

The Urban World

Quarterly Publication



Women in Workforce



Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies
All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Mumbai



Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies (RCUES), Mumbai (Fully supported by Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India)

Established in 1926, the All India Institute of Local Self Government (AIILSG), India is a premier autonomous research and training institution in India. The Institute was recognized as an Educational Institution by Government of Maharashtra in the year 1971. The Institute offers several regular training courses in urban development management and municipal administration, which are recognized by the Government of India and several State Governments in India.

In the year 1968, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA), earlier Ministry of Urban Development), Government of India (GoI) established the Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies (RCUES) at AIILSG, Mumbai to undertake urban policy research, technical advisory services, and building work capabilities of municipal officials and elected members from the States of Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and UTs of Diu, Daman, Dadra & Nagar Haveli. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA), Government of India added States of Assam and Tripura from February, 2012 and Lakshadweep from August 2017 to the domain of RCUES of AIILSG, Mumbai. The RCUES is supported by the MoHUA, Government of India. The MoHUA, Government of India has formed National Review and Monitoring Committee for RCUES under the chairmanship of the Secretary, MoHUA, Government of India. The Principal Secretary, Urban Development Department, Government of Maharashtra is the ex-officio Chairperson of the Advisory Committee of the RCUES, Mumbai, which is constituted by MoHUA, Government of India.

The RCUES was recognized by the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India as a National Training Institute (NTI) to undertake capacity building of project functionary, municipal officials, and municipal elected members under the earlier urban poverty alleviation programme-UBSP. The RCUES was also recognized as a Nodal Resource Centre on SJSRY (NRCS) and Nodal Resource Centre (NRC) for RAY by Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India.

The AIILSG, Mumbai houses the Solid Waste Management (SWM) Cell backed by the Government of Maharashtra for capacity building of municipal bodies and provide technical advisory services to ULBs in the State. The Water Supply & Sanitation Department (WSSD), Government of Maharashtra (GoM) established Change Management Unit (CMU) in AIILSG, Mumbai from 13th January, 2010 to 30th June, 2014 and also selected AIILSG, Mumbai as a Nodal Agency in preparation of City Sanitation Plans for 19 Municipal Corporations and 15 A Class Municipal Councils in Maharashtra State, under the assistance of Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. The WSSD, GoM also established Waste Management & Research Centre in AIILSG, Mumbai, supported by Government of Maharashtra and MMRDA.

In August, 2013 Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India empanelled the AIILSG, Mumbai as Agency for providing technical support to the Cities / Towns of States / Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) in the field of Water Supply and Sanitation, Sewerage and Drainage systems.

In July 2015, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India empanelled the RCUES & AIILSG, Mumbai an Agency for technical support in Municipal Solid Waste Management under Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) programmes.

In February, 2016, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India empanelled the RCUES of AIILSG, Mumbai for conducting training and capacity building programme for experts of SMMU, CMMUs, COs, Key Officials and other stakeholders of the State and Urban Local Bodies (ULB) level under Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana – National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY – NULM).

In December, 2017, AIILSG has been empanelled as a training entity regarding implementation of new Integrated Capacity Building Programmes (ICBP) under Urban Missions, viz. Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM), Smart Cities Mission (SCM), National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM), Housing for All (HFA), Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY) for Elected Representatives and Municipal Functionaries.

At present, RCUES and AIILSG, Mumbai is involved in providing capacity building, research and technical support to number of State Governments and ULBs for implementing various urban development missions and programmes launched by the GoI.

Mr. Ranjit S. Chavan

President, AIILSG

Editorial Board-

Editor-in-Chief

Mr. Rajiv Agarwal, IAS (Retd.)

Director General, AIILSG

Editor

Ms. Utkarsha Kavadi

Director, RCUES of AIILSG, Mumbai

Editorial Board Members

- ◆ **Dr. Snehalata Deshmukh**
Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Mumbai, Mumbai.
- ◆ **Dr. Joop W. de wit**
Senior Lecturer, Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, the Netherlands.
- ◆ **Mr. Ajitkumar Jain, IAS (Retd)**
Sr. Advisor and Director, Centre for Sustainable Governance, AIILSG, Mumbai.
- ◆ **Mrs. Manisha Mhaiskar, IAS**
Principal Secretary, Urban Development, Government of Maharashtra & Ex-officio Chairman, RCUES, Advisory Committee.
- ◆ **Dr. Dinesh Mehta**
Professor Emeritus, CEPT University, Ahmedabad.
- ◆ **Dr. Vibhuti Patel**
Professor, Advanced Centre for Women's Studies, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Deonar, Mumbai.
- ◆ **Dr. Vandana Desai**
Senior Lecturer in Development Studies and Director MA/Msc Development and Environment, Department of Geography, Royal Holloway, University of London, U.K.
- ◆ **Mr. V. Vijaykumar**
Sr. Advisor, AIILSG, Pune.

The Urban World - Quarterly Publication of Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies of All India Institute of Local Self Government, Mumbai

(January - March, 2019)

For Contact

Ms. Utkarsha Kavadi

Director

Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies of
All India Institute of Local Self-Government
M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block,
Opp. Government Colony Bldg. No. 326, TPS Road No.12, (BKC)
Bandra (East), Mumbai - 400 051, India
Tel : 0091-22-26571713 / 2657 17 14 / 61805600
Fax : 0091-22-2657 39 73
Email : dir.rcues@aiilsg.org / utkarshakavadi@yahoo.com

Published by -

Mr. Rajiv Agarwal, IAS (Retd.),

Director-General

All India Institute of Local Self-Government,
M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block,
Opp. Government Colony Bldg. No. 326, TPS Road No.12, (BKC)
Bandra (East), Mumbai - 400 051, India
Tel : 0091-22-2657 17 13 / 2657 17 14
Fax : 0091-22-2657 21 15
Email : dg@aiilsg.org
Website : www.aiilsg.org

The opinions expressed in the articles / presentations herein are those of the authors. They do not reflect the opinions of the Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, All India Institute of Local Self Government, Mumbai, Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India or Publisher.

Printed at **Copytronics** Bandra (E), Mumbai.

Contents

- **Editorial**
- **Exploring Livelihood and Support Strategies for Unpaid Care Work
by Indian Women** **1-9**
Ms. Celin Thomas,
LLB, CMR University, Bengaluru.
and
Mr. Abhishek Antony,
LLB, CMR University, Bengaluru.
Mechanical Engineer, SRM University, Chennai.
- **Women, Marriage and Employment – Trends from Urban India** **10-21**
Jyoti Thakur,
ICSSR Institutional Doctoral Fellow,
Institute for Social and Economic Change,
Bengaluru.
- **Rural Women in Business: Opportunities and Reflections from the Field** **22-28**
Dipsikha Guha Majumdar,
Research Scholar,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences,
Mumbai.
- **Women in Urban Formal and Informal Labour:
A Case of Garment Industry in Bengaluru** **29-39**
Karan Peer,
Masters in Development Studies,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences,
Mumbai.
- **ROUND & ABOUT** **40-42**

RCUES Key Publications

1. Urban Development.
2. Urban Planning.
3. Solid Waste Management - Resource Material.
4. Hospital Medical Waste Management.
5. Planning for Urban Informal Sector in Highly Dense Cities.
6. Study of Municipal Schools with Special Focus on Drop-outs, Standard of Education and Remedies.
7. Rainwater Harvesting.
8. Institutionalisation of Citizen's Participation in Urban Governance.
9. Gender Budgeting.
10. Gender Equality in Local Government - Comparative Study of Four States in Western Region in India.
11. Mapping of Basic Services in Urban Slums.
12. Basic Services to the Urban Poor.
13. Health.
14. Security of Tenure.
15. Resettlement and Rehabilitation.
16. Mumbai Human Development Report, 2009.
(UNDP / MOH & UPA, GOI / MCGM).
17. Resource Material on Urban Poverty Alleviation.
18. Laws of Meetings.
19. Resource Material on Preparation of City Sanitation Plan (CSP) & Capacity Building for Urban Local Bodies.
20. Implementation of 74th CAA, 1992 in Urban Local Bodies and Impact Assessment of Training of Women Elected Members.

For Contact

Ms. Utkarsha Kavadi

Director

Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies of
All India Institute of Local Self-Government
M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block,
Opp. Government Colony Bldg. No. 326, TPS Road No.12, (BKC)
Bandra (East), Mumbai - 400 051, India
Tel : 0091-22-26571713 / 2657 17 14 / 61805600
Fax : 0091-22-6180 56 66
Email : dir.rcues@aillsg.org / utkarshakavadi@yahoo.com

Editorial

Women in the Workforce; what is the true picture?

Workforce participation of women in urban India is a measly 15.4 % compared to 53.76% for the urban men. The rural woman in the country does a little better with a participation rate of 25.51 % versus 53.26% for the male. These data from Census 2011 paint a rather unfavourable picture of the Indian woman's contribution to the economy.

It is a well-known fact that women account for the bulk of the unpaid work -care giving for the elderly, cooking the family meals and helping children with their homework. Of course these do not add to the GDP of the country. But even in activities that add to a country's income, the contribution of women tends to remain uncoun­ted. Take for example, the street food vendor who is an informal sector worker to whom we pay to buy food. He gets counted and his earning recognised as income. However his wife, who in all probability prepares the food or ingredients he uses, never gets counted as she receives no income while contributing significantly to the family income stream. Similar is the case of the street-side garment seller. While his wife and other women members of the family could be sewing the garments, they do not get counted as generators of income. The domestic help in our homes is another example.

Therefore, non-remuneration is a cause of underestimating women's contribution to our GDP. Even when they are remunerated, this contribution remains muted. The NSSO (68th round) estimates that the average daily wage/salary of the rural women is Rs 201.56 (37% lower) versus 322.28 for the rural male. In the urban context it is Rs 469.87 for men and 366.15 (22% lower) for women. However these data do not explicitly capture the 'amount' or 'kind' of work done by the woman versus the male. In the global context too, there exists a gender pay gap (as different from unequal pay which is discriminatory). While some of this may be purely incidental and not discriminatory, as in the case of airlines which employ more of male pilots (higher paying) and women cabin crew (modest paying), the fact remains that this depresses a woman's contribution to national income. Other examples are women taking up part-time (hence less paying) jobs to balance their domestic responsibilities or women returning to work (at a new job) after a break when they become new mothers. This reduces their experience gathering and thus their value to employers and therefore their pay. In India, the Company Law mandates atleast one woman director for a certain class of companies. While initially corporates complied somewhat

Editorial

grudgingly (often by appointing woman family members of the owners), there is now growing realization of the greater diversity women bring to the boardroom and several corporates are now firm believers.

While mandating minimum women participation in the economy, politics and society may have little real impact, it could certainly kick-start the process as in the boardroom example above. Clearly the matter has several dimensions and complexities and requires enlightened treatment.

In this issue of Urban World, we take forward the subject with several papers which address different dimensions of the issue. We are sure readers will find these engaging.

Exploring Livelihood and Support Strategies for Unpaid Care Work by Indian Women

Ms. Celin Thomas

LLB, CMR University, Bengaluru

and

Mr. Abhishek Antony

LLB, CMR University, Bengaluru,

Mechanical Engineer, SRM University, Chennai.

Introduction

United Nations Population Fund explains that Gender equality is a human right.¹ Women are entitled to live with dignity and with freedom from want and from fear. Gender equality is also a precondition for advancing development and reducing poverty: Empowered women contribute to the health and productivity of whole families and communities, and they improve prospects for the next generation. This clearly states the role women play in the larger scheme of events. However, it is strange to note, how easily their contribution has been overlooked over the years or is it that we haven't been able to capture or measure it.

The Sustainable development Goals (SDGs) have an ambitious vision for the overall global development. Goal 5 covers Gender Equality and Goal 8 covers Decent Work and Economic Growth. This clarifies one thing that the larger pursuit will continue to remain gender equality when it comes to overall development of women. Although it is important that women's participation is a must when it comes to economy, polity, governance and several other tangible aspects of the functionality of nation; it is also imperative that we develop mechanism to measure and capture data and information of the intangible contribution of women to the larger scheme of events. Since, in patriarchal societies women are known to be caregivers, whether they are willing to

provide the care that is expected or not. This research paper will focus mainly on the unpaid care work done by women.

1.1. Understanding Unpaid Care Work and its Economics

'Work' as a noun simply means activity involving mental or physical effort done in order to achieve a result, it also means a task or series of tasks undertaken. This simple definition of work will make it easier to understand what constitutes work and what simply does not qualify as work as per its literal meaning. Interestingly the bodies and authorities that make labour laws are surprisingly quiet about the definition of work.

Unpaid care work also includes mental and physical effort since it includes caring for children, elderly and sick people. It also includes washing, cooking, shopping cleaning and helping other families with their chores.² Unpaid work includes food, fuel and water collection and other energy provision, informal unpaid work, family labour in agriculture, etc. Women typically spend disproportionately more time on unpaid care work than men.³ It is important to note that all of these activities take up a lot of time and energy on a daily basis. Unpaid care work has been conveniently dumped on women across the world over a period of time. This pattern is observed throughout the world as women are stereotyped as being the primary care giving gender.

¹Gender Equality, Overview, <https://www.unfpa.org/gender-equality>, visited on 22.20 PM IST on 15th June, 2018

²Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Quick Guide to What and How: Unpaid Care Work

³Gaëlle Ferrant, Luca Maria Pesando and Keiko Nowacka Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. OECD Development Centre, December 2014

Another noted driver is the dearth of or access to resources such as water and food to name a few. Adolescent girls are known to have dropped out of schools as they had to ensure water availability at home for everyone, for all household purposes where availability of water is scarce. The number of trips, which varies during and across seasons, is needed to calculate time and caloric expenditures. A study in Haryana found that women fetched and carried on the head, on average, 23 vessels of water each day during the summer (7 in the morning and 6 in the evening).⁴ The weight of the vessel and the drudgery of water carrying, along with multiple trips to fetch water for daily needs of a family are widely studied.

Generally, care work done by women is underappreciated and not recognized at all. This trend has existed and continues even today, because people have always assumed that women are meant to do all the care work. There is another popular assumption that women are genetically pre-programmed to do care work.

The reason for not recognising unpaid care work also has its own set of problems. Prospective problems of unions, remuneration that is commensurate to the work done, etc. are few deterring reasons for lack of recognition of care work. Also the bigger questions – who will provide care and who will remunerate for the care work done? Perhaps the apprehension of these problems is the main constraints in recognizing the unpaid care work done by women.

1.2. The Need for Recognizing Unpaid Care Work Done by Women

One of the main reason unpaid care work affects women is mainly as it takes away all their time and energy in providing for family needs and resources. The participation of a woman in the economy, polity and even in educational fields in minimal or inconspicuous especially if she spends most of her

day providing care or doing unpaid care work. The only way women can make changes to their own stature in society and several other fields is by participating in it actively.

India's Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP) rate has remained visibly low and the International Labour Organisation ranks India's FLFP rate at 121 out of 131 countries in 2013, one of the lowest in the world.⁵ Female Labour Force Participation⁶ (FLFP) dropped by 19.6 million women from 2004–05 to 2011–12. Participation declined by 11.4% — from 42.6% to 31.2% — from 1993–94 to 2011–12. There are several contributing factors to these figures indicated.

One of the positive looking factor is approximately 53% of this drop occurred in rural India, among those aged between 15 and 24 due to an increase in educational enrolment among the younger cohort, attainment of socio-economic status, and household composition largely contributed to the drop. So long as the economic participation of women will be measured in terms of labour force, the efforts and initiatives taken to ensure their participation will somehow never match or give out the kind of results expected. A woman's actual contribution to the economy is not limited to her participation in the labour force, it also extends largely in terms of her providing stability to a home through the care work done by her on a daily basis.

