

**GENDER AND INFORMAL SECTOR: A STUDY OF WOMEN
STREET VENDORS IN INDIA**

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RICHA SINGH



**Jawaharlal Nehru
University**

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOLL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067, INDIA
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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences

Tel.: 26704408

Date: - 7-2018

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation titled "**GENDER AND INFORMAL SECTOR: A STUDY OF WOMEN STREET VENDORS IN INDIA**" submitted by Km Richa Singh under the guidance of Dr. G. Srinivas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

KM RICHIA SINGH

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. G. SRINIVAS

Supervisor
Associate Professor
Centre for the Study
of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

Chairperson

Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067 -

DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

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KM RICHA SINGH

CSSS/SSS, JNU, New Delhi

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ABBREVIATIONS

ILO	International Labour Organisation
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
MOSPI	Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation
NASVI	National Associations of Street Vendors of India
NCEUS	National Commission for the Enterprise in the Unorganised Sector
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
OBC	Other Backward Classes
SC	Scheduled Castes
SEWA	Self -Employed Women's Association
ST	Scheduled Tribes
UN WOMEN	United Nations Women
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising

Chapter 1

Introduction

Earning livelihood is essential for sustaining life for all human beings; with the act of production human beings enter a new kind of structure and social relationships. Human beings both make and in turn are conditioned by these structures. The process of production of labour in the form of selling and buying product has its own distinctive place in social relationships. Economic activity of human beings is a social product. It is not merely instrumental exercise. In case of social it is conditioned by various social relationships which have unequal in its nature. Gender relations in this framework are one of the basic sources of knowledge that shows the nature of social life.

Economic activities are interrelated with social aspects and studying economic activities only in terms of market mechanism and consumer behaviour is not sufficient to understand discrimination and marginality they produce. Social change is not possible without understanding the location of marginalised and their capability to receive the change. Women as a marginalised group are a real indicator to see the social and economic vulnerability at the bottom level. In this context women who are engaged in vulnerable jobs and are at the position of lowest social esteem can articulate the real nature of gender positioning in the society. To understand various aspects of gender based discrimination in society this study is trying to reveal women's position in street vending profession. This profession has many characters of job insecurity, social stigma, violence and fear.

Women as a gender category always been at the receiving end. They are marginalised not only in economic resources but also in values and norms of society in the form of patriarchy, it demonstrates the value of women's social life. There are various ways to understand gender dynamics. Davies (2006:2) (as quoted in Meeta Deka, 2013:xviii) argues, "Gender divisions permeate not only individual's sense of self, families, and intimate relationships, but also structure work, politics, law, education, medicine, the military, religion, and culture". Meeta Deka (2013:xviii) further argues that in Davies' understanding, "gender is a system of power, which is",

'...constructed and maintained by both the dominants and the oppressed because both ascribe to its values in personality and identity formation. It is hegemonic in that many of its assumptions and processes are 'invisible, unquestioned and unexamined (Davies, 2006:2).

Emphasizing on the importance of recognizing the diversity among women in India, Deka (2013) argues, “if women are as a category of analysis, it is not to assume that women, besides belonging to the same gender, belong to the same class, culture, and society. Women are generally categorized as a socially constructed homogenized group.”

According to Dunlop and Velkoff¹ (1990), “informal sector important source of work for women”. They argue that Indian culture does not allow access to women in “jobs in stores, factories, and the public sector” and in such a context women’s employment in informal sector gains importance in women life. Similarly, according to Barbara Hariis-White (2005) gender plays an important role in Indian economy. She identifies gender as one of the important social structures of accumulation that are impacting the informal sector. While taking Amartya Sen’s ‘development as freedom’ (1999) framework, she emphasizes,

First gender regulates the basic building block of the Indian economy: the family firm. Second, gender matters to the development of the economy; it matters to development seen as the realisation of rights as well as to conceptions of development as freedom (Harriss-White, 2005:5).

Gender is a socially constructed phenomenon, in which patriarchy and power relations lie at its roots. Women are becoming habitual of this discrimination. Women experience marginality in different spheres of social life. To locate women street vendors in urban area shows that urban sociology has a role in defining in which setting is the nature of work is located which is making a different argument in the observation of gender, labour, and social exclusion.

To understand the sociological significance of women street vendors, there is a need to engage with the concepts of gender, work and informal sector at a deeper level. Women street vendors are one of the vulnerable groups who are facing multi-dimensional challenges in informal sector in India. An civil society organization namely Self Employed Women’s Association or SEVA (2018) estimated that about 94% of the total female work force is to be found in the informal sector². It also reflects that their work is not counted and at the same time it is invisible. Women street vendors are those working for their livelihood largely in

¹ See <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/1999/demo/wid98-2.pdf>

² See <http://www.sewa.org/>

urban areas. Cities are increasingly acting as an attractive platform for informal sector labourers.

A “street vendor” is defined by the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors (2014:2)³ as:

A street vendor is broadly defined as a person who offers goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanent built up structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or headload). Street vendors may be stationary by occupying space on the pavements or other public/private areas, or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads, or may sell their wares in moving bus etc. In this policy document, the term urban vendor is inclusive of both traders and service providers, stationary as well as mobile vendors and incorporates all other local/region specific terms used to describe them, such as, hawker, pheriwalla, rehri-patri walla, footpath dukandars, sidewalk traders, etc.

The government policy⁴ asserts that the importance of all these vendors stating they formulate an important segment of the unorganized sector of Indian economy. It is estimated through the report that women vendors counted as 2 percent in metropolitan cities in India It can be further argued on the basis of the report that the street vending is not only a source of self-employment in cities and towns but also acting as a means to provide ‘affordable’ as well as ‘convenient’ services to a majority of the urban population.

Majority of women street vendors are experiencing exclusion at work. The studies on street vendors in India (Bhowmik (2001, 2006), Sharma and Konwar (2014), Sanskrit (2015), Saha (2017)) reveal that women as street vendors are in the age group 16-35 years and street vendors are a diversified category engaged in selling several commodities, like cane baskets, broomsticks, making *beedi*, petty cosmetics, utensils, bangles, vegetables tea stalls, etc. There are about 40% of total street vendors are women, and 30% of these women are the sole earning members in their families.

Mohapatra (2012) argues in her work that concentration of women workers in informal sector is large in numbers. The reasons for opting the work in informal sector varies across categories. Some studies mentioned above have drawn comparisons with women in various occupations in informal sector such as domestic work and street vending, construction, etc. In the case of domestic workers, reason for engagement in such employment is they are

³ See <http://muepa.nic.in/policies/index2.htm>

⁴ The Gazette of India Extraordinary, March 5, 2014, Part-2, Section-1, Ministry of Law and Justice, New Delhi, pp. 2-3.

unskilled, and they are primary earners of their households. Similarly, in street vending, after women develop self-pride in them. Major issues related to the safety and protection with domestic workers are their recognition as a worker; urge for better-living conditions and day to-day protection for facilities- such as, shelter, toilet, and water facilities, protection against police harassment. Other issues such as uncertain wages and no worker organization for fulfillment of their challenges and complaints are also there.

In addition, gender, caste and class nexus is an important factor which plays an important role in women street vendors' lives. Women face deprivation in Indian society as they lack access and ownership over economic resources, secondly, caste is another factor for their discrimination and third is the gender related discrimination. In their works Bhowmik (2001, 2006) and Sankrit (2015) reflect on various issues related to class and choice of occupation. The viability of street vending as an economic activity also depends on clientele. For example, the elite class of society do not patronage street vending as an economic activity. It is a fact that elite urban Indians do not prefer to purchase something from a vendor. But at the same time, the middle and lower classes consumers prefer to purchase from them given reasonable prices. In that sense, commodity and social interaction process also go in parallel simultaneously.

Women are equally contributing to the development of economy of the nation while working in informal sector. Yet they remain uncovered under several safety and protective measures from government of India making this sector exploitative. To substantiate this, one can observe that there is unfairness in wages, nature of work and availability of work at level of gender and bargaining power. Workers coming from lower socioeconomic background of society are socially, economically and educationally least privileged. Another major issue is related to women's health as street vending involves lot of physical labour (K.N. Veena, Shashidar Reddy and Mukherjee, 2001).

It is pertinent to note that the report on the conditions of work and promotion of livelihoods (2008:65) by the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector states that,

The lack of recognition of the role of street vendors culminates in a multitude of problems faced by them such as obtaining licenses, insecurity of earnings, insecurity of place of hawking, gratifying officers and muscle-men, constant eviction threats, fines and harassment by traffic policemen.

Similarly, Ray and Mishra (2011:1) argue that,

...vendors are not only a significant part of the informal sector, but they are also an essential part of the urban economy. It is stated that a very low skill and capital investment is required to enter this trade. In comparison with other trades, it is easier to enter this trade for the poor migrants as well as lower income groups living in the city for some time. With the increase of the urban population, one can see the growth of urban poor, which constitutes the largest section of consumers for these street vendors, has led to an increase in the number in any given city.

Women street vendors in India are an integral part of the urban areas and development of their economy. They daily deconstruct the social constructs of gender, poverty, migration and so forth to support her and also influence the other vendors for their equitable place in this metropolitan city. The theory of social construction on gender views that it is society and culture that creates the gender roles. The social constructivist like Judith Butler reflects his argument regarding the gender roles (Butler, 1990).

Butler (1990:8) argues,

The notion that gender is constructed suggests ascertain determinism of gender meanings inscribed on anatomically differentiated bodies, where those bodies are understood as passive recipients of an inexorable cultural law.

Relating the cultural and construction notion Butler (1990:8) extends her argument that

when the relevant culture that constructs gender is understood in terms of such law or set of laws, then it seems that gender is as determined and fixed as it was under the biology-is-destiny formulation. In such a case, not biology, but culture, becomes destiny.

Consequently, this social construction of gender can be related with the women who are working as street vendors in India. It helps in understanding the importance of women street vendors in the cities.

Conceptual Framework

Women as a marginalized community are important to investigate how the fruits of development are reaching the people who are at the bottom line. In this context, woman's position in street vending profession helps us to understand the matrix of society and role of marginalized in economic institutions. Labour is a significant tool to identify social economic positioning of an individual in a society. To keep this view it is necessary to evaluate various forms of exclusion in the labour sector. Social categories in the forms of caste, class, religion and ethnicity build social environment that is responsible for gendered public sphere and it is

very important to investigate public sphere to evaluate women's social mobility in the society. Profession and socio-economic location of an individual are indicators to situate social institutions and its realities. In case of women, public places are the sites which bounded by various power structures and social conditioning. Social exclusion of gender is a significant factor that is responsible for women's deprivation and discrimination. Street vendors in India are important economic group who work both in remote and easily accessible areas. In this context, this study will see various parameters of gender, labour, urban, informal sector and structure and pattern of social exclusion in street vending profession in India. There are five major concepts used in this study

Gender

Gender refers to those social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females through particular social contexts. Sex makes us male or female; gender makes us masculine or feminine. Sex is an ascribed status because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned. Oakley (1972) argues sex refers to the biological division into male and female; gender to the parallel and socially unequal division into masculinity and femininity. Gender roles, therefore, are the expected attitudes and behaviors a society associates with each sex. Gender which is a socio-cultural constructed phenomenon creates difference between masculine and feminine and makes gender roles of male and females strapping in the society (Oakley, 2005; Firestone, 1970). Gender roles are culturally rather than biologically determined so the mother role of female is a cultural construction.

Lindsey (2005) under sociological theories of gender suggests sociological perspective on gender roles. She reflects that functionalist views family as the integral component of society and gender roles functions within that. These roles are functional as they serve an effective means in keeping the family system functioning properly. Engels (1972) whose studies come under the conflict theory introduced the concept of family and gender roles together in his study. He suggested that the same owner-worker relationship which seen in the labour force is also perceives in the household, with women assuming the role of the proletariat. The conflict theory reflects men as the dominant group and women as the subordinate one. It views that society is a struggle for domination among social groups such as women versus men that compete for scarce sources. Symbolic interaction approach, also known as interactionist perspective aims to understand human behavior by analyzing the critical

function of symbols in human interaction. In the case of masculinity and femininity it is very much evident when people perform tasks or possess characteristics based on gender roles assigned to them. This performing behavior reflects that they are doing gender. The other strand feminist theory investigates inequalities in gender-related issues. This perspective understands that in patriarchal societies, men's contributions are observed as more valuable than those of women. Under this approach various other feminist theories like; radical, liberal, socialist, multicultural and global feminism comes.

Moreover, social construction theory suggests gender as a social and cultural construction. Butler (1990) argues that gender is not fixed category rather it is fluid, exhibited in what people do rather than what they are.

To elaborate gender in other ways, Haywood (2009:239) argues there are various perspectives on gender which gives an extensive view.

- The Liberal perspectives have traditionally regarded differences between women and men as being of entirely private or personal significance.
- Conservatives has traditionally emphasized the social and political significance of gender divisions, arguing that they entail that the sexual division of labour between women and men is natural and inevitable. Gender, therefore, is one of the factors that provide society its organic and hierarchical character.
- Socialist perspective evokes that when gender are significant it is usually because they reflect and are sustained by deeper economic and class inequalities.
- Feminists generally observe gender as a cultural or political distinction, in contrast to biological and ineradicable sexual differences. Gender divisions are thus a manifestation of male power. Different feminists may, however, believe that gender differences imitate a psycho-biological inlet between male and female attributes and sensibilities.

Patriarchy plays an important role in gender difference. Patriarchy by definition, exhibits androcentrism -male-centered norms operating throughout all social institutions that become the standard to which all persons adhere. Lindsey (2005) also suggests that exhibit androcentrism- male centered norms operating all through social institutions that become the standard to which all individuals adhere. All societies categorize members by status and then

rank these statuses in some fashion, thereby creating a system of social stratification. People whose status sets are comprised of low-ranked ascribed statuses more than high-ranked achieved statuses are near the bottom of the social stratification system and vulnerable to social stigma, prejudice, and discrimination. Gender inequality refers to the differences in status, power and prestige enjoyed by women and men in various contexts. Liberals argue about gender inequality in terms of social and cultural attitudes such as sexism and discrimination. To date, there is no known society in which the status of female is consistently ranked higher than that of male. In Indian context many authors such as Leela Dube (1997) focus that the patriarchal ideology in South Asia is deeply embedded.

