

### Women Workers in Urban India

In recent years, Indian cities have emerged as spaces of anonymous identities and seamless opportunities, sites that are balancing both modernity and traditional forms of living. This book engages with the role of women workers who are joining the workforce in the cityscape and bringing to surface contradictions that this duality offers. While employment opportunities have opened up and are constantly expanding for women, this edited volume interrogates whether their working status is breaking gender stereotypes or reaffirming them.

It surmises that whether women are working in offices or from home, contributing to the IT sector or labouring as petty producers, they are unable to break out of the gendered codes that place them at the lower rungs of the occupational ladder. More importantly, the hierarchical social order, comprising of caste, class and ethnic identities seems to echo in the gendered structure of the labour market as well. This volume studies the intertwining of work with embedded patriarchal notions of women's place in designated spheres, and the overt and covert processes of resistances that women offer in defining new roles and old ones anew.

Saraswati Raju is Professor at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. In 2010 she won the Janet Monk Service Award by the American Association of Geographers, USA in recognition of outstanding service contribution to women in geography and feminist geography which is first ever outside the Anglo-Saxon World. Professor Raju's areas of research interest include gender and social development with focus on literacy skills, labour market, juvenile sex ratios, and social space and place.

Santosh Jatrana is Associate Professor and Principal Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Impact Swinburne, Swinburne University of Technology, Australia. Currently she holds an honorary senior research fellow position at the University of Otago, New Zealand and conjoint appointment at Deakin University, Australia. She is a demographer and social epidemiologist with particular research interest in the fields of gender, migrant health, ageing, health and primary healthcare. Dr Jatrana is Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Population Research*.





### **Women Workers in Urban India**

Edited by

Saraswati Raju

Santosh Jatrana





## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107133280

© Cambride University Press 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in India

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-13328-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



# **Contents**

Lis	t of Figures	vi
	t of Tables	is
Pre	Preface	
1.	Setting the Backdrop Saraswati Raju and Santosh Jatrana	1
2.	Women Workers in Urban India and the Cities Saraswati Raju and Debangana Bose	36
3.	Gendered Vulnerabilities: Work-Life Trajectories of Female Domestic Workers in Jaipur Kaari Mattila	67
4.	Occupational Domestication in a Post-Resettlement Context: An Analysis of Women's Work in Kannagi Nagar, Chennai Karen Coelho	97
5.	Old Jobs in New Forms: Women's Experiences in the Housekeeping Sector in Pune Kiran Mirchandani, Sanjukta Mukherjee and Shruti Tambe	121
6.	Persistent Inequalities and Deepened Burden of Work? An Analysis of Women's Employment in Delhi Neetha N.	139
7.	Spare Change for Spare Time? Homeworking Women in Banaras  Amit Basole	164



#### vi Contents

8.	Gender, Work and Space: Home-based Workers in Garment Industry in Kolkata Swati Sachdev	195
9.	Labour Control and Responses: Women Workers in an Apparel Park in Kerala Neethi P.	228
10.	New Urban Economic Spaces and the Gendered World of Work in Kolkata Tanusree Paul	256
11.	Gender Equality and Women's Employment in the Banking Sector in India Supriti Bezbaruah	291
12.	Women Body Screeners and the Securitization of Space in Indian Cities Winifred R. Poster	312
Not	tes on Contributors	333
Ind	lex	335



## **List of Figures**

2.1	Work participation of women aged 15–59 years by urban location, 2011–2012	56
2.2	Participation of women workers in two sets of work	58
2.3	Shares of BPO/IT and related workers and domestic workers to total workers by principal status (15–59 years) among women by urban location	58
6.1	Percentage distribution of usually employed female and male workers aged 15 and above across categories of employment status – Delhi (1993–94 to 2011–12)	143
6.2	Sub-sectoral distribution of men and women workers in Delhi – 2011–12	147
7.1	Sources of labour-power for modern domestic industry	167
7.2	Men's and women's work in Banaras	173
7.3	The putting-out system in Banaras	179
7.4	Labour budget constraint and tempogram for home-working women in Banaras	182
8.1	Conceptual framework	199
8.2	Nested structure of home-based work in RMG industry in	
	Metiabruz	215
8.3	The hierarchical positioning of gendered work	216
9.1	Sequence of production	234



