CHAPTER – 1
INTRODUCTION

The present chapter introduces the theme of this dissertation, which is entitled ‘Comparative Analysis of the Position of Working Women in Traditional Family – based Occupations located in ‘slums’: Case Study of Clay modeling / pottery and fishery in Kolkata and Mumbai’. After contextualizing the topic and placing it within a theoretical framework, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies used in the thesis will be discussed and explained.

1.1 Introduction
In the prevailing era of globalization, urban areas are undergoing a process of rapid growth following from macro-economic changes resulting in greater job opportunities. To meet the demands of increasing work opportunities, people in search of better livelihoods are congregating from adjoining areas in cities. Given the high costs of living in large metropolises, these job seekers often find shelter in marginalized areas of cities. They are officially called slum dwellers and the places they reside in are known as ‘slums’. Official definitions of slums are given in a later part of the present chapter. Initially at least, they are often engaged mainly in jobs pertaining to the informal sector. The women ‘slum dwellers’, act either as domestic help or in the construction, plumbing or an equivalent sector; some work as piece rate workers or as wage workers in factories, or some kind of newer job arising due to the opening up of the market.

However, there are some areas which are slum–like but were not originally slums. They were previously called villages. But with the passage of time, due to various socio-economic-political pressures, they degenerated into slums. The works the residents of these slums perform or are engaged in, also mainly belong to the informal sector. But these informal sector jobs are sometimes different from the ones mentioned earlier. They are traditional family based occupations which these people have been pursuing for ages. The workers are known by their occupations for instance potters, fisher folk etc. Such kinds of jobs are still surviving in the present scenario but face extreme challenges, especially from newer job opportunities in the economy. These jobs fall under the self – employment work category of the informal sector, both as home-based as well as non-home based types of work. Some of the slums are occupied by the original inhabitants of these areas, whereas some others grew long before the advent of the present era of
liberalization-privatization and globalization, through migration, so much so that the migrants became residents similar to the original inhabitants of the areas. Though the social composition of the slums is different, they possess similar characteristics. The people belong to the same community or caste and are popularly known as biradris or as jaat-bhais (people belonging to the same jaat or caste/community). They speak a similar language and the same dialect and possess a special bonding. These areas retain characteristics of two systems at the same time – the traditional and the modern, i.e., the village and the slum. They are like the prismatic societies of the Riggsian model which combine the characteristics of fused\(^1\) and diffracted societies.\(^2\)

This dissertation aims at presenting a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis of the position of the women engaged in these traditional family-based occupations; they have been residing in the so called ‘slums’ for ages and have witnessed the contending changes emanating from the ongoing processes and phases of globalization and urbanization which have challenged the conventional conservative ardour that favours retention of traditional identity. For the purpose of this study two family based occupations, viz., clay-modeling/pottery and fishery based in specific locations in Kolkata and Mumbai – two of the leading metropolitan cities of India, have been selected.

1.2 Conceptualisation of the topic under study

The key words in this thesis are power-position, gender-women, work-unorganized/informal sector employment – self employment – unpaid family helpers – traditional family based occupations and slums.

It should be mentioned here that since the present dissertation focuses on the role and position of women in designated ‘slums’ who are involved in clay modeling/pottery and fishery and allied work, the concepts to be discussed involve women centric issues. Before embarking on the specific subject of study, it is important to explain concepts connected with the study and contextualize them to the subject matter of the research.

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1 Fused Societies are those societies where the characteristics of traditional societies are found. There are no distinct political or administrative structures, the administrative functions are arbitrary and not restricted by law. Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964

2 Ibid, diffracted society is the industrial society, highly differentiated, having highly developed specialized structures of work, meant for specific functions. This is just the opposite of fused society.
1.2.1 Power-Position

The first concept is ‘position’ which is defined in terms of power. The question of power is inherent within the indices based upon the social status of an individual. Each individual wants to control the conduct and behaviour of others in such a manner that it might help him/her to realise the objective of improving his/her own status or position in society. This effort amounts to an endeavour to establish one’s supremacy or power over others. Max Weber has noted that ‘Power’ is the chance that a man or a number of men have to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participants in the action.\(^3\) Foucault emphasizes the notion of power in a plural form, as “powers”. His observation is that there is not just one dominant power but multiple “powers”, as diffuse as a “constellation of stars”.\(^4\) Power is considered as a planned endeavour of some individuals or groups to impose their own will upon others, with or without their consent. In fact, the power distribution system is very intimately associated with the system of distribution of different social statuses and professional posts prevailing in society. Power appears to have been at the base of every society over the years. It is possessed in varying degrees by social actors in diverse categories. Power has various spaces in society like politics, economy, age, religion, race, caste, creed, class, ethnicity, north-south divide and last but never the least, gender; power is exercised through various institutions such as the family, religion, education, media, law etc. While powerful is linked with high status, powerlessness, on the other hand, may lead to poverty and low status. Gender bias, according to some analysts, appears to be one of the greatest sources of poverty, the principal reason for which may be attributed to the fact that women are doubly exploited in the distribution of power in all the identified spaces in some way or the other.\(^5\)

1.2.2 Empowerment

Another term which is correlated with the term ‘power’, is empowerment. Empowerment is the process of acquiring “power” individually and collectively and of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into

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desired actions and outcomes. The focal element of this process are actions which both build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organizational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets. A detailed discussion on empowerment has been presented under the subtitle ‘Gender and Women’s Empowerment’ under section 1.2.5.

An interesting classification of power vis-a-vis women can be found in the work of the founders of an organization named ‘Gender at Work’, based at Canada, which aims to promote women’s empowerment and gender equality specially in the workplace. Aruna Rao, David Kelleher and Rieky Stuart, the founders of this organization, published a book Gender at Work: Organizational Change for Equality in 1999 where they attempted a classification of power.

Power is analysed deeply here and two views of power have been distinguished by the authors. In one, power is a limited commodity, that is, if one has power then the other does not have it. The other view draws on Margaret Wheatley’s idea that power is a product not only of position but also of information, relationship and spirit in an organisational framework. If both views are considered, five overlapping ways of exercising power can be identified:

(1) Positional power: Here, Wheatley focuses on power used by a dominant over a dominated counterpart in the organization by virtue of his superior position.

(2) Agenda-setting power: Here she emphasizes on the right of women to participate in the process of betterment of the organization in general, and women in particular.

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7 ‘Gender at Work’ is a transnational network of individuals and organizations which works to end discrimination against women and advance culture of equality. It is based at Canada. See their website at http://www.genderatwork.org/short-history


9 This is the view of Steven Michael Lukes, professor of sociology at New York University. Lukes’s best-known, still controversial academic theory is his so-called ‘radical’ view of power. It can be simply stated. It claims there are three dimensions of power. The first is overt power, typically exhibited in the presence of conflict in decision-making situations, where power consists in winning, that is prevailing over another or others. The second is covert power, consisting in control over what gets decided, by ignoring or deflecting existing grievances. And the third is the power to shape desires and beliefs, thereby averting both conflict and grievances. For instance see http://stevenlukes.net/, Power: A Radical View, Macmillan, London, 1974

10 Margaret J. Wheatley is a writer and management consultant who studies organizational behavior. Her approach includes systems thinking, theories of change, chaos theory, leadership and the learning organization: particularly its capacity to self-organize. For further reading access http://www.margaretwheatley.com/; Also read her famous book Leadership and the New Science: Discovering Order in a Chaotic World, Berrett-Koehler, Inc., San Francisco, 2005
(3) Hidden power: Here, it means the power exerted by the dominant on the dominated in accordance with certain unwritten norms and dogmas.

(4) Power of dialogue: Wheatley uses this to signify the power given to the oppressed to voice their demands.

(5) Power of conflict: This is used by her to designate the power to organize movements by the oppressed to fight for their rights.\footnote{Danielle Hyles-Rainford, Bridging the Opportunity Gap – Leadership, Social Difference, Career and Education, Section-‘Gender Leadership – Western Context’, iUniverse USA, 2011, pp 87-89}

The present thesis takes these five variants of power as the basis for analysing the position of working women in traditional family based occupation in Mumbai and Kolkata.

1.2.3 Work – Unorganized/informal sector Employment – Self-employment

Since this study focuses on working women in traditional family based occupations located in selected slums of Kolkata and Mumbai, it becomes necessary here to conceptualize the following terms and concepts:

- Work
- Types of sectors in which the workers are distributed
- Growing importance of the informal sector in terms of magnitude and contribution
- Sub-sectors in the informal sector
- Categories of workers in the informal sector
- Importance of non-wage (self-employed) workers
- Visibility of women in the labour market, specially as unpaid family workers
- Locating traditional family occupations in the categories of the employments mentioned earlier

As mentioned under Section 1.1 of this chapter, the slum-dwellers (which is the main focus of this study) are informal sector workers. The concept of ‘informal sector’ has been extensively discussed since the beginning of the 1970s when in 1971, Keith Hart, an Anthropologist based in England, referred to informal income opportunities for the urban poor in Ghana. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Expert Group on Informal Sector Statistics (called the Delhi Group), and WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) worked together to broaden the concept and definition of informal sector to incorporate certain types of informal employment that had not been included in the earlier concept and definition of
the “informal sector” especially of Hart. In 1993, the ICLS had adopted an international statistical definition of the informal sector to refer to employment and production that takes place in unincorporated small and/or unregistered enterprises. Various sub-categories of self-employment were also discussed. This expanded definition was endorsed by the International Labour Conference (ILC) in 2002 and the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 2003.\textsuperscript{12} An explanation of the various categories of self employment work was given in a paper presented at the 15\textsuperscript{th} ICLS in 1993. These are:\textsuperscript{13}

1. Non-wage workers or self – employed. This includes the following three groups:
   - Own-account workers: They are self-employed workers who operate their enterprises on their own account or with one or a few partners and who during the reference period, by and large, run their enterprise without hiring any labour. They may, however, have unpaid helpers to assist them in the activity of the enterprise. They either perform their work in their household premises or outside.
   - Employers: These are self-employed persons who work on their own or with one or few partners and by and large run their enterprise by hiring labour.
   - Helpers in household enterprises: The helpers are a category of working persons who keep themselves engaged in household enterprises working full or part-time but do not receive any cash payment (salary or wage) or any share of the family earnings in lieu of the work performed. They are household members; a large number of them are dependent on the household head.

2. Wage-workers:
   - Employees of informal enterprises
   - Domestic workers
   - Casual workers without a fixed employer
   - Homeworkers (also called industrial workers)


• Temporary and part-time workers
• Unregistered workers

There is, however, a different category of workers similar to the homeworkers. They are known as Home Based Workers (HBWs). They are a particular class of workers who work at home or elsewhere in accordance with their own choice to supply goods or services as per prior agreement with customers/establishment. Their remunerations are included in the price of the goods or services provided by them and they do not employ workers on a regular basis. Workers, especially women workers, have found home-based work a way of combining work and care responsibilities with least strain on family and community norms and expectations. HNI\(^{14}\) defines Home-Based Workers as own-account workers and contributing family workers helping own-account workers, involved in the production of goods and services for the market, in their homes or in nearby areas. These home-based workers include own-account workers, employers and home-workers\(^{15}\) from the above mentioned categories of self employed workers. This definition was also developed by an Independent Group on Home-based Workers in India set up in 2007 by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation of the Government of India.\(^{16}\)

\(^{14}\) ‘HomeNet India (HNI) is a network of organizations made up of women Home-Based Workers (HBWs) supported by UN Women (earlier UNIFEM) and SEWA. HNI was set up in 2004 under the Societies Act, 1860 at Ahmedabad, Gujarat. HNI works as a national network of organisations working with Home-Based Workers. Currently, 29 organizations working with Home-Based Workers from 11 states of India are affiliated to HNI. The HNI network includes trade unions, trusts, societies, cooperatives, and self-help groups. HNI works to promote the visibility and voice of the Home-Based Workers in India. HomeNet India focuses on Providing visibility, voice and recognition to home-based workers implementing the Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act, 2008, Organizing, strengthening, developing and promoting home-based workers and their organizations.’ Quoted from UN Women – United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, “Promoting Rights and Entitlements of Women Home-Based Workers in Selected States of India: A baseline study”, , February 2013, New Delhi, Chapter 1 – Context, p13

\(^{15}\) ‘The ILO Home Work Convention adopted in 1996 refers to homeworker as a person who carried out work for remuneration in premises of his/her choice, other than the work place of the employer, resulting in a product or service as specified by the employer, irrespective of who provided the equipment, material or inputs used. This is a sub-category of a broader category of home-based workers. The term home-based worker is used for two types of workers who carry out remunerative work within their homes. They are independent own account workers and dependent sub-contract workers. The term homeworker is used to designate the second category of dependent workers only. The homeworkers fall in an intermediate position between the self-employed and the employee. The homeworkers share with the employees the criteria of the existence of a contract, kind of remuneration and the type of employer. They differ from the employees in matters of ownership of means of production and kinds of supervision. The contract stipulates the provision of work. Remuneration paid to the homeworker is remuneration for work, stipulated in the contract, (even though paid by piece) like that of an employee. In contrast, the self-employed earn an income from sale of merchandise, the price of which is determined by the market. Homeworkers, like self-employed, own tools and equipment and work in their own home/place meeting certain costs such as actual or imputed rent, lighting, power, storage etc, costs and other efforts of cleaning. They are also not supervised like the self employed.’ Quoted from, n 15, Unni, pp 2-3

\(^{16}\) Definition of Home-Based Workers, Official website of WIEGO http://WIEGO.org/informal-economy/definition-home-based-workers
The opposite of HBWs are Non-home based self-employment workers who are self-employed with own account trading but carry out the trading outside the household. They may work in areas near their household or may be in distant localities. They may be working as single entrepreneurs or may be helped by other family members or may in some cases employ wage labourers on a permanent as well as on a temporary basis, as part-timers or as full time workers.

Traditional family based occupations may in some particular cases be placed under the wage-worker component of the unorganized sector of work, although in many other cases it may fall under self-employment.

These non-wage self employment occupations may be further classified into two distinct categories in accordance with the type of work and location of work. The first category includes Own Account Worker, Employer and Helper. The second is location-based work which also has two sub-divisions – home-based and non-home based work.