Aggarwal (1990) argues that community and household are structured by male bias. Hence, patriarchy is an important phenomenon which is needed to be understood in the context of gender. Butler (1990) observes that gender is something that is done then it is also something that we should fight to undo when it is used by one group to exert power over another.

Labour/ Work

The concept of Labor in the topic is associated with the concept of work. Work is the medium through which one can do the mental and physical activity with their all capacity. The labour notion usually is synonymous with wage labour. One can sell their labour and get wage on that basis. Labour and work both are firm to define separately as both are connected with each other. Marxism defines labour in the context of capital as proletariats exploitation subsists because of the exploitation of labour- power by the capitalist class or bourgeoisie.

Labour term usually equated with work. Thus, work whether it formal or informal, paid or unpaid are important in determining men and women's relative wealth, power, prestige and health. The segregation of gender generated gender differences in the distribution of resources, benefits and responsibilities. The study of Goodman (2010) observes that work has been divided into 'men's' and 'women's' work and this separation of work has been practiced and accepted from through the centuries and in all cultures.

Relating gender and work, the sexual division of labour is important to look at. This term refers to the specialized gender roles of male breadwinner and female housewife. Observing labour market, the gender segregation is highly complex. As women's work undervalued and

remains unrecognized, uncounted and unpaid thus it is invisible too. The unpaid work is most falls under the women's work and this one is the major cause that led to an undervaluation of women's contributions to the society and economy.

Gender division of labour takes place because a pattern sanctioned by society exists where women are fixed one set of gender roles and men another. In Indian context, Chakraborty (2009: 1) argues that

‘the division of labour by gender, referring primarily to allocation of paid and unpaid work between women and men in private and public life, also reflects the traditional division of women's and men's roles in society, which result in women's work being often invisible and therefore undervalued in national accounts and labour statistics.’

In the context of work and employment, Swaminathan (2012) argues that the notion of work and employment of work and employment for women is complex. Women's work is rooted in a complex interplay of economic, cultural, social and personal factors. As patriarchal norms and capitalist relations of production results women's oppression in the wage earning.

Exclusion

Sociology of inequality or exclusion is the new dimension or approach of study in the field of sociology which deals with the study of discrimination, social inequality: social class, poverty, marginalization, divergence, inequality and exclusion. The study of social stratification, of the inequalities among the different groups constitutes one of the explanations to the sociological analysis of reality. These social inequalities are not invariable over time, but rather are pretentious by processes of social change, that impact on the structure of human societies. This field's fundamental aim is to clarify the nature of such changes and their consequences for the structure and dynamic of inequalities in the society. Therefore, in sociology, the exclusion concept is generally referred as social exclusion. Silver (2011) argues that the notion of social exclusion is given by Rene Loir in the context of a section of the French population which included mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance observers, delinquents, single parents, multi- problem households, marginal, asocial persons and other social misfits.

Haan and Kabeer (2008) also refer exclusion as the failure of society to provide certain individuals and groups with those rights and benefits normally available to its members, such as employment, adequate housing, health care, and education and training. On the other hand

it is the act making certain groups of people within a society feel isolated and unimportant and as well as it occurs when individuals and communities are blocked from rights, resources and opportunities that are available to others. Therefore, Haan (2001) argues social exclusion can be defined as discrimination against culturally defined groups.

Amartya sen (2000) believes the social exclusion is useful because its emphasis on the role of relational issues in deprivation. Therefore, he views social exclusion as capability deprivation of poverty. Exclusion can take place in the entire spheres- economic, social, political, religion, cultural, regional etc. Like when an individual is socially excluded from family support and welfare- state protection and faces unemployment, then it give rise to income poverty. Income poverty, in turn, interrupts social relations and leads to exclusion in economic sphere. This type of exclusion is a structural process of social isolation and of social involvement. Further, the sub- fields in the context of sociological study of gender, labour and exclusion shows for example; the feminization of poverty means less income for females than males in the labour sector especially in the informal sector, and female single-headed households seem to face poverty more sternly than other women. The intersection of gender and poverty plays a different role than poverty in general. Chant (2011) focuses on the concept of ‘feminization of poverty’ and views that it is driven by feminization of responsibility and/or obligation and feminization of survival Therefore, poverty is a key subject in the analysis of gender and work in the informal sector. . And regarding exclusion, the approach is making contribution in the policy making. Kabeer (2008: 36) reflects that a social exclusion perspective ‘helps to promote amore self- reflective role in policy domain by drawing attention to the operation of social policy as a mechanism of exclusion itself’.

Further, In India, gender and exclusion is reflected by Thorat (2013). He examines that gender would be classified as discrimination. He investigated gender discrimination happens on the basis of caste exclusion. Kabeer (2015:203) also observes about women’s exclusion in the context of poverty and argues ‘gender inequality is structured into the organization of social relations in society, as fundamentally as class in capitalist societies, as race was in apartheid South Africa, and as caste is in India.’ She extends her argument and says ‘ Woman’s location at the intersection between production and reproduction, between making a living and caring for the family, makes the organization of gender relations central to the nexus between economic growth and human development.’

Informal Sector

Keith Hart (1973) is coiner of term “informal sector”. His studied about informal sector in late 1960s on Accra, Ghana. He argued that the masses who were surplus to the obligations for wage labour in Africa cities were not unemployed, but somewhat were positively employed. He examines that these activities be different with the formal economy of government and organized capitalism as like informal income opportunities. Hart (1973) distinguished formal and informal income opportunities on the basis of whether the activity required wage or self- employment. Papola (1980) argues that informal sector concept is used by Hart in study with informal generating activities, unorganized sector, unremunerated sector, self- employed individuals, and urban proletariat. Later this term became relevant in the 1970s as a label for economic activities.

Naik (2009:1) argues that ‘the term informal came in a broader sense in the academic literature only after the visit of an International Labour Organization (ILO) employment mission to Kenya in 1972.’ He adds that ‘informal sector gained currency after ILO evolved a conceptual framework and guidelines for the collection of statics on informal sector, there has not been any single definition of informal/unorganized sector in India.’ The individuals who are involved in this sector are for their livelihood rather for making more profit and at the same time informal sector plays an important role in economic development too. Berreman (1996: 159, 182) argues that informal sector is the norm and from the standpoint of labour the system resembles mercantile capitalism.

In the context of informal Indian economy, Kalyani, Hod and Reader (2016: 78) argues that ‘it plays a fundamental role in terms of providing employment opportunity to large segment of the working force in the country and contributes to the national product significantly. National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS, 2004) has defined the unorganized or informal employment as the same. It says,

Unorganized workers consist of those working in the unorganized enterprise or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits, and workers in the formal sector without any employment/social security benefits provided by the employers.

Looking at what activities are involved in informal sector Kalyani, Hod and Reader (2016: 9) argues that ‘the informal forms of organizations are major players in such activities as

manufacturing, construction, transport, trade, hotels and restaurants, and business and personal services. The informal sector plays a significant role in the economy in terms of employment opportunities and poverty alleviation’.

Women are the larger workforce of the informal sector as they are more likely than men to take on ‘unpaid’ activities. Chakrabarti (2009:12) argues ‘whether economic or non-economic, women are also more likely than men to be involved simultaneously in unpaid care work and in unpaid or low- paid economic activity.’ She observes women’s engagement as a worker is not recognized fully in society and argues ‘often the work of the women is unrecognized by society, their families and even themselves. They are instead regarded as homemakers, and thus not economically active, even though they are engaged in economic work.’ Jhabvala (2000) also investigated in her studies that women’s earning of work is insecure in India.

Street Vendors

Street vendors are central to informal sector and contribute a great share in the economy.

Bhowmik (2005:2256) defines street vendors,

A street vendor is broadly defined as a person who offers goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built- up structure from which to sell. Street Vendors may be stationary in the same that they occupy space on the pavements or other public/ private spaces or, they may be mobile in the sense they move from place to place by carrying their wares on carts or in baskets on their heads.

Bhowmik (2005) used street vendor and hawker as a single category. Saha (2017) identified street vendors as self- employed workers in the urban informal sector. National Policy on Urban Street Vendors (2009) investigates that street vending as a profession has existed in India since immemorial. Street vendors outline a very significant segment of the unorganized sector in the country. It states,

It is estimated that in several cities street vendors count for 2 percent of the population. Women constitute a large number of street vendors in almost every city. Street vending is not only a source of self- employment to the poor in cities and towns but also a means to provide ‘affordable’ as well as ‘convenient’ services to a majority of the urban population (2009:1).

Street vendors in India are facing difficulties in this job. Bhowmik (2001) has done an extensive study on them and identified major issues which are making the street vendors vulnerable to earn their livelihood. They are: hawking as illegal activity in some most cities;

restricted municipal and police laws; the problem of using of public space and so forth. In case of women, Bhowmik (2005:2262) examines about women street vendors and argues that the income of women street vendors is lower than the men. Women street vendors are in vulnerable condition in this profession. The studies of Bhowmik (2005, 2006), Saha (2017), Sharma and Konwar (2014), Jhabvala (2000) and others as they face the issue of harassment at workplace; health and hygiene problems; unidentified invisible skills; low income; income drainage and so forth. The discrimination at the workplace is another major issue which women street vendors face on daily basis. Regarding that Sharma and Konwar (2014: 51) argues that ‘a snapshot of their everyday life reflects different images, symbols and spaces which categorize women street vendors as being “hopeless poor”’.

Since the contribution of street vendors especially women are significant in the economy. It is considered by Konwar and Sharma (2014) that without the street vendors the monthly expenses of the middle class will go up and from that the survival of the poor will become difficult. Therefore, it is also recognized about women street vendors that their contributions seem as invisible as their demands.

Statement of the Problem

This study tries to disclose the pattern and nature of the phenomena of social in the context of the informal sector. It also tries to develop an understanding of gender mobility and the problem of the public sphere in society. How market society and state intertwine is another area of concern for the study. It has been observed that the exclusion of women in the public sphere is practicing in many ways by society? The gender position in the public sphere is conditioned by the historically developed social institution. With certain norms, order and code and conduct limit the social interaction and thus this social become a decisive factor for an economic activity where women suffered and marginalized in many ways. In this way, this study is trying to locate problem and perspective of the market as an activity in public places, the importance of gender and its location in market principles. With the linking of various social hierarchies, this study tries to understand socio-economy of women and consigned social mobility.

Street vending is a profession that included the interaction of people from marginalized social strata. Since street vending is dependent on the mobility of seller and position of local but with the emergence of online buying market in the form of Amazon and Flipkart it has impacted street vendors. With the increasing demand for daily products like vegetables and food items; the study on significance of street vendors are important for understanding the social response of people towards mobile markets.

Research Objectives

Gender and Informal sector are two broad themes that reflect that with the time the nature of work and women's work is being transformed. The informal sector observes the most captivation of the workforce, but at the same time, the activities in this sector are neither protected nor promoted. The informal activities involve both the male and the female's employment and livelihood survival. In India, this sector is considered as the alternative to earn livelihood if all means fail. Women and their work in this sector are impacted through the migratory movement, urbanization and the globalization of the economy. Other than that the social norms and values also reflect their movement in their life. Moreover, these factors occur basically with the more multifaceted milieu of social, economic, political, geographic and cultural forces which shape the context of women's work. The aim of this project or dissertation is to approach women's work sociologically and particularly in the context of women street vendors in the informal sector this study explores the socio-economic condition of them in India society.

The main objectives of the study are:

1. To understand women's role and participation in informal sector in India
2. To examine women street vendors in the context of exclusion, marginality and discrimination women face in informal sector in India

To reflect on deeper understanding of the patriarchy which plays an important role in portraying women's position in the public sphere and their earning of livelihood, this study also focuses on particularly women street vendors and understands them in the context of gender and informal sector. The other objectives are the examination of the street vending as

a livelihood source in the informal sector. In addition that the women street vendors issues, challenges, legal and administrative policies and measures in India is also included in the investigation regarding their work. The following research questions are identified is to investigate women's problems in street vending profession.

Research Questions

The study has following research questions.

1. How gender and work are related with the concept of exclusion in India?
2. What is the situation of the women in informal sector in India?
3. What are the challenges women street vendors face in India that are attributable to gender inequality?
4. What policy measures exist in India to safeguard the interests of street vendors, especially women street vendors?

Rationale of the Study

Profession and socio-economic location of an individual has a great important to locate social institutions and its realities. In the case of women, public places are the sites which bounded by various power structure and social conditioning. Social exclusion of gender is an important factor that is responsible for women's deprivation and discrimination. Street vendors in India are an important people who work in remote and easily accessible areas. This study is trying to see the pattern of women's exclusion and their socio-economic position in a profession which are mobile and has changed social association with people, to focus on various layers of social position in the form of hierarchy this study is trying to establish a social and economic relation of people and society. How social practices determine economic practices is an important factor that this study is trying to enquire?

Review of Literature

In the context of gender and work, scholars valuated gender positioning through various ways, like, structural functional, Marxist, radical post modernist. Women's role in economy has valuated through its historicity, political-economy and social significance.

Gender, Work and Context of Social

According to Oakley (2005) Gender is a socio-cultural constructed phenomenon creating a difference between masculine and feminine and makes gender roles of male and females strapping in the society (Oakley, 2005). The work of Ann Oakley is a renowned one who stresses the cultural division of the labour between male and females. Gender roles are culturally rather than biologically determined, so the mother role of the female is a cultural construction. Although she has more talked about the domestic worker females or housewives, but at the same time also she argues that there is the subordination of women in the Labour Market. On that account, Oakley stresses that working women are better. Shulamith Firestone (1970) in her seminal work on "The Dialectic of Sex" suggests that unlike economic class, sex class sprang directly from a biological reality; men and women have created different and not been equally privileged. Further, she says 'The sexual class division is the model for all other exploitative systems'. From the sexual class system which is the primary form of stratification, it is a relatively short step economic class system 'Power Psychology' provided the motivation and the impetus. Domination of men over women was extended to the domination of some men over other men. So, the sexual class system is like a blueprint and the prototype for the economic class system (Firestone, 1970).

