

Women and Work: Some Empirical Findings from India

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Abstract Sociological studies of women's employment and work largely uncover the mechanisms of gender inequality and the interactions of the socio-economic and politico-cultural structures surrounding work. The feminists reject the biological division of labour theory and argue that gender roles are culturally determined and inequality between the sexes results from socially constructed power relationships. However, within academic discourses, the definitions of work, labour force, and employment are still gendered and few have questioned their logic or rationalization. Based on the empirical findings and sociological insights, this paper attempts to revisit some of these definitions and explores three important trends in work profile of women in India: feminization of unpaid work, unemployment and labour.

Keywords Women and work, Feminization of unpaid work, Feminization of unemployment, Domestic and care giving work

INTRODUCTION

In modern capitalist economy work typically suggests some organised, purposeful and productive activity resulting in compensation, typically money. This concept of work has its root in the enlightenment period of 18th century subsequently followed by industrialization and urbanization of 19th century. Prior to industrial development family was the unit of production where both productive and reproductive work was carried jointly. However, with industrialization production of goods and services becomes the domain of industrial unit and henceforth the reproductive and domestic work remain confined to family and was divorced from wage structure and from the system of public recognition. Subsequently, work comes to be recognised as something which has to do with wage and market.

. Work has been conceptualised differently by the philosophers of various academic fields. Psychologists define work in terms of an individual's needs and satisfactions. They conceptualize work as a source of personal fulfillment and psychological well-being. Economists on the other hand, view work as an economic commodity—an abstract quantity of productive effort that has economic value traded in economic markets, governed by the laws of supply and demand. They conceptualize work as a non-preferred activity tolerated only to obtain goods, services, and leisure that provide utility (Stewart, Prandy, & Blackburn,

1980). In Sociology, the analysis of the meaning of work was one of the earliest debates in the development of Sociology as a social science and can be seen as a reaction to the emergence of capitalist work regimes.

Sociologists conceptualize work as social activity embedded in complex social phenomenon. At the societal level, the meaning of work, of whatever kind may be affected by powerful hegemonic views about its desirability, usually termed as work ethic. Max Weber (1958) made the connection between the work ethic of early Protestantism, with its emphasis on work as a moral duty, and patterns of capital accumulation and emergent industrialism in 18th-century Europe and North America (Weber, 1958). The widespread work ethic in contemporary society means that any form of employment will usually afford the worker a higher social status than most categories of non-employment (such as the unemployed, students, pensioners, and housewives). Work in Sociology is also defined as sources for satisfying individual needs as well as the needs of the community. In the 19th century, this view was championed to the greatest extent by Karl Marx. To Marx's (1964) work (production of good and service) is the primary human activity which provides means either to fulfill man's potential or to distort and prevent his nature and his relation to other (Marx, 1964). Marx (1964) believes that in a community in which everyone work to satisfy both their individual needs and needs of others work is completely fulfilling activity. However, Marx (1964) claimed that in capitalistic system work could have no intrinsic meaning to the workers as it create alienation between workers and work simply becomes a means for survival. Goldthrope. et. al (1968) in their famous work 'Affluent Worker' analyze firm workers and argued that work is the source of social identification (Goldthrope, Lockwood Bedhofir, & Platt, 1968). Similarly, various sociologists like C W Mills (1951); Blauner (1964) and; Gorz (1965) presented their views on work. The popular discourses which surround work usually confined it to paid work and there by ignores other aspect of work. Wolkowitz (2006) argues that this concept of work, where it is simply assumed as a way of making money is challenged by feminist school of thought. Indeed, second wave feminism has shaken this connection between work and pay.

Kirby (1999) says that feminist sociologists have long been concerned with the realm of work where they argue that the concept of work is constructed according to the model of men's lives, excluding women's activities, efforts and responsibilities. With the neo-liberal regime, there occurred significant reduction in state provided services resulting in increasing amounts of social support, caring and social welfare work which is accomplished by unpaid workers especially by women at household level. Historical records indicate that domestic and care work, including household and care work and child rearing as feminists have vividly described, is generally unpaid. Feminist scholars explain the devaluation of 'domestic and care work' by addressing the concept of reproductive labor. Smith (2013) argues that the notion of reproductive labor has its origin in the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marxist feminist scholars have extended this idea to discuss the reproductive labor that women perform within the home, such as cooking, cleaning, socializing children, and