Self-employed women come under both the categories of home-based and non-home based workers. Here it is important to mention that WIEGO is a global action-research-policy network that seeks to improve the status of the working poor in the informal economy, especially women. Economic empowerment of these workers is at the heart of WIEGO’s mission. It seeks to increase the voice, visibility, and validity of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy.\(^{17}\) It is also necessary to mention that SEWA (Self –Employed Women’s Association), is a trade union registered in 1972 at the initiative and leadership of Ela Bhatt, under WIEGO. It is an organization of poor, self-employed women workers who earn a living through their own labour or small businesses.\(^{18}\) According to WIEGO, self employment workers are those who own their own businesses, and are exposed to financial risk as they bear the cost of faulty or substandard work done under business contract; moreover, they have control over the job they do, how they do it, when and where they do it and whether they do it themselves, or hire other people on terms of their own choice to do the work that they have agreed to undertake, and can provide the same services to more than one person or business at the same time, provide the required materials to complete the job; provide equipment and machinery necessary for the job other than the small tools of the trade; have a fixed place of business where, for example, materials and equipment can be stored; they further

\(^{17}\) For the profile, aim and history of WIEGO, see ‘What is WIEGO’ published in the official website of WIEGO, available at http://wiego.org/wiego/about-wiego accessed on 01.01.2014

\(^{18}\) For the relationship between WIEGO and SEWA, see ‘Who are We? – Institutional Members –SEWA’ published in the official website of WIEGO, available at http://wiego.org/wiego/self-employed-women%E2%80%99s-association-sewa accessed on 01.01.2014
agree on a price for the job, provide their own insurance cover, such as public liability; control their own working hours in fulfilling job obligations.\textsuperscript{19}

Taking this into account, two different occupations were selected for study in the present thesis catering to the above two categories – clay modeling/pottery which is considered as home based work, and fishery and allied activities which can be placed under non-home based work for the present study. In both categories, different types of work under the category of self employment workers\textsuperscript{1} have been studied to get an overall comparative view of the two occupations. It may also be mentioned that these two occupations have existed in India from ancient times. With the passage of time, villages have become cities and urban and rural areas are both feeling the impact of globalization. The choice of the two selected occupations in the two cities and the role of women in them will also provide an interesting insight into the linkage between urban and rural areas, modern and pre-modern times and the development of the role and position of women in these two occupations over time, particularly in present times when the market has been feeling the presence of newly emergent professions due to globalization, liberalization and privatization. This dissertation studies how, in this globalised world of urbanized metropolises, these traditional family based occupations are fitting in and surviving, and how women may be the major contributors to their survival.

There was a debate dating back to the pre-independence period regarding whether fishery and the fish processing industry should be kept as part of the agricultural sector and under the Department of Agriculture or whether there should be a separate department. After the passage of various Acts, finally in 1986, a new ministry for food processing industries was created and the fishing industry was transferred from the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation to that of a new ministry. Thus fishery and processing now fall under the non-agriculture sector.

Pottery falls under the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) Industry\textsuperscript{20} sector but there is no such ministry for clay and image workers. The Ministry of Textiles in Maharashtra takes care of the pottery industry and recently it has issued identity cards for all the potters of Mumbai for their identification.\textsuperscript{21} Both the selected occupations fall under the non-agricultural sector. Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 furnished below give an overview of the male-female ratio in non-agricultural work and urban informal

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid

\textsuperscript{20} Information elicited from interview with one official of KVIC, Mumbai in KVIC office, Mumbai on 16th July, 2012

employment. It may be noted that other disaggregate data which show the extent of involvement of women in self-employment work in the fishery and clay modeling/pottery sectors is unavailable.

From the first two Tables it becomes clear that in the non-agriculture sector male wage as well as non-wage workers outnumber women. But in-depth statistical analysis shows that women outnumber men in only one division, i.e., unpaid family helpers. This gives an indication of the position of women workers in family occupations. The third Table gives a more interesting picture which enumerates the percentage of all non-agriculture women vis-à-vis location of work. Females outnumber males only in two locations; this shows that women are still restricted by a private–public dichotomy factor.

### Table 1.1 : Non-agricultural Employment Status and Sex in India (Percentage distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2009-2010</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Workers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own account Workers</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid Contributing family Workers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2004-2005</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Workers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own account Workers</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid Contributing family Workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1999-2000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Workers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own account Workers</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid Contributing family Workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2: Urban Informal Employment By Type of Unit, Employment Status and Sex in 2009-10(Percentage distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Total Workers</th>
<th>Wage Workers</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Own Account Workers</th>
<th>Unpaid Family Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Agricultural</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.3: Number and Percentage of All Non-agricultural Workers (Primary+Secondary) by Location of Work (Rural+Urban), 15-64 years, 1999-00

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Work</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no fixed place</td>
<td>17,722,274</td>
<td>14,895,497</td>
<td>2,826,777</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own dwelling</td>
<td>21,010,907</td>
<td>12,035,731</td>
<td>8,975,176</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own unit/shop out</td>
<td>21,315,913</td>
<td>19,187,818</td>
<td>2,128,095</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employer's dwelling</td>
<td>5,243,872</td>
<td>3,340,734</td>
<td>1,903,138</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employer's unit/enterprise</td>
<td>45,551,619</td>
<td>38,896,072</td>
<td>6,655,547</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street with fixed location</td>
<td>3,722,978</td>
<td>3,193,128</td>
<td>529,850</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction site</td>
<td>11,046,602</td>
<td>9,765,616</td>
<td>1,280,986</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7,922,683</td>
<td>6,957,501</td>
<td>965,182</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>133,536,848</td>
<td>108,272,097</td>
<td>25,264,751</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


One of the reasons behind the fact that the number of women working from home is larger may be because of higher social acceptability. Moreover, there are some stated or unstated restrictions on women’s mobility, some communities being more explicit than

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others in respect of these restrictions. In practice, one of the most powerful barriers to take up of any organizing work is the fear factor. Women have been brought up to fear their men, their employers, and their communities as well. Traditional attitudes result in lack of mobility for women, a deficiency in attaching appropriate value to women’s work, and giving predominance to male opinions, leading to helplessness among women.  

In Marxian analysis as well as in the capitalist economic system, women have been treated as a ‘reserve army of labour’ to be called into the workforce when need arises, which indicates the secondary nature of women’s labour in the public sphere and its lack of visibility. The trend has continued and even now, inspite of the spread of modernization, women's work in many respects is ignored and the issue of unpaid labour especially in the informal sector is still the prime concern of women activists and feminists. Women act as assistants to their male partners/husbands who are directly involved in productive, distributive or service activities. For example, in pottery, women perform all the laborious tasks such as getting clay and water, painting and firing the vessels, but it is the men who are acknowledged as potters as they produce pots through potter's wheels (machines) and liaison with the distributors of their products; women are considered as non-workers as their work is invisible. In this pot-making process, unpaid work among women, though not usually recognized and accounted for in economic terms, is an inherent component of the economy leading to their engagement in home-based unpaid work. This is mainly of two types -- those who are mere helpers in family enterprises and do not earn any regular wage and those women who are out of the purview of the definition of workers but are engaged in domestic work, some of which is economically gainful to the household and they can, therefore, be termed as unpaid workers.

There are immense difficulties in organizing informal / unorganized sector workers; it is more difficult to organize the self-employed ones because they are more scattered and more varied. There is still no universally accepted definition for this kind of work. The main problem i.e., with unpaid helpers whose actual number or strength is very difficult

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23 Researcher’s general overview developed during interview sessions with women workers (respondents) belonging to various unorganized segments in Mumbai and Kolkata during the entire research period


Also see Mary Jennings, "Gender Issues in the Informal Sector: Constraints and Opportunities", Trocaire Development Review, Trocaire, Ireland, 1993-1994
to count. One attempt to organize self-employed workers was done by SEWA.\(^{25}\) When SEWA tried to register itself as a trade union under the Trade Unions Act, the Labour Commissioner objected on the grounds that in the absence of clear employer-employee relationship, the workers under SEWA did not fit the “traditional” definition of a worker. Also, since HBWs typically engage in a wide range of occupations, simultaneously or consecutively, it is difficult to slot them into any particular sector. Generally, a typical “worker” has only one permanent occupation and trade unions are formed on the basis of occupation. Defining HBWs as a category of workers entitled to the same rights as other workers is a challenging issue. Since the majority of HBWs are women, it becomes doubly difficult to organize them because they have restrictions in terms of mobility.\(^{26}\) A Government of India report, *Shramshakti* (1988) proposed to bring in practice a separate new law for home-based workers. It may be observed that the principles and practices of established labour laws (including the Minimum Wages Act) are a generalized framework premised on a relationship between the employer and the employee. In piece-rated home based work, it becomes difficult to identify and legally prove this relationship. However, the second National Commission on Labour shelved such proposals for a separate legislation, preferring to stick to the formula of an umbrella legislation for unorganized workers.\(^{27}\)

However, there is a need for an apex body to elevate the cause of these workers in respect of procuring raw materials, ensuring fair wages, exploring markets, seeking export opportunities, maintaining appropriate technologies, opening avenues for research and development etc. Although there are organizations for HBWs, they are not adequate. Another official document (Discussion Paper on Home-based Workers, Ministry of Labour, Government of India) provides a patriarchal approach for the women working in Home-based work; it states, “The system of home work is sometimes advantageous to them (women) because while doing their routine at home, they do the job and

\(^{25}\) SEWA, which has been mentioned earlier, is a trade union in India, having its headquarter in Ahmedabad. It was registered in 1972 to look after poor, self-employed women workers, who earn a living through their own labour or small businesses. They do not obtain regular salaried employment with welfare benefits like workers in the organised sector. They are the unprotected labour force of our country. SEWA’s main goals are to organise women workers for full employment. Full employment means employment whereby workers obtain work security, income security, food security and social security (at least health care, child care and shelter). For more details visit www.sewa.org/


supplement the incomes of their families. The raw materials are generally collected from the employers/contractors by the men folk of the household and finished goods are also delivered to the contractors/employers by them. The women have flexibility in working as there are no fixed hours of work and they do not have to move out of their houses. The situation is however different in the case of single women or households where women are the sole or main income earning members. In such cases, sometimes, the women home workers are exposed to different forms of labour exploitations.  

It appears from such official documents and government reports that the Government turns a blind eye to gender disparity which is inherent in current home-based work; there is implicit evidence that the government never opposes the social confinement of the women within the household and indirectly legalizes their constraints. There is little evidence of the Government trying to help these home based workers achieve social and economic equality.

1.2.4 Traditional Family-based Occupations as Self-employment Work and the Role of Women in them.

Traditional family based occupations which had predominantly controlled the Indian market since early times started facing challenges for the first time in the post independence period. New kinds of industries started coming up. In the mid-1960s, there was a new stimulus which encouraged Indian capitalists to embrace a neo-liberal programme. Established big business groups opened up and eliminated the monopoly system. Despite resistance from certain sections, Indian industry began to further expand from 1991 as a result of the policy of economic liberalization. This had a many pronged effect. One of them was that employment in small scale unorganized industries began to rise rapidly, and by 2001 unorganized manufacturing accounted for the employment of around 85 percent of manufacturing workers.

Globalization had a major impact on the labour class, especially on women workers. Two simultaneous trends can be noted in India. One is a defense of feminization of work

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28 Government of India, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, ‘Discussion Paper for the National Consultation with the Labour Secretaries, Labour Commissioners of the State Government, representative of the Central Ministries and Departments, research and academic institutions, and NGOs/representatives of Home based work on Home-based Workers’, paragraphs 4-12 which explain the characteristics and situation of HBW in India, New Delhi, India, January, 2000

29 Government of India, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, NSSO Report number 479 (56/2.2/3), for the Unorganized manufacturing workers, 2001
because industries tended to employ unregularized women workers to avoid paying higher and fixed wages.

Another trend is the marginalization of women workers, keeping them out of the purview of mainstream work, and basically categorizing them under unpaid labour.

On the basis of the above two contradictory trends, in March 2000, the impact of structural adjustment policies and legislation on women’s work was reviewed by some scholars in India. A joint platform of various women’s organizations was formed and they identified that there was loss of women’s job through mechanization and recognition of the women workers who are unpaid helpers in family businesses.\(^\text{30}\)

The present thesis will try to locate women (paid and unpaid) in the context of both home-based and non-home based work in traditional family based occupations in India.

Traditional household industries originated in the period before the coming of modern industrialized markets and commercialization of the Indian economy. These were and still are generally caste-based occupations. For example, the Mangela caste in Mumbai is traditionally engaged in fishery related work while the prajapati caste all over India is the potter caste. With the advent of industrialization, the modern factory system introduced piece rate workers working at home or own account workers working with modernized tools. Though they share similar characteristics with traditional workers, there is a thin line of difference between the two. The first are traditionally attached to their kind of work, and the work they perform is caste based. The latter do not have such caste prejudice or family lineage. For example, a carpenter’s son can become a potter.

With the passage of time, the traditional workers began to decline due to their inability to cope with changes taking place in the economy and the competition from the growth of the technology driven modern industrial sector; another reason could be better job prospects, opportunities, diversified interests etc, which can be inferred from the research data collected.

However, there is still the presence of millions in modern India who depend on traditional occupations for their livelihood. From a documentary on Kumbharwada prepared by Rajul Mehta, founder director of an Indian NGO, Outreach India,\(^\text{31}\) or another documentary by Susavon Mitra a freelance videographer in Mumbai, on Versova

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\(^{31}\) ‘Kumbharwada, Bombay (Potters’ Colony), documentary prepared in 1996, duration 19 mins, Outreach-India, Mumbai
titled ‘Versova’, it may be inferred that the people attached to traditional family based occupations stay in clusters or groups within the same locality; the family is the unit of production and the joint family is the strength of business, even though sometimes they employ temporary and part time wage workers to assist them. They use indigenous knowledge systems; believe in traditional values and simple traditional technologies. However, with the advent of science and technology, new mechanized technologies are being used, for example, fishermen replacing simple boats with trawlers. Their expertise is always a source of pride even if they are poor and may be living in vulnerable conditions.