The concept of gender is associated with the concept of 'patriarchy' which signals a sharp divide between the traditions of feminist thought. Sylvia Walby's (1990) "Theorizing Patriarchy" connected patriarchy, women and their problems of discrimination in the society particularly in the field of gender inequality in society and stressed on the patriarchal nature of the society. Walby (1990) understands that "Industrialization shifted much productive activity to factories, shops, and offices. This separation of work from home signaled a thoughtful change in gender relations and gender discourse. The home came to be understood not as the site of a family enterprise, but as a refuge from the world of work. Women were defined as the keepers of the home, as it was seen as their nature to create harmony and virtue rather than services and goods." She has suggested six overlapping structures (like state, household, violence, sexuality and so forth) that define patriarchy and take different forms in different cultures and different time sphere. For instance; she advocates about the patriarchal nature of the society that it is more exploitative in the form of violence and paid work because women are more prone to being ill-treated and paid less.

Women's Work and Its Evaluation

Relating Gender and Work, Dube (1990) observed about the nature of work and the discrimination of women in the society and argued that the patriarchy is so much embedded that in every sphere of life women are subordinated. And she takes not only work but the other perspectives like, health and nutrition, education, family, sexuality as a matter of concern which is very much functioning in the society. Aggarwal (1988) has also talked about patriarchy is very much in the household, and whether it is political, socio-cultural and economic women are facing the challenge.

Further, Mies (1981) with her Marxist-feminist analysis focuses on women lace workers of Andhra. Her observations reveal that how stratification is there in the society and the women's work of lace is not counted as value work. They are not getting the real wage, and the low profile lace work is also making their work uncountable. Further, the sexual division of labour also makes men and women work different in nature as guided by patriarchy. Therefore, inequality and discrimination are derived through patriarchy and the discrimination between labour of men and women.

Rege (1998) has marvelous assumptions and arguments about the position of Dalit women in society as their location is situational. They are still suffering the pain of caste system in their everyday life which is very much reflected in their work as well. The caste system has an elaborate ideology which determines norms and values in other spheres of social interaction as well.

Similarly, Morgan (1969) argues about the Marxian concepts of ideology, class consciousness and class solidarity to the position of women society. Morgan (1969) further argues,

Like just as the class system is justified and legitimized by ruling class ideology, so the position of women is justified and legitimized by male ideology. Such ideology defines a woman's place, how she should act, think and feel as a woman, and so maintains her subordination and justifies her exploitation. In addition to that looking, the intersectionality of class, race, and gender.

Gender, Work and Capitalism

For the basic framework of the study we need to consider the classical thinkers' outstanding views; for instance, Marx's view on capitalism, labour power, and alienation is a great influence, and from that analysis, one can study at the capitalism and role of women with another angle. Similarly, Engels (1942) observed that the household is an autocracy, and the supremacy of the husband is unquestioned. The emancipation of woman will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims but an insignificant amount of her time. He argues,

The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit of the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry (Engels, 1942:88).

Marx and Engels (1942) interpretation on women in capitalist society argues that the demand for female wage labour would raise the status and power of proletarian women in the family. And at the same time, Engels takes a similar view maintaining that with the female wage labour, 'the last remnants of male domination in the proletarian home have lost all the foundation- except, perhaps, for some of the brutality towards women which became firmly noted with the establishment of monogamy.' So, Engels concern is here is the liberation of women in society, but the private ownership of forces of production and the other related causes are the elements in their subordination.

Informal Sector and Women's Work

On account of women employment and informal sector Dunlop & Velkoff (1990) argued that Informal Sector is an Important Source of Work for Women since Indian culture hinders women's access to jobs in stores, factories, and the public sector, the informal sector is particularly important for women. In those Families, business men dominate in all part of that, therefore, patriarchy functions at its best. And she also focuses on the labour and small-town economies as well as the caste and religious and the other social discrimination factors which play an important role in India's Market economy. Further, Berreman's (1996) emphasis is on the informal sector and economy and it has shown that according to critics the

backwardness and impotence of the informal sector is preconditioned for the development and progress of the formal sector while the relationship between the two sectors is expressed in the dependence and subordination of the former to the latter.

Baneria's (1992) study on informal sector and men is a good piece of work where she focuses on the women's economic activities. She gives the extensive view upon the domestic workers and the volunteer activities and analyses about the contribution of these workers in the economy. She also made points about the inclusion of the domestic workers in the national accounts. Informal sector includes large chunk of the population into the workforce. Neuwirth (2011) explains about the informal or unorganised sector in an extensive manner. He indicates that Hart (1973) mainly coined the term Informal sector in 1973 and academics have referred to the businesses that exist on the street, without registering or incorporating or, often, paying taxes, and the neighbourhoods of people who build for themselves on land they do not own, as the "informal sector" (Robert Neuwirth, 2011). Neuwirth has a study on the unregulated markets, and he made a good attempt to trace the condition of the street vendors and entrepreneurs in the market.

According to Rajeshkumar and Rajendran (2014:83) "the unorganised sector of the economy in India, is the largest sector in term of employment of the workforce". They(2014:84) adds that " The bill of National Commission for Enterprises in the unorganised sector, 2006 presented by the government of India, broadly divided the works of unorganised sector into self- employment and wage workers" Basically the unorganised or informal sector includes the casual and contributing family workers; self-employed individuals in informal sector and private households; as well as other employed in organised sector and the main point is that unorganised enterprises that are not eligible either for paid, sick or annual leave or for any other social security benefits given by the employer.

Looking at the sexual division of labour in India, Kapadia's (1997) study in Tamil observes about the analysis related with the social stratification within the Indian society. The class, caste and gender nexus play a significant role in the sexual division of labour, and it reveals that the construction of the biological difference influences a lot.

On women workers in the Informal sector in India has been focused by Kamala Kanta Mohapatra (2012). She reflects that in the informal sector there is the issue of occupational

vulnerability and low-income women workers are one of the most vulnerable groups in the Indian economy. She also provided the field study with data analysis that women worker's degree of vulnerability is there in India due to migration and structural discrimination. She discusses that the rural-urban migration is playing an important role in the vulnerable situation of these workers and not only this women workers in the city face more challenges in compared to others.

She reflects on the low-income women workers in the informal sector and argues that "Low-income women workers, especially in the informal sector form one of the most vulnerable groups in the Indian economy." Mohapatra (2012) has also mentioned about their reasons of vulnerability for instance; irregular work, low-income status, little or no bargaining power, lack of control over earnings, need to balance paid work with care for children and homework, little or no access to institutional credit, training, and information as well as the lack of assets are the main causes.

On account of the gender and social protection of the informal sector, Kabeer's (1997) observation is a renowned one. Kabeer takes a different approach to look at the gender issue in the informal sector especially in the context of the developing countries. She raises the question about the informalisation of paid work and the risk as well insecurity of labour markets. She argues that in the labour market, many are trapped in the informality of chronic poverty, social exclusion and lack of voice. Further, she talks about women and argues that the working women from low-income households are the poor vulnerable ones as women's subordination status in the family, their socially ascribed responsibility for taking care of the family and the precise barriers they face to mobility within the labour market reveals that social protection measures for them need to be designed from a gender perspective way.

Street Vending: Nature and Pattern of Gender and Employment

Street Vending is the largest informal sector and the source of livelihood to the people in the Indian society, especially the urban poor. On the women street vendors, the case study of them has been reflected by Sharma and Konwar (2014). They have done a case study over women street vendors and found interesting facts about their everyday life and their survival story in the metropolitan city like Delhi. The story of a women street vendor called *Gomiben*

is the central part of the case study whose daily life struggle with the work is narrated with the issues which the women street vendors face in the city (Sharma and Konwar, 2014:52).

In their work 'Formalising The Informal Streets'; Ayani Srivastava et al (2012) have mentioned the legality issue of the Street Hawkers and the protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending Bill 2012. They have argued,

... street vending in India is of much economic significance, as it presents informal employment opportunities and forms an important part of the retail market in India. On factoring in these issues, it is surprising that the grievances of this trading community have received little interest from policy makers. The street vendors' struggle for legal recognition has therefore alternatively been a struggle for them to get recognition for the social and economic contributions of their profession (Srivastava et al, 2012:248).

They have also discussed the issues and law, rules and regulation of the street vending bill 2012 and it has included the rights and duties for instance; right to carry on business, no-vending zones, right to re-location, obligations of street vendors and further the registration, licensing and certification under the bill. They opined,

On one hand, the Bill seems to have failed in addressing most of the loopholes present in the existing policy framework. The rights it provides are conditional to the extent that it may easily be denied to the intended beneficiaries. The important tasks of deciding principles that would govern determining of holding capacity of vending zones and process of relocation continue to be left to the 'appropriate governments'. On the other hand, it does make some positive attempts at moving beyond the contest between urban land and livelihood by providing 'promotional measures' like access to credit and insurance facilities through self-regulated structures (Srivastava et al, 2012:273).

On the overall the gender issue especially issues related to women street vendors and their securities are still not the main concern of the bill.

Saha (2017) reflects on street vendors income and working conditions, access to credit, utilization of public space and about the unionization of the concept of decent work. He also discusses that Street Vending license issue is almost in every urban area or cities and from that street vendors suffer more. In the case of women street vendors this is a big deal for them. In that line, Anjaria (2006) as well observes about public space and street vending in the Indian context.

Jabvala's (2000) study on street vendors shows that street vending is a part of urban lives and the problem of legality and illegality of job persist. Although Jabvala's work focuses on

Mumbai city but the problems she raises related to street vending as a profession and public space, she used the dichotomy of space and profession in explaining the importance of street vendors as they signify a dialogue and interaction within the city.

Veena et al (2001) argue that Women street vendors face a lot of issues and concerns particularly concerning; working hours, public toilet facility, awareness about organizations that work for them and particularly membership to these organizations and about their rights on the street vending. Scholars also add that they are doubly disadvantaged because they not only earn for their families but they rear their families to a meaningful existence.

Bhowmik (2001) has done extensive work on the street vendors and hawkers. He raised many issues related to the work, security, health, and finance of the street vendors. His work touches on the study of street vendors in urban informal sector in seven cities (Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Bangalore, Bhubaneshwar, Patna, and Imphal). Bhowmik (2003 and 2006), raised questions related to the problems which hawkers and street vendors are facing in these cities and their tussle with the municipal laws.

As there are laws which give the permission of granting the licenses but in some cities, they are not getting for instance; like in Ahmedabad, especially female hawkers who do not have the licenses are facing harassment by the police because they do not possess the license. Therefore, he argues that "Hawking must be recognized as a right to livelihood and not a criminal activity." So, Bhowmik did an elaborate study on the women street vendors as well which raises their issues in the market and society. Besides that, on the women street vendors, the case study of them has been reflected by Sharma and Konwar (2014). They have done a case study over women street vendors and found interesting facts about their daily life and their survival story in the metropolitan city like Delhi.

The issues with women street vender in the urban area really matter of concern as they facing a lot in every day of life for instance, first, income is uncertain in this work; second, Government bodies not doing well to support them; third, bargaining issues are more with women vendors than men; fourth, their income is not that well that they can make any investment as their situation is hand to mouth; fifth, they often get into debt because of family and festival and other things; sixth, migration is another issue as they live a temporary life because of that; seventh, the earnings usually goes in the hand of male members or on

rearing and raising children; eighth, health issues are a big matter of fact in them; ninth, the issue of illiteracy and un- skilled work affecting their wage earnings and health security both; tenth, sexual harassment and low value to work as well as the domestic burden are major factor of women street vendors vulnerable condition and so on so forth.

Methodology

The present study is primarily based on secondary sources while reviewing available literature relevant to the matter of concern. The literature has been chosen corresponding to the themes and sub-themes of study. The secondary sources include books and journals, newspaper reports and articles, and in depth analysis of NSSO, WIEGO, ILO and other government and non-government reports and publications. The study is vast in its scope and will provide an analysis in a condensed form to suit the demands of our research.

Significance of the Study

This study is an attempt to locate the pattern of women's exclusion and their socio-economic position in a profession which is mobile in nature. It focuses on how social practices determine economic practices in the society, especially in the informal economy sector. It is important to focus on women's position in the market and their relevance in the fast changing market. Moreover, the study also focuses on how social interaction among people is due to unavoidable changes in the economy and how these changes in the economy are responsible in shaping the gender relations between men and women in the society.

Schema of Chapterization

The study consists of five chapters including introduction and conclusion chapters.

Chapter 1 is introduction which would include statement of the problem, review of literature, rationale of the study, research objectives, research questions, conceptual framework, research methodology, relevance of study and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 is titled 'Discourses on Feminism and Women Work'. This chapter will discuss the theoretical understanding of women's place in the public sphere and also focus in what ways feminist discourse defines women's exclusion. This chapter will also address the work and gender notion in the historical context and look at women's work aspect.

Chapter 3 is titled 'Women, Work and Informal Sector in India'. The chapter would cover and understand the Informal sector in India. I will explore how women's work question is addressed in India and how it would be important to understand that the perceived notion should be corrected after the impact of globalization. This will look at how women space and gender segregation in the market.

Chapter 4 is titled 'Women Street Vendors in India'. This would be the main study of the research that will reflect on data analysis and various verification of objectives and research question; this chapter will focus women's position in market place; how nature of work is uncertain and mobile; engagement of women's population and how social indicators like caste, religion, and ethnicity matter in their profession; this will also include the regional and social differences; further, this chapter will discuss the low wage issues (low paid job), vulnerability and some kind of social stigma attached to the profession; socio- economic status and their social perception in India.