Unpaid work is valued less from paid work for the simple reason that work that gets money is always considered important as it gets the cash rolling in. However, unpaid care work done by women has no monetary benefits assigned to it. Time-use survey method and replacement cost method are two ways to capture the contribution of women with respect to unpaid care work.

The encumbrance of unpaid household work hinders women from seeking employment and income.⁷ An increase in their household

⁴Susan B. Sorenson, Christiaan Morssink, Paola Abril Campos, Safe Access to Safe Water in Low Income Countries: Water Fetching in Current Times. Departmental Papers (SPP), May, 2011. School of Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania, 'Labour participation rate of women in India visibly low, says World Bank study, Nagesh Prabhu Bengaluru, April 17, 2017 08:00 IST. Updated: April 17, 2017 08:00 IST. ⁵'Precarious Drop Reassessing Patterns of Female Labour Force Participation in India', published by the World Bank in April 2017, ⁶Measurement of Unpaid Household Work of Women in India: A Case Study of Hooghly District of West Bengal Anindita Sengupta (University of Burdwan, India) 34th IARIW General Conference Dresden, Germany, August 21-27, 2016

responsibilities, either through marriage or childbearing, forces many women either to withdraw themselves from the labour market; or to find more flexible, part-time jobs; or to enter into self-employment that offers more flexible time management. Women are known to struggle to get back into the workforce after a long break in their careers are childbirth and even after breaks taken to care for elderly or sick relatives at home.

The year 2030 agenda for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) includes two major goals of Gender Equality and Decent Work. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has prescribed what needs to be done⁸ to bring about the necessary change in this area of discussion. Unpaid care work has been recognized and the need for it to be supported has been appreciated by ILO in its endeavor to achieve the 2030 target for SDGs. ILO recommends recognition and valuation of unpaid work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.

In many parts of the world, women are often in undervalued and low-paid jobs, and lack access to education, training and recruitment. They have limited bargaining and decision-making power and still shoulder responsibility for most unpaid care work. Globally, only about half of the world's women are in the labour force, compared to nearly 80 percent of men, earning on average 23 percent less than men, with mothers particularly hard hit.

This paper looks at the role that policymakers and authorities & laws can play proactively to ensure the recognition and support that unpaid work done by women truly deserves in India. The ways and means by which the effects of age old biases and notions that could be changed and positively influenced such that the workload of care work done by women can be shared by other members in the family. It is understood that the care work even

if unpaid would continue to remain as long as people stay in families and actively participate in the society and economy. Hence it is imperative to look for ways and methods in which the current state of affairs can be changed or at least mitigated to some extent.

The current and existing schemes by the government and policy makers will be examined in this paper. This will highlight the strategies for income and support for care work that are working and in practice in India. One of the major outcomes of such schemes and projects or practices would be of that women who seek a break from care work and wish to pursue their interests and maybe even take rest, would benefit from them immensely. A policy document is a precursor to a legislation. It is also important to see how the laws in India also view unpaid care work as, and how legislations can play a role in recognizing unpaid care work done by women in India.

2. Measuring Unpaid Care Work

The conventional method of measuring GDP of a nation is based on the income and economic contribution of the labour force. The existing statistical data provides information of the labour force and national income based on the productive time use by people (in economic activities) and the welfare level enjoyed by people. These two are essential as they form the basis for economic policy and planning. The market is generally perceived as the centre of all economic activities, participation in the labour force as well as the inclusion of production into national income accounts is defined in relation to their connection to the market or to the performance of some “work for pay or profit”.⁹

Conventional statistical data only covers the remunerated activities and not the unremunerated ones. However in the recent times, there is a slow albeit steady growth in the realization of the unpaid

⁸Decent work and the 2030 agenda for sustainable development, International Labour Organization (ILO) Department of Communication and Public Information

⁹Indira Hirway, Time Use Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Issues with Reference to the Indian Time Use Survey by Chairperson, Technical Advisory Committee on Time Use Survey, set up by Department of Statistics, Government of India, New Delhi and Director and Professor of Economics, Centre For Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad.

non market linked activities which are essential for human welfare as they contribute significantly to the well-being of people. This realization has prompted people to collect information on these activities. It should be noted that the conventional data collection tools such as census of population, labour force surveys or enterprise surveys are not capable of providing this information.

2.1. Time Use Survey

Time use survey is an emerging tool that can provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily and weekly basis, it reveals the details of an individual's daily life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of social survey. This method of survey was used in the early 1900s as a means for analyzing information on lifestyles of families and patterns of social life as revealed by the allocation of time among several different human activities. However, nowadays, it's being used for capturing data on the value of household production for a more objective comparison with the overall value of national production. Time use surveys have been used for a long time by developed nations, the objectives can vary considerably with that of a developing country. In developed nations, the official statistics provide fairly reliable information on market oriented activities. So the time use studies are used mainly as a source of information on activities not covered by official statistics, such as leisure, household work, family care etc. however, in developing countries, time use statistics are used mainly for measuring unpaid activities performed at home, to analyze the relationships between market and domestic labour, and to serve as a basis for quantifying domestic work in monetary terms comparable to production included in national accounts.

In a developing country, time use survey method will provide a more authentic source of information with respect to market oriented work due to

insufficiency of the prevalent concepts to capture those adequately. The main objective of time use studies would be to provide realistic statistics on economic production and work force besides other uses, such as to estimate time used and value of domestic work and voluntary services, personal care services which cannot be delegated or outsourced and also activities would be production of goods for self-consumption, collection of water, fuel, fodder etc., construction and repair of buildings etc. Classification used in the Indian time use survey covers the following key areas:

1. Primary Production Activities that includes Crop farming, kitchen gardening, etc.; Animal Husbandry; Fishing, Forestry, Horticulture, Gardening; Fetching of fruits, water, plants etc. storing and hunting; Processing and Storage; Mining quarrying, digging, cutting, etc.
2. Secondary Activities such as Construction Activities and Manufacturing Activities
3. Trade, Business and Services such as Trade and Business and Services
4. Household maintenance, Management and shopping for own Household
5. Care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household
6. Community services and Help to other Households
7. Learning
8. Social and Cultural Activities, Mass Media, etc.
9. Personal Care and Self-Maintenance

The above data can contribute towards improving labour statistics and national income statistics, can

throw useful light on the distribution of paid and unpaid work of men and women as well as can present data relating to the time and value of different unpaid activities carried out in the economy.

2.2. Criticism of Time Use Survey Methodology

Numerous scholars have stated doubts regarding the utility of the time use approach for data collection as it may not be able to capture the efforts and efficiency of the people. Also the efforts and efficiency changes with work environment also whether the person is working in his office or at home. This method does not take into the account the methods and techniques followed culturally and traditionally that may reduce or increase the time allocated to an activity. Also the response to the questions and the methods used in collecting data by time use survey requires the sample/study group to be literate, else some amount of training is required to be able to capture all the data diligently.

2.3. Indicators of Gender Equality

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) has identified 12 broad topics or areas based on which the gender equality indicators can be measured and studied. These twelve areas are Poverty, Education, Health, Violence, Economy, Power and decision-making in society, Power and decision-making in the household, Human rights, Media, Environment, Children and adolescents, Demography. Gender inequalities in the household is what reinforces it in the society. Different policy documents of the United Nations have therefore called for designing programs to address unequal decision-making powers within families and to support men's and women's joint control of household assets and joint household decision-making to guarantee adequate livelihoods for their families.¹⁰

The unpaid care work done by women have been captured under the area of Power and decision-making in the household as per the UNECE report

on Indicators of Gender Quality. It is interesting to note, that the indicators for gender equality with respect to unpaid care work are covered under the broad area of Power and decision-making in the household. It clearly means one thing, that unpaid care work is dependent on the following areas of household decision-making, and focuses on the power relation of a woman and a man who live in a co-residential partnership:

1. Family formation and dissolution, divorce or separation, having children, family planning;
2. Household responsibilities, such as domestic work and childcare;
3. Family finances and work, decision-making on household spending, financial arrangements, choice to work;
4. Recreation spare time, social life and contact with friends and relatives;
5. Health care;
6. Education.

Percentage of women's time spent in domestic work on partners time spent in domestic work is an indicator that is proposed by the UNECE for measuring the role and contribution of women in the unpaid care work.

3. Strategies for Unpaid Care Work Load Sharing

Strategies of unpaid care work will need to be customized for women individually. Simply because each woman has her own challenges in front of her at very stage in her life. For an Indian woman right from the time she is a pubescent girl, her life changes drastically which could have a direct impact on her educational pursuits as well. The trials for a working woman and mother in urban area are different from those living in the

¹⁰United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), Indicators of Gender Equality prepared by the Task Force on Indicators Gender Equality, United Nations New York and Geneva, 2015

hinterlands of India. The trials of a mother who is a homemaker versus a mother who is working full time are different. However, there is a commonality between all these women in different phases and stages in their lives, it is this fact that they contribute immensely to the family structure and ensure the functionality of the family as a unit of the society.

3.1. Recognize, Reduce and Redistribute

The model, 'Recognize, Reduce and Redistribute', relating to unpaid care work, was conceived by Professor Diane Elson; is an interesting place to begin with, mainly, because it simply ask everyone to realise and recognize the need and importance of unpaid care work. Unpaid care work has a huge role in contributing to the economy and measuring its involvement is very important.

3.2. Recognise Unpaid Care Work

Recognising unpaid care work is the first step towards taking a concrete step towards acknowledging the role it plays in the larger scheme of events, primarily with respect to the national economy. It is important that unpaid care work is measured and this data can be used by several government departments to come up with laws, policies, schemes and programs to aid the overall goal of Gender Equality.

Currently in India, Gender Budgeting is handled by the nodal agency which is the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD). The Ministry of Finance along with the MWCD had issued a Gender Budget Charter on the 8th March, 2007. The charter lays down guidelines for setting up of Gender Budgeting Cells (GBCs) to be set up in all Ministries and Departments. The clear objective being that every government department has to make development and empowerment of women seamless across all the Ministries and in their initiatives.

Women typically spend disproportionately more time on unpaid care work than men. On account of gendered social norms that view unpaid care work as a female prerogative, women across different regions, socio-economic classes and cultures spend an important part of their day on meeting the expectations of their domestic and reproductive roles. This is in addition to their paid activities, thus creating the "double burden" of work for women. How the society and policy makers address issues concerning care has important implications for the achievement of gender equality: they can either expand the capabilities and choices of women and men, or confine women to traditional roles associated with femininity and motherhood.¹¹ Gender Budgeting can play a big role in ensuring that the data received on unpaid care work is used in such a manner that it helps in creating support systems throughout for women to be able to accomplish all they wish to.

3.3. Reducing and Redistributing the Workload

Once unpaid care work is measured and the data is there to clearly satisfy all the concerned stakeholders; an action is imperative. Workload on a woman to maintain the home, paid work and caring for children, elderly and sick can leave her exhausted by the end of the day and every other day. The household chores and responsibilities must be divided or outsourced in such a manner that the woman can also pursue her interests and have her leisurely time to take adequate rest. A woman has a right and is entitled to pursue her interests regardless of her social and economic situation. It is only then we can talk about equality.

Elders in the family can also proactively support the women in the household by taking care of children and helping them in their academic pursuits.

¹¹Razavi, S. (2007), "The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context", Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options, Gender and Development Programme Paper N. 3, UNSRID, Geneva.

3.4. Role of Legislature

The Maternity Benefit Act of 1961 was a great step in this direction to recognize and support the child bearing need and responsibility of a woman. Section 5 clause (1) of the Act states in its explanation that a pregnant mother is eligible for 3 months of paid leave. Section 9 of the Act allows leave for miscarriage and section 11 offers nursing breaks to a new mother for a period of 15 months after delivery. Also section 12¹² of the Act a pregnant woman cannot be dismissed from her job during her announced leave. From this Act, we can understand the role the legislature can play in institutionalizing systems such that they offers support and care to women. Inspiring men to become proactively involved in the child care and nurturing process by introducing Paternity Benefits also.

The role of legislature cannot be ruled out or undermined when it comes to the care of elderly and sick people as well. Our personal laws state that a son or a daughter is equally responsible to look after their elderly parents. Failing to do so can invite a suit for action in a court. However, even in such scenarios, the responsibility cannot solely fall of any one child only. There ought to be a mechanism to measure the contribution of each child in taking turns to look after the elderly and also the sickly in their family so as to reduce the work load on just one person.

3.5. Role of CBOs, NGOs and Government Facilities

The adolescent girl child is usually asked to drop out of college due to periods. Mostly it is also to provide for the dearth of resources such as water and fuel for cooking, as most men are out for labour work that brings in cash. There is ample scope for the government to play a proactive role here. The existing scheme and penetration of community based organization, ICDS units, ASHA workers and several government primary health care

clinics have great presence and influence over the minds of the people. They can always be tapped in to distribute and implement government resources and schemes. Importance of education of the girl child can be spread through these platforms also. The resource crunches can be resolved through governmental interventions or community development programmes run by Panchayats in villages and Municipalities in towns. This will also resolve the drudgery that is a part of collecting resources such as water and fuel for fodder.

Tanzanian time use data predicts that investments in water-related infrastructure would free up women's working hours (converted into paid employment) equivalent to a million new full-time jobs for women. This in turn would increase income by about 6% of the total cash earnings for the entire population in a year.

3.6. Tax and Insurance Reforms

There can be several taxation reforms that could encourage women whether employed or not to be able to avail benefits of various schemes that is linked directly to her contribution in the market economy and household chores or care work. Men can be incentivized if they proactively take care of their children, elderly parents and sickly people in their family.

There can be insurance scheme that women can avail from the government that takes care of all their medical expenses for which they needn't worry about otherwise. This can also extend into an social security scheme of sorts, that offers relief to especially those women who simply cannot afford such services form private entities.

Pension and old age social security of the elderly can also help in assisting women in reducing their work load, as these schemes would make it possible for the elders to afford care by outsourcing help.

¹²The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961

3.7. Education System

Our education system can also proactively inculcate values in the children wherein they could manage their own daily chores on their own and relieve parents of that work by becoming independent. Children can be awarded for being disciplined, obedient and independent. Such kind of incentivisation can always encourage them to develop good habits. Ensuring that education material and teaching practices are gender sensitive and encourage girls and young women to undertake studies in the sciences and several other faculties that interests them.

4. Conclusion

Care in itself is a benefit to society as it contributes to the well-being of both the caregiver and the receiver and fosters close relations between them. Moreover, all care work, paid or unpaid, adds value to the economy and should therefore be included in economic calculations. Even though the gendered division of labour in care work limits such benefits primarily to women, women's unpaid care work constitutes an important contribution to the economy. It is estimated that if women's unpaid work were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10% and 39% of GDP.

The unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men represents an infringement of women's rights¹³ and also a brake on their economic empowerment. Gender inequality in unpaid care work is the missing link that influences gender gaps in labour outcomes. The gender gap in unpaid care work has significant implications for women's ability to actively take part in the labour market and the type/quality of employment opportunities available to them. Time is a limited resource, which is divided between labour and leisure, productive and reproductive activities, paid and unpaid work. Every minute more that a woman spends on unpaid care work

represents one minute less that she could be potentially spending on market-related activities or investing in her educational and vocational skills.¹⁴

Although the model suggested by Professor Diane on recognise, reduce and redistribute in a good place to begin in mitigating the issue of unpaid care work; however going forward we might need more concrete steps to measure parameters on unpaid care work alongside the various programs and schemes that alleviate women. It is true that everyone needs a support system to grow and develop in; this system also ought to provide safety and a feeling of belongingness. Only because every woman takes over the job of unpaid care work without batting an eyelid is due to the fact that her family is her responsibility and she needs to care for it whether the government recognizes her efforts or not.