These occupations are closely connected to the management of common property resources like grazing land, water resources, fish, clay etc which are accessible to and collectively owned/managed by an identifiable community and on which no individual has exclusive property rights. Although such resources are available mainly in rural areas, they are also available in the centre of big metropolises where urbanization and globalization have penetrated. Negligence is there on the part of the government for not providing any financial aid, beneficial projects or marketing assistance. KVIC, KVIB reports and interviews with different government officials of the concerned departments prove this. Under Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), pottery falls under mineral based industry. Yet no recognition or inclusion is given for the urban pottery sector in this industry. Attention has been paid only to the rural areas. There is also a lack of statistical data. The marine fishery census is the only systematic statistical record of a traditional industry in India. Khadi and Village Industries Board (KVIB) of Maharashtra also keep track of progress by publishing annual reports, which, however,

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32 Information elicited from interviews with respondents of the various traditional family based occupations in India over 2009-2014.

33 The Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) is a statutory body established by an Act of Parliament (No. 61 of 1956, as amended by act no. 12 of 1987 and Act No.10 of 2006. In April 1957, it took over the work of former All India Khadi and Village Industries Board. The KVIC is charged with the planning, promotion, organisation and implementation of programs for the development of Khadi and other village industries in the rural areas in coordination with other agencies engaged in rural development wherever necessary. It also helps in the supply of raw materials, creating marketing linkages, promoting research in the production techniques and equipment, providing financial assistance to institutions and individuals for development and operation of Khadi and village industries and guiding them through supply of designs. For more details visit http://www.kvic.org.in/

34 Khadi and Village Industries Board are there in all the states to look after the industry at the state level and works under the centralized control of the KVIC.

include data of the rural front. Such reports are not available from the West Bengal KVI B. There are hardly any NGOs working in this sector. There is also a dearth of adequate research or movements/organizations that highlight the demands of these sectors, in spite of the fact that many of those who are involved in these traditional occupations are the original inhabitants of the areas they inhabit and are pursuing self employment work not as a compulsion or as a substitute for wage or salary employment but because it is their traditional work which they have done for decades/centuries. It may be noted that at this critical time when there is a dearth of jobs especially for women who are not so educated or trained, these traditional family based occupations can/may become a source of power since they have an expertise in this sector. Because of the lack of data, the present researcher has attempted a quantitative analysis of data that she has collected. She has also conducted in-depth qualitative interviews. The quantitative survey analysis and the data gathered from the interviews have been presented and studied in later chapters. However, at this point, it is important to conceptualise some case issues, ideas and terms in the context of the present study, as mentioned earlier.

### 1.2.5 Gender and Women Empowerment

Gender as a concept in the social sciences was acknowledged only in the second half of the twentieth century. Gender comprises men, women as well as trans-gender persons, but the focus of this study will be women. While early feminists viewed women’s empowerment in mainly political terms, over the last few decades the agenda of women empowerment has been widened to include economic empowerment. Political and economic powers are among the various determinants of an individual’s status in the family as well as in the society at large. Therefore, an analysis of the gender variable will provide a background to the present study, and will help in understanding the position of women especially in the workplace.  

36 The Human Development Report (HDR) published by the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) since 1990 is a good indicator of women’s empowerment.  

37 The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary composite index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of

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UNDP encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women, minorities and the poorest and most vulnerable. The annual Human Development Report, commissioned by UNDP, focuses the global debate on key development issues, providing new measurement tools, innovative analysis and often controversial policy proposals. The global Report's analytical framework and inclusive approach carry over into regional, national and local.
human development: long and healthy life (life expectancy), knowledge (education), and a decent standard of living (income).\textsuperscript{38} It was first developed by the late Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq in collaboration with the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen and other leading development thinkers for the first Human Development Report in 1990. It was introduced as an alternative to conventional measures of national development, such as level of income and the rate of economic growth. Though the first HDR introduced a way of measuring development by combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a composite Human Development Index (HDI), the first global gender indices were launched only in the 1995 HDR—the Gender related Development Index (GDI)\textsuperscript{39} and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)\textsuperscript{40}—just before the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing. The GDI measured inequality indices by gender in the HDI dimensions. The GEM focuses on political participation (measured by women’s shares of parliamentary seats), economic participation (shares of high level and professional positions) and power over economic resources (income gaps).

Another gender indicator is the Gender Inequality Index (GII).\textsuperscript{41} It is a composite measure reflecting inequality in achievements between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market. It varies between zero (when women and men fare equally) and one (when men or women fare poorly compared to the other in all dimensions). The health dimension is measured by two indicators: maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rate. The empowerment dimension is also measured by two indicators: the share of parliamentary seats held by each sex and by secondary and higher education attainment levels. The labour dimension is measured by women’s participation in the work force. The GII is designed to reveal the extent to which national human development achievements are eroded by gender inequality, and to provide empirical foundations for policy analysis and advocacy efforts. The three dimensions of gender inequality index mentioned above are not all relevant for the present study. One of them, therefore, has been selected for this research, i.e., the labour dimension. An attempt has been made to study a specific section of the women’s


\textsuperscript{39} National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, India, \textit{Statistics of Women in India}, 2010, Chapter 11 titled ‘Gender Development Index’ pp340-349

\textsuperscript{40} Human Development Report 2010, n 37

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid
labour force in the self-employed category and to analyze their unpaid contribution to the labour market, which is uncalculated as well as unrecognised. In this context, Amartya Sen’s ‘capability approach’ may prove helpful. Although this approach can be traced back to the times of Aristotle, Adam Smith and Marx, it was the famous economist Amartya Sen, who pioneered this particular approach mentioned, by stating the fact that the freedom to achieve well-being is a matter of what people are able to do and to be, and the opportunities they have to achieve this in his book Development as Freedom.42 His contributions have been crucial to the development of several aspects of feminist economics and gender analysis. To him, freedom is instrumental in nature and consists of political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. Achievement of all these or non-achievement of any one of them leads to 'unfreedom'. Freedom is the principal end of development. Even rich countries who are otherwise developed in economic (GNP) terms can suffer from such 'unfreedom'.43

The notion of ‘empowerment’ and ‘capability of women’ as debated by Amartya Sen has been elaborated in an edited volume Capabilities, Freedom and Equality – Amartya Sen’s Work from a Gender Perspective.44 This unique volume was the first to examine Sen’s ideas through the lens of gender. Renowned for his humanitarian approach to economics, Sen’s work has been re-examined and elaborated by other writers like Fabienne Peter, Martha C. Nussbaum, Ingrid Robeyns, Vegard Iversen, Des Gasper, Irkene van Staveren, Christine M. Koggel, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and many others; the crux of their work is the neglected position of women and suggestions regarding ways of increasing their capability and range of social choices, which can help uplift their status in society. It is also stated in this book that Sen mentioned intrahousehold inequality and the role of domestic power imbalances. According to him, because of interdependencies and power relations, one household member’s opportunities for achieving well-being will be influenced by the fall-back position and bargaining skills of other household


43 Ibid, Chapter Introduction, p7, 10

members.\textsuperscript{45} Democratisation should be a way to begin incorporating power into the capability framework. It should be a process which allows recognition of the interests of those who are subordinate, oppressed, or for other reasons, lack voices.\textsuperscript{46} He defines agency as the ability to set and pursue one’s own goals and interests.\textsuperscript{47} Considering people as agents give them the chance to be heard and involved in collective evaluations and decisions.\textsuperscript{48} His approach is highly suitable for gender inequality analysis as in most other theories, equality is ultimately measured in male terms. He starts his analysis by countering the age-old contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant who imagine that the contracting parties are equals, none able to dominate the others. In the state of nature all are free, equal and independent. But real life according to Sen is not like that and people are either mentally or physically or perhaps both, in an asymmetrical position and the most important difference lies in gender relations.\textsuperscript{49} He pointed out three gender biases of macroeconomic policy – the male bread-earner bias (keeping women financially dependent upon men), the commodification bias (ignoring women’s unpaid labour) and deflationary bias (cutting public expenditures on basic social services).\textsuperscript{50} He noted that too much of a burden of caring labour (which falls particularly in the women’s domain, women being unpaid caregivers), for example, can limit women’s freedom. The unpaid care economies do not basically have proper market substitutes but this should not be romanticised. Caring values include responsibility, loyalty and generosity. Just like paid labour, it not only brings benefits but also involves costs. Caring is a burden to care-givers; it takes time, energy, and emotional commitment, as well as other resources. These burdens are largely assigned to women, based on traditional gender norms, and backed by power and coercion. Hence the role of women as care-givers is complementary to market production. It involves the production of some goods and services that markets are unable to provide. Women caregivers are mostly overburdened with a double workday (working outside the home as well as inside the home). Women's

\textsuperscript{45} Bina Agarwal, Jane Humphries, Ingrid Robeyns in Bina Agarwal, Exploring the Challenges of Amartya Sen’s Work and Ideas – An Introduction, in Jane Humphries, Ingrid Robeyns eds., Capabilities, Freedom and Equality – Amartya Sen’s Work from a Gender Perspective, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, India; 2006, Chapter 1, p 6

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, p7

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid p21

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid p29, chapter 2, Fabienne Peter, “Gender and the Foundations of Social Choice – The Role of Situated Agency”

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid p59 Chapter 3, Martha C. Nussbaum “Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements – Sen and Social Justice”

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid p 153, Chapter 7, Des Gasper and Irene van Staveren, “Development as Freedom – And As What Else?”
work is always considered as secondary so much so that even thus government tends to ignore it. The government might promote women’s employment when they need workers (as dictated by global markets), but they can be easily withdrawn with shifts in the global market as well as the local economy. Their freedom to work is also affected by pressure from religious and cultural groups. Thus, at all times, they not only have to fight against their male partners, family but also against contemporary economic conditions and the surrounding socio-cultural environment. This means poverty for women at large. Sen defines poverty in an absolutely different manner and characterised it not only by a lack of money or material resources but equally by a lack of respect from others. Being respected is a significant factor in an individual’s success in growing out of poverty, and respect in turn involves and affects the capabilities of self-esteem and confidence.  

Therefore, Sen tried to redefine the human development approach and incorporated the ‘Gender Empowerment Measure’ as an important landmark in bringing gender equity into the mainstream approach to development.  

Martha Nussbaum, an American social scientist famous for her contribution to the capability approach and women empowerment, is a critic of Amartya Sen’s theory of social justice. She has emphasised that Sen had made a major contribution to the theories of social and gender justice by arguing that capabilities are the relevant space of comparison for justice related issues. She agrees with Sen that the capability approach’s framework for examining social justice is superior to utilitarianism, the social contract theory etc. At the same time she argues that the capability approach can be made more useful for exploring social justice by including life, bodily health, bodily integrity, sense, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation to organization, recreational activities and control over one’s environment (political participation and material property).  

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53 Agarwal et al, n 44, p81-82
Sara Longwe, a Zambian grassroots worker critic and author of the ‘Longwe Framework for Gender Analysis’, who is associated with a global non-profit strategic organisation known as The Hunger Project aiming to end world hunger, formulated some basic indicators in 1991 to understand empowerment and the contribution of women in the public as well as in the private sector. She held that there are a few levels through which women can achieve empowerment by women. Welfare is the lowest level at which a development intervention may hope to close a gender gap by improving the socio-economic status, for instance, improved nutritional status, shelter or income. ‘Access’ is defined as the first level of empowerment where women improve their own status, relative to men, through their own work and organisation arising from increased access to resources.

Then comes ‘Conscientisation’, which is the process by which women realise that their lack of status and welfare, relative to men, is not due to their own lack of ability, organisation or effort but results from the discriminatory practices and rules that give priority access and control to men. ‘Mobilisation’, which comes next, is therefore the action level which complements conscientisation when women begin to identify strategies to overcome discriminatory practices, and plan to take collective action to remove these practices. ‘Control’ is the highest level reached when women take action achieving gender equality in decision-making on access to resources. All these are considered as steps for understanding the Gender Evaluation Methodology (GEM).


55 The Hunger project is there to empower men and women to end their own hunger. For further study, access http://www.thp.org/what_we_do/key_initiatives/honoring_africa_leadership/laureate_list/sara_longwe


According to Longwe, because gender problems are embedded in a patriarchal system and given the dimensions of a gender issue, it becomes obvious that interventions cannot be achieved by ‘topdown’ planners. Women’s advancement, however, involves the process of empowerment, or the process by which women achieve increased control over public decision-making. This empowerment is women’s route to changing the practices and laws that discriminate against them, and the means to achieve an equitable gender division of labour and allocation of resources. The male domination of decision-making is preserved by men for the purpose of serving their interests, where women do most of the work and men collect most of the rewards. It would be folly thinking for women to expect male leaders to suddenly ‘realise’ the value of gender equality, and ‘give’ women an equal share of the pie. Past experiences have provided more than enough proof that men do not ‘give’ power to women. It is axiomatic in gender politics, as in all politics, that power is never given; it has to be taken. Clearly, therefore, we need a lens to look into the process of empowerment as a form of women’s action by which a gender issue can be confronted. This process of empowerment may be better understood in terms of the the five ‘levels’ of a ‘Women’s Empowerment Framework’ as mentioned in the main text above.
JASS (Just Associates), a global community of justice activists, committed to strengthening women’s voices, making them visible and organising them for achieving power, mainly catering to the women of Africa, Latin America and South Asia, ⁵⁷ have comprehensively tried to coordinate these levels and clubbed them under four levels for better analysis. These levels are as follows:

- Power Over (ASSETS).
- Power With (CAPACITY)
- Power To (KNOWLEDGE)
- Power Within (WILL)

The analysis will remain incomplete if we do not address the contribution of the United Nations through its Millennium Declaration adopted in the Millennium Summit held in 2000. In this summit some goals known as The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set. The MDGs are eight international development goals that all 192 United Nations member states and at least 23 international organizations have agreed to achieve by the year 2015 among which promotion of gender equality and empowerment is one. ⁵⁸

Out of these eight goals, goal number three deals with gender equality and promoting women empowerment.

The IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) tried to move ahead by keeping in mind MDG No. 3, and considers three pillars in its work to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment: ⁵⁹

- Economic empowerment: Improving women’s access to income-earning opportunities and productive assets
- Decision-making: Increasing women’s say in community affairs and strengthening women producers’ organizations.
- Well-being: Improving access of rural people, in particular women, to basic services and infrastructure

⁵⁷ For the Mission and Vision of JASS, see the Home page of the official website of JASS at http://www.justassociates.org/en

⁵⁸ For Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), see http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/

⁵⁹ The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialized agency of the United Nations, was established as an international financial institution in 1977 as one of the major outcomes of the 1974 World Food Conference. The conference was organized in response to the food crises of the early 1970s that primarily affected the countries of Africa. It resolved that "an International Fund for Agricultural Development should be established immediately to finance agricultural development projects primarily for food production in the developing countries." One of the most important insights emerging from the conference was that the causes of food insecurity and famine were not so much failures in food production but structural problems relating to poverty, and to the fact that the majority of the developing world's poor populations were concentrated in rural areas. Data available on the website http://www.ifad.org/gender/event/torch/index.htm accessed on 29.06.2011 at 22:08
According to feminist scholars, though work tends to be equally apportioned between the two sexes, there is always an issue of male superiority or control over the female, consequent to which patriarchy became an integral part of traditional societies; as a result, the concept of unpaid women’s work has gradually become the norm of the day. Even if women are contributors to business, they are first and foremost child bearers and cooks. These have been termed as ‘subsistence work’ by Maria Mies and these are not recognized as ‘real work’, much less considered worthy of remuneration.

The theories and analyses mentioned above have been propounded with the hope of finding a place for women in the traditional structure of work where they can show their talent and potentiality and be honoured in terms of remuneration in respect of their talent. Previously, work at home had been the only place to showcase their talent, which produced only use value and was not remunerated in tangible terms and is still considered as non-work. Feminist scholars attempt to include them in the mainstream and give them due respect which has been denied over the years. However, this gendered structure prevails over society at large, particularly in the work sector and especially among the poorer sections of society. Poor women are doubly exploited in the sense that they are women and they are poor.

1.3 Selection of Sample Traditional Family Based Occupations

In course of the survey work undertaken for the present study, it was found that inspite of efforts at the national and international levels available statistical data on HBWs are still very patchy. Different countries have collected some data nationally but in the absence of

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60For understanding the ‘subsistence nature of women’s work’ see ‘University of Missouri-Kansas City, USA official website
http://cas.umkc.edu/econ/economics/faculty/Forstater/688/Reading/review%20of%20Mies%20et%20al.pdf accessed on 07.01.2013
‘This entails a recognition of all those (ignored by Perlman) who are directly concerned with producing and maintaining food and life—women (particularly) through their unpaid domestic labour, peasant communities throughout the world and those city dwellers who are involved in procuring subsistence through the so-called informal economy. Such a perspective means taking a ‘view from below’, focussing on everyday life and politics (particularly of women), emphasising the importance of control over land and the means of production, and on self-autonomy and the capacity of ordinary people to be independent and self-provisioning. Although the study puts a strong emphasis on women’s liberation and subsistence, and continually affirms the crucial links between patriarchy and both capitalism and the state bureaucracy, Mies’ thesis has a wider significance. People, she argues, especially women, do not need to be ‘empowered’ (the familiar cry of development discourses)—what they need is for various oppressors to get off their backs—whether patriarchal men, transnational corporations, bureaucratic states, or such agencies as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The ‘utopia’ that Mies has in mind is of a society that is socialist, non-sexist, non-colonial, ecological and which promotes social justice—one that is modelled not on the life-style of the ruling class nor on some ‘future primitive’ but rather one based on ‘subsistence security for everyone’ (p. 4).
Also see Maria Mies, Indian Women and Patriarchy: Conflicts and Dilemmas of Students and Working Women, Concept, New Delhi, 1980; Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Maria Mies (translated by Patrick Camiller, Maria Mies and Gerd Weih), The Subsistence Perspective: Beyond the Globalized Economy, Zed Books, London, UK and Spinifex Press, Australia, 1999
any clear international protocol or code in respect of group-wise collection of data on the particular subject, it becomes very difficult for a researcher to compare and utilize data. The acute lack of homogeneity of data or a universal categorization of workers, as well as non-recognition of informal sectors, has led to various confusions regarding terminology and theoretical acceptability. Though a lot of literature is available on the informal sector in general and self employment work in particular, they are mainly at the macro level of analysis. Micro studies of particular cases are rare. Traditional family based occupations are viewed as part of self employment work, and here a focus on women workers is normally missing. Women who are often crucial to such occupations are yet to be included in any statistics. In this macro-economic level of analysis with so much emphasis on modernized tools, technique, machines, the position of low-skilled women in the informal traditional sector becomes even more critical. This dissertation will also attempt to test in some specific contexts whether the above mentioned theories and approaches especially those of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum are relevant, i.e., whether the case studies in this dissertation act as complementaries or are the approaches a total deviation from the norms set by these scholars? Are the findings of Sen equally relevant for women working in traditional family based occupations?

Given the nature of the group and its heterogeneity (working women in family-based traditional occupations), small case studies continue to be relevant. While there are many such traditional family based occupations, for the purpose of the present dissertation, two different occupations have been selected: fishery and related activities, and pottery/clay modeling and related activities. The first can be placed under 'Non-home-based Self-employment Work' and the second under 'Home-based Self-employment Work'. Though both are more prevalent in rural areas, in urban localities too there are many clusters where such workers have been residing for centuries and are pursuing their occupation as a family business. The study focuses on two different localities – Mumbai and Kolkata. The reasons for their selection will be detailed later.

First, however, it is essential to explain the rationale for selecting these two occupations as case studies for this research.

Literature review on the broad subject of working women in the informal sector revealed that there are two types of self employment work - home based and non home based as mentioned earlier. For the present study, the researcher decided to take one occupation from each type - pottery and clay modeling as a home based occupation and fishery and allied services as non home based work.
Fishery is an important traditional family based occupation in India and is non-home based self employment work. India is criss-crossed by rivers and the sub-continent is bounded by water in the southern region. Fish is an important consumer item in markets all over India. Fish production in Kolkata provides the maximum fish that are consumed by the city’s population; it also provides employment to a large number of men and women. The fishery sector in Kolkata is of the inland type. Mumbai too is a place of major fish consumption and here too a large part is produced locally. Here too, a large number of men and women are involved in fishing, production activities and sale.

The other case study is of a home based occupation, which has similarly provided employment opportunities to urban families for generations. Pottery and clay-modeling fits in well here; it was found that there are large locations within the cities occupied by potters/clay modelers for centuries, for instance, Kumartuli and Kumbharwada in Kolkata and Mumbai respectively.

It may be mentioned here that with the passage of time there has been a progressive shrinkage in job opportunities in cities because of demographic growth and migration, giving rise to informal sector employment, especially self employment as a part of informal sector employment. Although nowadays, self employment work, serves as a compelling option to wage employment and people are often forced to take up such work as the only realistic and practical job choice, it appears that there are other occupations which fall in the self employment category, but which are pursued on the basis of family choice and not out of compulsion. In fact, people employed in such work have been engaged in such jobs for years and generations. However, they still fall under the informal sector category because such family based occupations are not organized. This study aims to throw light on the future of this sector.

It may be mentioned that there are many types of self-employment work that are pursued in the urban localities of Mumbai and Kolkata. The present research has, however, selected only two occupations that are widely prevalent in both the cities of Mumbai and Kolkata. Further, as this study’s emphasis is on women workers, it was important to select the kind of occupation which involves women in large numbers and in various capacities.

Moreover, regular discussion with resource persons, local acquaintances, detailed studies of the Human Development Reports of India, Mumbai, Maharashtra, Kolkata and West Bengal, the Census data for several years etc as well as the researcher’s own experience, helped in the selection of the sample occupations.
In addition, it may be noted that hardly any work has been done on these occupations, let alone women who work in such occupations. This too helped in the selection of the sample occupations and areas for this study. Further, the occupations selected are community based. The selection of these occupations was deliberate so that the impact of a traditional community on the lives of the workers especially women workers could be observed. To women, community is very important. Therefore, the study also aimed to analyze the work–life equation of the women in these sectors in the backdrop of traditional family based occupations.

Another rationale behind the selection of the sample occupations was the interest of the researcher to find out if there was any linkage between traditional family-based occupations and the management of common property resources, and whether the women workers attached to these occupations were involved in the overall management of the common property resources. This would add a gender dimension to the research and the issue of empowerment could be addressed. Pottery/Clay modeling and Fishery are both occupations which are based on common property resources, kshiti (soil) and awp (water) – the first two components of the universe according to Hindu Mythology; the others being morut (air), tej (energy), and byom (space).

As an essential procedure for addressing the position of women workers in the pottery/clay modeling occupation in Kolkata, the researcher found it incumbent at the outset to trace the source of demand for clay idols and other related items. This exercise revealed that the cultural heritage and the religious bent of mind of the people of Kolkata served as the principal source of demand for clay idols and other related items. Essentially, Kolkata is a city which has numerous religious festivals where clay idols are essential items and hence the demand is inevitable. A study of the source of the large number of idols that are worshipped, the people who build, shape and mould them, and where these modelers stay etc., as well as further study of the relevant literature, revealed that a section of Kolkata’s population are Kumhors\textsuperscript{61} or potters and clay modelers, and they reside together in clusters in fixed locations, for example, Kumartuli. Similarly, in Mumbai, counterparts of the Kumhors of Kolkata are known as Kumbhars\textsuperscript{62} and they too reside in a cluster in a place known as Kumbharwada. Moreover, just like their counterparts in Kolkata, the Kumbhars of Mumbai, too, belong to a traditional family.

\textsuperscript{61} Researcher’s own experiences and general knowledge
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid
based occupation pursued for centuries, and they have been residing in the said area for ages; ironically, with the growth of the cities of Kolkata and Mumbai these localities have become marginalized and are now derogated as slums and the Kumhors/ Kumbhars have become “slum dwellers”.

In order to substantiate the reasons specified above for the selection of the sample occupations, official primary survey data were examined for the percentage distribution of the broad occupational divisions by sex out of the total employment percentage. Table No.1.4 depicts NSSO Report No. 458 on Employment and Unemployment in India, 1999-2000, Part I. This indicates that in urban areas the percentage of female workers are maximum in production and related workers category (Div.7) with 29.65 percent followed by fishermen and related workers (Div.6) with 18.4 percent. Thus Pottery and Clay modeling related work correspond to Div. 7 and fishery related work corresponding to Div. 6 have been selected as the sample occupations for this present study to determine the position of women workers in them.

Table 1.4: Percentage Distribution of Total Employment by Occupational Division and Sex, 1999-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. Nos.</th>
<th>Occupational Division</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Professional, technical and related workers</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Clerical and related Workers</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Farmers, Fishermen and related Workers</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Production and related workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures relate to usual status of individuals
Workforce covers those involved in gainful activity regularly

The history, background and relevance of Fishery and Pottery/Clay Modeling in Kolkata and Mumbai are furnished in Chapter 2 and 3 respectively.
1.4 Selection of Sample Areas  
The two sample occupations selected would best be studied in two metropolitan urban localities where urbanization and modernization have intruded to the fullest extent, modern jobs are all around and cities are filled with newly migrated slum dwellers who mostly form the major portion of the informal sector workers. Table 1.5 below shows the largest Urban Agglomerations (UA) 63 of India and it can be inferred that in 2010, Mumbai and Kolkata were the largest UAs in India.

Table 1.5 Largest UAs of India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl Nos.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>WORLD RANK</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>WORLD RANK</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>UA RANK/ POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>10th</td>
<td>4.1 Mn</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>18th</td>
<td>2.9 Mn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>5.5 Mn</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>18th</td>
<td>4.1 Mn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>6.9 Mn</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td>5.8 Mn</td>
<td>Delhi 28th 3.5 Mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>9th</td>
<td>9.0 Mn</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>8.1 Mn</td>
<td>Delhi 23rd 5.6 Mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>15.1 Mn</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>8th</td>
<td>11.9 Mn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td>9.9 Mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>18.0 Mn</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>9th</td>
<td>12.9 Mn</td>
<td>Delhi 14th 11.7 Mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>23.7 Mn</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>10th</td>
<td>15.6 Mn</td>
<td>Delhi 11th 15.2 Mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>26.2 Mn</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>10th 17.3 Mn</td>
<td>Delhi 11th 16.9 Mn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Therefore, the two cities have been selected to test how in the midst of globalization, urbanization and liberalization, the traditional family occupations are surviving and how the women fit into them: what is their position and contribution.

1.4.1 The characteristics of the two cities of Mumbai and Kolkata, given below would indicate the other reasons behind the selection of the two cities.

(A) Characteristic Features of Mumbai

1. Mumbai has the highest Gross Domestic Product GDP in South, West and Central Asia, and ranks 126th in the world GDP. It is the largest city in India, the projected second largest in the world, and was named a Global City in 2009 – a concept first developed by Saskia Sassen (Lynd Professor of Sociology, Columbia University).\(^{(65)}\) By virtue of its being the largest city of India, Mumbai has a close network of public institutions and good communications, to offer necessary data and assistance to researchers.