Chapter 5 is conclusion. This chapter will summarize the study findings. It will also reflect on how changing nature of economy needs a serious investigation of traditional areas of the economy in India.

Chapter 2

Feminist Discourses on Women's Work

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the history of gender and work. With historical background, it describes the theoretical aspects of the sociology of gender and work. In the context of women's labour, this chapter gives a broad analysis about the division of labour within the society, and it also discusses women in public sphere and their labour in the context of household dimension. It engages with the theoretical debates while looking at feminist perspective regarding gender and work; while looking into the debates and discussions of Liberal, Marxist, Radical and Post Modernist phases of feminism. The concept of 'patriarchy' is central in understanding the division of labour among male and female in different societies.

Historical Perspective on Gender and Work

Women and Work are two broad themes that focus on gender perspective in many ways as it holds to look at how analysis about gendering of 'work' is so significant in society. The sociology of work and gender is allied with the nature of women's work for instance home based work, the link between the productive and reproductive spheres, the sexuality of the organization, gendered nature of skill and on emotional labour that analyses the workplace for both men and women at work. Gender intersects in complex ways with race, class, caste, religion, education, life cycle, geography and marital status. In most societies, women are socially, culturally, and economically dependent on men.

Gender functions at all levels of social life, and it is intensely embedded in work as well for instance how work is organized, rewarded, and experienced. It has been traced by the scholars that the theories focusing on gender and work emerged during 1960-70s. Theoretical debate on gender and work gain recognition when women labor force participation increases and gender inequality gain prime importance at household level and public sphere. Many

studies argued that this inequality and discrimination at the workplace is reproduced further through the social interaction of the workers. These studies pointed out some significant arguments about the structure and culture of the workplace and how it was shaping men and women social interaction at workplace. Some studies also argued about how gender is not just an attribute which people bring with them to the job, but in fact, it is built into the workplace itself.

According to Oakley (1974) history reveals that the debates on 'gender and work' expand after industrial capitalism and this was the time where women home based work and women working outside home gain the prime importance of debates and discussions in public sphere. Oakley (1974:33) further argues,

In the new order, work was separate from family life: an activity performed away from home for its monetary return and not for itself: a labour, not of love or family affection, but of impersonal efficiency. Separation from family relationships, values and considerations was entailed by the rationality of the modern industrial enterprise.

Oakley (1974) has discussed about the industrialization and its impact on women lives in three different time periods i.e. from 1750 to 1841, from 1841 to 1914 and from 1914 to 1950. For instance; women's work was significant to the domestic system of textile production and the first impact of industrialization was on textile sector which made work appropriate to this place rather home. Therefore, the generation of women after that was changed with the hereditary occupation. This increased the number of unskilled workers in the factories but soon after the wages issue raise the growth of machines it created the situation of unemployment. This resulted riots among the textile workers. The protests happening over this issue focused on the changing situation of women workers as earners and contributors to the family wage.

In the eighteenth century, the later decade's reports that despite the issues were there with the workers but some women were still able to get work, though their wages were much lower than they had been before the introduction of the factory system. But by 1830s the work itself got affected as many works from the industry like cotton production was removed.

Therefore, Scholar found a continuity of values and attitudes toward gender and work, which have adapted to changing historical circumstances. It has been traced that the historical debate surrounding gendered values and work. Scott and Tilly (2010) in "Women's Work and

the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe," found that "women of lower strata always worked, and this was, in fact, a significant aspect of their moral construct."

According to Scott and Tilly (2010),

...with the rise of industrialization, the location, and nature of work were transformed, but a continuity of values persisted. "Unmarried women and girls were recruited by rural silk and textile mills, still sending their wages home. The preindustrial household as the economic unit was slowly undermined, however, as the workplace became physically separated from the home. Permanent migration of family members also served to weaken the family economy. The ideology of individualism emerged alongside this economic transformation, replacing family well-being with individual welfare as preeminent. First sons, then daughters, began to keep their wages. As men entered the factories and formed unions, they fought for the "family wage" and pushed women out the public arena and into the domestic sphere, rendering them dependent on men for allowances.

Sociology of Gender and Work

The section will discuss variety of phenomenon like development of relationships at work place while keeping focus on the theme 'gender and work', the organization of organised and unorganized labor within the society and the impact and causes of unemployment. Collins dictionary of sociology (2006:598) explains,

The sociological analysis of work and its organization, including unpaid and paid labour, the general subject matter is analysed within the wider social, comparative context, in particular, its interrelations with social, economic and political institutions.

According to the Dictionary of Oxford, Work as a unitary experience, set off in time and place from the rest of life and is a concept bound in the culture of wage labour. Only when effort- physical and mental is turned into a commodity sold to an employer who then monitors and controls it can we discern an abstract concept of work. The other concept is a work being a finished product of a craftsperson or artist, or work divided into concrete activities of particular people- warrior, farmer, smith, and so on. The situation where productive activities blend into the overall flow of daily life especially challenges our commonsense notion of work. If we analyse what Marx has argued about the theory of work one can understand that in his labour- based worldview, human activity is central to making and transforming all aspects of life, including the concepts we use to understand it. This concept has the wider aspect of the practice of life, for instance, the term labour captures the full range of human capacities with the mental and creative as physical and forceful.

If we analyze work and labour both in the context of the street vendors, it is very much connected with the notion of wage- labour, therefore; Wage- labour employment as an employee for a specified weekly wage or monthly salary, normally on terms and conditions determined by the employer, whose offer may be constrained by employment law, collective bargaining agreements, or pressure from trade- unions. The term is often used to emphasize the weak bargaining position of people who have only their own labour to sell and may be exploited. Whereas work involves tremendously varied experiences and ideas about those experiences, even within wage- labour. Different workplaces and occupations have their own subculture norms and symbols; the so-called "informal" workplace organization of friendship, collaboration, and factionalism often differs from the official organizational chart of power and authority.

Cameroon (1995) in his work argues about the role of identity in shaping the division of work and labor among males and females of household. During the process of socialisation at household level, the gender based rules plays a significant role in making 'house based work' a natural duty of females. Somehow it shows that the perception of women for household based work reflects the concrete division of gendered roles in society. Akerlof and Kranton (1999) observe,

...the psychology and sociology of identity to economic behaviour of males and females at household level and work place. Stereotypical characteristics of men are competitive, acquisitive, autonomous, independent, confrontational, concerned about private goods. Parallel stereotypes of women are cooperative, nurturing, caring, connecting, group oriented, concerned about public goods.

With the marked consistency around the world surveys and observations show that men's primary role is that of breadwinner and decision maker, and women's primary role is that of family caretaker. But this also a near fact that urban-rural differences do not predominantly obstruct with fundamental norms around female and male roles.

Walby (1990) argues that the patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Patriarchy is not a constant and gender relations which are dynamic and complex have changed over the period of history. The nature of control and subjugation of women varies from one society to other as it differs due to the differences in caste, class, religion, region, ethnicity and the socio-cultural practices.

Their observations argue that women experience marginality in a different sphere of social life. To look at the women street vendors in a city or urban area shows that urban sociology has a role in defining in which setting the nature of work is located which is making a different argument in the observation of gender, labour, and social exclusion. Therefore, urban sociology is the sociological study of social life and human interaction in metropolitan areas and this subfield of sociology deals in the study of the structures, processes, changes, and problems of an urban area and by doing so providing inputs for planning and policy making. Hence, women are an important part to discuss in this field.

The nature of work itself and women's work fundamentally is constantly being transformed in the face of changing patterns of child bearing, family structure, marriage, and divorce; declining rates of fertility and both infant and maternal mortality. There are some perspectives which had a profound effect on the work and employment patterns of women, and they are urbanization, migratory movement, technological advances and the globalization of the economy. And these factors arise within a complex matrix of social, economic, political, geographic and more cultural forces which form the context of women's daily work. Even though the contexts and specific characteristics of women's work differ across classes, cultures, and societies, the common threads of surplus, invisibility, and social devaluation of women's work have been acknowledged.

Regarding the sexual division of labour, Firestone (1970) argues that in the "sexual class system"; the biological difference is the base of this division of the sex and the division of labour. But at the same time, it maintains the class system where women historically have been under the supervision of ruling hands. Therefore, Firestone (1970:9) discloses that

...the natural reproduction difference between the sexes led directly to the first division of labour at the origins of class, as well as furnishing the paradigm of caste (discrimination based on biological characteristics).

Boserup (1970) argues that all societies consisting of a division of labour based on sex. While what was regarded as 'male' or 'female' tasks differed across countries and cultures, the very fact of variation in what was perceived as 'male' or 'female' tasks underlined that there was nothing natural about such distinctions like Oakley's division of labour as 'naturalness'. He also went to substantiate that economic development in the developing world had differential impacts on men and women and that it invariably had been negative for women.

Women's Labour: A Social Perspective

Gender is a socially produced entity. Women's work has its social meaning which is relying on culture. It has been observed that historically women's work was segregated with men's work. Sociology encloses the knowledge produced through structure or individual with their social meanings. Norms, Value, and customs in the form of culture construct social for the society. Gender categorization is associated with work significantly, and historically women keep apart doing a certain type of work that is primarily associated with the household domain. The reason behind women's home-based work is security and vulnerability of public sphere. According to Wharton (2005:62),

Throughout history and the world, divisions of labour have developed along the lines of sex. Hence, while work is an activity performed historically by both women and men, sex in virtually all societies has been an important basis for societal organization. The sexual division of labour thus refers to the process through which tasks are assigned by sex. This division of labour is one of the most fundamental ways that sex distinctions are expressed in social institutions.

Murdock (1969) emphasize on biological aspects in the gendered division of labour. He observed that it is biological differences is the main reason for division of labor among men and women. For instance, Men as superior strength and women with her capacity to bear children have logic behind the culture of gendered labour. Murdock's study concludes that the biological division of labour was the character of all society. Likewise, anthropological studies focus on the gender stereotype of work. Margaret Mead observes in "Coming Age of Samoa" that it is the social development of a society that allows women's discrimination as labour and the culture of gender discrimination is socially construct and visible in mainstream society. It depends on culture construction of gender that gives direction to women's association with particular labour.

Furthermore, structural functionalist theorists corroborate that women's traditional in society. Talcott Parson reveals that every society needs socialization of their member and developing a personality suitable for values in society. He understands that in modern industrial society a nuclear family performs two kinds of work: first, socialization of the young and second is the stabilizing the young personalities.

Subsequently, modernity also confirms the traditional role. Women's work in the public sphere is need of the system. In this regard it has been noted that in sociological literature,

classical thinkers do not make clear identification of gender-based division of labour but with their structure analysis of nature of work and order of social structure we can trace women's position in this order and how functional or conflict aspects apply on it whereas trace in traditional role of women and their exploitation. It is a fact that by the feminist intervention the new aspect came into existence that focuses on women and labour relation. Though feminist intervention made a mark in raising women issues the real challenge came with the arrival of feminist discourse on the social reality of gender that has questioned the nature of women's work and their invisibility in mainstream discourse. How it traditionally it fixed that naturalized women's labour.

According to Oakley (1974) in contrast to the definition of work as employment, women's work has often been equated with the female reproductive work of pregnancy and childbirth. References to women "entering the workforce," "nonworking women" and the "empty nest" reflect assumptions about women's work and employment. Contrary to such assumptions women are continually engaged in many types of work activities throughout their lifespan, in addition to the work of biological production. The male- gendered, market-driven ideology of work as unproductive, marginal, trivial, temporary, intermittent, dispensable, less valuable, less skilled, and less physically demanding.

Women as Workforce

Workforce or labour force is associated with those who are available for work, and it is the labour pool in employment. Boserup (1970) has argued that,

conventional measures of economic activity had systematically underestimated the significance of women's economic contributions in different regions of the developing world both by failing to acknowledge the magnitude and value of their unpaid work in the productive economy as well as by undercounting their paid work outside of the 'modern' sector of the economy.

In the context of the labour force, it is an economic activity which has a hierarchy of definition, and each defines work in a broader manner: First, Paid labour force refers to those in waged or salaried employment where pay may be in cash or kind. Second, Market-oriented labour force includes those in paid work as well as those working in family farms or enterprises that sell some or all products. Third, ILO labour force includes both the former categories as well as persons engaged in the production of economic goods and services

regardless of whether or not these are sold. This would include all activities associated with primary products, including animal tending, food processing and post-harvest processing of crops. It would thus include subsistence and small-scale activities in which women are often to be found. Fourth, Extended labour force includes all the above but also all those engaged in activities that meet the family's basic needs for goods and services that might be purchased in monetized economies. These would include gathering and preparing fuel, fetching water and so on.

Household Dimension of the Women's work

A household is a fundamental unit of society and in that individuals both assist and compete for resources. It is also observed as a place where in which individuals face up to and reproduce societal norms, values, power, and privilege. And relating to that gender norm articulated in the household which is basically reinforced and reflected in larger institutions of society. Therefore, Gender relations are not restricted to the domestic arena- even though households constitute an important institutional location on which gender relations are played out, however, are made, remade and contested in a range of institutional arenas (Kabeer, 1997). Therefore, one can consider that gender relation as is found to be functioning in the household domain. The household is the locus of a meticulous of production of human beings and social relationships are as central as the production and distribution of goods and services. Production, in that line, is oriented to meet the needs of entire population and to the development of human capabilities. The most important aspect of gender relation is that it is embedded in the relations of power and hierarchy (Mehta, 1996).

Scott and Tilly (2010:68) argue that,

...among the working and peasant classes in preindustrial Europe, the household was the central economic unit. Family members were interdependent, providing natural aid to one another, and all were expected to work for the household. Married women generally tended animals and the family garden, and marketed surplus dairy, poultry, and vegetables, while men worked in the fields. Married women held power in this family economy due to their role in managing the household. Wives of farmers and craftsman kept business accounts, purchased goods in the marketplace, and often acted as primary traders as well. Daughters were sent out to work as domestic servants, agricultural labourers, or apprentices to weavers and seamstresses, giving their earnings over to their parents.

