solutions:

In our opinion, the following additional actions could be taken in this context:

- Sensitization of employer and employee towards capacity building and harmonization of relations.

Conclusion:

It must be recognized that labour market reforms are not going to be easy in a situation where employment opportunities have been shrinking. Also there is a larger question of providing social security to the workers employed in the unorganized sector. The vast unorganized labour force, which constitutes over 90 per cent of the total, is denied fair wages and even modest levels of social security. Hence, labour market flexibility must be accompanied by some kind of insurance and social security to the vast unorganized labour force in the country. Government should make all possible efforts to dispel the fears of trade unions by enlarging the scope and coverage of the social security net.

Hence no solution can be reached if the stakeholders continue to take extreme positions. There has to be a meeting ground to address everyone's interests, to the extent possible. The immediate challenge in bringing about the desired labour reforms is to resolve the anti-labour stand in the employer's mindset, and labour prejudices. They have to realize that employer and employee are not separate entities but two faces of the same coin. They equally need each other and the relationship between the two can only be harmonious if they work towards defending each other's interest rather than contesting for the same.

Hence employers should pay more attention to human resource development and capacity building of their employees. Industrial bodies have to take up workers education. Workers on the other hand should realize the importance of 'no work no wages come'.

There should be a general consensus on the labour reform ideology among the major political parties. Political leaders should look beyond their narrow interests and develop consensus for the larger benefit of the Indian economy. It demands to bring in a balanced view whereby concerns of all the stakeholders, especially the trade unions and the employers are addressed. This may further be strengthened through a wider debate involving academicians, legal experts, policy makers and public at large. All the stakeholders should arrive at some consensus so that there is something for everyone.

Once such consensus is developed, it may be coupled with good and clean corporate governance.

Exhibit 1: Recommendations made by various Commissions and Task Forces

The commission on administrative laws governing the industry, set up in May 1998, submitted its report on 30th September 1998. Its recommendations which were to be taken into account by Second National Commission on Labour, included:

"…Some of the important issues to be decided urgently in the context of amendments to this Act (The Industrial Disputes Act) would be the concept of lockouts and strikes, the definition of industry and workman, the establishment of grievance redressal machinery, and prior approval by government for the lay off, retrenchment and closure. There is considerable demand from both public and private establishments and public sector Departments or amending the existing provisions of the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act , 1970…The Commission would urge the Labour Ministry to bring forward these amendments as soon as possible in order to reduce or relax the present legal regime for engagement of contract labour in all the non-core peripheral activities of the various departments and establishments….there is even greater need of permitting the engagement of contract labour…"

The Task Force on Trade and Industry recommended that labour is an area of concern and growing importance to the Indian Industry…" the provisions of Chapter V of Indian Disputes Act should be applicable only to the industrial units employing more than 1000 people. Government must seriously consider amending the Contract Labour Act, emphasizing more on regulation than abolishing contract labour, particularly in the areas, which are unrelated to the core activities of an establishment. There should be provisions to allow industry to shed the extra manpower, upon payment of certain determinable compensation."

Based on the recommendations made by Group of Ministers on labour, the NDA Government had issued a notice in Dec 2003, to amend the Industrial Employment Central Rules to legalise contract labour whose jobs can be terminated on completion of the contracted term without notice and whose salary would not be less than that of regular labour. The draft rules were aimed "to protect the interests of fixed term employees (contract labour) as a precursor to a revamped law for contract labour designed to make it a driver for industrial growth."

In 1999, Planning Commission had set up a Task Force on Employment Opportunities, under the chairmanship of Montek Singh Ahluwalia. In June 2001, in its report, the Task force recommended to abolish the requirement for the prior permission for retrenchment, lay-offs or closure by deleting chapter VB of IDA. Sec 9A and 11A need to be amended to introduce greater flexibility. Introduce the system of "secret ballot" whereby a strike can be suitably amended. Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act needs to be suitably amended to allow all peripheral activities to be freely outsourced".

Honorable President while addressing the Parliament said, "My government recognizes that some changes are needed in labour laws so that the manufacturing sector grows rapidly with concomitant expansion in employment opportunities. The government firmly believes that labour-management relations in our country must be marked by consultations, cooperation and consensus".

Exhibit 2: Provisions relating to layoff, retrenchment and closure of industrial establishments in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (Chapter VB)

Sec 25K of ID Act reads that the provisions of this chapter shall apply to an industrial establishment (not being an establishment of a seasonal character or in which work is performed only intermittently) in which not less than one hundred workmen were employed on an average per working day for the preceding twelve months. This limit was brought down from three hundred to one hundred by the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, 1982.