#### viii List of Figures

9.2	Hierarchical employment structure under the stitching unit	236
10.1	Hindrances towards career development	260
10.2	Occupation segregation by sector	273
12.1	Women security guards for the Delhi metro	320
12.2	Woman screener at Hyderabad airport from the military	322
12.3	Woman screener at a Gurgaon mall using a hand scanner	322
12.4	Using video monitors in a hotel in Hyderabad	323
12.5	The future of security scanning for women – under-clothes body monitoring	324
12.6	The future of security scanning for women – under-clothes body monitoring	324



### **List of Tables**

2.1	Labour force participation rates in India (usual principal and subsidiary status, age-group 15–59)	42
2.2	Population and employment structure of all workers (UPSS) 1999–2000 and 2011–2012	49
2.3	Top four shares of regular salaried workers (UPSS) 2011–2012	49
2.4	Top four shares of workers (UPSS) 1999–2000 and 2011–2012	50
2.5	Top four activities of all workers within the manufacturing sector (UPSS) 2011–2012	51
2.6	Top four occupational avenues for all workers (UPSS) in manufacturing sector 2011–2012	52
2.7	Job contract of regular salaried workers 2011–2012	53
2.8	Eligibility for paid leave of regular salaried workers 2011–2012	53
2.9	Social security benefits for regular salaried workers 2011–2012	54
2.10	Home-based workers by levels of education 2011–2012	55
2.11	Workers across NCO categories based on educational levels, 2011–12	55
4.1	Gendered distribution of occupations in Kannagi Nagar	104
4.2	Profile of unemployed workers in Kannagi Nagar	105
4.3	Reasons for unemployment	106
4.4	Previous occupations of unemployed workers	107



#### x List of Tables

4.5	Types of jobs sought by unemployed workers	108
4.6	Demographic profile of women company workers in Kannagi Nagar	114
6.1	Distribution of usually employed principal and subsidiary status workers aged 15 and above by broad industry divisions	144
7.1	Estimating the value of unpaid work in weaving	184
7.2	Average (sd) piece rates in embroidery and cutting	185
8.1	Select indicators of non-agricultural employment in urban India and urban West Bengal, (15–59 years), 2011–12	203
8.2	Profile of selected wards in Kolkata (M Corp.)	205
8.3	Demographic and social attributes of urban home-based workers (15–59 years), 2011–12	209
8.4	Dependent variable for logistic regression: Workers in manufacturing sector 15–59 Years (1 = home-based worker;	
	0 = other workers)	212
8.5	Gender-based differences in reliance on middlemen for job-work	218
10.1	Reasons for not pursuing desired career	261
10.2	Most important criteria for job search of men and women	262
10.3	Most important reasons for changing job	263
10.4	Reasons for interruptions in career	265
10.5	Constraints faced by women in attaining lead positions	274
10.6	Future career aspirations of men and women by sector	276
10.7	Socio-economic characteristics of respondents who are ambivalent about future career aspirations	278
10.8	Sources of information for job opportunities	280
10.9	Average number of contacts for work-related information	280
11.1	Job profiling by sex	297
11.2	Women employees prioritizing family over career	301
12.1	The information hierarchy of cybersecurity work	314



### **Preface**

Very often, cities are seen as spaces of anonymous identities and seamless opportunities. They have also been conceived as spaces of transition from traditions to modernity although its supposedly linear trajectory has long been questioned and contested. Indian cities, for example, continue to display an ambiguous mix of both – the so-called modern trends existing in close proximity with traditional values and anchoring. Women's work in labour market provides an interesting site to interrogate these contradictions.

The 'shining India' paradigm talks about the expanding new generation employment avenues of work for women and the recent official discourses eulogizes about rising incidences of employment amongst urban women. Much of the available literature, however, suggests that global capitalism, while providing new opportunities to women, not only exploits the prevailing gendered stereotypes, but it also rearticulates them.