Moreover, the effect of employment status on women's definition of household labour was found to be only marginal. This suggests that the role determined nature of household labour for women for women applies to both employed and unemployed and is less work-like for men even if they do participate at least to some extent in the same activities as women.⁵

According to Kalpagam,

Most women work not out of choice but because of compulsion of survival. In addition to long hours of work they put in for the purpose, they also bear the burden of all other domestic chores, child-rearing and cultural obligations. Given the patriarchal ideology, the internal structure of even working-class households (that is, the power and authority structure) is generally adverse to women regarding age, marital status and ritually defined position in the family. While the culturally defined sexual division of labour and its concomitant public and private domains provide some space for women for their autonomous exercise of power, the increasing crises of existence and the compulsions of survival have vastly eroded these spaces.

The distribution of resources within the family and the control over the household is a matter of fact to understand male and female differences, Kalpagam further argues,

Women's control over their resources and earnings are severely constrained and this because of the proportion of income is dominated by male members. This is also a truth that women bear a disproportionately greater burden of household survival as the economic situation in the household worsens; women progressively lose whatever control they had over the resources, though the pressures of household survival also act as a countervailing force to curtail individual autonomy.

Consequently, the household dimension is a big factor which seems to make a significant role to understand women and work in a deeper context.

Women's Labour and Public Sphere

'Public sphere' is a wider concept to debate but if it is precise in a nutshell in Habermas term is "as a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space." And to make it clear it is a realm of social life and in that realm public opinion can be shaped. Consequently, the question of public and private worlds has their different dichotomous meanings. The desire to emancipate women within the family and the society becomes a strand of the discourse to understand the 'public' and 'private' in a gender context. The concept of socially constructed gender is the unequal power relation between the two genders. The unequal power-relation denotes male domination and a subordination of the female (Kapadia, 1997: 3071-77). The 'domination and subordination are patterns that is

inbuilt within the gender relation is observed in all spheres of life- public and private where both the genders are the constituents or actors (Krishnaraj, 1996).

Therefore, gender- relations are operative in the workplace which is the public sphere of life. In this sphere, efforts are made communally to produce and uphold both material goods and human beings and consequently relationships are reproduced. Workplace is where works are accomplished as a social process and both the genders participate in that. In this process gender hierarchy decides the respective roles and rights of males and females drawn in the process.

Adediga indicates women's role in the public sphere as 'an addendum to men' and 'a peace-maker.' Women do always see as sensible in communication in the community. Esther explores that a women's role in the public sphere should be that of 'a mother to the nation, a builder of the nation, a symbol of beauty, an example in honesty, faithfulness, hard work and in reliability to men folk' (Okuyade, 2010:55). In that line, the roles to a woman in the informal labour or economy depicts that 'In the public, women are expected to do anything men can do' (Olanipenkun and Sukamani). But at the same time Women in formal work, in the informal work and male workers expected women to exhibit exemplary character to influence children and society positively. Women in the informal economy and men in formal work expected women to imbue performance with the relationship of care- 'motherly touch' (Okuyade, 2010: 59). In the informal sector, the role of a woman is influenced by the family, religion, education as well as societal expectations.

Further, the concept of the urban space in the context of the public sphere is significant to define. Harvey investigates that to understand cities, it is important to understand how human practices create distinctive conceptualizations of space, specialty, and legality. In a workplace work defines women or men because they spend their lives working formally for a wage on various jobs; therefore, how much gender 'matter' at work? That is more interesting to investigate.

The commodification of women's labour and sexuality rendering them more and more powerless intensifies their vulnerability. It has been observed that Gender relations in any society have centrality in production relations by the way they structure systems of ownership of means of production, work organization, rewards, power, and authority. When key

institutions of the pre-capitalist mode become articulated into the new system, specific consequences for women ensue. Two such key institutions in the case of India are caste and family- kinship units. Both caste and the family kinship units have served traditionally as instruments of subordination for women, The conjunction of caste and family- kinship in a dual, interacting system of production reinforces the subordination of women within the family and the economy. Therefore, the role of the women in the public sphere is influenced by these factors.

In addition to that, Safa (1995) has argued that "many studies of the informal economy tend to be gender-blind; being male or female affects one's movements, possibilities, and career trajectories in the informal sector. Partly because of societal, cultural, and familial patriarchal constraints, women often constitute an especially vulnerable, super-exploitable labour force."⁶ And in that consequence, the public sphere becomes a major platform which silently practices these realities of society.

Patriarchy, Work, and Women

Gender is so much routine ground that it usually takes a deliberate disruption of our expectations of how women and men are supposed to act to pay attention to how it is produced. Gender is somehow like the culture which is a human production that depends on everyone constantly "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987). In gender, patriarchy and power relation is the root in which lie all the problems of women's related issues, and in that manner patriarchy, work and women are intertwined with each other. In a patriarchal society, women are observed or subjected to multiple pressures on their life. Patriarchal ideology, as evident in the societal practices, has to be integrated into analysed which seeks gender-specific explanations. To observe these more deeply, the theoretical engagement will give a significant approach.

Liberal Feminist Perspective: Engaging with the Women's Work

Liberal feminism concerns that how to raise the participation of women in many aspects of life. After enlightenment there was a need to felt, equality freedom in everywhere is society.

Liberal feminism supports emphasizing women participation in economic activity. With the stats of the feminist movement in Britain, it was felt that it is necessary to include women in economic process that will bring equality in society. So the notion of gender equality was the first driving force behind the liberal feminist movement for women's activity in the economic sector.

Wolstenholme's (1792) highlights the issue of women's absence in public world, and she acknowledges that how it is necessary to give an opportunity for women to enhance their capacity that will lead their emancipation from traditional role. Later C. W. Mills work subjecting of women emphasize on women's work and their right.

Boserup (1970) in her classical work women role in the economy was the first attempt that highlights women's indivisibility and its worth in economic activity. Women's integration in economic activity will lead to their transformation. It needs to increase women's participation in economy. Liberal feminist is in favor of a liberal economy. Liberal economy in the form of the market will lead to a change in status-quo of women.

Risman describes gender as a highly complex structure that patterns human behaviour at three levels, and they are: individual, cultural or interactional, and institutional (2004: 437). From this perspective, the defining social effect of gender is that it is "a socially constructed system" (2004: 430). Liberal feminism sees that gender as a system of stratification produces a gendered division of labour, an organization of society into public and private spheres, and a cultural dimension of sexist ideology.

The sexual division of labour in modern societies divides production regarding both gender and spheres denoted as "public" and "private." Women are given primary responsibility for the private sphere. Men are given privileged access to the public sphere (which liberal feminists see as the locus of the true rewards of social life for instance; money, power, status, freedom, opportunities for growth and self-worth).

The fact that women have what access they do to the public sphere is, of course, one triumph of the women's movement- and of liberal feminism- as is the fact that women feel they can make some demands on men to assist in the work of the private sphere. The two spheres constantly interact in the lives of women (more than they do for men), and both spheres are

still shaped by patriarchal ideology and sexism, which also are pervasive in contemporary mass media (Blakely, 2009).

On the one hand, women find their experience within the public sphere of education, work, politics, and public space still limited by practices of discrimination, marginalization, and harassment (Benokraitis, 1997; Gardner, 1995; Hagan and Kay, 1995; Reskin and Padovic, 1994; Ridgeway, 1997). On the other hand, in the private sphere, they find themselves in a “time bind” as they return home from paid employment to “a second shift” of home and child care infused by an ideology of intensive mothering (Hoschschild, 1989, 1997; McDowell, 2008; Shelton, 2000).

These pressures on women work interactively in complex ways, and one feature of the contemporary feminist theory is its attempts to understand these interactions. Women’s ability to compete in career and profession is hindered by the demands of the private sphere (Wladfogel, 1997). The public sphere “ideal worker norm” (Williams, 2000), which assumes the life schedule available to the typical male intensifies the stress of home commitments by shrinking women’s resources of time and energy which in turn increase the demands on them for crisis management at home (Hochschild, 1997). Sexism’s link of women to the private sphere activities of care giving, emotion management, and the maintenance of routine means that women are expected to do this additional work in the public sphere, being frequently tracked into under-remunerated jobs in which these “womanly” skills are commodified and marketed (Adkins, 1995; Pierce, 1995). This sexist patterning of work and home puts the single mother at tremendous economic risk and is one factor in the increasing “feminization of poverty” (Edin and Lein, 1997; K. Harris, 1996; Hays, 2003).

Marxist Feminist Perspective: Capitalism, Patriarchy and Society

Marxist perspective observes social reality to historical materialism that economic determinism is input to social status and gender oppression. Therefore, gender relation is controlled by this strategy too. Fredrich Engels (1972) work called “Origins of Family, Private Property and the State” reveals historical defeats of women in progress of the economy. He discusses that before the arrival of property, there was equality presented in

terms of gender relation. In the later period, it becomes accountable for the devaluation of women in the very sphere of life, particularly for their labour.

And with the development of modes of production women lose her status because it is men's control over property which is responsible for women's subordination. Further, with the rising of capitalism, the separation of the family household from commodity production notifies men's control over women in the nuclear family, and it made male work as breadwinner and female as a housewife. Significantly, capitalism generates the possibility of women's liberation from family-based patriarchy by creating possibilities for women to work in wage labour and also become financially independent.

Fredrich Engels (1972) describes, however, that because of the problem of unpaid housework, a private task allocated to women in the sexual division of labour of capitalism, full women's liberation can only be achieved with the development of socialism and the socialization of housework and childrearing in social services provided by the state. And for that reason, most contemporary Marxists have argued that women's liberation requires feminists to join the working class struggle against capitalism (Cliff, 1984).

Moreover, Marxist- feminist thinkers who are great sociologist and anthropologists, have done studies related with cross-cultural and historical perspective on the earlier forms of kinship and economy and the role of the sexual or gender division of labour in supporting or undermining women's social power (Reed, 1973, Leacock, 1972, Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974).

They have also attempted to assess the world economic development of capitalism as a contradictory force for the liberation of women (Federici, 2004; Mies, 1986; Saffioti, 1978) and to argue that universal women's liberation requires attention to the worse off poor women workers in poor post-colonial countries (Sen & Grown, 1987). Other feminist anthropologists have argued that other variables in addition to women's role in production are key in the understanding of women's social status and power (Sanday, 1981; Leghom and Parker, 1981).

Yet other feminist economic historians have done historical studies of the ways that race, class, and ethnicity have situated women differently in relation to production, for example in

the history of the United States (Davis, 1983; Amott and Mattaei, 1991). Finally some Marxist- feminists have argued that women's work in biological and social reproduction is a necessary element of all modes of production and one often ignored by Marxist economists (Bemston, 1969; Hennessy, 2003; Vogel, 1995).

Marxist-feminist literature on the household conceptualized it as a productive and reproductive unit and analysed family household reproduction at three levels (namely, the reproduction of labour power on a continuing and daily basis, biological reproduction and social reproduction). Social feminist analysis brought the underlying power relations within households explicitly into focus (Kalpagam: 51).

Therefore, Marxist feminist believed that both subordination of women and division of classes developed historically with the development of private property and that is why Engles interpretation stated that with the emergence of private property housework sank into insignificance in comparison to man's productive labour.

Radical Feminist Perspective: Patriarchy and Women's Labour

Radical feminists can be seen in every institution and in society's most basic stratification arrangements heterosexuality, class, caste race, ethnicity, age, and gender systems of domination and subordination which leads to patriarchy. Not only is patriarchy historically the first structure of domination and submission, but it also continues as the most pervasive and enduring system of inequality, the basic societal model of domination (Lerner, 1986). Through participation in patriarchy, men learn how to hold other human beings in contempt, to see them as nonhuman, and to control the subordinate women. Patriarchy creates guilt and repression, sadism and masochism, manipulation and deception, all of which drive men and women to other forms of tyranny. Patriarchy, to radical feminists, is the least noticed yet the most significant structure of social inequality.

Men create and maintain patriarchy not only because they have the resources to do so but because they have real interests in making women serve as compliant tools of sexual pleasure and reproduction. They can be ornamental signs of male status and power. As carefully controlled companions to both the child and the adult male, they are pleasant partners,

sources of emotional support, and useful foils who reinforce the male's sense of central social significance. These useful functions mean that men everywhere seek to keep women compliant. But differing social circumstances give different rank orders to these functions and therefore lead to cross-cultural variations in the patterning of patriarchy.

Post Feminism and Location of Gendered Work

One of the most tempting aspects of postmodernism to many feminists has been its focus on difference. The notion that women have been shaped and defined as 'other' by men has long been argued and explored by feminists, most remarkably Simone de Beauvoir (1952). She confronted male definitions of women and called on women to define themselves outside the male, female dyad. She urged, must be the subject rather than the object (other) of analysis. This concern was echoed and prolonged by other feminists, mainly those calling for the recovery of women's voice and the development of knowledge from the stance of women (Harding, 1987).

Nevertheless, the concern with women's as 'other' emanated mostly from the piece of writings of white western middle- class women, whose generalizations were stranded for the most part in their own experience. Feminist theory 'explained' women as if the reality of white western middle- class women applied to women from all classes, races, and regions of the world. The feminist concern with female 'otherness's ignored the possibility of differences among women themselves (Gilligan; 1982; Spelman 1990).

Not unpredictably, the postmodern focus on differences has presented shells to women who felt excluded. Black and Native women in North America and Europe have become increasingly vocal about their unique problems, and the need to incorporate race and culture as well as class and gender into feminist analysis. While minority feminists have been arguing for some time for a radically and ethnically specific feminism has provided a space which legitimizes the search for 'the voices of displaced, marginalized, exploited and oppressed black people' (Hooks, 1984: 25).