2. The name Mumbai has been derived from Mumbai Devi, the name of the worshipped God of the original inhabitants of Mumbai, the Kolis (the fishermen caste)\(^{(66)}\)

3. Mumbai is considered as the economic or commercial hub / capital of India, and is an economic powerhouse.\(^{(67)}\) According to the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority in its report City Development Plan – Mumbai, 33 percent of the country’s income tax, 69 percent of customs duty, 20 percent of central excise duty, and 40 percent of foreign trade is generated in Mumbai. The National Stock Exchange of India Limited (NSE)

\(^{(65)}\) Saskia Sassen is a professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. She introduced a new concept in the social science known as global city, which means world city or sometimes alpha city or world center, generally considered to be an important node in the global economic system. The concept comes from geography and urban studies and rests on the idea that globalization can be understood as largely created, facilitated, and enacted in strategic geographic locales according to a hierarchy of importance to the operation of the global system of finance and trade. For details see, \textit{www.saskiasassen.com}, Saskia Sassen, The Global City: Introducing a Concept, \textit{Brown Journal of World Affairs}, Winter/Spring 2005, Volume XI, Issue 2 available at \url{http://www.saskiasassen.com/pdfs/publications/the-global-city-brown.pdf} accessed on 15.11.14. Also see, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), \textit{Human Development Report} – Chapter 1 ‘Introduction—Mumbai: An Overburdened City – Where Now, and in Future?’ OUP, Mumbai, India, 2009, p2

\(^{(66)}\) For the ‘History of Mumbai’ see compilation from several sources by Dr. Ardeshir B. Damania, available at \url{http://www.mumbainet.com/template1.php?CID=15&SCID=5} accessed on 24.07.2011 at 13:03

is a Mumbai-based stock exchange. It is the largest stock exchange in India in terms of daily turnover and number of trades for both equities and derivative trading. Though a number of other exchanges exist, the NSE and the Bombay Stock Exchange are responsible for the vast majority of share transactions.68

4. According to the Census of India 2001 and U.S. Census Bureau, Mumbai which measures 440 sq km in size was the most populous city (population: 11, 978 450) in the world in 2001. This has a direct impact on the increase in the number of slums and slum population.

5. The Mumbai metropolis has also an exceptional geographic location. It is situated at the mouth of a river called the Ulhas River on the Western coast of India, surrounded by an ocean (the Arabian Sea) on three sides, and is known as the “Gateway of India”. The city, therefore, serves as a major point of influx of foreigners; it also attracts immigrants from all over the country.69

6. The Mumbai constituency was earlier controlled by the Shiv Sena – BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) alliance (rightist).70 This is mentioned because the political leanings of the city’s population impact the policies regarding employment, slums, etc.

7. The religious composition of the city population presents a heterogeneous character. It is dominated by Hindus, followed by Muslims, Christians, Jains, Parsees, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jews and atheists. Moreover, being the economic hub of the country famous for its film industry, the population of Mumbai comprises a composite culture, dominated equally by Maharashtrians and outsiders, mainly composed of UP Muslims and Baniyas followed by Gujratis, South Indians and Bengalis.71

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69 Damania, n.66

71 Ibid
8. A total population of 17.7 million lives in slums in Indian cities. In absolute numbers, Greater Mumbai has the highest slum population (6.5 million) which constitutes 54.06 percent of its total population.\textsuperscript{72}

9. Dharavi, one of the largest and oldest slums (jhopadpatty or chawls) of Asia, is located within the metropolitan city of Mumbai.\textsuperscript{73}

(B) \textbf{Characteristic Features of Kolkata}

1. Kolkata is located on the east bank of the River Ganga (locally known as the Hooghly River), not on the sea. Unlike Mumbai, it has a somewhat interior location not directly abutting on the sea.\textsuperscript{74}

2. The name of the place Kolkata is derived from the original name of the place \textit{Kalikata}, which meant \textit{kali ghata} or the \textit{ghat} meaning landing place of the goddess Kali, the popularly worshipped god of the place, and is considered as the cultural capital of India.\textsuperscript{75}

3. The city is affected by a constant flow of illegal migrants / migrants from Bangladesh and the Nepal border.\textsuperscript{76}

4. Like Mumbai, the Kolkata population too, has a composite cultural character but the dominant group is Bengali followed by Marwaris, Oriya, Biharis, north Indians, Marathis, Gujratis, Anglo-Indians, Chinese, Parsees, Armenians, Bangladeshis etc. The composition of the population is quite different from that of Mumbai.\textsuperscript{77}

5. From the viewpoint of religion, Kolkata’s population is composed predominantly of Hindus followed by Muslims; the other minority groups are Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jews, Zoroastrians etc.\textsuperscript{78}


\textsuperscript{73} Damania, n.66

\textsuperscript{74} Aditi Chatterji, \textit{Ethnicity, Migration and the Urban Landscape of Kolkata}, K.P. Bagchi & Company, Kolkata, 2009, Chapter 2 ‘The Evolution of Kolkata’ p29

\textsuperscript{75} For a history of Kolkata see the Official website of Kolkata Municipal Corporation, Kolkata available at https://www.kmgov.in/KMCPortal/jsp/KMCAboutKolkataHome.jsp accessed on 12.02.2013 Also see Aditi Chatterji, ibid n 73, p31

\textsuperscript{76} Chatterjee, n.74, pp 76-122

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid
6. Insofar as the political setting is concerned, the Left Front Government (consisting predominantly of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) CPI(M), in coalition with other leftist parties like Communist Party of India, Forward Bloc etc was in power in the State for 34 years. In the 2011 election, the Trinomool Congress (TMC) came to power with a thumping majority. Though at present the TMC is in power, Kolkata’s socio-political structure must also be studied in the context of its immediate past and the leftist ideology which shaped the states’ economy for three decades.79

7. Unlike Maharashtra, the state of West Bengal (western part of the erstwhile undivided state of Bengal) had been severely affected by the Partition of India in the year 1947. Later, when Pakistan got divided between Pakistan and Bangladesh, West Bengal faced the problem of constant infiltration from across the border. Many of these migrants (legal and illegal), due to the lack of proper shelter to live in, became udbastus (displaced persons) and took shelter in slums, thereby increasing the slum population of Kolkata.80

8. Kolkata also attracts labour from the hinterland and the neighbouring states, many of whom cannot afford proper housing.81

9. A total population of about 1.50 million people lives in Kolkata’s slums constituting 32.48 percent of the total city population, which ranks as the second largest (after Mumbai) in the Indian scenario.82

1.4.2 Principal reasons in favour of the choice of these two cities

Following the presentation of the characteristic features of the Indian metropolitan cities viz, Mumbai and Kolkata, clarifies the decision to choose these two cities for the study.

79 For a political history of West Bengal, see the official website of the West Bengal Government .available at http://westbengal.gov.in/
80 For Migration Profile of the city of Calcutta , see JNNURM, City Assessment: Analysis Of The Existing Situation, Chapter 1, Table 10-13, pp I-29 to I-31 available at http://jnnurmwestbengal.gov.in/HTM/CDP/Kolkata_CDP/CH-I1-17.pdf
81 Ibid
Some of the other principal reasons in favour of the choice of these two cities to serve as sample areas for this study are enumerated below:

1) The characteristic features of the two metropolitan cities presented above reveal that they occupy the two topmost rankings (1st and 2nd) among the 27 most populous Indian cities (in millions) in respect of slum populations in the national scenario. As such, these two cities are likely to provide a large diversified set of data in respect of cases representative of various types of slums.

2) Owing to their locations in two extreme regions (western and eastern) of India, the two cities are situated in two widely different environmental settings. The nature and extent of impact, if any, of this divergent aspect are likely to provide various types of data pertinent to the subject under study.

3) By virtue of their being two of the largest metropolitan cities of India, both of them are likely to have an extensive network of institutions (both public as well as private) and good communication facilities.

4) The two metropolitan cities, viz. Mumbai and Kolkata, have different political histories owing to their being subjected to two distinctively different forms of governments over many years— a rightist and a leftist form respectively. The choice of these two cities would, therefore, enable the examination of the impact of this contrasting feature on the subject under study.

5) The cultural compositions of the two cities concerned are also considerably different from each other; as such, the possible impact, if any, of the cultural factor can be analyzed. However, in spite of their vast socio-economic-cultural differences, they have a common link in the sense that both cities have cultural plurality. Immigrants are part of both the cities (although Kolkata is partially different in the sense it has a large number of immigrants from across the border) so much so that they the cities have attained a new identity particularly as a result of the impact of urbanization and globalization. This similarity and difference leads to a unique base for a comparative analysis of the position of women belonging to traditional family based occupations as well as a study of how these occupations are coping with present day developments and what effect cultural pluralism and migration have had on these occupations.
6) The different economic levels of the two cities and the diverse nature of economic activities the people are engaged in also suggest areas for a comparative analysis of working women in the slums of the two cities, since economy and employment are the focus of this research.

7) Last but not the least, the two cities are large metropolises providing opportunities for many kinds of employment. Yet, traditional family based occupations continue to operate alongside modern jobs because of demand. Though they have a rural foundation, these occupations have been surviving in the proper urban localities for centuries. Two different urban localities have been selected to test whether there are any differences in the nature of activities, exploitation, demands, movements etc of the women attached to these traditional family based occupations.

These are the principal reasons for the choice of Mumbai and Kolkata as sample cities for the purpose of analysing the position of working women in selected slums areas within them.

1.5 ‘Slums’— terminological explanation

Before explaining the choice of slums, it is first essential to define the term 'slum' and the unique characteristics of the slums where the traditional family based occupations continue to exist.

Slums are an intrinsic part of modern day urban areas. The present study shows how, with the passage of time, new slums have developed consisting of migrant population; it also notes how the original inhabitants of urban areas got transformed into slum-dwellers. This has happened in the urban metropolies of Kolkata and Mumbai. The researcher’s initial survey revealed that the areas where traditional family based occupations continue to exist were traditionally village areas, but these are now known as slums. The residents thereof are called slum dwellers.

As the population increases, space scarcity increases, which finally leads to the rise of squatter settlements or slums. A slum is defined as a run-down area of a city characterized by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security.\textsuperscript{83} Although their characteristics vary between geographic regions, they are usually inhabited by the very poor or socially disadvantaged people. Slum buildings vary from

simple shacks to permanent and well-maintained structures. Most slums lack clean water, electricity, sanitation and other basic services. Slums are known by different words in different languages. For example:

- Spanish: *asentamientos irre regulares, barrio marginal, barraca* (Barcelona), *conventillos* (Quito), *colonias populares* (Mexico), *tugurios and solares* (Lima), *bohíosor cuarterias* (Cuba), *villa miseria*;
- German: *Elendsviertel*;
- Arabic: *mudun safi, lahbach, brarek, medina achouaia, foundouks and karyan* (Rabat-Sale), *carton, safeih, ishash, galoos and shammasa* (Khartoum), *tanake* (Beirut), *aashwa‘i and baladi* (Cairo);
- Russian: *trushchobi*;
- Portuguese: *bairros da lata* (Portugal), *quartos do slum, favela, morro, cortiço, comunidade, loteamento* (Brazil);
- Turkish: *gecekondu*;
- American English: ‘*hood*’ (Los Angeles), *ghetto*;
- South Asia: *chawls/chalis* (Ahmedabad, Mumbai), *ahatas* (Kanpur), *katras* (Delhi), *bustee* (Kolkata), *zopadpattis* (Maharashtra), *cheris* (Chennai), *katchi abadis* (Karachi), *watta, pelpath, udukku or pelli gewal* (Colombo);
- Africa: *umjondolo* (Zulu, Durban), *mabanda* (Kiswahili, Tanzania).

In India, various definitions and terms have come up over the years, apart from the definition given by the Census. The Slum Clearance and Improvement Act of 1956 defines slums as places notified in the Official Gazette where ‘buildings in that area—

(a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; or

(b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals,...’

The Calcutta Municipal Corporation Act of 1980 defines *bustees* as “an area of land not less than 700 square metres occupied by, or for the purposes of, any collection of huts or

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84 Ibid, pp 9-10

other structures used or intended to be used for human habitation'. In the Statistical Abstract of the Compendium of Environment Statistics, 1997, Central Statistical Organization (CSO), Government of India, a slum is defined as an ‘aerial unit having 25 or more kutch houses, mostly of temporary nature, or 50 or more households residing mostly in kutch houses huddled together or inhabited by persons with practically no private latrine and inadequate public latrine and water facilities’. There is a host of different slum categories; however, two main categories can be identified: (i) slums that are recognized by the Calcutta/Kolkata Municipal Corporation (CMC) / (KMC) on the basis of land title; since 1980, they have been taken over by the CMC for letting/lease to slum dwellers. This comprises slums on encroached land; (ii) the bustee-type generally has some form of secure tenure or ownership rights based on land rent or lease, with structures built by the slum dwellers, or rent / lease of structures built by third parties. Tenure security is, in principle, not available to unregistered land encroaching settlements on roadsides (jhupri), along canals (khaldhar) or on other vacant land (udbastu).

The West Bengal Municipal Act, 1993 (as amended by the West Bengal Municipal Amendment Act, 2006) defined “bustee” as “an area containing land occupied by or for the purposes of, any collection of huts or other structures used or intended to be used for human habitation. If any question arises as to whether any particular area is or is not a bustee, the Board of Councillors shall decide the question and such decision shall be final.”

It would, at this stage, be necessary to introduce here the broad categorisation of slums in Kolkata and Mumbai, as stated in the Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003 -- Understanding Slums: Case Studies, particularly in the chapters on Kolkata and Mumbai, India, by Nitai Kundu (The Case Study of Kolkata, India) and Neelima Risbud (The Case Study of Mumbai, India) respectively, to facilitate the procedure of the selection of


88 Ibid

89 Law Department, Government of West Bengal, West Bengal Municipal Act, 1993; Part I Chapter 1, Preliminary Section 2, Definitions, Page 2, Pt. 5 (http://wbdma.gov.in/PDF/MunicipalAffairs_MunicipalAct.pdf)

90 Ibid
slums for the present study. There are two broad categories of slums in Kolkata: those that are officially authorised are called bustees. There are also a large number of squatter settlements, which are not authorised. These squatter settlements have grown up by the sides of canals, large drains, garbage dumps, railway tracks and roads. The living conditions of the people residing in these shanties are the worst. They do not have proper access to any basic amenities such as sanitation or water. There is always a stench in these areas, with many people usually being involved in rag picking from garbage dumped outside their houses. In other words, this type of settlement not only faces tremendous problems regarding basic facilities but also causes environmental pollution. The authorised slums can be classified under four broad groups. The first kind of slums existed during the British period when middlemen took land from landowners usually for a long term and built hut type settlements, which they let out, to migrants. As mentioned earlier, these migrants needed a place to live and had no alternative but to accept accommodation without basic amenities. There is another type of slum called “thika tenant slums” where the slum dwellers have taken possession at a fixed rent and have constructed their houses; a third type of slums is where hut are constructed by zaminders (landowners) themselves and let out to the slum dwellers. These types of slums are locally called bustees. The fourth type of slums is Refugee Resettlement Colonies (locally called udbastu colonies) where land has been leased out for 99 years to refugees from present-day Bangladesh by the government at nominal rents.