Sections 25M, 25N and 25O relate to prohibitions on lay-off, conditions precedent to retrenchment of workmen and procedure for closing down an undertaking respectively. Section 25M provides that no workman (other than a badli workman or a casual workman) whose name is borne on the muster rolls of an industrial establishment shall be laid–off by his employer except with the prior permission of the appropriate government.

Section 25N provides that no workman employed in any industrial establishment to which this chapter applies; who has been in continuous service for not less than one year under an employer shall be retrenched by that employer except with the prior permission of the appropriate government.

Section 25O provides that an employer who intends to close down an undertaking of an industrial establishment shall apply for prior permission at least ninety days before the date on which the intended closure is to become effective, to the State Government, stating clearly the reasons for the intended closure and a copy of the same should be served to the representatives of the workmen.

Exhibit 3: Tests used by the Supreme Court to determine the employer-employee relationship

Over a period of time, court has used various tests for establishing employer employee relationship between the Company and the contact labour. In Shivnandan Sharma vs. Punjab Bank Limited AIR 1995 SC 404, the contract workers were treasurers and were under the direction and control of the company. The court relied heavily on the written contract between the Company and the Contractor to conclude that since supervision and control was done by the Company, the workers were employees of the Company. The court held that it is irrelevant who paid wages of the workers; in any case money is coming from the company. The judgment also said that even if the contractor is responsible for the appointment and termination yet the workers may be deemed to be employees of the company. In Kanpur Mill Mazdoor Union Case the contractor was himself treated as an employee of the company.

In the Dewan Mohindeen Sahib & Sons vs. United Bidi Workers Union AIR 1966 SC 370, the courts for the first time said that the contract system was used to camouflage industrial law. Intermediaries were used as mere ciphers. In this case, some of the contractors were ex-employees.

The court expressed its dissatisfaction with the control and supervision test in Silver Jublie Tailoring House vs. Chief Inspector of Shops and Establishments AIR 1974 SC 73. In certain situations this test becomes unrealistic. So in order to cover diverse situations tests like ownership of tools, chance of profit and risk of loss, organizational test i.e. whether the work done by the contract workers was part and parcel of the work normally done in the organization.

The Royal Talkies vs. Employee's State Insurance Corporation AIR 1978, SC 1478 and Hussainbhai vs. Alath Factory AIR 1978 SC1410 are the two landmark judgments of Justice Krishna Iyer, as they laid down dynamic, broad and aggressive approach to be taken by the courts in dealing with the issue of the contract workers. Mere contracts are not decisive. The courts must lift the veil and see that the real employer is the company and not the contractor and not be misled by the legal appearances. This is very important since the labour and industrial courts tend to take the hyper technical view

Exhibit 4: Data on Strikes & Lockouts

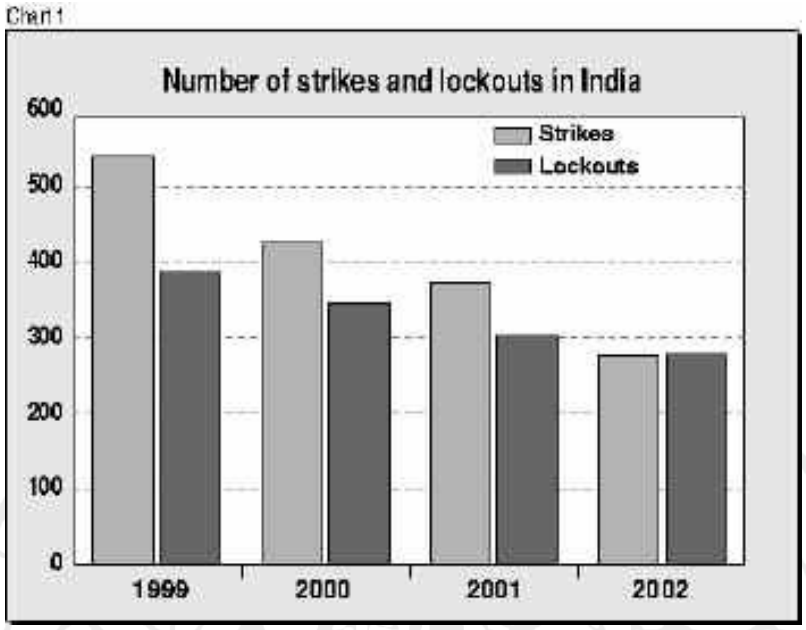

Chart 1 shows the actual number of strikes and lockouts in India over the period 1999-2002. While both have been coming down over this period, the decrease in the number of strikes has been more dramatic, and in 2002, the number of lockouts was actually higher.