Some Third world feminists have taken up this argument. They have accused western scholars of creating Third World women as undifferentiated 'other,' oppressed by both gender

and Third World underdevelopment. Chandra Mohanty has analysed the writings on Third World women by a number of western feminists and concluded that they: "...colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world, thereby prodwinghe- presenting a composite, singular 'third world women' –an image which appears arbitrarily constructed but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of western humanist discourse... assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality on the one hand, and insufficient self- realization about the effect of western scholarship on the 'third world' in the context of a world system dominated by the west on the other, characterize a sizable extent of western feminist work on women in the third world" (Mohanty, 1988; Mohanty, 1991). Furthermore, Aihwa Ong has argued that 'for feminists looking overseas, the nonfeminist other is not so much patriarchy as the non- western women' (Ong, 1988: 80).

Therefore, the above perspectives and the theoretical approach gives an extensive knowledge about the study of the gender from the economic, social, political as well as the cultural point of view.

Conclusion

Related with the theoretical approach towards women and work as well as in relation with development have appeared much more after 1970. There are the initiatives taken by the government and the growth of women's networks and Organizations at the community, national and international levels happened and happening. Despite that many problems regarding women's condition and subordination remain unsolved and realities of society are still a great deal facing by the women.

The women's question took place when the problem of livelihood comes. Economy of the gender relation is guided by the principle of have or have not, like in the institutional set-up when women subordinates in livelihood, inheritance, a division of labour, etc. Historically, it is observed that mainstream society has been in favour of man. It can apply not on the individual level but if we think about the relation between nations of the world. This is the same as the relation of authority and subordination practices. It means the expansion of patriarchal order is from individual to international relation level. In this frame of the world order, the social order of human being is subordinated in many forms.

As for as it is the matter of the fact that women's basic exploitation source has been based on economic relations. Women's have been treated as private property in the form of marriage, in prostitution and socialisation process at their own home. This resulted from women's use value in the society. That's why in many forms of the art we can see women's depiction of a certain age as history reveals what is happening today it was there yesterday too, but only their form was slightly different.

The idea of property is central to defining the role of patriarchy in the society. Through the marriage, we can see that the women exchange from one place to another and this is because of her reproductive power will contribute in the form of children to the family. So child rearing and taking care of the family members is her basic work.

When we think over the political economy of the women two things are fundamental, one is power relation, and other is economic relation within the society. In this sense, we can see and assume it that women's do a lot of work at the home as a housewife and double work load they take as they have the responsibility of the home, children as well as of their office work too. But many times their work is not valued, or it submerged with the good values of the women as this is her duty.

Regarding reward, her work is not countable as the man's work in the society. A survey happened in recent years that if women's daily work counted as their job and give them the salary, they will earn double than a man can earn. We can see the rural areas women do a lot of agricultural work in spite to take care of home and children they also help in animal husbandry, but this work is also not recognizable. In many cases, women do not get their real due and also face humiliating behaviours of their masters, and in many cases they got exploited and raped by them too. It is observable that women get less salary than men in labour market as evaluation of their work on the basis of their weaker physical strength. This type of social arrangement in the labour market where women unevaluated, turn their subordination and strengthen the patriarchal order where women are dependent on the good human values of men.

Theoretical dimension of women's unorganized labor has its own complexities. Indian society has graded inequality with the difference in social order. To understand the theoretical

positioning of these graded inequality require a certain categories and context. But the multiplicity of social hierarchy regarding caste, gender and ethnicity do not allow to measure gender and labor problem with any singular frame work. But at the same time, feminist understanding of women's social reality has given a rich understanding of problem and prospective in the unorganized sector. Keeping with the view this chapter tried to locate feminist dialogue on women's deprivation in the unorganized sector. Whether liberal feminist view tries to understand participation and presence of women in the public sphere, Marxist scholar focused on the materialized condition of women. In the same way, this chapter also tried to recognize radical feminist understanding of the patriarchal system that is responsible for women's deprivation in every aspect of life.

Theoretical underpinning of gender in unorganized sector shows that there is a need to recognize various areas of problems which are still not in focus. There is need to understand local cultural reality as well as global capitalism to address the issues of changing character of labour and role of agencies.

Chapter 3

Women, Work and Informal Sector in India

Introduction

This chapter explores the concept and the role of Informal or unorganized sector in India. To understand the economic activity and informal sector, it needs to look at the formal sector as well because both are related and to know them the linkage is important to indulge. With the informal sector, women and work are needed to understand and concerning that the gender role in the economic activity is being investigated in this chapter. The women labour and market is central to understand regarding the informal economy and to understand that the gender segregation in the labour market is observed and to analyze it in a deeper level in Indian society, the role of the women and their exclusion and inclusion is a noted question has been explored in this chapter.

The informal sector or economy includes various types of paid and unpaid works with lack of protection of workers in terms of social security, health insurance, working conditions, fair wages, access to resources, and collective bargaining. Generally, women represent majority of workforce in this sector of the economy, and they bear both consequence and reason for discrimination.⁷ Working women's conditions are not at par with male counterparts in the informal economy because they get segregated and get opportunities divided on gender basis; for instance, some jobs of them noted as less important and skill requiring than men-dominated jobs like domestic services and personal cares (Anttonopoulos, 2009). Before going into the analysis of the informal sector about gender, especially in context of women, the issues related to unorganized and organized sectors need to be addressed.

The Informal Sector: Concepts and Linkages

The term called 'Informal sector' came into existence in the terminology of development theory at the beginning of the 1970s. Keith Hart coined the term. He came up with the

⁷ See Employment Policy Department, "The Informal Economy and Decent Work: A Policy Resource Guide, supporting Transitions to Formality" (International Labour Office, 2013).

distinction between wage and self-employment as the essential difference between the formal and informal sectors.

Roy (2017:215) explores that "the notion of informal sector emerged in policy discourse since the report of the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Kenya Mission, 1972, and it was Hart's (1973) seminal paper that divided the economy into the formal and informal sectors." ILO has focused on informal employment broadly and called it is an employment which is 'precarious' in nature and exists in all three sectors of the economy; formal sector, informal sector, and private households. The employment condition in the informal sector is assessed by a matrix that classifies informal/formal employment in these three sectors for different types of employment/ activity (Hushmans, 2004; ILO, 2013). ILO also broadened the scope of the informal sector, for instance, it explained that Informal activities are characteristically considered by the ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, the small scale of operations of labour intensive and adaptive technology, skills acquired outside formal schooling system, and unregulated and competitive markets.

Looking at the women, they contribute two-thirds of world's working hours and yet earn 1% of the world's property. This shows the disparity between men and women who are continuously engaged in the national income through their work.

Mohapatra argues that "Informal employment is generally a larger source of employment for women than for men in the developing world. In Asia, the proportion of women and men non- agricultural workers in Informal employment is roughly equivalent to women and men in the Informal economy". Mohapatra further elaborates, "The Informal Economy in India employs about 86% of the country's work force and 91% of its women workers. Many of these women workers are primary earners for their families" (Mohapatra' 2012:197).

The goal of the individuals entering into informal sector is to earn livelihood which serves the purpose of personal and national importance, for instance, the people get income, and the number of poor in the country reduce which results lesser economic burden on government shoulder. Further, it leads to the best use of resources available with government bodies. An individual can choose from a variety of streams available in the Informal sector. In that line the employees whether he or she can be categorized into different categories; for instance 1)

Vendors, 2) Rag Pickers, 3) Parlour assistants, 4) Domestic helps, 5) Garment Workers, 6) Coolies and 7) Construction workers.

In this regard, Mohapatra (2012) argued that the women workers in the informal sector tend to work as piece rate workers, which is self-employment in nature. Further, these workers can get paid in an informal enterprise or be unpaid workers in the family business. Mohapatra (2012) also extended the definition of informal employment with inclusion of casual workers without fixed employers and subcontract workers limited to a formal enterprise. Home-based and street vendors are the largest subgroups of the informal workforce: home-based workers are numerous, but street vendors are more visible of the two. World Bank observes that taken together they represent an estimated 10-25 percent of the non- agricultural workforce in developing countries and over five percent of the total workforce in the developed countries (World Bank, 2000). Research and reports observe that following categories of women workers in the informal sector have been identified; they are Rag Pickers, domestic workers, coolies, vendors, beauticians, construction labourers and garment workers (Mohapatra, 2012).⁸

Table 3.1: Employment in Organised and Unorganised Sectors

Sector	Organized	Unorganized	Total
Formal	37.18 (45.4%)	1.39 (0.4%)	38.56 (8.1%)
Informal	44.74 (54.6%)	390.92 (99.6%)	435.66 (91.9%)
Total	81.92 (17.3%)	392.31 (82.7%)	473.23 (100%)

Source: A. Srija & Shrinivas V. Shirke, FEATURE an Analysis of the Informal Labour Market in India, CII, NSSO 2012.

Informal sector determined by the jobs which are vulnerable not with absence of job security and surety. Relationship of Indian society with the economy has its social character as in traditional structure. There was a *Jajmani* system where it was patron-client relationship that was compelled by social sanctioning (Gould, 1964). Nevertheless, with the emergence of industrialization the nature of economy has changed, and it has given way new kind of work and labour in economy. It was pressure of welfare state that bound economic organization to make policies in favour of labour benefits (Kniivilä, 2007). Otherwise generally establishments who provide jobs do not want that their worker to organize for their rights.

⁸ See in Kamala Kant Mohapatra (2012) Women Workers in the Informal Sector in India: Understanding the Occupational Vulnerability.

This helps the organizations to avoid collective bargaining that may result increased expenditure towards wages.

In India Society, it is obvious to see that there is a large number of people engage in informal sector. According to NSSO 66th round survey on Employment and Unemployment in India of 2012, 38.56 million people are engaged in formal sector, and 435.66 are currently working in informal sector (NSSO, 2012). Almost 91.9% people are working in informal sector (NCEUS, 2009). In this way, we can say that informal sector determines the real picture of labour and employment in India.

With the introduction of liberalization policy of 1991 informal sector is growing magnificently. The state is rolling back its welfare initiatives and handling over its responsibility to the private players. Even health, education and other basic responsibility like electricity, water transportation, the role of private is growing day by day (see above 3.1). New liberalisation policies of the state opened new avenues for global market on the other side it ruined local market and people who are working in this area. Jobs like street vendor have suffered a lot in this new global assault on local economy. People for marginalized section got most severe tack on their livelihood. In this case, women who were at the margin became more vulnerable for the society and system.

The Linkages: Formal and Informal Sector

The formal and informal sector has some linkages with specific reference to economic activities. Siggel (2010:93-94) has pointed out that the best linkage of the informal with the formal is illustrated by a model of labor market segmentation. According to this model, the labour supply to the informal sector is a residual and consists of all those workers who cannot find employment in the formal sector. Siggel (2010:96) further explains,

The modern-sector labour supply, in turn, depends on the incentives for rural-urban migration provided by the sector through the differential in expected earnings, as described by the well-known Todaro Model (Todaro, 1969).

He extends his explanation and argues that “The formal sector excess labour supply of labour results from its above- equilibrium wage rate, based on various distorting factors, such as the minimum wage and the ability of modern sector firms to pay higher wages and to screen workers for higher quality” (Siggel, 2010:96). Therefore, this formal/ informal sector

interaction model is known as labour segmentation in dual economy (Lewis, 1957). In this regard the reduced formal- sector labour demand would be an increase in informal- sector labour supply and that results wage decline (dual labour market theory, segmented labour market theory). But at the same time this process increases informal sector employment.

In the informal, formal linkages the other model is the linkage through the capital market and the capital shifts to the informal sector. The upshot to the decline in formal-sector production, capital would be unconfined and reinvented in the informal sector. Later it would consequence in increased labour demand and a positive impact on employment and income in the informal sector (Marjit and Maiti, 2006 as quoted in Siggel, 2010:96).

In this regard the informal sector provides intermediate inputs to the formal sector, a turn down in the output of the latter will essentially direct to a decline in output and labour demand in the previous. This model is of some significance in India, where formal-sector firms (including exporters) are identified as subcontract widely with individuals and families in rural areas; for instance, cottage industries.

Women in the Informal Economy

According to several studies and reports most of the workforce in any state are in the informal sector and many factors like stringent regulations for starting business in the country, ineffective work laws, and other environmental factors, forces the growing population to adopted informal sector as a source of livelihood. The informal sector has its deep root in India, and it is considered as the sector that is the best alternative to earn livelihood if all other means falls short. Both male and female of different age and groups are actively involved the sector. The monetary factor is the reason behind the involvement of large population in the sector (Chen, 2005).

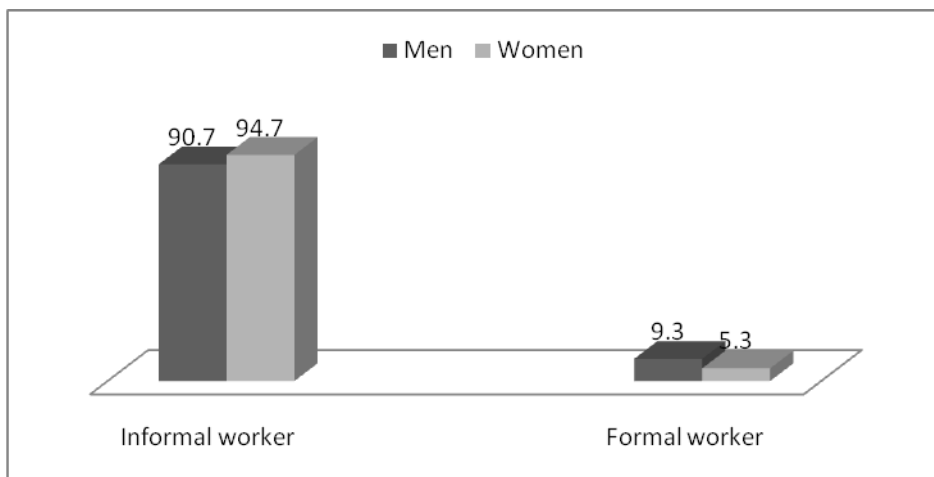
In India, both men and women are active participants in the informal economy, but women are still considered as the most vulnerable. The reasons like family responsibilities such as child care, education, and marriage continue to force them deep into informal sector. That is the cause behind why women in India in this sector commonly adopt the role of domestic help and street vendor. The small-scale businesses involving for instance in vegetable or fruit

vending activities or maintaining or running a food joint in the street corners are their main earning sources, but despite earning money, these women face all the hardship for survival (Husmanns, 2004).