The government in light of the SDG targets may be inspired to take proactive measures in improving the conditions of women whose contribution goes unnoticed primarily in the unorganized sector. The civil society also can play a big role in diminishing the gender biases by beginning to treat man and woman equally.

References

1. *Gaëlle Ferrant, Luca Maria Pesando and Keiko Nowacka Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. OECD Development Centre, December 2014.*
2. *Decent work and the 2030 agenda for sustainable development, International Labour Organization (ILO) Department of Communication and Public Information.*
3. *Labour participation rate of women in India visibly low, says World Bank study. Nagesh Prabhu Bengaluru, April 17, 2017 08:00 IST. Updated: April 17, 2017 08:00 IST'.*

¹³UN (2013), Report of Sepulveda Carmona, M., the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Unpaid Care Work and Women's Human Rights. Available at SSRN 2437791.

¹⁴Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. M., & Nowacka, K. (n.d.). Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. Retrieved June 14, 2018, from https://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/Unpaid_care_work.pdf

4. *Precairous Drop Reassessing Patterns of Female Labour Force Participation in India'*, published by the World Bank in April 2017.
5. *Measurement of Unpaid Household Work of Women in India: A Case Study of Hooghly District of West Bengal Anindita Sengupta (University of Burdwan, India) 34th IARIW General Conference Dresden, Germany, August 21-27, 2016.*
6. *Susan B. Sorenson, Christiaan Morssink, Paola Abril Campos, Safe Access to Safe Water in Low Income Countries: Water Fetching in Current Times. Departmental Papers (SPP), May, 2011. School of Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania.*
7. *Gender Equality, Overview, <https://www.unfpa.org/gender-equality>, visited on 22.20 PM IST on 15th June, 2018.*
8. *Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Quick Guide to What and How: Unpaid Care Work.*
9. *Indira Hirway , Time Use Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Issues with Reference to the Indian Time Use Survey by Chairperson, Technical Advisory Committee on Time Use Survey, set up by Department of Statistics, Government of India, New Delhi and Director and Professor of Economics, Centre For Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad.*
10. *United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), Indicators of Gender Equality prepared by the Task Force on Indicators Gender Equality, United Nations New York and Geneva, 2015.*
11. *UN (2013), Report of Sepulveda Carmona, M., the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Unpaid Care Work and Women's Human Rights. Available at SSRN 2437791.*
12. *Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. M., & Nowacka, K. (n.d.). Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. Retrieved June 14, 2018, from https://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/Unpaid_care_work.pdf*
13. *Razavi, S. (2007), "The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context", Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options, Gender and Development Programme Paper N. 3, UNSRID, Geneva.*
14. *UN (2013), Report of Sepulveda Carmona, M., the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Unpaid Care Work and Women's Human Rights. Available at SSRN 2437791.*
15. *The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961.*



Women, Marriage and Employment – Trends from Urban India

Jyoti Thakur

ICSSR Institutional Doctoral Fellow,
Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru.

Introduction

Women's participation in work is an indicator of their status in a society. Paid work offers more opportunities for women's agency, mobility and empowerment, and usually, it leads to greater social recognition of the work that women do, whether paid or unpaid. However, in India, despite high economic growth, high female education levels and declining fertility rates, conditions which have translated into more female entering into labour force in many countries,¹ the proportion of female participating in labour market is declining every year. The labour force participation rate for women of working age has declined from 42 percent in 1993-94 to 27 percent in 2011-12 (NSS, 2014). Gap between the rate of labour force participation among male and female is high (UNDP, 2016) due to which on gender inequality index (GII)² India ranks 125 out of 148 countries. This unprecedented and puzzling drop in women's participation in the workforce, especially at a time when India's economy has grown at a steady pace, has caught the imagination of various scholars. Various studies have pointed that reasons behind this decline could be marriage, motherhood, vexed gender relations and biases, and patriarchy, enrollment into education, increased family income etc.

In Indian society, the institution of marriage and household dominate the life of women. After marriage, the primary role of a woman is to be subservient to the needs of the family members.

Traditionally, it was not considered appropriate for middle and upper income family married women to take up a job and inferior status was accorded to working women as generally they belonged to lower castes and worked in less prestigious occupations (Rao & Rao, 1982). The same is reflected in the trends observed by various recent studies. For example, the labour force participation is highest among ST women followed by SC, OBC and general caste women (Andres et al 2007). In recent times, demographic group of married women has become highly conspicuous among working age (15-64 age) female population in India. Census 2011 reveals that 80 percent of female in this working group bracket are married. However, the Labour force participation among married women has decreased from 49.2 percent 1993-94 to 38.4 percent in 2011-12 rural areas and from 22.8 percent in 1993-94 to 20 percent in 2011-12 urban areas (Andres et al., 2017).

This paper focuses on the two objectives: i) To study the levels and trends of work force participation of married women in Urban India; ii) To study the structure of workforce participation of married women.

This study uses nationally representative cross-sectional data from two quinquennial rounds of India's NSS employment and unemployment rounds to highlight the levels, trends and pattern related to the participation of married women in urban workforce of India.

¹U-Shape curve for female labour force participation

²GII is a composite measure reflecting inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market

Literature Review

Conventionally, work is defined as any activity undertaken for remuneration. The value of work is determined by the level of remuneration. Therefore, any work undertaken without remuneration is considered non-valuable and non-work. Likewise, any work done outside such as office, factory, and, field is considered more valuable than work done at home. The conclusion thus became that men working outside get remuneration, so their work is valuable; women work at home, get no remuneration and thus, their work is considered non-work having no or little value. Even when a woman enters the realm of paid work, the labour market is highly segregated along the gender lines, with differences between regions and cultures and differentiated pay scale between men and women.

Globally, women's participation in the labour force has remained relatively stable in the two decades from 1990 to 2010, at approximately 52 percent (ILO, 2014). However, studies on India show a gloomy picture of women's participating in labour market. In comparison to countries such as South Korea, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand female labour participation in India is characterized by relatively low and stagnant rates (Mincer, 1962). Unlike developed countries where women's labour force participation tends to increase with economic development, the relationship is not straightforward or consistent for developing countries. There is considerably more variation across developing countries in labour force participation by women than by men. This variation is driven by a wide variety of economic and social factors, which include economic growth, education, and social norms. The socio-economic factors which can affect the participation of women in labour force are; level of economic development, educational attainment, social dimensions, such as social norms influencing marriage, fertility, and women's role

outside the household, Access to credit and other inputs, Household and spouse characteristics, Institutional setting (laws, protection, benefits) (Veric, 2014).

In India, the extent of women's participation in labour market is abysmally low at 27 percent, lowest among BRICS countries and among G-20 countries and better only than Saudi Arabia. Female Labour Force Participation Rate (FLFPR) has been declining for the last two decades (Mehrotra & Parida, 2017) and this decline is concentrated among 25-65-year-old married women (Afridi et al., 2016). The employment trends for women in India show that 25 percent rural and 15 percent urban female were part of workforce in 2011-12. Almost 94 percent of total women workers are engaged in informal sector, of which about 20 percent work in the urban centers. Majority of women workers in informal sector come from those sections of the society which need income at any cost (Geetika et al., 2011).

Cameron et al. (2011) observe that FLFPR respond differently to education across different countries due to two prime reasons: a wage effect and a bargaining power effect. Higher wages encourage women to join the workforce because the opportunity cost of time at home rises. However, due to increase in level of education, women's relative bargaining power will also increase, and women prefer to not work. Thus, in this case increasing levels of female education could lead to a fall in women's labour force participation. Behrman et al. (1999) observed that return of education for female may rise in the labour market but they may not rise fast enough to counteract the rise in the returns to education in the marriage market and home production.

Klasen & Pieters (2013) found that in Indian context, rise in female education actually resulted in decline of their labour participation. Due to high education achievements there is a rise in

preferences for white-collar jobs as women attain more education. Despite high growth rates, however, the economy has not produced enough employment of this kind to keep up with the growth of high-skilled labour supply. The share of white-collar services in urban employment fell from 19 percent in 1987 to 17 percent in 2009, while the proportion of graduates in the working age population increased from 11 to 21 percent. This has resulted in a strong crowding-out effects of the increased high-skilled labour supply on female labour force participation. Education should lead to jobs, but that's not happening in India. According to UNDP 2015 report, in urban India 68.3 percent of women graduate don't have paid jobs.

Age is one among many other reasons for drop in FLFP in India. Andres (2017) study highlighted that from 2004-05 to 2011-12 approximately 53 percent of fall occurred among 15 to 24 years old, 32 percent among 25-34 years old and 15.6 percent among 35 and above.

Klasen and Pieters (2013) studied the decline in female labour force participation in urban India between 1987 and 2009, and found that demand and supply factors were at play. On the labour supply side, the main drivers were increasing household incomes, husband's education, and the stigma against educated women seeking menial work. On the labour demand side, they found that employment in sectors appropriate for educated women grew less than the supply of educated workers, leading to many women withdrawing from the labour force. As around 80 percent of female (Census 2011) in productive age group are married, similar pattern and trends can follow for married women.

Household and women's unpaid work also plays a very significant role in deciding whether women will enter the labour market or not. Women's normative responsibilities of care and domestic work impose a restriction on their mobility and employment (Mehrotra & Parida, 2015). Studies

have shown that in various Indian states women express that it is difficult to take up wage work mostly due to family responsibilities and certain social norms in some communities (ILO 2014). In India, the proportion of women involved in unpaid domestic and care work is higher in urban areas and among better educated classes. This fact is corroborated by the NSS finding that the 65 percent in urban and 62 percent (53 percent - 2004-2005) in rural areas reported to be engaged in domestic work (NSS, 2014).

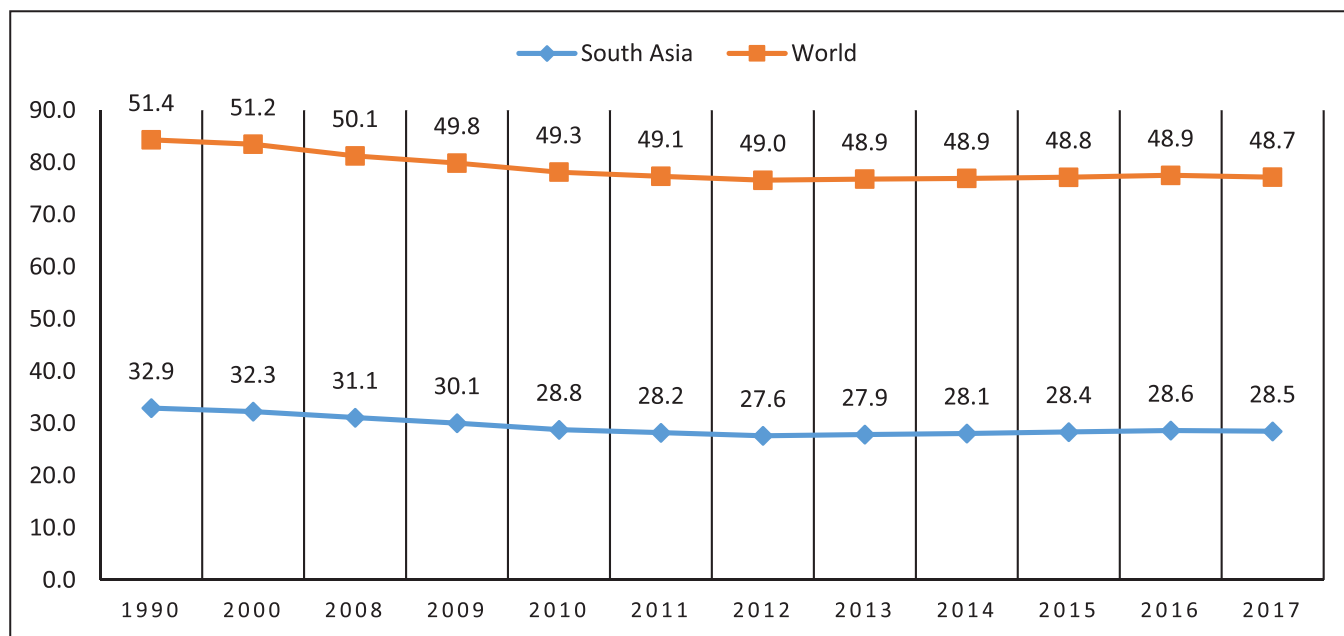
Women and Employment – the Global Picture

According to ILO 2017 report, only 49.4 percent women worldwide are officially in the labour force while for men this rate is 76.1 percent. Thus, globally women's share in labour market is 26.7 percent less than that of men. Emerging countries (India is also in this group) have the widest gender gap in labour force participation at 30.6 percent followed by developed countries at 16.1 percent. Developing countries reported to have the smallest gender gap in labour force participation, however this high participation is often driven by economic necessity.

All over the world, female labour force participation is marked by gender gaps in sectoral and occupational employments. Education, health and social work are the sectors with the highest concentration of women at the global level, followed by whole sale and retail trade. Eastern Asia, Southeast Asia and North Africa have over-representation of women in apparel manufacturing. In South- Asia and up to a lesser extent in Arab States, Central and Western Asia & Sub-Saharan Africa majority of women are engaged in agriculture sector.

In emerging as well as developed countries women are centered in the services, sales and professional groups. Also, in developed countries high proportion of women are employed in clerical and elementary jobs.

Figure 1 : Labour Force Participation of Women in World and South Asia



Source: World Bank data base

Women and Work in South Asia

Globally, in approximately last two decades, female's participation in labour market has declined from 51.4 percent to 48.7 percent. **(Figure 1)**. In South Asia overall trend of FLFP was also negative with variations at the country level. However, South Asia experienced comparatively higher slump from 32.9 percent in 1990 to 28.5 percent in 2017.

In South Asia, cultural attitudes and social norms works against the participation of women in the public sphere. All the countries in this region have FLFPR **(Figure 2)** below the global average, except Nepal and Bhutan which shows highest number of females taking part in the economy.

Country-specific trends shows that in 2017 the lowest FLFPR was recorded for Afghanistan and the second lowest is India. Between 1990 to 2017, all the countries in the South-Asia has shown increase in the participation of women in the labour market, except India and Sri Lanka where FLFPR has actually declined.

Surprisingly, 80 percent of Nepali females are participating in the economy. However, this participation is driven by poverty and due to lack of education and other skills majority of these women are working in agriculture sector. Bhutan is the second highest performer in the region, however, despite registering female participation as high as 58 percent in 2017, Bhutanese women are also constrained by household responsibilities and child care. In both the countries, most the women are still employed in family-based agriculture and continue to constitute a small portion of regular paid jobs. In Bangladesh, FLFPR was 33.0 percent. The major driver of female employment is rapid growth of garment industry and increased participation of women in livestock rearing and poultry farming due to availability of microcredit from Grameen Bank. In Sri Lanka, FLFPR stands at 35.1 percent in 2017. Here Women are over-represented in agriculture and export manufacturing. Pakistan and India share more than just borders with each other. These two countries share history, culture and societal norms too. The low status of women in the society is one such norm due to which in both the

countries, household chores are seen as the prime job for a woman. However, unlike India, majority of women in Pakistan are not able to access labor market because of their limited access to education along with household burden.

Methodology

This paper is based on secondary data source. From NSS unit level data levels, trends, patterns of workforce participation of married women were extracted and examined. Quinquennial employment and unemployment round of NSS survey used in this paper are 55th (1999-2000) and 68th (2011-12). This study is focused on the urban area thus all the estimates are for urban sector.