providing support to relatives and neighbors, to draw attention to the devaluation of the work performed in the household. It is argued that women's unpaid work at home sustains not just men's productive work in the economy but also the structures of capitalism (Huppatz, 2012; Volti, 2012). Ann Oakley's (1974) argues that 'housework' is similar to paid work and it is therefore wrong to define work solely in terms of paid employment. Women undertake the majority of work around the house (feminization of housework) even when they have a full time job resulted in what Hochschild & Machung (2003) terms a 'double shift' for women. Since most care work is performed in the private sphere of the home, it remains invisible, and the function this work serves in sustaining families and creating productive citizens is largely unacknowledged. Scholars have observed that this devaluation of care work has important policy implications. Neethan & Mazumdar (2011), Bhatia (2002) argues that domestic and care work lack proper recognition and is missing from economic policy. Many feminist scholars advocated for providing financial compensation for domestic labor and giving proper recognition to domestic and care work.

Cultural norms in specific places and eras define what is valued as work or who is deemed a worker. Conceptually, it is important to use a broad definition of work so that some forms of work are not excluded and devalued. Smith (2013) defines work as a purposeful human activity involving physical or mental exertion that is not undertaken solely for pleasure and that has economic or symbolic value. This broad definition separates work from leisure (not undertaken solely for pleasure) but also allows work to be pleasurable and recognizes that there can be blurred boundaries between work and leisure. This definition also encompasses more than paid employment by including activities that generate economic value even if they are unpaid, such as caring for others, volunteering, and subsistence farming, and this definition also recognizes that work can achieve non-economic ends such as identity creation. Work and employment are often used interchangeably, however, employment is a narrower term, which is a subset of economic work governed by the law that gives the employee considerable control over the work process.

Unpaid work is only one element of women's economic problem. Women's paid work is also generally debated on the grounds that it is poorly paid, undervalued and partly invisible. One of the striking social changes that accompanied the industrial revolution was feminization of workforce. Though women have always worked, but much of their work was performed in a household setting and was not done immediately for any wage or salary. The industrial revolution gave women new wage earning opportunities. Despite of this sociological evidence shows that gender has an effect on people's place in the paid employment. Type of employment, level of pay, employment preferences is largely gendered.

In recent history, workforce in rich industrialized nations has been subject to a number of transformations. One of the largest changes is that women have entered the paid labour market in large numbers so that they now make up almost 50% of the workforces in the UK and Australia. In India's total labour force participation rate (LFPR) is 36.4%. There are

enduring patterns of social discrimination and marginalisation in India's labour force. Many of these are framed by caste, gender, ethnicity, etc. Gender is an important element of labour subordination, and women have disproportionately borne the strains of globalization in India. The total work participation for women in India is 16%, whereas for males it is 54% (NSSO: 2011-12a). According to NSSO (2011-12b), the vast majority of women in India are working in the informal economy where women are commonly found in self employment (56%) doing unpaid work for the family.

METHODOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES

This is an empirical study. Purposive sampling was used for selecting a heterogeneous population and census method was used for identifying the respondents. Interview Schedule was used for collecting data from all 704 eligible respondents available in the research area and some typical cases were also selected for case study.

This paper aims at exploring over all work status of women and to know the various trajectories which influence women's work participation and employment conditions in district Srinagar of Jammu and Kashmir (India).

Area of the Study

This study is conducted in district Srinagar, of the union territory (UT) of Jammu & Kashmir (India). The district of Jammu is most populous district followed by Srinagar. The total literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir is 68.74 percent. The total male and female literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir is 78.26 percent and 58.01 percent respectively. The total sex ratio is 883 (Census of India, 2011). The estimated BPL population of Jammu and Kashmir is 24.21 lakhs persons (21.63 percent) of which 22.00 lakhs persons are from rural areas and 2.21 lakhs persons are living in urban areas. This shows that about one fifth of the Jammu and Kashmir's population falls below the poverty line (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2015). The unemployment rate for women is 3.7% and it is higher among urban women than rural women. In Jammu and Kashmir, work participation is extremely low for females; it is 6% for females and 53% for males. In rural Kashmir, majority of women are working in the informal sector as self employed category, whereas in the urban Kashmir majority are working as regular wage/salaried employee. Women who are working as regular wage/salaried employee, 30% works in the informal sector. According to NSSO (2011-12a) rate of unemployment is quite high among the women of Jammu and Kashmir (20.6%), it is particularly higher for urban women (25.6%) than from rural women (16.6%).