Although some women have a decent set of skills that can be effectively used in formal sectors, even then, they get employed in professions demanding lower skill. In these professions, women are exposed to poor treatment and physical abuse which at times works as a reason to demotivate and discourage them for the further period. The other thing is that customs, traditions, ignorance, and lack of skills proposed by them are major reasons why females enter into the informal sector. In relation to that their job profile makes them earn money for the survival but at the same time, women in these sectors face ill-treatment, get minimum wages, and almost work in a semi-bondage situation (Chen, 2012).

Barbara Harriss-White (2003) argues that the women workers in the informal sector work as piece rate workers, self-employed workers, paid workers in an informal enterprise, unpaid workers in family business, casual workers without fixed employers, sub-contract workers limited to a formal enterprise. Home-based and street vendors are the largest sub-groups of the informal workforce: home-based workers are numerous, but street vendors are more visible of the two. World Bank observes that taken together they represent an estimated 10-25 percent of the non-agricultural workforce in developing countries and over 5 percent of the total workforce in the developed countries (World Bank, 2000). Research and reports observe that the following categories of women workers in the informal sector have been identified; they are Rag Pickers, domestic workers, coolies, vendors, beauticians, construction labourers and garment workers.

Figure 3.1 **Percentage Distributions of Workers by Informality of Employment and Sex, 2011-12**



Source: Indian Labour Market: A Gender Perspective (UN Women, 2016:29).

Indian women (94.7%) have more significant share than men (90.7%) in unorganised sector, and formal workers are remarkably low (women, 5.3%, men 9.3%) in the same way women are more marginal than men in terms of occupation (see figure 3.1).

Women and Work in India: From Livelihoods to Surplus Value

There are the concepts, theories and other explanations which deeply explore women's work with their limitations and they are explained in feminist writings. To understand women in Indian society, there are some notable features like role, work, status, caste. These features play an important role in determining women's work and social life. Therefore, Karin Kapadia (1992) brings attention towards "social blindness" where she argues that often social scientists and feminists overlook 'Asia' over 'Africa'. She points out that Asia as a continent also has a sizeable proportion of women who work in the Informal sector and they are foremost in key economic activities. But the point is that they are invisible, so, it is significant to situate and articulate women and work in these contexts (Kapadia, 1992).

Informal Sector in India: Dimension and Role of Labour Market

Many scholars have discussed the definition of Informal sector in different ways but the proper documentation of the informal sector could be in the points for instance it will include: Season and temporal business, small-scale production of goods alternate sources to earn

livelihood, area were people possessing lack of skill get absorbed, tool to fight poverty without bagging, faster return on Investment, instant job security and so forth. The role of informal sector has been crucial for reduction of poverty and hunger and India is a big example of that. Therefore, for sizable number of people, informal sector is the sole source of income thus, assumption stating dynamic economic policies will drive the informal sector out of the country is false.

India is a country divided into rural as well as urban society with two different types of social formations. Within this set-up village or rural society is seen as the essence of tradition and urban society indicates as Modernity. About 70% of the Indian population lived in villages, and around 30% lived in urban areas.

Kalpagam briefly introduced about what constitutes the informal sector? The informal Sector here includes both the rural and the urban sections, and would encompass the categories of self- employed and wage workers in both manufacturing and service activities that are characterised by the following features- ease of entry, reliance on indigenous sources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system, and the unregulated and competitive market (Kalpagam, 1994 :225).⁹

According to Edinburg and smith (1994:35), “labour market begins and ends with an analysis of the demand and supply of labour”. Within labour market, supply of labourer is closely related with social, cultural, historical, political and educational causes and it is in general referred in terms of a labour force of the nation. Labour force constitutes of individuals who are either working as employed or seeking or available for work as unemployed. This usually measured in terms of labour force participation rate (LFPR) for instance; the proportion of the country's population that is occupied actively in the labour market who are working or seekers of work. And to extend that Labour demand is known in terms of Work Participation Ratio which also referred as Worker Population Ratio. This ration gives information about the ability of the economy to generate jobs (Reference). The core measuring rode that is generally used to access and compare the labour markets is the unemployment rate such as

⁹ See U. Kalpagam (1994) Feminist Perspective on Struggles in the Informal sector in Labour and Gender: Survival in Urban India.

the proportion of the labour force with the intention of does not have employment and is vigorously looking for jobs (Sapsford & Tzannatos, 1993).

Thus, it would include workers in household production working directly or under some form of putting- out system, small workshops and factories (including informal labour in the formal sector), as well as those engaged in petty occupations and all other forms of casual labour in the rural and urban areas.

Urban Sector

Between 2001 and 2011, India's urban population increased by 13.8 percent as compared to 12.18 percent in the rural population. It has been traced that over 50% of the increase in urban population during this period was attributed to the rural, urban migration and reclassification of rural settlements into urban (Pradhan, 2013). Unplanned rural to urban migration, in search of better economic opportunities, is putting severe pressure on urban amenities and forcing a large number of low wage migrants from rural areas to live in unhygienic and deprived conditions.

Rural Sector

The rural economy of India constitutes 46 percent of national income. It is a known fact that India is predominantly a rural country. The 2011 Census shows that 68.8% of country's population and 72.4 percent of workforce resides in rural areas. On the other hand, "...steady transition to urbanization over the years is leading decline in the rural share in population, workforce, and GDP of the country" (Srivastava and Singh, 2017:1).

In India, agriculture is the dominant sector of the rural economy and rural employment. The transition in the composition of output and occupation from agriculture to more productive non- farm sectors is considered as an important source of economic growth and transformation in the rural and total economy" (Srivastava and Singh, 2017:1)

Situating Market: Gender, Work and Informal Labour in India

The observations suggest that despite women being over-represented in the informal economy, but gender disparities are still unbridled. Barbara Harriss-White (2005:3) observes Indian economy and society and argues, "The informal economy either lies outside the scope of state regulation, or is officially subject to state regulation but nevertheless does not operate according to the rules and laws through which the formal intention of regulation is inscribed". She further explains,

...the larger part of the modern Indian economy is regulated in significant ways by social institutions derived from 'primordial identity' and that, (although continually contested), they are resistant or immune to change by means of macro-economic policy. These regulative institutions structure the economy, while being fields of power which also operate outside it (Harriss-White, 2005:4).

In her opinion, "In its indirect regulation of this informal economy, the Indian state is not proof against the influence of these structuring identities, as a result of which it does not work as one would expect a modern developmental state to work" (Barbara Harris-White: 2005:4).

Barbara Harris-White (2005:5) summarizes Mukherjee's analysis of economic system, "to be scientific in the study of any economy required a critical search into the meaning of its social structures, which have a bearing on the 'phenomena and relations within an economic system'" (Harriss-White, 2005:5). Therefore, the main significant social structures of accumulation are religions, caste, space, classes and the state which regulate India's Informal economy. And in that gender perspective is a remarkable phenomenon which is needed to be observed in a very intensive manner.

Barbara Harris-White argues that "the informal economy is for the most part made from family businesses" (Harriss-White, 1993:5). Furthermore, in the context of immigrant labour Espiratu (2010) noted that "Given the labour intensive and competitive nature of small-businesses, women's participation makes possible the development and viability of family enterprises. Initially, women contribute to capital accumulation by engaging in wage work to provide the additional capital needed to launch a business (Kim and Hurh, 1985)" (Yen Le Espiritu, 2010:232).

Also because of their crucial contributions to the family enterprise, wives are an economically valuable commodity. And if we look at the observations on gender and labour in the Asians, it reveals that wives are the most important source of family labour, for instance, a man who establishes their business needs the support of wife and they need help in their work. In case of unmarried and the others as well, working and making money family and herself makes her independent but she still is an unpaid labour of her family (Yen Le Espiritu, 2010; Goodman, 2010). Moreover, women worker's degree of vulnerability is there in India due to migration and structural discrimination.

Table 3.2: Proportion of Non-Agriculture Workers by Employment Status, Sector and Gender among Socio-Religious Groups (Percentage) 2004-2005: All India

Employment Status	Hindu				Muslims		Other Religious Group	All Socio-Religious Group
	ST	SC	OBC	Upper	OBC	Others		
	Total: Male							
Unorganised Sector:Causal	30.4	25.0	15.5	6.0	15.7	15.1	15.3	15.1
Unorganized sector regular workers (RW)	8.7	11.4	13.1	13.2	12.3	12.7	12.7	12.7
Unorganised Sector:Self Employed	25.3	34.9	45.0	43.2	60.5	38.6	38.6	43.4
Unorganised Sector (Total)	64.4	71.4	73.7	62.4	88.5	66.7	66.7	71.2
Unorganized sector in OS:RW	5.3	5.9	6.6	8.3	3.3	7.3	7.3	6.6
Unorganized sector in OS	20.8	15.1	12.7	11.9	7.1	12.9	12.9	12.6
Unorganized sector (OS)Total	35.6	28.6	26.3	37.6	11.5	33.3	33.3	28.8
All workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total Female							
Unorganised Sector:Causal	25.3	15.3	9.8	5.6	8.5	8.5	7.9	10.4
Unorganized sector regular workers (RW)	6.6	14.6	11.0	13.2	7.3	7.3	16.5	11.7
Unorganised Sector: Self Employed	36.9	45.2	55.0	44.4	71.6	71.6	36.2	51.0
Unorganised Sector (Total)	68.7	75.1	75.8	63.2	87.4	87.4	60.5	73.1
Unorganized sector in OS:RW	5.6	7.3	8.1	10.7	4.0	4.0	10.2	7.9
Unorganized sector in OS	23.8	16.6	15.2	14.4	7.1	7.2	16.5	14.7
Unorganized sector (OS)Total	31.3	24.9	24.2	36.8	12.6	12.6	39.5	26.9
All workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 61st Round 2004-2005 Employment-Unemployment Survey. Compiled.

In India unorganized sector has a greater proportion of marginalized caste and class. In a non-agricultural sector which constitutes a large section of informal sector profession like street vending people from marginalized caste group like SC (Schedule Caste), ST (Schedule Tribe), OBCs (Other Backward Classes) have greater proportion. In the same way, women's percentage is higher with the SC, ST and OBC caste (see the table 3.2) and in case of Muslim, OBC has a great percentage (88%) than other caste. It is visible that gender and caste marginality have a close link as mentioned above. Lower caste women in large number get employment in informal sector. In Informal sector the street vendor comprises of various activities that falls in unorganised category. Non-agricultural activities like selling goods and services are major components in this category. NCEUS report (2007) says that workers from SC/ST categories have large proportion in informal sector profession like street vending.

Informal Sector and Question of Marginality in India

The question of marginality in India is still a remarkable phenomenon to observe. Marginalized workers like Waste pickers, domestic workers, sex workers and others are always forced to be on the margins of Indian polity and society due to caste, class, and gender

Guha (2012) argued that in many countries, which include India as well, status of women is mediocre to men. He observes,

Women's opportunities are said to be restricted by ideas among employers that only certain low-level limited jobs can be performed by women. Women are thus said to be crowded into certain segments of the employment, markets where wages and conditions are lower than their male counterparts. This situation aggravated due to the pressure of globalization. This phenomenon can be called marginalization of female labour.

She extends her observation that though rapid economic development has stretched women's job opportunities; most women are concerned in lower status jobs and the informal sector. Indian women, in spite of enjoying better status and position compared to other developing countries, have low levels of participation in economic activity. The existing situation of gender equality in the Indian labour market and women's employment status at both macro and micro level reports shows the effects of employment on economic independence compare to men are supplementary. Many factors have led to the marginalization of women's labour force at the micro level which suggests that the family organization determines

women's work patterns in terms of formal and informal employment rather than by labour market (Guha, 2012:40-45).

Furthermore, to understand this marginality and informal sector one can trace Karin Kapadia's fieldwork very close to this. Though her field work on Pallar, ex-untouchable women in Tamil Nadu, she describes that the sexual division of labour among the agricultural workers directly reflects the cultural construction of community. She argues that "sexual division of agricultural work here is successful because it has been assumed that this division of work is natural, and god given, besides being ordained by the human biology" (Kapadia, 192: 228). Therefore, In India, sexual division of labour transversely the class, caste, and language groups are blindly acknowledged by men and women which somewhat is inherent and natural. The innate nature of women caring nature and taking care of home works is expecting from them, and not only that but women also herself undermine their labour and contribution because of the biological roles.

Besides that, the division of work in terms of 'dual work' is also observed as the site to understand women's exploitation. Culturally, they are already expected to be "good women in kinship and community relations as well as in the economic life she toils and labours for wages". Hence, the dual responsibility of performing and balancing paid or unpaid characteristically confines the essence of double burden that women have to stand in a culturally constructed society and in that gender, roles order every aspect of life.

The other aspects should also be noted in Indian society. The socio economic condition cannot measure the above approaches instead it has to go in deeper level to understand what the causes behind such situations are and for that, the table (3.3) shows some observation regarding other aspects.

Table 3.3: Percentage Distribution of Expenditure Classes by Social Identity, Informal Work Status and Education, 2004-2005

SI. No.	Economic status	Social Categories (Percentage Share in own total)				Percentage of Unorganised Workers	Education	
		ST/SCs	All OBCs except Muslims	All Muslims except STs/SCs	Others (without STs/SCs, OBCs & Muslims)		Illiterates	Primary and below primary
1	Extremely poor	10.9	5.1	8.2	2.1	5.8	8.1	5.0
2	Poor	21.5	15.1	19.2	6.4	15	19.0	14.2
3	Marginally Poor	22.4	20.4	22.3	11.1	19.6	22.2	19.4
4	Vulnerable	33	39.2	34.8	35.2	38.4	36.9	40.0
5	Middle income	11.1	17.8	13.3	34.2	18.7	12.8	18.9
6	High income	1	2.4	2.2	11	2.7	1.0	2.5
7	Extremely poor and poor (1+2)	32.4	20.3	27.4	8.5	20.8	27.1	19.2
8	Marginal and Vulnerable (3+4)	55.4	59.6	57.1	46.3	57.9	59.1	59.4
9	Poor and vulnerable (7+8)	87.8	79.9	84.5	54.8	78.7	86.2	78.6
10	Middle and High Income (5+6)	12.2	20.1	15.5	45.2	21.3	13.8	21.4
	All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	All (million)	302	391	138	258	423	270	164

Source: Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganised Sector, 2007, P.7, MII, National Commission for Enterprises in Unorganised Sector, 2007.