For the purpose of analysis some variables of unit level data were modified. The details are as follow:

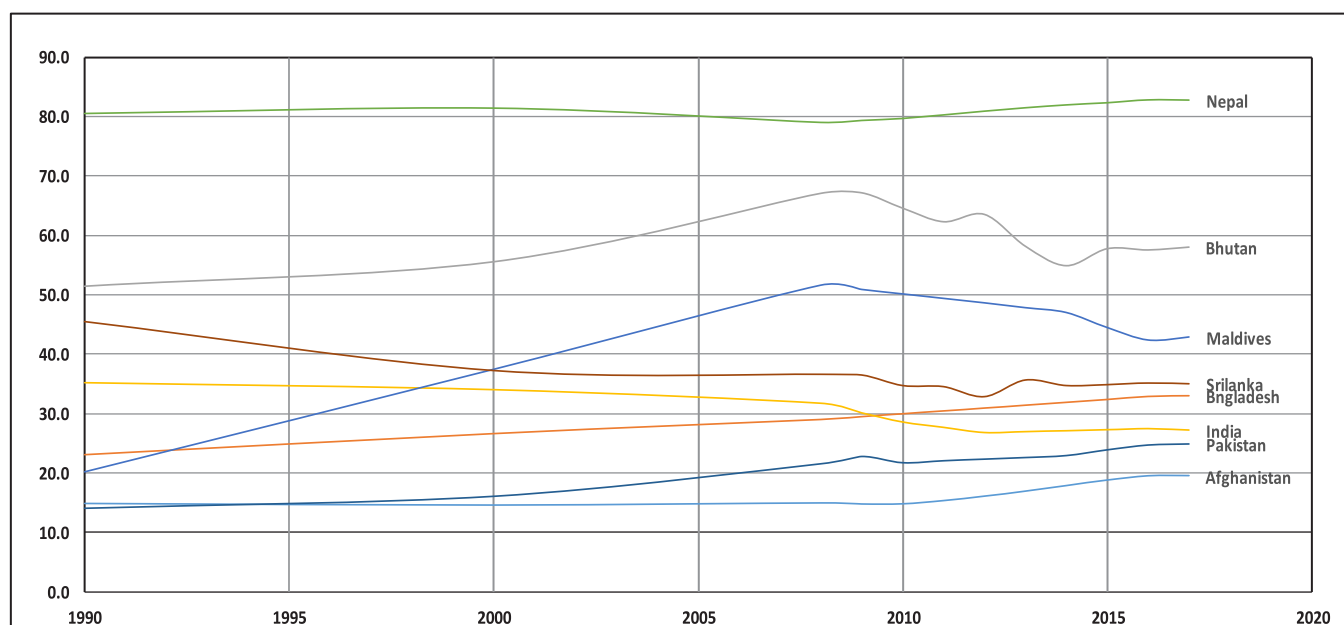
- All the estimates are computed on the basis of usual principle activity status.
- All the estimates use age of 15+

- Marital status in this paper is categorized into three groups viz. Never Married, Currently Married and Others. The 'others' category is comprising of widowed and divorced/separated

Analysis of Work Force Participation of Married Women in India

Today more than half of the world's population resides in urban areas (UN Habitat, 2016). Cities drive the human progress by generating wealth and employment. India also has not remain untouched by the global phenomenon and witnessed an upsurge in proportion of people living in cities. The urban population of the country has increased from 17 percent in 1951 to 31 percent in 2011. More and more people migrate to cities in search of employment but when it comes to employment of women, Indian urban areas are lagging behind rural areas. The proportion of female participating in labour market is high in rural sector in comparison to urban. Thus, in order to explore the puzzle

Figure 2 : Labour Force Participation of Women in South-Asian Countries



Source: World Bank data base

behind the decreasing participation of women in urban area this section provides a snippet of urban labour market in terms of levels and trends of workforce force participation in the context of marital status in Urban India.

At aggregate level, in India LFPR (for age 15 years and above) for urban males and urban female are 54.2 percent and 12.5 percent respectively (NSSO 2014). However, breaking-down of these rates into different marital status reveals some intriguing aspects about the labour market of India.

The socio-economic factors which can affect the participation of women in workforce are level of economic development, educational attainment, social dimensions, such as social norms influencing marriage, fertility, and women's role outside the household, Access to credit and other inputs, household and spouse characteristics, institutional setting (laws, protection, benefits) (Veric, 2014).

Work force participation for different age groups of never married, married and others male as well female is presented in **Table 1**. Workforce participation are significantly high for males and higher among married males across all age groups.

However, there is an across the board decline in workforce participation among 60+ age group. Another trend emerges that among married women, there is significantly lower or reduced workforce participation.

Workforce participation trends for never married female shows positive movement across all the age group, excepted 60+. In both the survey years for never married women, workforce participation was at its peak in 30-44 years.

However, the story of work force participation for married women is entirely different from other groups. In both the study years less than one-fifth of the total married women were participation in gainful activities. In 1999-00, highest (19.19 percent) participation is recorded among females in 30-44 years and highest for 2011-12 being in the same age group standing at 19.45 percent.

Education and Labour Force Participation

Cameron et al. (2011) observe that female labour force participation rates respond differently to education across different countries due to two prime reasons: a wage effect and a bargaining power effect. Higher wages encourage women to

Table 1 : Age-specific WFPR by Marital Status and by Gender

Age Group	Male						Female					
	Never married		Currently married		Others		Never married		Currently married		Others	
	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12
15-29	46.51	42.42	93.01	95.90	87.03	98.51	12.38	13.97	11.83	12.40	44.86	48.29
30-44	82.38	86.84	97.82	98.94	85.89	93.15	46.88	51.13	19.19	19.45	63.93	66.79
45-59	71.62	74.32	92.71	94.53	77.44	80.14	38.94	47.49	17.81	14.83	35.26	35.21
60+	28.92	24.35	41.17	38.13	26.11	23.25	17.10	10.34	7.50	5.10	8.49	7.84

Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

join the workforce because the opportunity cost of time at home rises. However, due to increase level of education women's relative bargaining power will also increase, and women may prefer to not work. Thus, in this case, increasing levels of female education could lead to a fall in women's labour force participation. Klasen & Pieters (2013) found that in Indian context, rise in female education actually resulted in decline of their labour participation. Due to high education achievements there is a rise in preferences for white-collar jobs as women complete more education. Despite high growth rates, however, the economy has not produced enough employment of this kind to keep up with the growth of high-skilled labour supply. The share of white-collar services in urban employment fell from 19 percent in 1987 to 17 percent in 2009, while the proportion of graduates in the working age population increased from 11 to

21 percent. This has resulted in a strong crowding-out effects of the increased high-skilled labour supply on female labour force participation.

According to Andreas et al (2017) study, in India possessing secondary and higher secondary levels of education were not found to be an incentive for women to participate in the labor market as the lowest incidence of LFPR were found among those with secondary or senior-secondary education levels. The highest rates were recorded for illiterate or graduate women.

Table 2 shows workforce participation rates of men and women among different marital status further classified based on the education qualifications as covered by 55th and 68th NSSO rounds.

Except for minor aberrations, the general trend has been of decrease in workforce participation of male

Table 2 : Education-specific WFPR by Marital Status and by Gender

General Education Level	Year	Male			Female		
		Never Married	Currently Married	Others	Never Married	Currently Married	Others
Illiterate	1999-00	14.44	91.75	62.15	5.98	39.1	32
	2011-12	10.87	86.38	51.83	2.72	18.25	22.71
Literate without formal schooling	1999-00	14.08	91.75	57.18	6.22	21.4	28.35
	2011-12	6.54	84.47	38.87	0.07	24.42	36.39
Primary	1999-00	14.26	92.31	65.45	4.39	25.1	31.39
	2011-12	13.47	89.17	54.69	2.27	15.61	28.09
Secondary	1999-00	37.9	92.69	63.82	9.66	15.8	35.71
	2011-12	32.42	90.23	47.19	6.52	10.55	22.58
Higher Secondary	1999-00	31.85	89.98	77.79	8.12	14.2	40.06
	2011-12	26.51	89.36	52.97	8.12	12.64	32.36
Graduate & Above	1999-00	50.07	90.8	54.39	21.82	26.3	45.76
	2011-12	54.62	88.22	40.15	34.43	22.60	42.30

Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

and female for all marital status and across all education status from 1999-2000 to 2011-12. Workforce participation of unmarried male and female with graduate degrees and above saw increase from 50.07 percent to 54.62 percent and 21.82 percent to 34.43 percent respectively.

Another key trend emerges that across both the round of the NSSO surveys, workforce participation upto higher secondary education level is significantly higher for among married female

compared to unmarried women. While the similar trend is applicable for males too. But, unlike females where the trend reverses among graduate and above category, this trend remains same for males in graduate and above category too.

Status in Employment

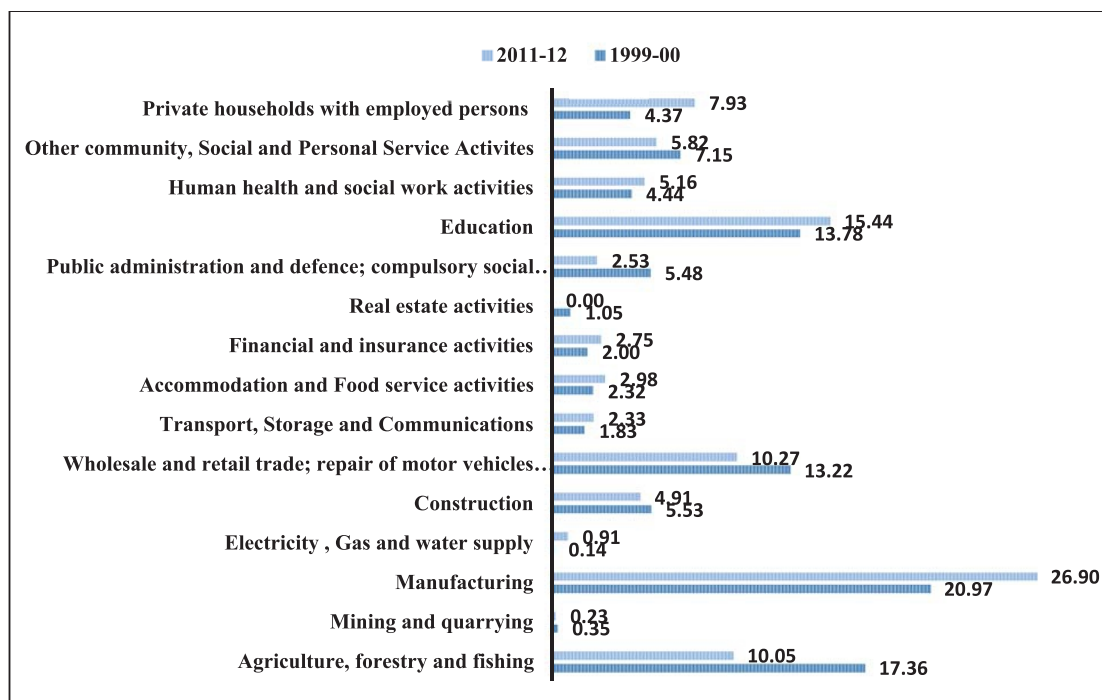
Status in employment describes the type of economic risk and authority which workers have in their jobs, as reflected in their explicit or implicit

Table 3 : Percentage Distribution of Employment Status by Marital Status in India

Employment Status	Male						Female					
	Never Married		Currently Married		Others		Never Married		Currently Married		Others	
	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12
Worked in h.h. enterprise (self-employed): own account worker	16.4%	14.5%	42.1%	36.9%	50.0%	43.2%	11.2%	15.5%	12.2%	23.0%	26.4%	27.8%
Employer	0.30%	0.80%	1.40%	3.20%	1.80%	2.30%	0.10%	0.10%	0.30%	0.40%	1.30%	1.00%
Worked as helper in h.h. enterprise (unpaid family worker)	30.9%	16.5%	8.10%	4.00%	9.80%	3.10%	35.1%	11.1%	37.5%	17.8%	12.9%	3.20%
Worked as regular salaried/ wage employee	16.9%	48.7%	17.9%	42.5%	7.90%	31.0%	14.0%	65.9%	7.60%	44.5%	10.9%	45.5%
Worked as casual wage labour : in public works	0.20%	0.60%	0.20%	0.30%	0.10%	0.60%	0.30%	0.00%	0.10%	0.10%	0.20%	0.10%
Worked as casual wage labour : In other types of work	35.3%	18.9%	30.2%	13.0%	30.3%	19.8%	39.3%	7.40%	42.2%	14.2%	48.3%	22.4%

Source: Authors calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Figure 3 : Distribution of Married Female Workers Across Different Industries



Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

contract of employment.³ Literature suggest that with economic development, more women than men transit to wage / salaried employment. Globally, the share of wage and salaried employment in total employment has increased from 48.4 percent in 1997 to 54.8 percent in 2017. In this period, the share of women has increase by 8.9 percent while for men the increased was for 6 percent (ILO, 2017).

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of employment for the 1999-00 and 2011-12 rounds of NSSO survey. The employment structure reflects the formal/informalization of the jobs and trends thereof. As the economy develops, a general trend of increased formalization is observed. Between 1999-2000 and 2011-12, this trend is reflected with employment for male and female across different marital status, with significant increase in regular salaried/wage employee (17 percent to 49 percent for never married male, 18 percent to 43 percent for

married male, 8 percent to 31 percent for other male, 14 percent to 66 percent for never married female, 8 percent and 11 percent to 45 percent each respectively for married and other female). The corresponding effect is reflected in similarly significant fall in people engaged in casual wage labour across male and female and across all marital status. Similar trend is observed through fall in employment as unpaid family worker which reflects higher remunerative employment.

Another trend is observed that the self-employment reduced among male across all marital status (16 percent to 15 percent for unmarried, 42 percent to 37 percent for currently married and 50 percent to 43 percent for others) during 1999-00 to 2011-12. However, during the same period, self-employment has increased for females across all marital status (11 percent to 15 percent for unmarried, 12 percent to 23 percent for currently married, 26 percent to 28 percent for others).

³<http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/statistics-overview-and-topics/status-in-employment/lang--en/index.htm>

Structure of Workforce Participation of Married Women

This section presents the quality of workforce participation of married women in Indian market. This will cover the industries in which are participation, aspect related to their job contracts, type of wages they have access to etc.

Figure 3 presents the major industries in which married women in India are having gainful employment. The picture painted by the data is quite depressing throughout all the industries, with some exceptions, workforce participation of married women in almost negligible.

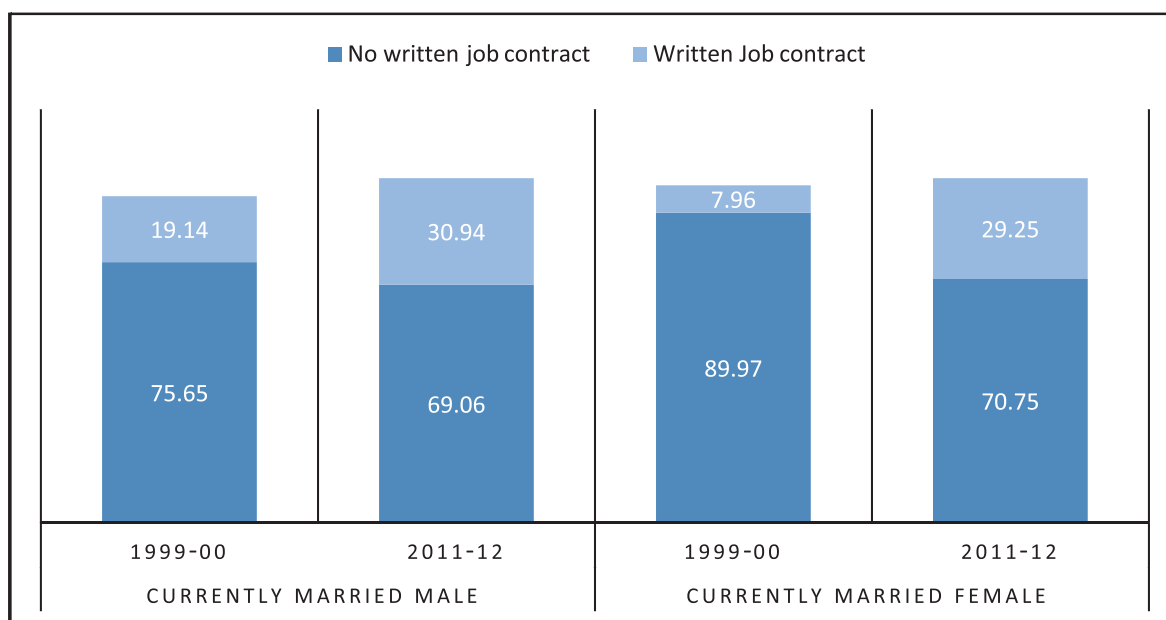
In 2012-12, highest participation of married women is recorded in manufacturing industry followed by education, wholesale and retail trade and agriculture and forestry industry. Between the period of 1999-00 to 2011-12 participation of married women has decreased in majority of the industries and some industries has seen marginal increase. Highest decrease is recorded in

agriculture, forestry and fishing (7.31 percent) while highest increase in the same period is private households with employed persons (3.56 percent).