Another type of slum which is present in Kolkata, is the unauthorised slum. Among the unauthorised slums are those which are simply encroachments on the roadside (locally called jhupri), canals (called khalddhar), or any vacant place (called udbastu) by the poor people either displaced from the city itself or retrenched from their work to forced to find new places due to excessive increase in family size. It has been found that the predominant structures in the slum areas are pucca (permanent or cemented), semi-pucca and kutchta (crude or imperfect).  

Housing options for the poor in Mumbai have been identified as Chawls, Patra chawls (consisting mainly of semi-permanent structures, which can be both authorised and unauthorised); Zopadpatris (squatter housing); and pavement dwellings. Although pavement dwellings and chawls have poor slum-like conditions, these do not fall under the legal definition of ‘slum’. Chawls were rental tenements constructed in Mumbai by

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91 Kandu, n.87
factory owners and landowners for low income workers between 1920 and 1956. Later, the Port Authorities and a few other public sector units began renting out similar tenements to their workers. One-room tenements with cooking places and shared common lavatories were provided, with the aim of housing mostly single men for nominal rents. With the consolidation of male migrants in the city, their families joined them. Consequently densities in these single room tenements increased phenomenally and structures began to deteriorate very fast. Due to rent freezes imposed by the Rent Control Act during the Second World War, the building of chawls became unprofitable for landlords and their supply came to a halt by 1950. Rent freeze also led to a lack of investment by owners in repair and maintenance of existing chawls. In many cases residential tenements were put to commercial and industrial uses resulting in over-use and damage to the structure. The saline and humid weather of Mumbai caused dampness and corroded the steel in the structure.

Faced with serious problems of decay and dilapidation chawls were in precarious conditions, some collapsing during the monsoon season every year. Pavement Dwellers are households, dominated by single male migrants living in hutments built on the footpaths. Zopadpattis are settlements of squatters in the local terminology. These are the most predominant low-income informal settlements falling under the category of ‘slum’ in Mumbai.\(^{92}\)

The two traditional family based occupations selected for the present study, fishery and clay modelling/pottery, are concentrated in areas which came under the category of slums mentioned above in both Kolkata and Mumbai. Originally, these areas were not slums but became so with the passage of time. The condition of women working in the family based occupations have, therefore, to be viewed the context of their geographical location, i.e., the slums where they live.

1.5.1 Selection of Sample Slums from the two cities of Mumbai and Kolkata

To relate the theories and concepts discussed in this chapter regarding the condition of working women in fishery and clay modelling/pottery, sample slums have been selected from the two cities where these occupations are predominant. These are shown in tabular form in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6 showing the Sample Slums corresponding to the Sample Occupations in the two cities – Kolkata and Mumbai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay modeling / Pottery</th>
<th>Kolkata</th>
<th>Mumbai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kumartuly</td>
<td>Kumbharwada</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ultadanga – Saheb Para</td>
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<td>Dakshindari – Pal Para</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kulipara &amp; Durgabhasan -- Durgabhashan Bhery</td>
<td>Khar Danda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naobhanga -- 4 No Bhery</td>
<td>Mahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khashmahal – Sardar Bheri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reasons for the selection of the slums, their brief history, geographical location in maps, and a note of their characteristic features are given in the next chapter, along with a short analysis of fishery and potter/clay modeling industries in Mumbai and Kolkata.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The present study aims to assess the status and position of working women in the traditional family based occupations in the thirteen slums and the two fish processing units in the two major metropolises. The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To assess the socio economic and cultural position of selected working women in the selected slums of India who fall in the category of informal sector workers and are engaged in traditional family based occupations.
2. To locate women and traditional family based occupations in metropolitan urban areas of India in the face of market liberalization and the growth of new types of employment in the country.
3. To find out the extent of gender discrimination and oppression present in the society at large and the workplace in particular; and to analyze if this varies with variables selected for the present dissertation.
4. To analyze the importance and meaning of ‘work’ in women’s life.
5. To identify the position of women as members of a community, residing in the same area and engaged in the same profession and attempt a comparison vis-à-vis another occupation and area.

6. To examine how state policies affect the lives of informal sector traditional family based occupations, in general and women workers in particular.

7. To determine the capabilities of women workers through control over the following:
   - Power over assets, material property and resource management, own life and bodily health, mobility and time management between domestic and non-domestic work
   - Power with the capacity to control; affiliation to any organizations or agency; decision making, participation and consentisation
   - Power to own educational knowledge and other kinds of knowledge and training/awareness
   - Power within (willpower, sense, imagination and thoughts)

All these are to be analyzed in the backdrop of the five aspects of power – positional, agenda-setting, hidden, dialogue and conflict. The findings of the dissertation will also be measured against Sen’s conceptualization of gender biases (male bread earner, commodification and deflationary).

1.7 Variables

The following broad variables have been identified to analyze the differences in experiences of working women in slums:

1. Gender variable (to see how women are placed vis-à-vis men)
2. Locality and its socio-economic-cultural background (to analyze if the position of women differs with different localities and socio-economic-cultural background)
3. Occupational type and nature (to locate the women in the work sphere and to see if the position of women is different in different occupations but of the same type)
4. Income (to compare the wage structure of the women and to locate the women’s unpaid labour)

93 JASS n.56
94 Hyles-Rainford n.10
5. Political ideology of the respective State Governments selected for study and their policies vis-à-vis slums and labour (to analyze how the position of the women differs with different governmental ideologies and policies and to estimate the basic livelihood services of livelihood provided to them as inhabitants or dwellers for decades)

6. National and international policies (how the women under study are affected by national and international policies)

7. Role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), pressure groups and cooperatives (in the process of women’s empowerment)

8. Age (to judge the age group of the working class especially women in the present day context)

9. Continuities and Discontinuities– covering two generations (to compare the position of the present day women with the past)

On the basis of the objectives and the broad variables mentioned above, certain hypotheses have been formed as focus points of study.

1.8 Broader Null Hypotheses

1. Despite the fact that women in slums in major urban areas in India are employed, they are not empowered.

2. Although the women in the selected slums are employed in lucrative occupations (fishery and clay related work) and not in domestic or construction related work, their earnings are meager, which is a factor in their non-empowerment.

3. Even in these occupations which can be gainful, they are employed at the lowest levels.

4. Gender segregation of work exists to a predominant extent in traditional family-based occupations placing women always at a disadvantageous position.

5. There is a lack of proper and effective initiative from the government regarding access to basic necessities, training or fund allocation. This is a main concern for the underdevelopment of women workers in urban based traditional family based occupations.

6. Where the public and private sector (including NGOs, Self help Groups or SHGs, Cooperatives, Pressure Groups) work in collaboration, development proceeds well.
Market liberalization has brought changes in job profiles, and benefits now flow down to the lowest rank; newer generations are moving away from traditional family based occupations and are joining the service sector.

Cultural differences lead to differences in attitude towards work and related issues.

1.9 Methodology

The methodologies applied in the present dissertation are both quantitative as well as qualitative. Both these methodologies have been applied to generate a better understanding of the position of working women in the traditional family based occupations in Mumbai and Kolkata. Since not much work has been done on women in the Pottery/Clay modelling and Fishery industries (especially on inland fishery), greater emphasis has been given to the researcher’s field experiences and the first-hand narratives of the target population. Other available literature was consulted for analytical purposes and comparisons.

The methods that have been employed are:

- Focus group discussion (FCD)
- Study of secondary data (aggregate data analysis)
- Unstructured individual interview
- Structured individual interview through survey method
- Oral history
- Participant observation
- Interview Data Analysis through statistical tools and software

1.9.1 Focus Group Discussions (FCDs)

The first step in the conduct of the present research was the formation of focus groups consisting of some of the more significant men and women representing various workforces of the identified slums who were conversant with the daily life schedules of the ‘slum’ working women and who were easily accessible; they acted as the key

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Also see Janet Buttolph Johnson and Richard A Joslyn, Political Science Research Methods, Prentice-Hall of India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1989

C.R.Kothari, Research Methodology – Methods and Techniques (2nd Revised edition), New Age International Publishers, Delhi, 2004

P.Saravanavel, Research Methodology, Kitab Mahal, Delhi, 2003
informants for the present study. These FCDs helped in categorically defining the research problems as well as in rephrasing the issues if required. The focus groups also helped in identifying the sample population on whom the questionnaires could be tested. The conduct of the FCDs helped in obtaining detailed information on particular topics in a short period of time, and generated social interactions that helped the researcher to clarify her queries in greater detail and solicit more information through unstructured interviews and closed, structured questionnaires in the latter part of the research. The focus groups were first given detailed ideas about the issues raised in the research, and gradually were drawn into discussion. Two groups were formed from each of the 13 selected slums and 2 FPUs; one group consisted of the women representing the selected types of work to be discussed in this thesis, the other group consisted of men residing in the selected slums who were well conversant with the area and the working population therein. Each group consisted of five members; the number was restricted to five to avoid unnecessary confusion. The discussions were conducted in detail for a prolonged period of several days. The proceedings were tape recorded and were also noted in writing to give a backup to the tapes. The tape recorded discussions were then transcribed into script with the participants identified by code to maintain confidentiality. The members provided excellent qualitative data which provided a source for forming questionnaires to gather quantitative data. These steps were followed to generate as much accuracy as possible in the study.

1.9.2 Questionnaires, Interviews and Sampling Methods
On the basis of the FCDs and by applying the observatory method, the questionnaires were constructed keeping in mind the desired objectives and the constraints of time and resources. As the subject population, for the most part, was not educated or conversant in English, the questionnaires were compiled and completed by the researcher on the basis of notes made during the interview sessions. This was also done to gain maximum reliability. The questions were divided into two types; first, questions which were directly related to the research problems (filter questions, which explored the characteristics of the different study groups) and second, filler questions that (although not directly part of the focus of the research) aid the flow of the topic under discussion. The questions were short, simple and specific. The questionnaire was composed mostly of close-ended questions. However, a few questions were kept open ended to extract
maximum information from the sample population, as the target population was mainly composed of illiterate poor women with low education levels.

Pre-piloting of the schedule was done by testing the questionnaires on a few suitable experts (friends and research guide), who went through the questions to identify potential problems; the questionnaires were then finalized either by inserting extra inputs or deleting unnecessary questions.

After the pre-piloting, the question schedule was pre-coded. If data are to be analyzed by computerized methods and the researcher is using a paper question schedule, it is useful to allocate codes to responses in the schedule so that a number is printed in the schedule next to a response. This pre-coding is possible only for close-ended questions. All close-ended questions were coded. The closed-ended questions with multiple responses were also coded using the multiple-dichotomy method; here, each of the possible responses is treated as a separate variable to which respondents provide either a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ answer.\textsuperscript{96} The non-responses were also coded with distinctive numbers and the responses for the open ended questions were kept for detailed discussion and analysis. Those questions which required respondents to rank the responses were put under rank order questions. Here the respondents were asked to rank from most preferred to least preferred. These questions were minimized as they require a lot of time to cover.

A pilot test was conducted in the slums selected for study in both cities with a small number of two women and one man from each selected slum. A pilot test is normally conducted to evaluate specific questions, the format, the question sequence and instructions, prior to its use in the main survey.

After pilot testing the questionnaire with actual respondents, the researcher was ready for the final survey to be conducted.

The next stage was sampling of the target population. Sampling from the population was done through the simple random sampling method and snowball sampling method. The first method helped to narrow down the target population to a specific number which could be considered as both reliable and worthy for analytical purposes, also keeping in mind the constraints of time and money. The second method was applied while doing survey research on the women working with clay, as the population was small as compared to the fishing industry population. Snowball sampling is usually done when there is a very small population size. In this type of sampling, the researcher asked the

\textsuperscript{96} David de Vaus, \textit{Analyzing Social Science Data – 50 Key Problems in Data Analysis}, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2004, p 11
initial subject to identify another potential subject who also met the criteria of the research. Snowball sampling is especially useful when one is trying to reach populations that are inaccessible or hard to find. The downside of using a snowball sample is that it may not be representative of the population. In the present case, application of this method helped to get easy access to the sample population and also made the researcher familiar with the groups to be interviewed. Sampling of the areas was done by the combination of three methods: convenience sampling, judgmental sampling and quota sampling.

Convenience sampling was applied which means drawing the sample from that part of the population which is close at hand and conveniently available to the researcher. In this study, because of the limitation of time and resources, most of the slums were selected on the basis of the accessibility of the location to the researcher. Quota sampling was applied to ensure equal or proportionate representation of the subjects. For example in the fishery sector, quota representation was done for women who were drying fish, sorting, curing, cleaning the fishing area, marketing, selling, head-loading etc. Judgmental sampling is applied when the researcher uses her/his judgment, gained out of experience and knowledge gathered, to choose a sample. In the current research, the researcher used her judgment to select the areas which would be suitable for the current research topic.

The number of sample population from the selected areas was done through *ad hoc* quota sampling method. Through this method the researcher is free to choose any number of respondents she wishes to interview according to her convenience.

The details of the sampling of each slum and occupation selected are given in Chapter 2 and 3 where the slum profiles have been discussed in detail. The total sample size is given in the following table 1.7:
Table 1.7: Sample Areas and sample population size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay modeling / Pottery</th>
<th>Kolkata</th>
<th>Mumbai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kumartuly</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td><strong>Kumbharwada</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultadanga – Saheb Para</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakshindari – Pal Para</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fishery</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapuriaghata - Captain Bhery</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Versova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kulipara &amp; Durgabhasan --Durgabhashan Bhery</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Khar Danda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naobhanga -- 4 No Bhery</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro Chhaynabhi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakurdangi-Barokopat-Polenite</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Processing Unit 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Resource Persons

Atleast 1 from each area (preferably male) + Other necessary office, library and institutional staffs (list of names given below in section 1.9.3) = 46

Informants

27

Total number of Interviewees = 373

1.9.3 Aggregate data analysis

Aggregate data was collected from the following institutes, governmental and non-governmental offices, cooperatives, organizations, pressure groups.