The most recent accounts from India suggest that the growth in paid employment has taken place largely in the informal sector. Whether or not such informalization works in the interest of women is a debatable issue. While some maintain that emerging occupational avenues, such as those available in export processing zones or in case of Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), have helped women significantly to access labour market, there are others who contend that progressively increasing use of technology in urban context offers opportunities only to those who have education and appropriate skills. Moreover, it has been argued that even the export-oriented production is largely driven by informal work. Notwithstanding these propositions, the urban labour market has a range of women — in high-tech IT sectors working from posh offices or from home; they are in home-based work as



xii Preface

petty producers; they are, at times, in the so-called masculine professions even as the absolute levels may vary and be miniscule. Intriguingly, their location in varied professions – high-end technically advanced work and/or petty work; home-based or outside homes – does not seem to necessarily alter the socially constructed gendered codes that are instrumental in assigning them places at the lower rungs of occupational ladder. More importantly, the hierarchical social order, encompassing overlapping caste, class and ethnic intersectionalities that typifies India in general seems to echo in the gendered structure of labour market, whether they are salaried, self-employed or at home as paid as well as unpaid family labour. In other words, there are common threads running through the heterogeneity within the working women, both in terms of the types of work and the context in which such work is performed.

That said, it would rather be imprudent to argue that structures are superefficient in erasing or overcoming sparks of the resistances and negotiations that women may manage to enter into by virtue of their access to paid work, however limited or indirect the struggle may be, through individual agency or collectively. Rather than positing structure and agency as binary opposites or privileging postmodernist take on individualized subjects over foundational metanarratives (such as overarching patriarchy, for example), the book proposes to juxtapose these appositional constructs and analyse the interplay of both. The complexities involved therein make it possible to theoretically study the intertwining of work with embedded patriarchal notions of women's place in designated spheres. In other words, pulling together the different strands of occupational diversity in which women are engaged, the main purpose of this book is to understand whether or not the new economic spaces, contingent upon neoliberal market changes, have been able to redeem women from the traditional gender relations in the sphere of work. What, if not so overtly, are the splashes which are marked by struggles and intercession by women questioning the status quo.

Overall, the working premise that binds through the volume is that the metro cities – presumable panacea of social change – continue to harbour socio-culturally engraved gendered norms irrespective of where women work. However, it would be of interest to trace the specifics of the various occupational avenues that engage women workers; to what extent they create differences and where they forge a collective identity amongst workers by virtue of being women. The underlining concern would also be to look into the disruptions that intersect the traditionally operative gendered specificities in the labour market. That is, what are the ways in which the resilience of



Preface xiii

traditional gender ideologies and structural constraints limiting women's options are maintained over time and importantly, the sets of circumstances under which such ideologies and constraints can be challenged, weakened, defused and renegotiated? Such a framing allows one to juxtapose the socially encoded gendered locations of women workers with the continuing and emerging material realities at the ground.

It is almost an impossible task to acknowledge who all contributed to this endeavour – directly or indirectly our lived experiences have been the culprit. And yet, transcending them to a visible and concrete outcome could not have been possible without our contributors who readily shared with us their understanding with much support and cooperation. We are grateful to them. The anonymous reviewers with their diligent and thought-provoking remarks helped us rethink and fine-tune many of our propositions. We would like to express our gratitude to them.

The idea of the book took shape when the first editor was on a Thinker-In-Residence program at the Alfred Deakin Research Institute (ADRI), Deakin University, Geelong Campus in Australia. We greatly appreciate the encouragement and bonhomie we received from colleagues there.

We both remain blissfully obliged to Jawaharlal Nehru University which has always been an academically active space: challenging, inspiring and cajoling at the same time! While Saraswati teaches at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, it is the Alma Mater for Santosh.

The publication process has been joyful. We would like to acknowledge and thank the editorial team at Cambridge University Press for their collaborative and meticulous supervision at every stage of putting together the book.

Saraswati Raju Santosh Jatrana