All over the world, women are often over-represented in temporary, rather than in permanent jobs, though the situation varies substantially across countries. The type of contract provides a sense of stability however when a person works without any written contact that he/she always remains vulnerable. **Figure 4** shows the situation in India regarding the type of job contracts workers are engage in. In 2011-12, the proportion of currently married male and female working without any written contacts was almost similar. 69 percent male and 71 percent female reported that they have no written contract with their employer.

Between 1999-00 to 2011-12, data shows that there is positive trend towards written contracts. The proportion of male with written contract has increased from 19 percent to 31 percent while for female the increase is from 8 percent to whooping 29 percent.

Figure 4 : Distribution of Currently Married Males and Females by Type of Job Contracts



Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Figure 5 represents the labour force participation of married male and married female in 2011-12 focusing on the different type of payment methods. Data reveals that among married males as well as females larger chunk is in the employment with regular monthly salary. The most intriguing about the male and female work level by the data is about the type of work preferred by different sex. The percentage of women who are working for daily payments is just half of the male similarly the share of male working for piece rate payment of half of the female in that category. This shows that currently married females do not prefer casual work rather they are inclined towards home based work which work in a piece rate method.

Conclusion

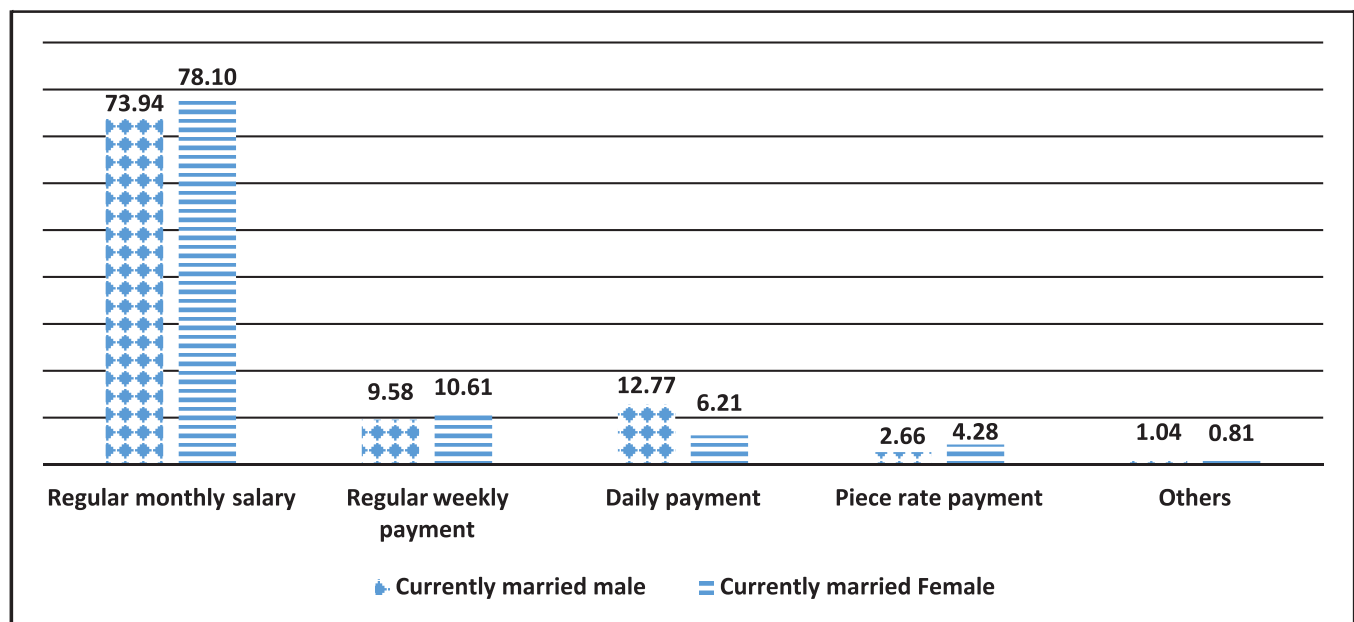
All over the world, women's access to decent work is restricted by myriad factor ranging from discriminatory practices, social and cultural norms, household chores etc. In Indian society, marriage not only guides the social life. Rather, it has a deep bearing on economic achievements. In India

gender gap in labour force is as huge as 55 percent while in Delhi this gap further increases to 62 percent. Segregation of labour market into different marital status highlight a worrying trend that it is the married women whose participation in paid activities is abysmally low.

Educational achievements less than graduation level also do not seem to have much impact on this dwindling participation of Indian women in labour market. High incidence of participation is among illiterate women across all the marital categories. However, change in the status of employment between 1999 - 2012 shows a silver lining. Indian women are gaining in terms of regular wage/salaried employment and their involvement in unpaid family work has decreased.

Religion and social status decides the terms of the involvement of women in the public sphere. Analysis suggests that, except Christianity, in all the other religion the employment of women will definitely raise some eyebrows.

Figure 5 : Distribution of Currently Married Male and Female by Method of Payment



Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

India is aiming to become super power but if half of its population is still not emancipated that can be a distant dream. Double digit growth has no meaning until all the citizens receive their fair share.

References

1. *Andres, Luis et al. (2017). Precarious drop: Reassessing Patterns of Female Labour Force Participation in India. (Policy Research Working Paper no. WPS8024). Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group, South Asia Region, Social Development Unit.*
2. *Behrman, J.R. et al. (1999). Women's schooling, home teaching and economic growth. Journal of political economy, Vol.107(4), 682-71.*
3. *Klasen, S., Pieters, J. (2013). What Explains the Stagnation of Female Labour Force Participation in Urban India?. (IZA Discussion Paper No. 5797). Bonn, Germany: IZA.*
4. *ILO. Research paper no.10. (2014). Why is female labour force participation declining so sharply in India . Geneva, Switzerland: Document and Publications Production, Printing and Distribution Branch (PRODOC), ILO.*
5. *ILO. (2017). World Employment Social Outlook : Trends for Women 2017,. Geneva, Switzerland: Document and Publications Production, Printing and Distribution Branch (PRODOC), ILO.*
6. *Rao, P,V., Rao, N,V.(1982). Marriage, the family and women in India. Delhi, India . Heritage publisher.*
7. *UNDP.(2015). Women's Voices, Employment and Entrepreneurship in India. Retrieved from <http://www.in.undp.org/content/india/en/home/library/poverty/women-s-voices--employment-and-entrepreneurship-in-india.html>*
8. *Veric, S. (2014). Female labour participation in developing countries. Germany. IZA world of labour. Retrieved from <https://wol.iza.org/uploads/articles/87/pdfs/female-labor-force-participation-in-developing-countries.pdf?v=1>*



Rural Women in Business: Opportunities and Reflections from the Field

Dipsikha Guha Majumdar

Research Scholar,

Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.

1. Introduction

India is home to about 1.31 billion people and women comprise of almost half of the human capital of the country. As per the 2011 census, 68.84% of Indian population resides in villages spread across 6, 40,867 locations. A 2007 report by United Nations, on envisioning urbanization prospects of the world, claims that India would continue to be the largest rural population in the world till 2050. India, being one of the fastest growing economies in the recent times, the potential role of women contributing towards the country's growth is immense. On one hand when we see growing population of urban women contributing significantly towards India's economic development, opportunities for economic development continues to be limited for rural women. Over years, India has witnessed migration of men from rural households towards cities to earn their livelihoods. Deeply ingrained gender roles, thereby comes across as a critical factor for limiting women's opportunities for earning their livelihoods in rural geographies.

In 2017, India has been ranked at 108th position amongst the 144 countries in the Global Gender Gap Index 2017 by the World Economic Forum, based on the four critical factors that define gender gap – educational attainment health and survival, economic opportunity and political participation. Patriarchy has been a long existing regressive social

structure, rooted deeply in our culture which perpetuates the practice of gender inequality (Ramanathan, 2004) where women continuously face social restrictions by virtue of being born as a woman and in turn creates barriers in her process of growth and development. In such a scenario, rural women in India are in a much more compromised condition, where multiple manifestations of gender inequality reduce her opportunities significantly. There has been a lot of work and research highlighting the invisible work that rural women have been continuously putting in areas of agriculture, livestock development, household management etc which goes unnoticed and unaccounted for.

Gender has come across as a crucial component in the mainstream discourse of economic growth and development of nations. Various studies across countries have highlighted the role of gender in economic growth and development and emphasize that inequality in gender is detrimental to economic growth and countries with high per capital income has low gender inequalities (Dollar and Gatti, 1999, Arora, 2012; Gümbel, 2004; Stotsky, 2006;). Development authors argue that women who face social restrictions lose their confidence eventually which inhibits their opportunities for employment. This phenomenon is largely seen among women residing in rural geographies where opportunities for economic growth are in any case limited. Restrictions adhered to gender roles restrict these

women to go out of home, complete their education, acquire skills, take up economic opportunities and thereby earn and contribute towards their household expenses. It is argued that in such a restricted scenario, entrepreneurship can empower women to work around ways of economic development within available resources. As MkNelly & Dunford (1999) like many other authors highlight that entrepreneurship helps women to attain 'the ability to action'. Studies, both within Indian and global contexts, have shown that, with effective interventions around entrepreneurship development, women's ability to take charge as active agents in the process of their own empowerment increases (Datta & Gailey, 2012). Entrepreneurship development has not only been seen as an opportunity for increasing income or earning livelihoods, but it is believed to have a transformational potential enabling the process of empowerment amongst women (Ramanathan, 2004).

This paper emerges out of an empirical research with a qualitative framework and field experiences with rural women conducted by the author in rural Maharashtra. In order to understand women's experiences in rural business and the factors that restrict women's economic opportunities in rural geographies, the researcher used in-depth unstructured interviews and focused group discussions to get deeper insights about the subject of the study.

2. Research Methodology: Research Design and Methods of Data Collection

2.1. Research Design

The methodology of a research is a theory and analysis of how research must progress and how it is done (Harding, 1987). The researcher adopted a qualitative research method with an exploratory research design for this study. The qualitative research method helped to explore the

phenomenon, examine the reality in natural settings and interpret them in terms of meaning which people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The qualitative research method provides a platform to understand a particular phenomenon within the context, the focus is on meaning of the subject of the study and not on the frequency of occurrence of the phenomenon. The research aimed to understand the field reality based on responses of the women engaged in rural businesses. The qualitative research process helped and supported the study to remain non-linear, iterative and responsive to the field situation. The research involved intensive interactions with rural women engaged in micro-businesses at an individual level, across Vaduj, Dahiwadi, Mhaswad and Gondavale area of district in rural Maharashtra. The researcher had approached a non-governmental organization (NGO), working with rural women in rural districts of Satara district in Maharashtra. It is a women focused organization, working towards economic empowerment of rural women, by encouraging farm-based and non-farm based entrepreneurship activities.

2.2 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The researcher used in-depth unstructured interviews, focused group discussion (FGD) and non-participant observation methods to collect data from the participants. The research participants primarily included rural women engaged in small businesses, their family members and other stakeholders relevant to women's businesses. Other key informants like members of the Gram Panchayat, women leaders of self-help groups (SHGs) in the villages, the local shopkeepers were interviewed. In-depth unstructured interview method was used primarily to gauge responses using open-ended questions to the rural women in order to understand their experiences, their family members and other

actors in these women's lives to get insight about women's experiences in doing small businesses (Silverman, 2000). Non-participant observation method helped the researcher to get an entry to the community and observe research participants without being actively participating in the activities (Liu & Maitlis 2010). The in-depth unstructured interviews majorly involved informal conversations with the research participants. The researcher had used an unstructured interview guide for the interviewing process, a FGD guide in case of focused group discussions. The basic observations during the field visits as well as the interviews and FGDs were noted down by the researcher. The tools for data collection included the unstructured interview guide and a FGD guide.

2.3 Data Analysis

Exploratory research design calls for small samples that are selected through a careful process to represent the entire population (Brink and Wood, 1998). The study being primarily qualitative in nature, no fixed sample size was determined in prior. A theoretical sampling technique was used for the purpose of the study. The researcher aimed to capture varied cases such that different responses could be included for understanding the reality. However after a certain number of cases, the responses of the participants were repetitive resulting into saturation of data. The researcher yet went ahead with few more interviews to look for variation of data. The researcher had conducted about 20 in-depth unstructured interviews and two FGDs with the respondents. The researcher believes that this sample is representative enough to understand women's participation and experiences in rural business in the villages and would give enough coverage to understand the subject of the study. Thematic analysis was used by the researcher to highlight the emerging themes from the responses received from the participants.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

The study involved understanding rural women's experiences in engaging with entrepreneurship. During the research process, the researcher explained the research participants the purpose of the study and took prior oral consent from the women for seeking their responses. The confidentiality of the research participants were maintained by the researcher and under no circumstances were their identities revealed. The researcher appreciates the time and commitments of the research participants. In any circumstances, if the participants were uncomfortable to respond or denied providing responses to the researcher, their decision was respected by the researcher.

3. Results and Discussion

This section elucidates the reflections from the field about how rural women experience and practice micro-entrepreneurship. The participants of this study included women associated with Maitree Foundation (name is kept confidential). These women have been a part of the innovative initiative by the organization called 'Rural Business School' for women from low income rural communities. The women had participated in multiple capacity building programs by the organization and had set up small business of their own like tailoring business, paper cup making business, parlour, grocery shop, stationary shop etc. These are women from low-income groups, residing in remote villages in Vaduj, Dahiwadi and Mhaswad area in Maan Taluka of Satara district in Maharashtra. These are drought prone areas with scarcity of rainfall and the economy being primarily agriculture dependent, food security of rural households continue to remain challenged in these locations.

The rural business school for women initiative by the foundation aimed at eradicating extreme poverty in remote rural areas and also promote

gender equality by empowering women. It promotes economic independence of women, empowering them to gain financial literacy, building their capacities with entrepreneurial and financial skills to gain economic independence. The project makes micro-loans available to rural women and also capacitating them with skills, knowledge and motivation. A community oriented, participatory program by a grassroots organization in rural Satara, has been relentlessly working towards creating entrepreneurial opportunities for rural women.

3.1. Entrepreneurship as a Catalyst to Empowerment: Women's Perspectives

The responses of the participants, who were primarily women in this case, elaborated majorly upon their experience with the non-profit organization, how an association with a non-profit in remote rural location changed women's lives, gave women opportunity to explore and experience economic freedom. All the women respondents mentioned and emphasized on how being part of the non-profit organization helped rural women to gather confidence, courage and take a step forward towards economic independence.