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The notion of work and employment especially among women is very complex. While economic factors, principally determine men's participation in employment, the forces that

influence women's work participation are diverse. There are many social, cultural, economic, reproductive, personal and demographic factors which influence women work trajectories and in this section we will explore the same.

Feminization of labour force

Labour force is the share of the population that is willing to supply labour to a market. Over the year, it is claimed that women's participation in labour market has considerably increased, phenomenon broadly known as feminization of labour force, but at the same time labour participation rate for women remain much lower as compared to male. Historically NSSO¹ and other survey reports does not recognize 'domestic and care activity' (done at the household level by women) under the heading of economic activity. However, in this study, we have included those women as part of the labour force who are engaged in domestic and care work and are looking for some paid employment. Thus, in this study, out of the total respondents (N=704) 44% females (N=312) and 55% males (N=392) are in labour force (Table-1). When these figures are compared with NSSO figures the corresponding male-female labour force participation rate is 55% and 16% respectively. This variation is due to the fact that NSSO do not consider domestic and care giving work as part of labour force. This gender biased definition of labour force participation rate has serious policy implication. It has resulted in statistical veil over women's work status- where participation rate where women work participation rate remains abysmally lower than men. The employment pattern reveals that slightly more than half of the women (164) are working or doing some 'paid work' where as out of the total male around 97% are working (Table-1). Further, due to the lack of recognition giving to domestic and care giving work women feel less empowered and often starts looking for some 'paid employment'. It is observed (Table-1&2) that labour participation is considerably higher among the women belonging to the age groups of '30-45' years (42%) and among the women who are married (74%).

Feminization of unpaid work

Labour participation is higher among married women and women who are at their advance ages (30-45 and 45-60 years) but at the same time work participation is comparatively lower among married women (42%) and women belongs to the age group of '30-45' years (47%). Work participation is higher among unmarried women (74%) and women who belong to the age group of '15-30' years (68%). However, this trend is quite reversing for males, where married males have higher work participation than unmarried (Table-1&2). Women who are unmarried and younger have comparatively less burden of domestic and care work than

¹ NSSO 68th round, Employment and Unemployment 2011-12, define not in labour force as, 'Persons who were neither 'working' nor 'seeking or available for work' for various reasons during the reference period were considered as 'not in labour force'. Persons under this category are students, those engaged in domestic duties, rentiers, pensioners, recipients of remittances, those living on alms, infirm or disabled persons, too young persons, prostitutes, etc. and casual labourers not working due to sickness' (NSSO 68th round, Employment and Unemployment 2011-12, p-4).

women who are married. This allows unmarried to work without any obstacle. Thus, it concluded that domestic and care work, inhibits women's involvement in paid employment and causes many to be economically dependent on women.

It is observed that women who are married and are doing some paid employment their work participation in private sector is comparatively lower than unmarried women (Table-2). Married women, who already remain engaged in domestic and care work often, look for jobs which provides more security and flexibility. They often left private sectors after their marriage because of the insecurity and the work rigidity of private sectors. They mostly look for government services, if they do not get it, they start doing something of their own like starting small business, tailoring, embroidery etc or some other work which can be done at home so that their work should not create any hindrance in their 'domestic and care work' which according to them is their primary responsibility. Despite of doing full time paid work these women undertake majority of work around the house; phenomenon called feminization of unpaid work.

This proliferation of feminization of unpaid work is significant not only because of its dimensions, but because of its complex interplay with key social patterns of power and coercion. First, unpaid work at household level is not randomly distributed amongst the labour force; rather, it is deeply embedded in relations of power, reflecting and reinforcing them. Secondly, unpaid work cannot be understood as simply an expression of informal, unregulated work arrangements. It is socially contested precisely because in specific instances the same work is paid. This absence of monetary compensation has momentous implication. In sum, unpaid work in contemporary economies warrants scrutiny because it is integral element in our lives which is not only core to present day capitalism but also complexly sustains patterns of social inequality.