**Kolkata**

1. Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) – Ward Office No 9
2. Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA), Salt Lake, Kolkata
4. South Dumdum Municipality (SDDM) – Ward Office No 35, Nagerbazar, Kolkata
5. State Urban Development Agency (SUDA), Salt Lake, Kolkata
6. Indian Statistical Institute (ISI), Kolkata
7. Jadavpur University Library
8. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Patuli, Kolkata
10. Central Inland Fisheries Research Institute (CIFRI), Barrackpore
12. East Kolkata Wetland Management Authority (EKWMA), DD-24, 5th Floor, Sector-1, Kolkata-64
13. Tapuriaghata Nari Unnyan Kendra (TNUK), Tapuriaghata, P.O. Nawbhanga, Kolkata-105
14. South Asian Forum for Environment (SAFE) situated near Tollygunj, Kolkata, its aim is to protect the flora and fauna of the Wetlands of Kolkata and their beneficiaries.
15. Art Illuminates Mankind (AIM), situated near Shyambazar, Kolkata, aims to study and research, focusing on the folk culture, tribal art and craft that are on the brink of extinction in order to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of those associated poor artisans.
16. West Bengal Earth Pot Maker Welfare Association (WBEPMWA), Bagmari Road, Kolkata
17. Kumartuli Mritshilpi Samabaya Samiti, Kumartuli
18. Kumartuli Mritishilpi Samiti, Kumartuli
19. Sarba Bharatiya Anunyata Kumbhakar Samity, 165/46/1. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee Road, Kolkata-85
20. 4 No. Bheri Fishermen’s Cooperative Ltd, Nawbhanga, P.O. Nawbhanga, Bidhan Nagar(S) P.S, BNM Ward 17, Kol-105
21. Boro Chhayanabhi Fishermen’s Cooperative Society Ltd, Chhayanabhi, P.O. Nawbhanga, Bidhan Nagar(S) P.S, BNM Ward 17, Kol-105
22. Matsya Kanya Rangin Maach Chash Mahila Samabay Samiti Ltd, Barasat Meen Bhavan

**Mumbai**

1. Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) or Brihan Mumbai Mahanagarpalika (locally called BMC)– Ward Offices of G(N)/ H(W),
2. International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Deonar, Mumbai
3. Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS), Deonar, Mumbai
4. SNDT Womens’ University, Juhu, Mumbai
5. University of Mumbai, Santa Cruz, Mumbai
6. Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Goregaon, Mumbai
7. Directorate of Census Operations – Maharashtra,
8. Maharashtra Khadi and Village Industries Board (MKVIB), Fort, Mumbai
10. Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute (CMFRI), Versova, Mumbai
11. Central Institute of Fisheries Education (CIFE), Versova Mumbai
12. Bombay Indigenous Peoples Association (BIPA), Mahim Mumbai
13. AAMRAE, an NGO working for the unprivileged living in slums, situated in Santa Cruz (E)
14. Society for Nutrition, Education and Health Action (SNEHA), working for the empowerment of underprivileged women, situated in Dharavi
15. Kumbhar Samaj Kalyan Kendra, Kumbharwada, Dharavi, Mumbai
16. Prajapati Sarkari Utpadak Mandal Kumbharwada, Dharavi, Mumbai
17. Danda Koli Masemari Byabsahik Sahakari Sangstha Maryadit, Khar Danda, Mumbai
18. Vesava Koli Sahakari Sarvadeo Sangstha Maryadit, a Fishermen’s Cooperative situated in Tere Gally, Vesava, Mumbai-61
19. Vesava Macchimar Sahakari Sangstha Maryadit, a Fishermen’s Cooperative situated in Dongri Gally, Versova
20. Women Fish Vendor’s Forum, Mahim, Mumbai
21. Maharashtra Machhimar Kriti Samiti, State-level fishermen’s cooperative society situated at Palghar, Maharashtra

General
1. National Federation of Fishermen’s Cooperatives Ltd. (FISHCOPFED), New Delhi 97
2. International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), Chennai
3. Bay of Bengal Programme (BOBP), Chennai, Tamil Nadu98

Data were collected from these offices/institutions to substantiate the primary data that the researcher was collecting through rigorous interview. Data were also used to select the sample population and the sample areas.

97 For details regarding FISHCOPFED, see the official website, www.fishcopfed.in/
98 For details regarding BOBP, see the official website, www.bobp.igo.org/
1.9.4 Qualitative Unstructured Interview

The researcher also used the qualitative unstructured interview method to elicit various information. Resource persons, members and employees of the above mentioned institutions were interviewed and prolonged discussions were conducted to gain knowledge about the target population and occupation. Their valued comments, knowledge, ideas and experiences enriched the present thesis. However, like other social science research, one major problem faced by the researcher was to gain access to information and initial entry into unknown communities or groups who were naturally suspicious of the researcher’s intention. In order to tackle this sensitive problem, the researcher selected informants who were part of the target population, occupations and localities and were known, accepted and respected members of the target communities. This helped in coming closer to the community which further helped in eliciting requisite information. The informants often provided valuable information to the researcher. For this purpose the informants or gatekeepers were appointed. Their names have been furnished in the bibliography.

1.9.5 Oral History

Oral history method was also used to learn from the interesting stories of the selected persons in order to understand their background history and gauge the development of the community over the years.

1.9.6 Participant Observation

Since the objective of the thesis was to analyze the position and livelihood of women workers of two different communities with different cultural and demographic backgrounds (which were also very different from that of the researcher), participant observation was also selected as a method. Participant observation is the process of enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in these activities. Therefore, the first and foremost task for the researcher was to select a site which was accessible and convenient to approach, then select the right informants and then gain access to the field with the help of the informants who also acted as ‘gatekeepers’; the researcher thus became familiar with the setting. Through the ‘gatekeepers’, the community leaders or the elderly persons were contacted, who further introduced the researcher to the people in the
community who were interviewed in due course of time on the basis of the set questionnaires. Many a time the researcher faced difficulties in convincing the community leaders about her motive for asking the questions. In the beginning some were reluctant to answer, but gradually the communities were drawn in and became receptive to the researcher, so much so that they sometime considered the researcher as a relative and even included her in some of the family functions. Observing the interviewees by becoming part of the group helped the researcher to gather more authentic data and listen to real life stories that would have been difficult to do through the completion of the structured questionnaires. The researcher also had some initial difficulties with local languages like Marathi but was able to overcome this with the help of the informants, the community people and translators. Rapport was built up over time which involved establishing a trust-relationship with the community. This helped to convince the members that the information gathered will be presented accurately and dependably. Taking field notes was the primary way of capturing the data. To back up the field notes and to avoid missing out important comments and data and also to capture the voice tone and rhythm, voice recording was done. The recordings were later transcribed. All these steps were followed with great sincerity and caution so that biased information could be avoided.

After the collection of data through the application of the various methods mentioned above, they were processed, analyzed and interpreted, using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS)\(^99\) software. Hypotheses that had been drawn were tested by formulating null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis for the research questions; statistical significance testing was done and final conclusions were drawn. The detailed methodology of hypothesis testing using computer application has been explained further in Chapter 5.

### 1.10 Literature Review

Since the study focuses on women workers engaged in traditional occupations who reside in urban based ‘slums’, and the case studies involve only fishery and pottery, the literature review includes the following sub-categories:

- Traditional occupations in India and role of women

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\(^99\) This is a software package used for statistical analysis, maintained by IBM. This software is generally used by the social science students and market research analysts.
• Locating women workers in labour/employment categories: organized, organized home based, non home-based, paid–unpaid etc. categories
• Slums
• Women in fishery and pottery

No significant literature was found on the role of women in traditional occupations in India. Whatever work had been done earlier included case studies of some particular occupation. Therefore, focus was placed directly on the case studies of this particular dissertation, that is, clay modeling / pottery and fishery.

1.10.1 Clay modeling and pottery

Although the industries of clay modeling and pottery have a long history in India, there is very little literature on these occupations. Whatever literature exists concentrates mainly on the art of pot making of different kinds, shapes and materials. Some institutes and universities give training on the techniques of pot making especially in the ceramic industry. This is a traditional occupation and more specifically a family based one. Therefore, the involvement of women is obvious and to an extent deterministic. But literature on the contribution of women is rare. There are various kinds of potters and clay modeler communities who, though similar, are, not same.

In the following pages the researcher will briefly critique some of the important available books in the subject:

1. K.C. Gupta, Progress and Prospects of Pottery Industry in India, Mittal Publications (Delhi), 1988. In this pioneering work, the author provides an insight into the progress and prospects of the pottery industry as it developed in India and the various problems faced. The author’s emphasis is more on the pottery industry that developed in Uttar Pradesh (UP), and the working of the various pottery set-ups including production trends and cost analysis. Gupta selected 20 women workers out of 200 women workers in the pottery industry at Khurja and found that most of the skilled workers came from traditional pottery-making families. However, the book does not focus on the role of women in the pottery industry or the livelihood profile of the community as a whole. Moreover, it is restricted to only one category of pottery.

2. Anita Agnihotri’s Kolkata Pratimashilpira, Ananda Publishing (Kolkata), 2001 is a masterpiece on the clay model makers of Kolkata and focuses on both male and female
workers spread over various kinds of ‘pottery’ and ‘colonies’ dedicated only to clay modeling. The book gives a vivid idea of the various processes that are involved in the making of pratimas (images), the different kinds of workers ranging from the main karigars (skilled workers), ornament makers, suppliers of other kinds of raw materials, saajshiplis (artisans who make ornaments), sholashiplis (artisans who work with pith) etc. The author uses oral histories to give insightful details on the changing phases of these pratima artists in Kolkata. However the book concentrates only on one section of clay workers and does not throw light on bhar (clay cups) makers or pot makers. Also, the book focuses more on the process of image making, the background surroundings, festivals, etc. and not on the role of women workers.

3. Richard Whipp, Patterns of Labour: Work and Social Change in the Pottery Industry, Routledge, London, 1990. This book gives a very elaborate theoretical understanding of the interaction and correlation of family, home and work in the pottery industry and argues how the successful monitoring in the pottery industry rests on the involvement of the entire family and kin, specially the women folk. Job succession is a great source for maintaining a family’s collective earning power and pride. Moreover, the book also relates how a potter’s family not only unites the worlds of home and work but also provides employment, both paid and unpaid, to family members. The book points to the issue of patriarchy / male superiority. It may be noted that this book helped the researcher in the formulation of her hypotheses and objectives, and in understanding the problem in the light of true examples from India.

4. Kalpana Sharma’s Rediscovering Dharavi, Stories from Asia’s Largest Slum, Penguin Books, Australia, 2000, is a book that throws some light on the pottery industry and community in Mumbai but fails to give any detailed analysis of the potter colony “Kumbharwada”, where potters in Mumbai reside.

5. An article entitled “Sexual Segregation in the Pottery Industry”, by Jaiqueline Sarsby, published by Palgrave Macmillan Journals in Feminist Review, No. 21 (Winter, 1985), pp 67-93, harps on an ideal division of labour among men and women and cites examples from the North Staffordshire pottery industry. She points out that in all branches of pottery, like earthenware, china, tableware, sanitary-ware, men are not only employed in large numbers but are also better paid; women employees are largely attendants or subordinates of their husbands and are mainly involved in painting and
other kinds of decoration work. The article highlight the author's insight on the inevitability of the patriarchy arrangement: that the man should be the craftsman, the potter, while his wife and children are his assistants, carrying the ware etc. She points out, however, that the pottery industry has relied very heavily on women and girls for their cheap and skilled labour. This masterpiece gives detailed background knowledge on the position of women in the pottery industry in Europe.

6. Kevin Farmer, “Women Potter? A Preliminary Examination of Documentary and Material Culture Evidence from Barbados”, published in History in Action Vol.2, No.1, April 2011 by the University of the West Indies, Department of History, discusses the making of ceramicware by the enslaved people of Barbados. He throws light on female involvement and the job roles of women which range from preparing the clay, stacking the kiln, cranking the hand driven wheel, preparing and applying glazes to pottery and also sometimes making pots, in the absence of men.

7. In this context, one may also mention ‘The Exhibit of the Legacy of Generations: Pottery by American Indian Women', in the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington D.C., held between October 9, 1997 to Jan 11, 1998. The exhibit was scripted by Nancy L. Benco, Department of Anthropology, George Washington University and this was later published in the Museum Anthropology Journal, Vol. 22, No.2, pp-66-69. This article throws light on the passing on the pottery lineage among Native Americans, and how the pottery form, technique and decoration continued despite change. The author also mentions mainly three generations- the first representing matriarchs, the second, the matrilineal line, and the third, the ‘avant garde’- wherein the women are the prime potters. This article, though not directly related to the current thesis, was studied in detail because of the matriarchal lineage involved in pottery making among American Indians.

8. George M. Foster’s “Pottery-Making in Bengal” published by South Western Journal of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Vol. 12, No.4, (Winter 1956) pp. 395-405, is a study of three areas in Bengal where pottery is the main occupation. This study again focuses on the technicalities of pot making and compares the three areas on the basis of the methods and machines they use, the nature of their finished products etc. But again it concentrates more on the processes than the persons involved.
9. Owen M. Lynch’s “Potter, Plotters, Prodders in a Bombay Slum: Marx and Meaning or Meaning versus Marx”, published in the Journal, Urban Anthropology, USA Vol. 8, No.1 (Spring 1979), pp. 1-27, by The Institute, INC, disaggregates the category of squatters into three ethnic groups in a slum in Bombay and studies their cultural background. The potters or the Kumbhars are one of the ethnic groups. The entire livelihood profile of the area has been studied and a detailed socio-economic study has been conducted. However, no special attention has been given to women workers, without whom the occupation would not survive.

10. “Re-searching Ambivalence and Female Potters”, is an article by Courtney Lee Weida is an article published in an E-journal of arts and humanities, Spaces, Columbia University, available at http://www.tc.columbia.edu/spaces/papers/weidaFinal.pdf (accessed on 10.09.2013). The author notes that though women were the first makers of clay objects, yet they are now denied access from glaze and kiln technologies, profit and credit. She compares the shape of the pot and a woman’s body-narrow at the base and wider in the middle. This article gives a different take on feminity, which has been referred to in the present research.