They themselves highlighted that women who were associated with the organization belonged from low income groups residing in remote villages of Satara; in such circumstances they are mostly restricted to go out to work, neither they are encouraged to attend school or college to pursue education. They are married off at a very early age and are asked to be at home. Their roles are distinctly defined in the community they live in and women expressed that these defined gender roles inhibit women to experience freedom and independence. Women also expressed that they do not receive any support from their family, husband or their in-laws to pursue education or get engaged in any kind of economic opportunities. They expressed that taking up entrepreneurial activities

not only meant economic opportunities to women but also resulted in building and strengthening their skills to start and manage a micro enterprise. The small businesses started by these women were primarily based out of their home, in most cases and gave these women, a sense of achievement, confidence to step out of home, negotiation abilities and a sense of dignity and respect within their household and communities. Entrepreneurship acted as a catalyst for these women to experience economic freedom and also encouraged them to take a step towards empowerment.

3.2. Women's Access to Credit: Key to Entrepreneurship

The rural women, who were associated with the NGO, felt very strongly about their connect with the organization. Women shared that their journey to entrepreneurship would not have been possible without the larger vision of the organization towards empowering rural women. Infrastructure has always been identified as one of the biggest challenges for any progress. In case of facilitating rural entrepreneurship, especially for women, a lot of factors contribute as hindrance. The villages where these women were based are remotely located and did not have adequate banking infrastructure; the banks were primarily located in the populated town areas, far away from the villages. The connectivity of these villages to the town is poor, in terms of frequency of local transport. Further to this, added regressive social structures like patriarchy, gender divide, caste discrimination etc which contribute towards increasing the gaps between rural women and banking infrastructure. Women were mostly restricted at home and did not have confidence to step out and go to banks in town areas. Entrepreneurship was a dream unheard to them. With training and capacity building by the local NGO, these rural women took the initiative to start their small businesses. To ensure that their entrepreneurship dream was a reality, the

organization had started a unique initiative of a 'Mahila Sahakari Bank' (women's co-operative bank) for the rural women and led by the women. The bank reaches out to support more than 3000 SHGs for rural women aiming to provide women services and access to credit for initiating their micro-businesses. The bank provides women with low interest loans and flexible repayment options to support them in the entrepreneurship journey. With the women's cooperative bank intervening in changing the entrepreneurship landscape for rural women, women not only were availing the loans, it helped them inculcate savings behaviour as well. The requirement being part of a SHG, peer support played a critical role in the lives of these rural women-entrepreneurs in terms of group lending, responsible repayment of loans, intermittent savings practices, accumulation of capital to expand their business, if willing to and developing a sense of security by creating an emergency fund for themselves in case of crisis situations. These aspects also gave women a strong stand within their household; whether in situations of family medical conditions or a family ceremony like marriage, these women entrepreneurs were able to make financial contributions to their households.

3.3. Enabling Community-Centric Solutions: Localised Innovations

A critical aspect of entrepreneurship for sustaining the business is about ensuring continuous innovation, marketing of the product/service and maintaining or expanding relationships with customers. The interactions with these rural women give an enriching insight on how these women, with limited resources, innovate cost-effective and creative solutions for their businesses. Some of the common trades amongst these women entrepreneurs were bakery, vegetable/grocery shops, catering, tiffin services to college students, tailoring, beautician services, pickle making, straw baskets, carpet making etc. in order to increase their customer bases, these

women would together organize 'Mahila Melava' or women's fair in college campuses, local markets and village gatherings, where women would set up their product or service stalls. They mentioned that for announcing the fair event, women would take help of community radio, an initiative by the local NGO, to build an excitement about the fair amongst the communities. Over the years, these women have been able to create a support system with each other and the local NGO which enables these rural women to look at challenges as opportunities in their journey of empowerment through entrepreneurship.

The local NGO plays a crucial role in increasing women's access to market and encourages women to participate actively in local markets to not only increase their sale but also to market their business. The organization also helps women to market their business through various means like publishing their stories in local newspaper, printing and distributing pamphlets about women's businesses, printing their visiting cards etc. This helps to create a community presence the organization also creates a marketing platform for women by organizing a four-day Mahotsav on a district level. The organization sets up a local market in Satara where these rural businesswomen are encouraged to put up their stalls and the stalls are usually visited by huge number of people and women get opportunity to take their businesses to a district level. The Mahotsav is attended by a huge crowd of more than 60000 people in the district. The women entrepreneurs even shared that through this district level Mahotsav, they are able to increase their sales almost four times to their usual achievements.

3.4 Entrepreneurship – a new beginning and not an end in itself

The women participants of the study agreed that the starting their small businesses, was just a beginning of a journey of discovering themselves, walking into a path of learning aiming towards not only

economic independence, but also a step towards freedom. Women shared that with this small business, they would have the opportunity to step out of home, meet other women in the village, gather confidence to talk to stakeholders, plan for their present and future. They shared that it is no magic solution to their hardships, but it definitely shows them a path. They believe entrepreneurship is not the destination; it is the catalyst that enabled women to make real contribution in their household expenses, contribute towards household decisions and also at times take stand in favor of their or their child's benefit. For instance, few women shared that with their entrepreneurial initiative, they had the opportunity to decide whether the girl child in the household can continue going to school; thus entrepreneurship not only has a economic impact on the rural women, but also plays a larger role in challenging some of the regressive patriarchal practices. Most of these women are residents of these villages or nearby neighborhoods since birth; however they have never participated in any village level meetings, any decision making dialogues within the villages and their participation in any institution within the communities were restricted or absent. With this entrepreneurial experience, women gathered confidence for public speaking, ability to express their opinion without fear or inhibition and also gained respect in their spaces that facilitated their participation in village institutions like gram panchayat, gram sabha meetings etc. Women agreed that entrepreneurship definitely is a new beginning to them; they desire to expand their micro-businesses, employ other women in the villages, and form collectives that can dream towards providing income opportunities and show a pathway to independence to rural women.

4. Conclusion

This qualitative research attempted to understand rural women's experiences in entrepreneurship and the role it plays in women's lives. The study involved intensive interactions with rural women

of Mann Taluka in Satara district, who are engaged in entrepreneurial activities. The reflections from the field reveal that the rural women participants of this study, who were also associated with a local grassroots non-profit organization, believe that the opportunity to start a business changed their lives in many ways. While the responses definitely highlight the positivity brought into women's lives by engaging in rural entrepreneurship, some of the observations also bring to the forefront the challenges faced by the women, the barriers to their entrepreneurial journey and how support from a local grassroots organization, focused towards localized community centric solutions, enabled these rural women in their journey. Although entrepreneurship is often regarded as a solution for poverty alleviation and women's empowerment, the insights from the study reveal that for these rural women, entrepreneurship is a beginning of a pathway. The researcher also observed that although entrepreneurship definitely brought positive changes in women's lives, there existed some critical limitations in terms of the abilities of these rural women to expand their businesses, sustain themselves over a longer period of time, having a business plan in place with opportunity to diversify their business, create new products or services, create more employment opportunities for rural women and also venture into innovative solutions. Most of these women were engaged in similar traditional community specific trades, which can result in market saturation, delimiting women's businesses to grow. While these women did speak about the non-cooperation from their families, immediate communities, there is a need to deep dive and understand the larger entrepreneurship landscape from the structural perspective, the institutions, social structures and the interplay of power structures that shape the future of women's entrepreneurship in rural geographies.

References

1. Van Manen, M. (1997) *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. 2nd Edition, Althouse Press, London.
2. Liu, F., & Maitlis, S. (2010). *Nonparticipant Observation*.
3. Chauhan, Swati. (2014). *ACCESS TO FINANCE IN MADHYA PRADESH: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY*. *Indian Journal of Commerce & Management Studies* ISSN: 2240-0310 EISSN: 2229-5674. V. 8-17.
4. Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy. & Leavy, Patricia. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks : SAGE Publications, <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip0510/2005008591.html>
5. Given, L. M. (2008). *The SAGE encyclopaedia of qualitative research methods (Vols. 1- 0)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412963909
6. Hooks, B. (1981). *Ain't I a Woman?: Black women and feminism*. USA: South End Press collective.
7. Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.
8. Kothari, C.R. (2008). *Research Methodology: An Introduction*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd Publishers.
9. Dollar, D. and R. Gatti. 1999. *Gender Inequality, Income, and Growth: Are Good Times good for Women? Mimeographed*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
10. Datta, P. B., & Gailey, R. (2012). *Empowering women through social entrepreneurship: Case study of a women's cooperative in India*. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36(3), 569-587.
11. Harding, S. (1987). *Feminism and methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
12. Ramanathan, M. (2004). *Women and Empowerment: Shri Mahila Griha Udyog Lijjat*.
13. Stotsky, Janet G., 2006, "Gender Budgeting," forthcoming *International Monetary Fund Working Paper (Washington: International Monetary Fund)*.
14. UNDP, 2008b, *Innovative Approaches to Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment*, New York.
15. Arora, R. U. 2012, 'Gender inequality, economic development, and globalization: a state level analysis of India', *Journal of Developing Areas*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 147-164.
16. 2006 *Sustainable Learning for Women's Empowerment: Ways Forward in Microfinance*, New Delhi: Samskriti.
17. Allen, S. and Truman, C. (1994). *Women in Business: Perspectives on Women Entrepreneurs*. *Sociology*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 815-816.



Women in Urban Formal and Informal Labour: A Case of Garment Industry in Bengaluru

Karan Peer

Masters in Development Studies,
Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.

Introduction

This paper attempts to look at present situation of women workers in Bengaluru's garment industry and comparison is drawn with condition of women workers in textile industry of Bombay and Ahmedabad during colonial times. The paper tries to look at the industry from gender lenses and tries to bring to light the exploitation of women workers, which happened historically and is still prevalent. The paper mainly focuses on sexual harassment of women workers in both the contexts, but also looks at some other aspects related to women's work such as childcare and feminisation of work. Theories on gender and sexual harassment have also been explored to provide a theoretical underpinning to explain how women workers have been dominated by male workers. Various reports of Multi-Stakeholder Initiatives (MSI) and Civil Society Organisations (CSO), who are working on labour issues, have been analysed to bring out facts and statistics of incidents of sexual harassment. Narratives of women workers in garment industry have been documented as well to understand the condition of workplace in garment industry of Bengaluru. In depth interviews with workers of Garment Labour Union (GLU), Karnataka Garment Workers Union (KGWU) and other unions to understand the ways in which they address gender issues at work place. Sexual Harassment at work place Act 2013 has also been reviewed to understand the contours of justice

created to ensure safe workplace for women. This paper also explores the daily struggles of women workers, the challenges faced by them at work and their striving to earn a good living.

Feminisation of Labour in Bengaluru's Garment Industry

The city's garment factories employ about 5,00,000 workers, of whom 80% are women (Peepercamp, 2018). Prior to that, garments were produced mostly by male home workers or 'Darji' hailing from Maharashtra at piece rate. It was the establishment of Global garments, a subsidiary of Gokuldas Exports Pvt. Ltd., in 1986 that paved way for batch production of garments and thereby feminisation of labour in the industry began. So, garments which were produced by skilled male workers, with advancement of technology and machinery, have resulted in production of garment in large scale by unskilled women workers with the help of advanced machinery. With the advent of "technological revolution" based on micro-electronics which, among other things, has permitted a wider range of techno managerial options in working arrangements; cost considerations of alternatives have thus become increasingly significant determinants of allocations and divisions of labour (Mathew, 2006). More women found themselves in jobs traditionally taken by men or certain jobs could be changed to acquire characteristics associated with women's

historical pattern of labour force participation. These characteristics, as explained by Guy Standing, include the type of contract, the form of remuneration, the extent and forms of security provided, and the access to skill (Standing, 1999). Looking at the garment industry of Bengaluru, all the characteristics of the job have weakened with increase in women labour force participation. The remuneration is low and the legal minimum wage is that of a helper/packer was between Rs 6,447 to Rs 7,475 per month in the financial year from April 2016 to March 2017 for the city of Bengaluru. Job security is low and firms close down when they incur losses and the skilling is less, with males still taking up the supervisory job and women mostly occupying lower rank jobs like that of a packer or helper. The factories do provide women workers with contracts, but the female attrition rate is still high in the industry due to lack of provision of maternity benefits, work pressure or sexual harassment at work place.

Gender and Sexual Harassment

From legal point of view, sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination composed of two forms of behaviour:

- Quid pro quo harassment
- Hostile environment harassment

Quid pro quo harassment involves sexual threats or bribery that are made a condition of employment or used as the basis for employment decisions. Hostile environment captures those behaviour, such as sexual jokes, comments, and touching, that interferes with an individual's ability to do her/his job or that create an "intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment" (Welsh, 1999). These two primary forms of workplace sexual harassment has also been identified by International Labour Organisation (ILO). ILO Convention No 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention addresses

discrimination in employment on a number of grounds, including sex, and requires that ILO members States declare and pursue a national policy designed to promote equality of opportunity and treatment with a view to eliminating discrimination. This convention has been ratified by India along with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in June 1993 which emphasises protection of women against sexual harassment and their right to work with dignity.

Vicki Schultz examined US legal decisions in sexual harassment cases and concluded that making women an object of sexual attention undermines her image and self-confidence as a capable worker. Harassment assumes a form which has nothing to do with sexuality but everything to do with gender (Schultz, 1998). At its core, sexual harassment is often about letting women know they are not welcome in certain workplaces and that they are not respected members of the work group. Sandy Welsh in her work "Gender and Sexual Harassment" has identified following three dimensions of sexual harassment:

- Gender harassment - This dimension represents sexist and derogatory comments and jokes, about women in general.
- Unwanted sexual attention - This dimension consists of unsolicited sexual remarks, questions and/or sexual touching.
- Sexual coercion - This dimension captures all forms of sexual solicitations (Welsh, 1999).

The dimensions of gender harassment and unwarranted sexual attention are linked to hostile environment harassment and sexual coercion is linked to quid pro quo harassment.

Tangri and colleagues have built up theories and models based on sociological analyses of sexual harassment. These are as follows:

- Sociocultural model – This model posits that sexual harassment is a product of culturally legitimated power and status differences between men and women (MacKinnon, 1979). Sexual harassment is perceived to be an outgrowth of gender socialisation process and is a mechanism by which men assert power and dominance over women both at work and in society (Tangri et al, 1982).
- Organisational model – This model emphasises how inequities in structural or formal power in organisations lead to harassment. Individuals with formal organisational power, such as managers, may use their position to harass subordinates (Benson & Thomson 1982, Mackinnon 1979).

Many qualitative studies highlight how organisational culture contributes to employees' willingness and ability to label sexual behaviours as sexual harassment. In some masculine work cultures, women, in order to be seen as competent and as team players, may not define their experiences as sexual harassment (Collinson & Collinson, 1996). In such sexually charged work cultures, degrading and sexual behaviours become an “institutionalized” component of work, and thus may not be considered sexual harassment (Williams, 1997). Numerous studies outline the job-related, psychological, and somatic health consequences of sexual harassment. In terms of job consequences, sexual harassment is found to result in lowered morale, absenteeism, decreased job satisfaction, and decreased perception of equal opportunity and damaged interpersonal work relationships (Gruber JE, 1982). Sometimes victims are forced to quit or lose their jobs. Organisations also pay a price for harassment in terms of lost productivity, job turnover and medical claims. The psychological and physical health consequences of sexual harassment are also well

documented. Sexual harassment is linked to anxiety, depression, nausea, sleep disturbances and headaches (Crull, 1982).