Feminization within clerical work

Over the years significant inroad towards gender equality have occurred. Unequal treatment of men and women is discouraged in most modern workplaces today and formal procedures have developed to help identify the most qualified candidates for hiring. However, many occupations and fields of study continue to be strongly sex typed in popular imaginations. In this study, it is observed that among the respondents who are in government sector, 68% are males and 32% are females. Similarly, those who are in private sectors, 53% are males and 47% are females. Further, those who are self employed, 90% are males and only 10% are females and among daily wage worker 64% are males and 36% are females. In this study, it is observed that occupations are largely horizontally segregated so that women continue to be cluster in certain occupational space and retain distance from others. Out of the total respondents who works in government sector as officer/professor/lecturer/doctor/engineer (N=48) 77% are males and 23% are females, similarly out of the total respondents who works in government department as clerical/supervisor (N=63) 82% are males and 18% are females further those who works as

contractual (N=18) 55% are males and 45% are females and those who works as government teacher/senior teacher 17% are males and 83% are females. Out of the total respondents who are working in private sectors as officer/professor/lecturer/doctor/engineer (N=29) 83% are males and 17% are females, those who are working as clerical/supervisor in private sectors (N=59) 66% are male and 34% are females, similarly those who are working as fourth grade (N=23) 44% are male and 56% are females and those who are working as teachers (N=41) 10% are males and 90% are females. Business sector on the other hand is entirely dominated by males.

Gender wage gap

Employment is potentially empowering and liberating if it enhance women's well being, and capability. If it is driven by distress and is low paying then it may only increase a woman's drudgery. Occupational segregation by sex is often considered to be a source of gender wage gap. In the present study it is observed from Table-3, that out of the total respondents who fall within the high income group, i.e. Rs 6,00,000-above only 20% are females and 80% are males. The situation is quite reversed for lower income group (i.e. up-to- Rs 24000 per annum) where 80% are females and 20% are males. The gender wage gap is less visible in government sector where as it is higher in private sectors where only 5.3% female's comes within high income group and corresponding figures for male are 22% (approx). The gender wage gap is also prevalent in self employment where 6% (approx) females and 22% of males fall within high income group. Thus, here both the 'level of pay' and the 'type of job' done are structured by gender.

Social, economic and cultural capital

Besides gender, women 'work participation' is influenced by various other socio-economic and cultural factors like caste, class, family background etc. Particular socio-economic profile of pupil gives them particular capital² and Bourdieu (2016) did identify cultural, social and economic capital accumulated through generations and such capital is useful and productive in the long run. Hence, women work pattern needs to be studied in the context of their socio-economic background. In this study the socio-economic background includes: Caste, Father's education and occupation;

In this study, we have identifies 53 'castes' and 'caste like groups' and have categorized these castes and caste like groups into three broad groups, namely; Group-I, Group-II and Group-III. Group-I and II are 'caste like groups' and 'Group-III' is caste group. This study reveals that women belonging to Group-I are largely working in the government sector where

² Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility' (Bourdieu:2016, p 84)

as women belonging from Group-II and Group-III are largely working in private sectors. Out of the total Group-I females 32% works in government sector, from Group-II and Group-III 19% and 13% works in government sector respectively. When explored further, it is observed that Group-I females, who are in government sector, are largely working as officer/professor/lecturer/doctor/engineer or as government teachers/senior teachers whereas Group-III females, who are in government sectors, are largely working as contractual or as supervisor/clerical. Women working as daily wage workers are largely those who belong from Group-II & III.

It is observed that females whose father's are highly qualified, i.e. 'graduates and above' are more in government sector than those whose father are having lesser qualifications. Of the total females whose father are 'graduate and above' 40% are in government sector, 30% are in private sectors, 3.3 % are self employed and none works as daily wage worker. Similarly, females whose father are having academic qualifications varying between 'primary to senior secondary' 16% (approx) are in government sectors, 25% are in private sectors, 4.4% works are self employed, 2% works as daily wage worker. Further, females whose father are illiterate 9% are in government sectors, 22% works in private sectors, 7% are self employed and 14% works as 'daily wage worker'. Besides education, father's class position or occupation plays an immense role in determining employment status of their daughters. This study reveals that females who are in government sectors slight more than half of their fathers are also in government sector, similarly females who are self employed 65% (approx) are those whose father are also self employed likewise females who are working as a daily wage worker 78% females are those whose father's are also working as daily wage worker.