11. Bula Sirika’s “Socio-economic Status of Handicraft Women among Macca Oromo of West Wallaga, Southwest Ethiopia”, published in the Journal on Education and Science Vol. 4, No.1, September 2008, pp 1-15 by Jimma University, Ethiopia, cites various handicrafts industries in which women play a vital role, specially pottery, in Wallaga. The author also explains how women are discriminated against an inegalitarian society. However, this work stresses on the overall handicrafts industry situation rather than exclusively on potter women.

1.10.2. Fishery

In contrast to pottery, the fishery industry has produced a lot of literature including work on women in fisheries. There are different kinds of ongoing research work worldwide to address problems faced by women involved in the fishery industry. Some of the published works relevant for this research are cited below.

Out of the various works on inland fishery and the east Kolkata wetlands, only one caters to the role and position of women.

Other works like Awareness Generation and Community Mobilization in East Kolkata Wetlands Area published by the Centre for Environmental Management and
Participatory Development, Kolkata; the *Handbook of Wetland Management* compiled by Brij Gopal and prepared by wwf.India, ND, 1995; *Special Journal Issue of Meenbarta on Wetland*, Department of Fisheries, Government of West Bengal; *East Kolkata Wetlands, Newsletter* Nov 2010, Vol.1 by Wetlands International, Kolkata; *Status of Environment in West Bengal – A citizen’s report*, edited by A.K. Ghosh, published by ENDEV, Kolkata, 2008, are works that focus on the growth, development and decay of East Kolkata Wetlands (EKW) in general. The role of women and the livelihood profile of the fisher communities are, however, neglected. The nature of the slums they reside in etc, have been partially discussed in some of the works. The literature is more environment protection oriented, which is not the focus of the present research.

However, it should be noted that environment consists of human beings and their activities. Therefore, attention should also be given to this.

1. *Kolkata: The City of Wetlands -- Uncared Resources, Unrecognized Beauty and Unexplained Truth*, compiled and edited by Madhumita Mukherjee and Kunal Chattopadhyay, published by the Department of Fisheries, Government of West Bengal and Ministry of Agriculture, Government of West Bengal, August 2002, is the only book which includes a chapter entitled “Occupational Hazards and Socio-economic Status of Women Fisheries of Peri-urban Areas of Kolkata” (pp, 91-104). This has been written by Madhumita Mukherjee, Rajarshi Banerjee, Arindam Datta, Soma Sen and Basundhara Chatterjee. This chapter studies three villages in a nutshell with very little statistical data support. The study appears more of a narrative than a factual account with meager data inputs on the position of women in the fishery industry.

2. Various other works have been published by BOBP (Bay of Bengal Programme)- Development of Small Scale Fisheries, India, over a period of ten years and many articles can be cited which focus on fisherwomen; some of the more relevant ones have been reviewed here. “Activating Fisherwomen for Development through Trained link Workers in Tamil Nadu, India” by E. Drewes, *BOBP*, May 1986, assesses the role of fisherwomen of Madras, the culture and tradition associated with fishermen allowing or not allowing women to do any kind of work related to the fishery industry, finding avenues for their empowerment and imparting training to them to create income generating
activities. However, the emphasis is purely on coastal fishery. This approach was also taken by P. Natpracha in an article entitled “Fisherwomen’s Activities in Bangladesh: A Participatory Approach to Development” published in BOBP in May 1986 and “Income-earning Activities for Women from Fishing Communities in Sri Lanka” by E-Dremes published by BOBP in September 1985.

3. Vijaya Khader’s edited book Empowerment of Fisherwomen - in Coastal Ecosystem of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Agrotech Publishing Academy in 2008, is a compilation of articles of various authors who have focused on different aspects of empowerment in the four states mentioned in the title. Some focused on the socio-economic status of fisherwomen, some on the nutritional and clinical status and the knowledge, aptitude and practice of nutrition and health among these fisherwomen. Some writers portrayed the actual participation of women in post harvest fishing and other authors mentioned role models which the women fisherfolk should follow. A chapter on the role of women in fisheries and the socio-economic status of fisherwomen appears highly relevant to the present study. But most authors focused on coastal fisheries only and the study also did not give much attention to male-female interaction and the discrimination against women.

4. G. Dietrich and Nalini Nayak’s book, Transition or Transformation? A Study of the Mobilization, Organization and Emergence of Consciousness among the Fishworkers of Kerala, India published by the Department of Social Analysis, Tamil Nadu (T.N.) Theological seminary, TN, in 2002, provides two new angles to analyze the fishery sector. One is the ongoing feminist approach which seeks to empower fisherwomen, and the other is an approach that looks at fishery as a traditional sector and shows how the family as a whole gets involved in the business. It explains how women have played a submissive role over the years and have been dominated. An attempt has been made here to give a theoretical platform to the study. Though this work has close connection with the present work of the researcher, yet again the emphasis is on coastal fishery.

5. Another such theoretical attempt has been made in an article, “Turning the Tide: Women’s Lives in the Fisheries and the Assault of Capital” by Nilanjana Biswas,
Special Article published in *Economic and Political Weekly, India*, Vol. XLVI No. 51, Dec.17, 2011, pp 53-60. In this article, Biswas has tried to throw light on terminologies that are commonly used in the fishery sector, and on significant researches on women in the fishery sector, as well as on how the focus has gradually shifted from ‘political economy’ to ‘political ecology’. She has tried to explain the ongoing notion of sexual division of labour and the continuous struggle to shift women from exploitation to empowerment through the use of rights based arguments, both in respect of human (women's) rights and community rights. This work is a theoretical formulation of the feminist approach to the fishery sector with very little practical examples.

6. Another outstanding contribution of Nilanjana Biswas is her article "Recasting the Net: A Review of the Literature on Women in the Fisheries" published in 2010 in the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) website available at http://wifworkshop.icsf.net/en/page/863-Documentation.html. She presents a real picture of women in the fishery industry where they are mainly given the status of unpaid family helpers. She explains their invisibility in terms of statistics and the impact of modern technologies, globalization and industrialization on them. She has also reviewed the employment scenario and the role of the community as a whole and the place/rights of women inside the community. The paper overviews attempts at organizing women in the fishery industry worldwide. Biswas’s writings helped the present researcher in the formulation of the hypotheses and the framing of a theoretical framework for the present study (specially regarding fishery). Inspired by the articles, practical and field work was conducted to understand the real scenario of fisher women as part of a traditional family-based occupation.

7. *Evolution of Fisheries and Aquaculture in India* by N.G.K Pillai and P.K. Katiha, published by Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute (CMFRI), Kochi, 2004, gives an account of the various types of fisheries and aquaculture that exist in India. The authors give related statistical data which helped the researcher to distinguish between marine and inland fisheries and their locations and also get an overview of Indian fisheries. A similar kind of publication is the report of the working group on fisheries for the 12th Five Years Plan (2012-2017), Government of India, Planning Commission 2011 available at
8. A conference was organized on fisherwomen in India by the Indian Society of Fisheries Professional Mumbai in 2001. The papers presented were compiled together by Dr. Kohli and published out of the 56 papers, 12 of them had some connection with the present research and was thus referred.

It may be mentioned that though many of the papers focused on women’s empowerment in fisheries, their main area of study was coastal regions and states in southern Indian. Studies on wetland fisheries and the involvement of women in these, which is one of the focus areas of the present study, were largely absent. Moreover, no researcher had attempted to make a comparative study of the role of women in inland and marine fisheries.

1.10.3. Slums

The present researcher viewed two main sources for her study of slum categories and types. In *UNDERSTANDING SLUMS: Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*, published by UN Habitat, there are two chapters,"The case of Kolkata, India" by Dr. Nitai Kundu (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Kolkata.pdf) and "Urban Slums Reports: The case of Mumbai, India" by Neelima Risbud (www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Mumbai.pdf). These gives a vivid picture of the slum situation in India with specific attention to the two cities-Kolkata and Mumbai. These helped to give a substantial understanding of what slums are various slum categories etc and helped the researcher in locating the sample slums according to the specified categories.

1.10.4. Informal/unorganized sector work

Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector published by the NCEUS, New Delhi, 2007, Report of the Committee on Unorganized Sector Statistics published by the National Statistical Commission, Government of India, 2012, are some noteworthy works on unorganized sector work. But none of the reports could successfully give a comprehensive picture of the position of women and statistical data on them. Moreover, various sub-categories of work and types are missing in which women play a substantial role like clay modelers, doll makers, fish driers and curers or on women engaged in some ancillary and subsidiary work in these occupations.

Only in the Report of the National Commission on Self-employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector, there are references to these above mentioned sub-categories of workers under fishery and pottery/clay worker. 100

Gender, Work and Poverty by Siddhartha Sarkar (Serials Publications, 2007) gives an account of why the women are vulnerable in the work place specially in terms of wage, payment of services, hours of work, condition of work, types of work etc, and how their activities are invisible and hidden. This is a general study with not much emphasis on single case-studies.


Thus, although a lot of research has taken place on issues of women workers, informal sector workers, gender discrimination, fisherwomen etc, very few works have focused on the position of women workers in fishery and pottery/clay modeling (as part of informal sector work), particularly as part of traditional occupations situated in urban localities. Moreover, no researcher has made a cross cultural as well as intra-cultural comparison of the occupations, i.e., between pottery/clay modeling and the fishery industry or within and between the occupation.

One book deserves special attention here *Capabilities, Freedom, and Equality*—Amartya Sen’s *Work from a gender perspective*, edited by Bina Agarwal, J. Humphries and I. Robeyns (OUP,). Here the authors try to find avenues to build up human capabilities in the light of A. Sen’s theory. Sen focused on development through freedom (especially women’s freedom) which can be achieved with the formation of agencies which can provide women scope to address their problems, meet gender discrimination in the workplace and intra-household inequality. He also noted the grave issue of the missing women from statistics, policy formation, decision-making and wage payment.

Nirmala Banerjee’s book entitled *Women Workers in the Unorganized Sector: the Calcutta Experience* (Sangam Books, 1985) focused on women workers in the unorganized sector of Calcutta. It examined various aspects of women’s employment, especially the poor women, and attempted to collect information about several features of the unorganized sector in the city’s economy. Banerjee observed that women's participation in the labour force was fairly weak. Over 60 percent of them were illiterate. Nearly 70 percent of the women came from families below the poverty line.

P.N. Pande and T.S. Papola’s *Women Khadi Workers: A Study of Economic Conditions and Status of Women Spinners in Uttar Pradesh* (Mimeo,), Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, 1985, seeks to examine some aspects of women’s participation and involvement in the Khadi industry by drawing a sample of 188 women workers from Almora, Muzaffarnagar and Balia districts of Uttar Pradesh. An attempt is also made to relate this work with the household situation particularly in terms of economic contribution by women through this activity, time use pattern and combination and household chores.

*Women Workers in an Indian Urban Labour Market* by T.S. Papola published by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in September 1983, Geneva, World Employment Programme Research, Population and Labour Policies Programme, Working Paper, WEP 2-21/WP is another noteworthy contribution on the subject. It has compared the wage earners and output of female labour *vis-à-vis* male labour. The author found that the wages paid to female labourers for different operations were lower than that of the males.

There are three major reports on women in recent times in India: *Towards Equality, Government of India*, 1974. Report of the National Committee on the Status of Women
in India, New Delhi; *Sharmshakti*, Government of India, 1988, Report of the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector, New Delhi; and *National Perspective Plan for Women*, Government of India, 1988, Report of the core group set-up by the Department of Women and Child Development, New Delhi. These have assembled considerable data on the work and life styles of labouring women, their invisible contribution to the economy, states of consciousness, and efforts to organize them. These reports have served as a spark to the movement to impute value to women’s home-based work and the need to give them an identity and thus pave the way for appropriate legislation and welfare measures.


Uma Ramaswamy, 1993, in her paper “Women and Development”, in A.N.Sharma and Seema Singh edited book highlights that there is a noticeable presence of women in several segments of the unorganized sector. They participate extensively in agriculture, animal husbandry, and the dairy industry, social and agro-forestry, fisheries, handicrafts, khadi and village industries, handloom weaving, construction and sericulture. A large number of women in rural areas are in self-employment and home-based production as well. In these areas women put in longer hours of work. They work with the lowest form of technology and carry out the least skilled jobs. They also have to combine gainful employment with child-bearing, child rearing and the performance of domestic chores. Quite a lot of their time is taken up by domestic work involving the collection of food, fuel, water and fodder.

1.11 Utility and Limitations of the Study

From the above mentioned literature it can be deduced that that there are plenty of books and articles on the unorganized sector, slums, the fishery and pottery sectors etc. But rarely do we find any literature on inland fisheries and clay modeling as a part of pottery which is a major focus of this study. The role of women in these industries is also not given primary importance but they eventually constitute a major chunk of the workforce in these occupations. Moreover, there is hardly any comparative study. Thus, the
significance and utility of this study lies in the fact that it tries to give importance to the women workforce in two sections of the unorganized work sector which are under-focused in India. Though the researcher tried to give adequate weightage to both the sectors in both the cities, some gaps could not be filled due to the unavailability of data, the non-cooperation of some authorities and a partly non-responsive research subject class. Also due to the shortage of time and money, some detailing had to be left out.

The sample size of each slum area appears small in the sense that there were very few women who were ready to discuss their livelihoods, their problems and expectations frankly. Moreover, they were mostly illiterate or had low education levels. Therefore, it was highly time-consuming for the researcher to fill up the coded questions. Further, many of the women workers were very skeptical about the motive of the researcher, especially initially. Thus they refused to answer and fill up the question schedules. It was only after long discussions with them, gradually gaining their confidence, the women opened up for further discussion. Another reason for selecting a small population group was that the problems of most women of the same area were more or less similar. They have the similar lifestyles and working conditions. Therefore, a few of the target population could reflect the nature of the entire area. This was counter-checked after repeated discussions with the resource persons and through the researcher’s personal visits to the areas under study.

Since this study is relatively new in social science research in India, and the areas selected have more or less remained untouched by researchers, it was difficult to get ready primary data on the selected slums and the target population and the basic issues focused on. The researcher has, therefore, used aggregate data wherever available and supplemented them with personally generated survey data.