Sexual Harassment at Work Place Act 2013 – a Short Introduction

The constitution of India guarantees “equality of status and opportunity” for all its citizens under Article 14. Furthermore Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Indian Constitution ensure a person's right to equal protection under the law, to live a life free from discrimination on any ground and to protection of life and personal liberty. In 1997, the landmark case of Vishaka vs. State of Rajasthan, the Supreme Court of India set out for the first time a legal definition of sexual harassment in the workplace and guidelines for its prevention and redress. The Vishaka guidelines have been translated into legislation through the Sexual harassment of women at workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. The act defines following behaviour as sexual harassment:

- Physical contact and advances; or
- demand or request for sexual favours; or
- making sexually coloured remarks; or
- showing pornography; or
- any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature;

The definition of workplace includes any department or organisation owned, controlled and financed by government, private sector organisation, industries, hospitals and nursing homes, sports complex, transportation provided by employer and even a dwelling place or house. Even unorganised sector comes in the purview of workplace. The act clearly mentions that 'no woman shall be subjected to sexual harassment at

any workplace'. The act defines the following circumstances to majorly amount to sexual harassment:

- implied or explicit promise of preferential treatment in her employment; or
- implied or explicit threat of detrimental treatment in her employment; or
- implied or explicit threat about her present or future employment status; or
- interference with her work or creating an intimidating or offensive or hostile work environment for her; or
- humiliating treatment likely to affect her health or safety;

The act also prescribes employer to form an “Internal Complaints Committee” with the senior most women employee at the workplace as “Presiding Officer” consisting of minimum two members from workplace preferably people with experience of social work or legal knowledge. The committee should also have at least one member from a Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) working for cause of women. At least one half of the total members nominated should be women. Though Government of India introduced the act in 2013 but it has not supported implementation with either significant resources or effective sanctions.

Abuse and Sexual Harassment of Female Garment Workers

Women workers in the garment industry undergo severe abomination at workplace. Violence and harassments in garment factories takes place in the form of shouting, hitting, hair pulling or ridiculing a worker with sexual remarks. In a survey conducted in Bengaluru by Munnade, a local NGO providing social support to women garment workers, it was found out that 14% of women

workers had been raped or forced to commit a sexual act and 7% had experienced physical violence.¹ verbal abuse, humiliation and violence threats are a common place. All the 10 women workers interviewed said that they were humiliated and abused verbally by their male supervisors. The main reason for these atrocities is high daily production targets. The minimum daily production target was 40 pieces and it went as high as 100-120 in some factories. Under such repetitive job, workers tend to make mistake and that is when they are threatened, humiliated and shouted at by the supervisors. All the workers interviewed felt that scolding, shouting and abusing is normalised behaviour that they have to undergo as garment workers. Several instances of sexual harassment faced by women workers were revealed by Rukmini VP, President, Garment Labour Union (GLU), the only women led garment worker union in Karnataka.

Though the workers don't speak up openly about sexual harassment, recently 10-15 women from a factory complained to me for harassment by the same person. In 2017, we received 6 complaints in writing. In the same year, we registered a police complaint against an employee of Gokuldas Images Pvt. Ltd. Migrant women workers also face the problems of harassment. I received a complaint from a young girl who is a migrant worker that one of her colleagues in the factory has taken a room near her hostel and calls her in the evening from a bar after getting drunk. Sexual harassment is very much prevalent in the industry.

There are three main reasons for prevalence of sexual harassment. Firstly, male workers think that they have right to harass women. Secondly, senior management never punishes the supervisors or managers who harass women. Thirdly, the victims of sexual harassment and violence are threatened by perpetrators to stay silent. These reasons can be linked to theories of sexual harassment. The thinking of male workers

¹Sisters For Change & Munnade, Eliminating Violence Against Women at Work, 2016.

that they have the right to harass women can be linked to sociocultural model, as male workers assert their power and dominance over women at work. Second reason can be linked to organisational model as male workers at higher hierarchical position, get away with harassing women workers as they govern more formal power in the organisation. Though the third reason emphasises the role of men supervisors to threaten the women workers from reporting the incidents of sexual harassment, but there are situations which make the women to ignore the harassment. The work environment is so much sexually charged that the women workers do not report incidents of degrading sexual behaviours or incidents. Same is the case for verbal abuse. All the 10 women factory workers interviewed, revealed that they treat verbal abuse by the supervisors as their normalised behaviour and is thus “institutionalized” in the process. Moreover, women do not report harassment for a variety of reasons ranging from a fear of retaliation or disbelief to a fear of losing one's job or making the situation worse. For example, in many garment factories, young migrant workers from other Indian states live in dormitories owned or leased by the employer. Some are vulnerable to sexual harassment and abuse from agents, management or security guards in the dormitories and are unable to complain because they fear they will lose their accommodation and jobs (Morris & Pillinger, 2018). There are other theoretical reasons as well which make the workplace hostile for women. Technical organisation of work such as task characteristics interacts with social organisation of work. Alienating work conditions, such as physically demanding or repetitive jobs, may be partly responsible for women's experiences of sexual harassment in male-typed jobs. Also, physical nature of blue collar work promotes a “physical culture”, resulting in more aggressive forms of sexual harassment (Ragins & Scandura, 1995).

There are no remedies to prevent sexual harassment in Bengaluru's garment industries. Among the 10 factory workers interviewed, only one worker spoke about presence of a Internal Complaint Committee (ICC) to redress complaints of sexual harassment. Rest of them were unaware about presence of any such committees. The awareness of Sexual Harassment at work place Act 2013 was not there among the interviewees. Women don't know where to go for redressal. The freedom of association is also constrained in the city's garment industry. There are no unions in the factories and the workers are discouraged to join trade unions outside the factory. And in union-hostile factories there are often no sources of support or advice for women experiencing sexual harassment or violence (Morris & Pillinger, 2018).

Consequences of Sexual Harassment

In terms of job consequences, sexual harassment is found to result in lowered morale, absenteeism, decreased job satisfaction, decreased perception of equal opportunity and damaged interpersonal work relationships. Some victims are forced to quit or lose their jobs. One such case was shared by Rukmini VP, President of Garment Labour Union (GLU), wherein the aggrieved woman worker on reporting sexual harassment to the factory management was disbelieved and made to quit her job. As discussed earlier, there are psychological and physical health consequences of sexual harassment. There have been cases where women garment workers in Bengaluru committed suicide. In 2007, 18-year-old Renuka, a garment factory worker killed herself at her residence in Peenya on October 12, following alleged harassment at her workplace by her superiors (The Hindu, 17th October 2007). Factories also pay a price for harassment in terms of lost productivity and high attrition rate of women workers. Verbal abuse leads to a decrease in the productivity of a worker, affecting overall business performance and the

meeting of production targets (Rourke, 2014). The high attrition rate does not affect the suppliers much as there is presence of surplus labour. But the recruitment, screening and training costs of new workers have to be borne by them. Heavy financial and social costs are actually borne by these women workers. Some move to new factories and lose out on social security benefits like gratuity and others get discouraged to work in the industry and end up entering the unorganised sector. Yashoda, executive committee member of Garment Labour Union (GLU), explained:

Sexual harassment meted out to the women workers is one of the main reasons for their high job turnover rate. You cannot find a women worker who has worked in the garment industry for more than 15 years, it is very rare. Eventually they get discouraged from the industry and enter the unorganised sector. There are cases where women workers quit their jobs to become vegetable seller, domestic help and street vendors.

This migration of women workers from organised to unorganised sector further increases the share of unorganised sector, which already accounts for a staggering 93% of the employment in the country.

Childcare and the Garment Industry

Safe affordable and accessible childcare is a core component of women's right to livelihood and equal opportunity for socioeconomic advancement as enshrined in several national and state policies and laws. Quality childcare is equally important as an adaptation of children's right to protection and education that various legislations seek to reinforce. Factories Act 1948 in Chapter V pertaining to welfare insists on provision of crèche by factories employing more than 30 women for day care of children below 6 years of age of women workers. The Karnataka Factories Rule 1969 (2002 amendment) goes a step ahead of Factories Act 1948 by prescribing the following standards:

- The crèche facility should be away from any part of the factory where obnoxious fumes, dust or odours are present, or where excessively noisy processes are carried on.
- There should be 1.86 sq.m. of floor area for each child and proper ventilation.
- Provision of cot or bedding for each child. There should be one chair or equivalent seating accommodation for use of mother while she is feeding or attending the child.
- At least one basin or similar vessel for every four children in the crèche along with a supply of water provided, if possible, through taps from a source approved by a Health Officer. The source of water should supply at least 23 litres water a day for each child.
- An adequate supply of clean clothes, soap and clean towels is mandatory for each child while they are in the crèche.
- At least 400 millilitres of clean pure milk (2 glasses) should be available for each child every day. The mother of the child must be allowed two intervals of at least fifteen minutes during the course of her daily work to feed the child.
- A woman-in-charge and one female attendant for every 20 children attending should be appointed for each crèche. There should be at least one sweeper and the woman-in-charge should possess a Nurse's qualifications.

The Government of India approved the National Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) Policy in 2013. The Policy caters to all children under 6 years of age and commits to universal access to quality early childhood education. The Ministry of Women and Child Development

(MWCD) is the nodal department for ECCE. Proper care and education during the first six years of life lays for human development. Convention No. 156 of the International Labor Organisation (ILO) addresses collective responsibilities toward working parents. The Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156), aims at creating equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, requires national governments: “(a) to take account of the needs of workers with family responsibilities in community planning; and (b) to develop or promote community services, public or private, such as childcare and family services and facilities”.

Despite the presence of these laws, policies and conventions, provision of childcare facilities in Bengaluru is in abysmal state. An estimated 95% of the factories lack functional crèches. A study of garment factories conducted by Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (KSCPCR) in 2012 brought out the ground condition of childcare facilities.² Out of 118 factories surveyed, 8 didn't have crèches at all and were in violation with law (KSCPCR, 2012). Out of the 10 factory workers interviewed, 3 women workers had children up to 6 years in age. Only one of them was availing the crèche facility and the remaining two had kept their children in their native village. One of the women said that she was not provided crèche facility in her factory as she was a helper and crèche facility in their company was provided to women who were of tailor's rank or above. Therefore she was forced to keep her 4 year old toddler at village. This kind of preferential or selective treatment displays the apathy of the factory owners towards workers. The other women preferred to keep her child at village as the crèche facility in her factory was not good. Only Nagarathna, who worked as tailor at Shashikar exports pvt. Ltd. was availing the crèche facility. Nagarathna described the condition of crèche in her factory with dismay.

I have two children aged 6 years and 1.5 years. I am not allowed to bring both of them to crèche and the facility is available for one child only. The crèche doesn't provide milk and only tea and biscuits are given once in a day. There is only one caretaker and there is no teacher and teaching aids. I am not allowed to feed the child during my shift and I attend my child only once during lunch break. There is no provision of clean clothes if the child spoils them. I am asked to clean up if my child spoils the crèche area by excretion. There is no water provision and I bring water from home only. The crèches don't admit children less than 1 year in age. I had to take a break of total 3 years from work when both the children were born.

Nagarathna's case is a clear example of horrible condition of crèches and negligence of factory owners towards childcare facilities. Proper childcare during first six years of children's life helps in boosting their nutrition and immunity to preventable diseases. The lives and the rights of women and children are intertwined in the first six years of life, and children's health is intimately connected with the conditions under which their mothers work. As per the lived experience of Nagarathna, there are no breaks to breast feed the child twice a day which is mandatory as per law. This can have detrimental outcomes on child health as breast milk is the first most important weapon in the fight against malnutrition and disease. This is a grave concern which can have impact on children's health and may have outcomes in the form of high infant mortality rates as well.

Absence of good childcare facilities is a huge financial loss for the working mothers as well. They have to move out of the labour force during the pregnancy and first year of the child's birth, thereby losing out wages and social security benefits Employee State Insurance (ESI), Provident Fund (PF) and gratuity. Lack of proper childcare facilities also takes a toll on productivity of the women workers. The findings of the Report of the

²Study on Childcare Provisions in Bangalore's Garment Industry, Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (KSCPCR), Bengaluru, 2012.

National Commission on Labour (2002) show that the provision of childcare facilities results in up to 50% enhancement in the productivity of the mother as well as in lower morbidity and better growth for the child.³ Absence of good childcare facilities reduces the productivity of the women workers. Since women in the reproductive age of 18-35 years make up the most part of workforce, ensuring utmost care to their children is also responsibility of the factory owners as well as the government. Though Karnataka Government has created sufficient legal provisions to ensure childcare facilities for the city's garment workers, implementation in factories is lax as highlighted by KSCPCR study on childcare in factories. Lack of responsibility from employer's side is clearly visible in Nagarathna's case.

Comparison with Women Workers of Textile Mills in the Colonial Period

Jan Breman in his classical work "The Making and Unmaking of an Industrial Working Class" has documented the conditions of women workers in the textile mills of Ahmedabad in late 19th century. Feminisation of work in colonial period interestingly doesn't happen exogenously due to technological innovation as in contemporary times. In fact, he cites an endogenous reason, which was low wages paid to the mill workers as the reason for their wives to engage in the industrial process (Breman, 2004). He further says that mostly low-caste Hindu women were involved in mill work, especially in preparatory stages of raw cotton to yarn conversion, banking on their experience of hand spinning at home. Their wages were low than those of men. Presence of this abundant source of cheap labour might have been a major reason for the mill owners to still opt for manual spinning even though when innovative technological alternatives like spinning frame were available. This point has been highlighted by Chandavarkar in Bombay textile mills, where mill owners displayed little commitment to progressive

mechanisation. So abundance of cheap women labour was one of the reasons that the mill owners had no incentive to innovate. Feminisation and technology in the industry were linked in colonial period as well.

The jobber, who played a prominent role as recruiter was accustomed to take sexual favours from female workers, in and outside the working hours and irrespective of whether they were married or single. This depicts a horrid picture of working conditions in the shop floor of a textile mill and furthermore the vulnerable condition of women workers in it. Muslim women and upper caste Hindu women were spared the crudeness imposed by the industrial climate was incompatible with their sexual morals and strict rules of virtuous conduct imposed on them. This kind of sexual harassment meted out at women workers amounts to quid pro quo harassment as it forms the condition for employment. The description of hostile workplace, where the jobber's behaviour can interfere with the women worker's ability to do work and create an offensive work environment amounts to hostile environment harassment as well. Theoretically, the sexual harassment of women workers can be linked to socio cultural model as the jobber, who exploits them and asserts his power and dominance in the society. The jobber, who was also a foreman in the shop floor and thus placed at a higher hierarchy in the formal organisational structure, used his position to harass the women workers at the shop floor as well. These conditions also correspond to organisational model of sexual harassment. In absence of any legislation to safeguard women at workplace, violence and sexual harassment of women workers was very high. Parallels can be drawn with condition of women workers in contemporary times in Bengaluru's garment industry. The jobber has been in a way replaced by shop floor supervisor and the law against sexual harassment came into existence as late as 2013. Moreover, there are still gaps in

³Report of the National Commission on Labour, 2002. P. 973.

implementation process of the act. We can thus conclude that women were as vulnerable to sexual harassment in textile industry during the colonial period and as they are now even in the 21st century. No childcare facilities were provided to women workers in Ahmedabad during late 19th century and early 20th century. Low-caste women workers brought infants to the mill so as to breastfeed during the day. The children were kept quiet for the whole day on doses of opiates (Shah, 1990). As per our above discussion, there is negligence in childcare facilities in Bengaluru's factories in the contemporary times as well.