Thus, it can be concluded that women who are in a better economic position are largely those who have better socioeconomic family background. Caste/class position and academic qualifications of parents gives individual particular capital which later gives them particular economic returns. However, situation becomes complex for women who lack any such capital as they hail from poor socioeconomic background and thus faces the triple burden of caste, class and gender.

Education as human capital

Another important factor which impact women work participation is education qualification. The gender difference in exploring the linkage between education and employment is interesting and stark. Educational profile of employed women reveals that 11% are 'illiterate', 25% are having educational qualification varying between 'primary to senior secondary' 2% have any diploma training, 22 % have any 'professional' qualifications and 40% are 'graduate and above'. For males corresponding educational profile for employed persons are; 13% are 'illiterate', 46% are having educational qualification varying between 'primary to senior secondary', 20% have any 'diploma training', 12 % have any 'professional qualifications' and 27% are 'graduate and above'. For women higher level of education is associated with higher work participation as it is observed that work participation is higher

for women who are 'graduate and above'. However, for males work participation is higher among those who are having educational qualification varying between 'primary to senior secondary'. Women who are in the service sector (government and private sector) almost 80% are having higher qualifications (diploma, professional and graduate and above) whereas for males corresponding figures are above 62%. Women who are self employed only 6% have any formal vocational training (diploma and professionals). The situation is worse for males who are self employed where only 0.7% have any formal vocational training. Thus, it can also be said that women who are working are having higher qualifications than their male counterparts. Although, education increases women work participation but women with equal qualification to men fall behind men in terms of 'type of job' done and 'level of pay' which are structured by gender.

Feminization of unemployment

In this study, it is observed that total unemployment for males are 3.3%, whereas for female unemployment rate is 47.4% (Table-1). When these figures are compared with NSSO³ (2011-12) where the corresponding male and female unemployment rate is 3.1% and 20.6% respectively. This variation in the unemployment figures of women is due to the fact that National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) does not consider women, who are doing domestic and care work, as part of the labour force. They are neither considered employed nor unemployed. In comparison to that of the males, female unemployment is rampant in Srinagar. The age wise unemployment status of women reveals that out of the total unemployed women, 22%, 46%, 31% and 1% (approx) falls within the age groups of '15-30', '30-45', '45-60' and '60 and above' years respectively (Table-1). Thus unemployment is higher among the females belonging to the age group of '30-45' years but for males, unemployment is higher for the age group of '15-30' years. The marital status of unemployed women reveals that 78% are 'married', 18% are 'unmarried', 2% are 'divorced' and again 2.7% are 'widowed' (Table-2).

The educational profile of unemployed females reveals that above 53% females are having educational qualification varying between 'primary to senior secondary', 11% are having any formal vocational training (professional and diploma) and almost 36% are 'graduate and above'. Out of the total married women who are unemployed above 57% are having education qualification varying between 'primary to senior secondary', 34% (approx) are

³NSSO (2011-12a) define unemployment as 'persons who, owing to lack of work, had not worked but either sought work through employment exchanges, intermediaries, friends or relatives or by making applications to prospective employers or expressed their willingness or availability for work under the prevailing conditions of work and remuneration, were considered as those 'seeking or available for work' or unemployed' (NSSO 68th round, Employment and Unemployment 2011-12, p-4).

‘graduate and above’ and 9% (approx) are having any ‘professional degree’. Similarly, out of the total unmarried women who are unemployed 30.8% are having education qualification varying between primary to senior secondary, 23% have any professional degree and above 46% are ‘graduate and above’.

CONCLUSION

Gender biased definition of ‘work’ has created statistical veil over the work status of women in India. The inclusion of women into the contemporary workforce has been a process that is fraught with contests, conflicts and compromise. Most of the works performed by women at household level remain unrecognized and unacknowledged. Domestic and care work plays a fundamental role in the development of human capabilities. Despite of this, domestic and care work remains missing not only from economic policy but also from the popular definitions of labour force in India. Women, whom our society has made primarily responsible for care and domestic work, are finding it more difficult to perform conventional role because of their increasing participation in the workforce. This ‘reproductive work’ often limits their occupation choices. They opt for that occupation which is flexible or which do not clash in between their ‘domestic and care giving work. However, in the society where employment opportunities are lower and the rate of unemployment is higher it becomes difficult for females to find a suitable occupation for themselves and therefore end up being unemployed. The transition from agrarian and artisanal economies to industrial and factory work in many countries involved a reconfiguration of gender ideologies. The narrative that accompanied this transition was that women could free themselves from patriarchal oppression and become part of modern work places. However, closer look at the work force in many developed, developing and emerging countries reveal occupation segregation, lower pay and higher unemployment of women, and over representation of women in low paid jobs. Further, women from marginalised communities face more discrimination in ‘paid sphere of work’ than those from privileged background. The forms of discrimination taking places in paid and unpaid work have resulted in marginalisation of women. Further, it also reduces flexibility and efficiency of the economy as a whole. It is suggested that unpaid work should bring into academic discussion and measures should be taken to make ‘domestic and care work’ as part of economic policy. Before framing any policy it is essential to take into account that our society is deeply divided and structured along gender lines.