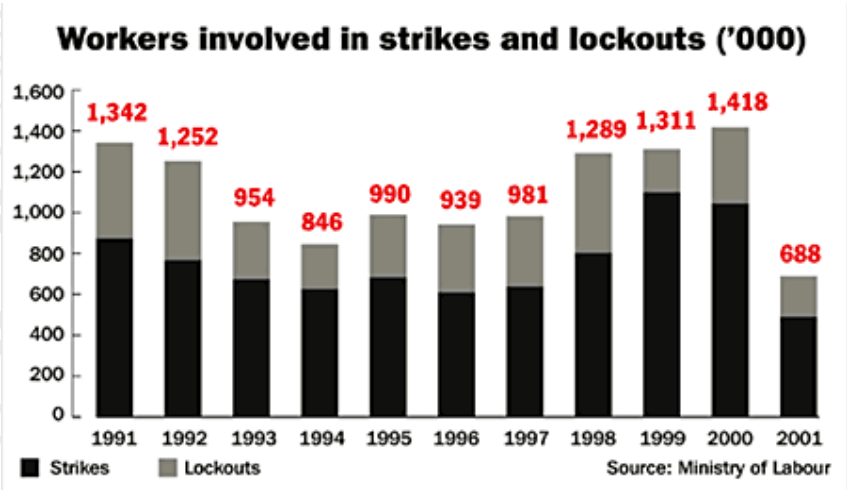

Exhibit 4A: Statistics on strikes and lockouts

Year	No. of Disputes		No. of workers involved ('000)		No. of Mandays Lost ('000)	
	Strikes	Lockouts	Strikes	Lockouts	Strikes	Lockouts
1961	91.2	8.6	84.4	15.6	60.4	39.6
1962	93.6	6.4	81.6	18.4	82.6	17.4
1963	92.7	7.3	87.2	12.8	68.2	31.8
1964	92.1	7.9	87.3	12.7	74.1	25.9
1965	92.5	7.5	89.7	10.3	71.4	28.6
1966	92.1	7.9	89.5	10.5	74.9	25.1
1967	86.4	13.6	89.9	10.1	61.6	38.4
1968	88.3	11.7	87.8	12.2	64.2	35.8
1969	89.2	10.8	92.3	7.7	81.3	18.7
1970	89.9	10.1	84.9	15.1	71.7	28.3
1971	90.0	10.0	91.4	8.6	71.3	28.6
1972	88.1	11.9	84.9	15.1	66.9	33.1
1973	87.8	12.2	92.7	7.6	67.2	32.8
1974	85.4	14.6	94.9	5.1	83.6	16.4
1975	84.6	15.4	90.3	9.7	76.3	23.7
1976	85.1	14.9	74.7	25.3	22.0	78.0
1977	86.3	13.7	87.2	12.8	53.0	47.0
1978	86.7	13.3	88.2	11.8	54.4	45.6
1979	88.8	11.2	94.5	5.5	81.6	18.4
1980	87 .6	12.4	87.4	12.6	54.8	45.2
1981	86.7	13.3	79.4	20.5	58.0	42.0
1982	81.7	18.3	81.1	18.9	69.8	30.2
1983	80.1	19.9	79.9	20.1	53.2	46.8
1984	80.7	19.3	88.6	11.4	71.3	28.7
1985	77.2	22.8	81.4	18.6	39.3	60.7
1986	77.1	22.9	87.8	12.2	57.5	42.5
1987	74.9	25.1	84.5	15.5	39.7	60.3
1988	74.7	25.3	78.7	21.3	36.9	63.1
1989	78.2	21.8	84.9	15.1	32.7	67.3
1990	79.9	20.1	88.8	11.2	44.2	55.8
1991	70.6	29.4	65.0	35.0	47.0	53.0
1992	59.0	41.0	61.3	38.7	48.4	51.6
1993	65.6	34.4	70.4	29.6	27.7	72.3
1994	67.3	32.7	74.0	26.0	31.7	68.3
1995	68.7	31.3	69.0	31.0	35.1	64.9
1996	65.4	34.6	64.9	35.1	38.5	61.5
1997	60.8	39.2	64.9	35.1	37.1	62.9

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