Conclusion

The aspects of feminisation of work, sexual harassment and childcare facilities at work for women workers of Bengaluru's garment industry in contemporary times have been dealt in depth. Comparisons with colonial period show us that the condition of woman workers in present times is as deplorable as it was in colonial period. Feminisation of work is as persistent in garment industry today as it was during colonial period. Women workers are still paid less and less skilling takes place at work, as it did in the past. Sexual harassment is “institutionalized” and still prevalent. Though, with coming up of trade unions and labour legislations over the years, now there are ways for redress problems, but persistence of such incidences require strict measures to be taken by the state. Childcare facilities are still terrible as they were in past.

On a brighter side, coming up of women led trade unions such as Garment Labour Union (GLU) is a silver lining in the dark sky. Though the union has a membership of only 3,000 workers, it does put forth the collective demands of workers in front of state, factory owners and brands. They create awareness among garment workers and educate them about their rights at work. As discussed above, they help women workers for redressal in cases of sexual

harassment. With respect to childcare facilities, some factories in the city provide good childcare facilities, like Gokuldas Images (GI). Naser Bali (Gloves) Private Ltd with the engagement of Samvada, a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) in Bengaluru. It has established a workplace crèche as an early childcare and education centre and has encouraged its employees to bring their children below six years of age regularly to the crèche.⁴ A Garment Sector Roundtable (GSR) took shape in early 2011, with the aim of initiating dialogue between various garment industry stakeholders. The GSR comprised major brands, manufacturers and representatives from the government, trade unions, NGOs, MSIs and independent researchers. As an outcome of the GSR, Women's Supervisory Training Programme (WSTP) was conducted to train women workers to undertaking supervisory roles on the shop floor.⁵ Such initiatives should be encouraged and conducted regularly so that women workers are trained to take up skilled jobs in the industry.

In late 19th century, the imperial state played a night-watchmen role by only regulating working hours and minimum age for working in the first Factories Act of 1881 and second Factories Act of 1891. But in the present times, state should take active role thereby ensuring strict implementation of labour laws and legislations. The other interventions that the state can take to improve conditions of workers in garment industries are:

- Increase in the minimum wage level for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.
- Regular inspection in factories to ensure implementation of Factories Act 1948, with special emphasis on child care facilities along with other provisions of the act.
- Intervention to ensure formation of Internal Complaint Committees (ICC) in all registered factories.

⁴Taking Care of Business: Childcare in Bangalore's Apparel Industry, Cividep & Fair Labor Association (FLA), 2012
⁵See: <http://www.cividep.org/2017/01/20/garment/> (Accessed on 19/09/2018)

- Organise skill development programs for skilling of women workers.

If the state lays strong legal, regulatory and interventionist foundation with respect to the factory worker, condition of women workers in all employments including garment industry will certainly improve. To blame and condemn the factory owner solely for pitiable condition of work is not the right thing to do. Global brands should be blamed equally as they pursue policies to maximise profits and minimise the risks of not meeting the consumer demand in time. The profit margins are generally less for the supplier and thus majority of manufacturers, work with unpredictable and fluctuating orders, making the recruitment of a regular labour force highly problematic and the provision of social benefits largely unaffordable (Neve, 2009). There is evidence that when buyers enter into a more collaborative, mutually beneficial, and long term relationship with suppliers, working conditions do improve (Saxena, 2018). A shared responsibility sourcing model must be explored and direct as well as long term buying relations must be established with the factories by brands to protect the labour rights of the workers.

References

1. Benson DJ, T. G. (1982). *Sexual harassment on a university campus: the confluence of authority relations, sexual interest and gender stratification. Social Problems*, 236-251.
2. Breman, J. (2004). *The Making and Unmaking of an Industrial Working Class: Sliding Down the Labour Hierarchy in Ahemadabad, India. Amsterdam University Press.*
3. C. Williams(1997). *Sexual harassment in organizations: a critique of current research and policy. Sexuality & Culture*, 19-43.
4. Chandavarkar, R. (1994). *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business strategies and the working classes in Bombay, 1900-1940. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.*
5. Collinson M, C. D. (1996). 'It's only Dick': *the sexual harassment of women managers in insurance. Work, Employment & Society*, 29-56.
6. Crull, P. (1982). *Stress effects of sexual harassment on the job: implications for counseling. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 539-544.
7. Gruber JE, B. L. (1982). *Blue-collar blues: the sexual harassment of women auto-workers. Work Occupation*, 271-298.
8. Jo Morris, J. P. (2018). *Violence and Harassment Against Women and Men in the Global Garment Supply Chain. 107th International Labour Conference on ending violence and harassment (pp. 6-7). Fair Wear Foundation.*
9. MacKinnon, C. (1979). *Sexual Harassment of Working Women. New Haven: Yale University Press.*
10. Mathew, E. (2006). *Employment and Unemployment in India. New Delhi: Sage Publications.*
11. Neve, G. D. (2009). *Power, Inequality and Corporate Social Responsibility: The Politics of Ethical Compliance in the South Indian Garment Industry. Economic & Political Weekly*, 63-71.
12. Peepercamp, M. (2018). *Labour Without Liberty - Female Migrant Workers in Bangalore's Garment Industry. Bengaluru: Clean Clothes Campaign, India Committee*

- of the Netherlands, Garment Labour Union.*
13. Ragins BR, S. T. (1995). *Antecedents and work-related correlates of reported sexual harassment: An empirical investigation of competing hypotheses.* *Sex Roles*, 429-455.
 14. Rourke, E. L. (2014). *Is There a Business Case for Verbal Abuse? Better Work.*
 15. Saxena, S. B. (2018). *Beyond Third-party Monitoring: Post-Rana Plaza Interventions.* *Economic & Political Weekly*, 16-19.
 16. Schultz, V. (1998). *Reconceptualizing sexual harassment.* *Yale Faculty Scholarship Series.*
 17. Shah, G. (1990). *Caste Sentiments, Class Formation and Dominance in Gujarat.* In M. R. Francine R Frankel, *Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social order Volume II* (pp. 60-114). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
 18. Standing, G. (1999). *Global Feminization through Flexible Labour: A Theme Revisited.* *World Development*, 583-602.
 19. Tangri S, B. M. (1982). *Sexual harassment at work: three explanatory models.* *Journal of Social Issues*, 33-54.
 20. Welsh, S. (1999). *Gender and Sexual Harassment.* *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 25, 169-190.



Call for Research Papers!

The **Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies** is pleased to invite contributions for **Urban World** in the form of articles and research papers from researchers, authors, publishers, academicians, administrative and executive officers, readers and well-wishers on any one the following topics:

- **Smart Cities: Changing faces of India's Urban Spectrum**
- **Access to Safe Water & Sanitation**
- **Sustainable Housing**
- **Innovations in Solid Waste Management**

Articles could be between 2000 to 4000 words. They may contain compatible tables, charts, graphs, etc. We reserve the right to edit for sense, style and space.

Contributions may be e-mailed in digital form as a Word file to the Director, RCUES, Mumbai.

Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies (RCUES) of
All India Institute of Local Self-Government (AIIILSG),
M.N. Roy Human Development Campus,
Plot No.6, TPS Road No.12, 'F' Block,
Opp. Government Colony Bldg. No.326, Bandra (East), Mumbai-400051.
Tel : 0091-22- 26571713/26571714/61805600
Fax : 0091-22-61805666
Email: dir.rcues@aillsg.org/utkarshakavadi@yahoo.com

ROUND & ABOUT

Celebrations of National Girl Child Day, 2019 and International Women's Day 2019

Started in 2008, the National Girl Child Day is celebrated in India every year on January 24. Objective of the Day is to address issues of girl child, offer girl child with equal opportunities, increase awareness among people and to get rid of all the inequalities faced by women in society. This year the theme of the Day was “Empowering Girls for a Brighter Tomorrow”. National Girl Child day also marks the anniversary of 'Beti Bachao Beti Padhao' initiative of the government. In the context of the Day, inter alia, performances of various States in respect of welfare of girl child were reviewed and good performing States were rewarded.

The International Women's Day, was started by the UN in 1975. To be celebrated for the whole year, its celebrations started on 8 March with various programmes. With the theme of #Balance for Better, it is a call-to-action for driving gender balance across the country and the world. It asks every person as to how he or she would help to make a difference.

(Media reports and portal of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India).

World Wetlands Day celebrated on February, 2019

This year theme of the World Wetlands Day was “Wetlands and Climate Change”. It is celebrated in pursuance of the Ramsar Convention (1971), an international treaty for the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local and national actions and international cooperation. The celebrations drew attention to the vital role played by wetlands as a natural solution to cope with climate change, besides conserving a valuable natural resource. Preservation of wetlands is a matter of high priority for the Government. The Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change has brought in force the Wetlands (Conservation and Management) Rules, 2017 on 26 September, 2017 by superseding the 2010 rules.

(Media reports and portals of UN, Government of India, Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation).

World Water Day celebrated on 22 March, 2019

Started in 1993 by the UN General Assembly, World Water Day is celebrated throughout the world to increase the awareness among the people about the importance, need and conservation of water. This year the theme of the Day is “Leaving no one behind”. This is an adaptation of the central promise of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable Development and encourages people to consider marginalized groups as these are often overlooked and discriminated against when they try to access safe water.

(Media reports and portals of UN and Government of India, Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation).

Stigma attached to sanitation being removed

As mentioned in the previous issue, one of the objectives of the World Toilet Day was to break the stigma around sanitation. Indian Railways is one of the biggest organizations in the world employing thousands of sanitation workers. In a draft notification on the re-naming of designations of workers circulated to the unions, inter alia, the earlier of designations of 'sweepers' (vernacular 'safaiwala), dhobis and other sanitation workers are proposed to be changed to 'Housekeeping Assistants', 'Canteen Assistants' etc. This has also been done because workers have been feeling that many designations are demeaning, affecting their human dignity.

(The Indian Express, Mumbai, 5 February, 2019).

First debris processing unit to be started in Mumbai

Cities are in for major redevelopments and infrastructure development causing major air pollution. It is already scientifically established that every waste is a resource needed to be recycled and managed. As a part of the implementation of the Construction & Demolition (C & D) Waste Management Rules, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) is going to start a debris processing unit in Mulund, Mumbai to scientifically process about 1200 MT of construction and demolition waste generated daily in Mumbai. The contractors will collect debris waste, crush it and make new construction material of bricks, sand and pavement blocks. MCGM will buy back 20% of the recycled material for use in civil works.

(The Times of India, Mumbai, 7 February, 2019).

Progress of Swachh Bharat Mission

In its session concluded in February, 2019, Parliament was inter alia, given information on the progress on the Swachh Bharat Mission. Some of the highlights incorporating up-to-date information, which is as under:

In all, 9.16 crore toilets constructed since the inception of the Mission.

Sanitation coverage has increased from 38.7% in October, 2014 to 98% up to February, 2019. Mission covers 27 States, 601 districts, 5,934 blocks, 2,46,116 gram panchayats and 5,59,151 villages.

According to WHO estimates, increased sanitation coverage can result in averting more than 3,00,000 deaths (on account of diarrhea and protein-energy-malnutrition between 2014 and October 2019).

(Parliament reports published in media).

Prayagraj Kumbh Mela (2019) has concluded providing immensely valuable lessons to urban managers and sanitation

Some startling facts of the Prayagraj Kumbh Mela (15 January- 4 March, 2019) have created a number of world records- Guinness Book record of footfall of 24 crore people, attended the 49 day event including 2 crore people taking dip in the Ganges on the first day (being a world record) and 1 crore people taking dip on the last day. The event attracted attention from the world over. We at the **Urban World** took note of following features, which provide lessons of immense value with respect to sanitation and security for such a large floating population.

- 1) The whole area of the event was monitored round the clock through G.P.S. and in this huge crowd the people were connected by mobile and social media and wi-fi.
- 2) In all 1,22,500 toilets were set up and 15,000 sanitation workers were on duty to ensure that the whole venue is open-defecation-free and odour-free. All over Kumbh, 20,000 dust bins with liner bags were placed and there was a concerted effort to encourage visitors to dispose their waste only in these dust bins. The overall initiative was the largest deployment of toilets, dust bins and solid waste management ever deployed in a mass-gathering event. Moreover, all the drains flowing into Ganga were either tapped into sewerage treatment plants or were treated by Bio-remedial Geotube techniques to ensure the river remains clean for the crores of pilgrims visiting for the holy dip.
- 3) It mobilized 10,000 individuals to sweep multiple venues at five locations in a single day. (Guinness Book record).
- 4) Largest parades of buses (503) on a stretch of 3.2 kms-(a Guinness book record) a valuable lesson in traffic management.

16th Loksabha concluded -

Women Members: The 16th Loksabha (2014-2019) concluded its last session in February 2019. As its term is drawing to close, a number of reviews of its working are being done from various perspectives. We at the **Urban World** took note of women members in it, vis-à-vis earlier Loksabhas.

In the 1st Lokabha there were 24 women members, that figure steadily rose to 62 in the 16th Loksabha, i.e. 12.4% of the total members. This appears in contrast when we see that other neighbouring countries have higher proportion of women members in their national assemblies - Nepal (29.6%), Bangladesh (20.3%), Pakistan (20%).

Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, Mumbai Advisory Committee

♦ Ms. Manisha Mhaiskar, IAS	Principal Secretary, Urban Development, Govt. of Maharashtra, Mumbai.	Ex-Officio Chairperson
♦ Mr. Sanjay Kumar, IAS	Joint Secretary (DAY-NULM), Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.	Member
♦ Mr. Mukesh Puri, IAS	Principal Secretary, Urban Development and Urban Housing Dept., Government of Gujarat, Gandhinagar.	Member
♦ Mr. Bhaskar A. Sawant, IAS	Principal Secretary, Urban Development and Housing Dept., Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur.	Member
♦ Ms. Nila Mohanan, IAS	Secretary, Urban Development, Government of Goa, Goa.	Member
♦ Mr. Niraj Verma, IAS	Principal Secretary, Urban Development, Govt. of Assam, Dispur, Guwahati.	Member
♦ Mr. Gitte Kirankumar Dinkarrao, IAS	Special Secretary, Urban Development, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, Tripura.	Member
♦ Dr. T. Chatterjee, IAS (Retd.)	Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi.	Member
♦ Dr. (Mrs.) Sudha Mohan	Professor & Head, Department of Civics and Politics, University of Mumbai, Mumbai.	Member
♦ Mr. Rajiv Agarwal, IAS (Retd.)	Director-General, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Mumbai	Member
♦ Ms. Utkarsha Kavadi	Director, Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Mumbai.	Member-Secretary

Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies (RCUES), Mumbai (Fully supported by Ministry of Housing & Urban Affairs, Government of India) undertakes

- Urban Policy Research.
- ♦
- Tailored Training and Capacity Building Programmes in Urban Management and Urban Governance.
- ♦
- Capacity Building for Urban Poverty Alleviation.
- ♦
- Anchoring Innovative Urban Poverty Reduction Projects (Aadhar) for Municipal Corporations.
- ♦
- Project Management & Social Auditing.
- ♦
- Information, Education & Communication (IEC) in Urban Sector.
- ♦
- Training of Trainers (TOT) in Urban Management.
- ♦
- Technical Advisory Services in the Urban Development Urban Management Sector
- ♦
- Study Visits for ULBs for Experience Sharing and Cross Learning
- ♦
- Community Based Interventions.
- ♦
- Human Resources Development.
- ♦
- Interdisciplinary Programmes.
- ♦
- Knowledge Management.
- ♦
- Networking.

**Regional Centre for Urban & Environmental Studies
All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Mumbai**

Bandra Kurla Campus:

All India Institute of Local Self-Government

M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, TPS Road No.12, 'F' Block,
Opp. Government Colony Bldg. No. 326, Bandra (East), Mumbai - 400 051, India

Tel : 0091-22-2657 17 13 / 14 / 6180 56 00

Fax : 0091-22-6180 56 66

Email : dir.rcues@aillsg.org