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APPENDIX

Table-1 Age wise occupational profile of males and females

Sex	Occupational Category	Age Groups				Total
		15-30	30-45	45-60	60 and above	
Male	Government sector	9.7%	29.1%	29.1%	32.0%	100% (N=103)
	Private sector	44.3%	37.5%	14.8%	3.4%	100% (N=88)
	Self employed	12.2%	34.7%	44.9%	8.2%	100% (N=147)
	Daily wage worker	24.4%	26.8%	41.5%	7.3%	100% (N=41)
	Unemployed	21.9%	15.4%	15.4%	0.0%	100% (N=13)
	Total	21.9%	32.4%	32.7%	13.0%	100% (N=392)
Female	Government sector	10.2%	53.1%	26.5%	10.2%	100% (N=49)
	Private sector	70.7%	24.0%	5.3%	0.0%	100% (N=75)
	Self employed	23.5%	47.1%	29.4%	0.0%	100% (N=17)
	Daily wage worker	26.1%	43.5%	21.7%	8.7%	100% (N=23)
	Unemployed	21.6%	45.9%	31.1%	1.4%	100% (N=148)
	Total	32.1%	41.7%	23.4%	2.9%	100% (N=312)

Table-2 Marital status and occupational profile of males and females

Sex	Occupational category	Marital Status				
		Married	Unmarried	Divorced	Widow	Total
Male	Government sector	88.3%	9.7%	0.0%	1.9%	100% (N=103)
	Private sector	43.2%	54.5%	1.1%	1.1%	100% (N=88)
	Self employed	79.6%	19.7%	0.0%	0.7%	100% (N=147)
	Daily wage worker	68.3%	29.3%	0.0%	2.4%	100% (N=41)
	Unemployed	23.1%	76.9%	0.0%	0.0%	100% (N=13)
	Total	70.7% (N=277)	27.8% (N=109)	0.3% (N=01)	1.3% (N=05)	100% (N=392)
Female	Government sector	85.7%	12.2%	0.0%	2.0%	100% (N=49)
	Private sector	24.0%	73.3%	2.7%	0.0%	100% (N=75)
	Self employed	58.8%	35.3%	5.9%	0.0%	100% (N=17)
	Daily wage worker	56.5%	39.1%	0.0%	4.3%	100% (N=23)
	Unemployed	77.7%	17.6%	(2.0%)	(2.7%)	100% (N=148)
	Total	63.5% (N=198)	32.7% (N=102)	1.9% (N=06)	1.9% (N=06)	100% (N=312)

Table-3 Income and occupational status of males and females

Sex	Occupational Category	Income (in Rupees) per annum						Total
		Up-to 24,000	24,00-48,000	48,000-1,20,000	1,20,000-3,00,000	3,00,000-6,00,000	6,00,000-above	
Male	Government sector	0.0%	0.0%	16.5%	22.3%	30.1%	31.1%	100% (N=103)
	Private sector	1.1%	4.5%	26.1%	33.0%	13.6%	21.6%	100% (N=88)
	Self employed	0.0%	2.7%	21.8%	32.7%	100%	22.4%	100% (N=147)
	Daily wage worker	4.9%	14.6%	68.3%	12.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100% (N=41)
	Government sector	2.0%	4.1%	6.1%	32.7%	20.4%	34.7%	100% (N=49)
Female	Private sector	1.3%	13.3%	60.0%	16.0%	4.0%	5.3%	100% (N=75)
	Self employed	5.9%	17.6%	41.2%	29.4%	0.0%	5.9%	100% (N=17)
	Daily wage worker	39.5%	56.5%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100% (N=23)