Indian society divided in layered of inequality also has a layered way of getting opportunities and facing discrimination. In informal sector there is a higher percentage of poor and vulnerable (78.7%) than people from high income group (2.7%). SCs, STs and OBCs have higher proportion among poor and vulnerable group (87% and 79%) Muslims are also marginalized community and have a large proportion in informal section (84.5%)(see the table 3.3)

Education has a preliminary role in upward mobility and securing jobs. In case of unorganized sector, it is visible that people who are illiterate or at primary level are more in street vending and people who are poor and vulnerable (86%, 78%) have a greater proportion. It is obvious to see that lower education is associated to lower caste, women and rural area. These combinations have great possibility to engage in informal sector jobs.

Socio-religious composition in India has its social character and women at margin doer to her lower social position in terms of caste and lower educational ability. This way occupation like street vending is one easy way to enter into organized or formal occupation. Nonetheless this also pays in terms of vulnerability, lower status, job insecurity and violence in the forms of teasing and sexual harassment. This leads to uncertain, insecure forms of occupational practices for women.

Market and Gender Segregation in India

According to Oxford dictionary of sociology, “Occupational segregation refers to those processes by which individuals or groups holding particular jobs are kept apart, so that there is little effective competition between them and it is taken with labour- markets segmentation”. The term usually applied to the differentiation of labour- markets into discrete firm-specific segments, each offering different career rewards, conditions of employment, and so forth.

In the developing country labour market, women tend be in disadvantageous position, especially the informal sector. World Bank Report on Jobs, 2013 reveals that they are in majority at low- paying occupations and lower wages as compared to me¹⁰. The ILO’s Global Wage report 2104-15 views that women’s average wages are between 4 to 36 percent less than men’s. Therefore, these reports show the evidence about women as they are still a disproportionately disadvantaged group. Studies also show that the grounds behind this unequal pay between men and women are their allotment in occupations and industry. Occupational segregation by sex is one of the most significant dimensions of gender disparity, and it occurs when an occupation or a certain part of it, has a propensity to be dominated by individuals of a specific gender or race (Duraisamy, 2010).

According to Oxford dictionary of sociology, “various theories of patriarchy and human capital link the segregation of men and women in employment to the domestic division of labour. Human- capital theory also addresses ethnic segregation in employment, but more commonly explained as a consequence of discrimination, or (historically) as a legacy of

¹⁰ See Gender at Work: A Companion to World Development Report on Jobs, 2013, The World Bank Gender & Development Group.

colonialism". Catherine Hakim's (1996) analysis of key issues in women's work are related to female heterogeneity and the polarisation of women's employment is considered a controversial interpretation of workforce polarization and women's subordination in terms of beliefs about the sexual division of labour in the home and the sexual difference in general. It focuses on more commonly suggested consequences following from inequalities of opportunity between the sexes.

Regarding segregation, there is segmentation which is known as segmented labour markets, and it consists of a variety of subgroups that are separated into water tight compartments. Primary and secondary, two divided sectors exist in labour markets. Generally, the primary sector is male-dominated, who get benefit from high income, safe and secure working conditions, vigorous social security system and better terms of work and employment relations as well as ensured mobility to grow.

On the other side, the Secondary sector is most likely low skilled sector, with irregular, uncertain employer-employee relations, marked by exploitative and poor conditions and not well-paid wages. Generally, it is known that women dominate this sector. Therefore this view of segmented labour market pins down on how women are demoted inferior and low skill and low paid jobs. Thus, Men often are seen as winners who find themselves working in the primary sector. Not only this, there are further asymmetries that move beyond the binary of male or female, or gender lens in a complex society, India, where caste is one of the central features of the social stratification.

The sexual division of labour in the household in relation to the division of labour in subsistence and paid production work is related with the women's participation in economic activities in and out of household, and that is significant in observing the labour market. For instance, migration is influenced by the division of labour within the household which necessarily impacts on future household dynamics and women's role.

Household focuses on the study of women's paid and unpaid work and its reaction with the outside of the economy. Emphasis on the household economy has its contribution in dealing about survival strategies of families at different income levels (Bilac, 1978; Schimink, 1982; Tinker, 1985). In this regard, this includes the study of multiple- income families, income pooling, patterns of money allowance among family members and proletarianization

processors, labour mobility and the process of transition from precapitalist to capitalist forms of production (Rubbo, 1975; Medrano, 1981; Stlcke, 1983; Roldan, 1982).

New division of labour has had its impact on Women's work, For instance, several studies have illustrated the new employment of women as a source of cheap labour utilized by multinational and national capital in many areas of the Third World (Roldan, Baneria, 1987:4-5).

Moreover, Baneria's study on women and informal sector dictates that the absolute value of domestic work is higher in the household, but this is in those houses where women who false under the middle-income category. And in this regard the "weight of domestic work within the household economy correlated with social class, with the lower income households depending more heavily on the unpaid goods and services produced at home and the higher income families using the market to provide them" (Baneria, 1992: 1158)

Women in Informal Sector: Exclusion and Inclusion

Exclusion happens at each level of society (Reference).. It is a rupture of social bond- which is cultural and moral- between the individual and society. This is related to the process through which "individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live. It is a complex concept that encompasses a variety of interconnectedness processes and problems". It has far-reaching consequences or individuals and groups and has been linked to a host of negative outcomes, including poor health and well- being, academic underachievement, antisocial and criminal behavior, and reduced access to housing, employment and social justice (Abrams, Hogg & Marques, 2005).

Hillary Silver (2011) also argues that exclusion is dynamic and multi-dimensional. Exclusion can take place in the entire spheres- economic, social, political, religion, cultural, regional, etc. Like when an individual is socially excluded from family support and welfare- state protection and faces unemployment, then it give rise to income poverty. Income poverty, in turn, interrupts social relations and leads to exclusion in the economic sphere. This type of exclusion is a structural process of social isolation and social involvement.

The concept has two main defining characteristics: First, it is a dimensional concept. People may be excluded, from livelihoods, employment, property, education, the welfare state, personal contacts or respects, etc. it also focuses on the multidimensionality of deprivation like in socio-economic and political sphere. Second, focuses on the relation and processes that cause deprivation. Like exclusion from many sorts of the group, elite political groups exclude others from legal rights, minorities excluded from expressing their identity.

The Informal Sector observes that women and men have the same rights at work but in many cases, the issue of unpaid labour excludes women compared to men in the labour market. Not only has this but women felt excluded in terms of health, societal norms and values and other benefits. In relation with Inclusion, it has been notified that inclusion is something in which individual is a part of that society, community, and organization or governmental policies and so forth but at the same time he or she is observed as the excluded from that whole process. For instance, if a woman in the informal sector is working under some industry as the contract worker, she is the part of that process but at the same time the low wages compared to men excludes her from the total paid labour. And this exploitation makes her vulnerable and violates their rights of equal wages.

Informalization has been more pronounced in the case of female workers. Kabeer says,

Women's economic activity has, of course, always been characterised by a considerable degree of informality. Unpaid productive labour on farms and in family enterprise paid work in domestic service in other people's households, street trading and sex work are examples of these traditional informal activities in which women are disproportionately represented (Kabeer, 2008: 39).

She adds that the "process of informalization have led to the displacement of women from formal employment and their replacement by informal forms of female labour" (Kabeer, 2008:41)

Growing concentration of women in the Informal sector is another matter of fact to look into that. In the informal sector, women contribute mainly to half of the total global population, and it is 49.7 percent. They are involved in the different workforce, and previous research shows that their participation in all spheres of human interactions has been in a situational condition. The empowerment of women and gender issue remains a question in the society. Looking at women's participation Rajeshkumar and Rajendran argue,

Women contribute 66 percentage of the world work, produce 50 percent of the global food, but receive only 10 percent of the property (UNICEF 2007). In the case of India, the scenario is quite pathetic as the participation of women in the socio-economic and political domain is extremely minimal and marginalised (Rajendran and Rajeshkumar, 2014: 86).

And further, “the merciless exploitation of women without being adequately rewarded for their services is exceedingly unjust, inhuman and unethical” (Rajendran and Rajeshkumar, 2014: 87). Furthermore, the main concern of informal sector workers are varied for instance, the issues of food and health security, nutritional security, housing and old age security, life and accident security; and the job and wages security.

A society with hierarchy, differences and multilayered reality has its own compulsion and choices. Women's question in India has its own uniqueness as when the caste question come the gender and sex are also framed in the caste value. The question of Dalit, lower and upper caste women have their different social reality in terms of social inequality. It can understand the lower caste women have been engaging in agricultural work and as a labourer but it is also known fact that women of that category get fewer salaries/wages than men and also it is difficult for them to get the job as their engagement in the family in case of rearing the child and pregnancy.

In addition to that, health disparities that affect ethnic and racial groups as many factors are there that cultural differences in lifestyle, material wealth, job security, educational attainment, housing conditions and accesses to health care. As socially excluded and marginalized groups experience stress, trauma, hopelessness because of the discrimination they face throughout their stages of life. In the informal sector, the pressure of work, the exploitation and the inadequate access to food or other facilities are a matter of fact which shows that women do suffer in this space called the market. K. N. Veena has focused upon this issue of the health among the women street vendors where she points out about the food inaccessibility, and the public toilet facility is a matter of concern in this profession. Moreover, the harassment and the exploitation of this jobs is also the fact that women do face every other day and this is another a traumatising situation for them.

Caste system divides people into groups wherein their occupation, identity, status, and rights are determined according to your birth or lineage. It is thus, unequal and hierarchical. An

individual cannot shift away from his/her occupation or caste. It is fixed which leads to "forced exclusion" as an individual is excluded or deprived of other job opportunity. Caste and Gender are very much related to each-other because both led by patriarchy and power relations.

Under the discriminatory caste system, the most deprived group is that of women will be belonging to the lower cast or SCs and Widows. They face triple deprivation first lack of economic resources, second cast discrimination and gender discrimination. The Dalit women are most deprives section as they do not own agricultural land, work as wage labourers and are mainly engaged in unclean occupations, such as scavenging. In this exclusionary process, women are facing these realities of society. Patriarchal system is so strong that it has to function with multiple patriarchies. Therefore, not the caste system but class system is as well performing within that form. Women take the informal as the main occupation in that as they have no choice if they are not skilled, educated and have social network issues because of the caste factor the hereditary occupations by their caste or denied opportunities on the grounds of ethnicity, race and other socially marginalized identities are aspects of women subordination the informal sector.

The economic activity is also influenced by a system where women's labour market activity is being affected, for instance; Naila Kabeer points out that "In Indian context, for instance, the search for flexible labour preceded the opening up the economy in the 1990's and represented a strategy for evading regulations in the formal economy. It resulted in the replacement of the mainly male workers from higher castes who monopolised the formal economy with workers drawn from the lower castes, often women" (Kabeer, 2008: 40). Therefore, in Indian society caste is a factor which plays a vital role in the economic activity of the women.

In the informal sector, women works in the informal patterns of work, characterized by outworking, contract labour, casual work, part-time work, irregular work, homework and other forms of work which is unprotected by labour standards. Social security is an area of concern where women are troubling although not all informal workers are equally vulnerable, but most of them are vulnerable. Kabeer points out the social protection for the informal economy in the context of gender. The unorganized sector has this issue of social security where the income issue, working hour issue is not only the main problems but the legal

actions and rights are still remaining a question to this sector. Moreover, the health plans and other benefits are also lacking in this field. The marginalized women are the poor in this section; especially the lower middle-class women are affected by this.

Social security has been dealt with in the context of self-employed urban workers. Social security cover up the health care, sickness and maternity benefits, compensation for injury at work or inability to work, survivors (ILO, 2000 and Jabvala, 2000). In this regard, 'the ILO's Socio-Economic Security programme intends to address the decent work paradigm in terms of guaranteeing social protection to the workers. In this socio-economic security, the issue of basic security was upheld including seven forms of work-related security such as income and employment security, job and work security, skill reproduction, occupational and representation security' (Saha, 2017). In India, almost 92 percent of the workers is excluded from formal rules and procedures, and so the public policy must combine protective and promotional aspects of social security to integrate 'work with security' (Saha, 2017). Hence, the prevention of deprivation and vulnerability to deprivation is matter of concern regarding social secure and gender.

Therefore, one can assume that the unorganized section is not doubted revealing that this sector is excluding the women from market and society in the form of their discriminatory policies and as well as the societal realities are challenging women in their daily life. But at the same time, rough the inclusion process and the other processes, the informal sector is giving a platform to offer jobs to the women who are not skilled and educated and who migrates from the rural to urban, and this gives them a hope to make their livelihood better through the economic activities.

Conclusion

Laurdes Baneria who is a feminist economist, in her classical paper on 'unpaid labour' have underlined the role of "conceptual and theoretical norms of statistical biases" that have resulting in devaluing, dismissing and excluding women's contribution (Baneria, 1999). The exclusion performs as denial of their equal rights, dignity, respect and equal opportunity. The dominant male society like India makes its women habitual of this discrimination and power exercising relation. As a result, most women did not understand their own rights and

freedom. Women have been excluded as the victim of inequality not only in terms of social and political rights but also on the grounds of employment opportunities. Discrimination against women and girls starts from womb to birth and continues through their lives.

Notion of haves and have not have been the basis of women's subordination. In the history of labour, we can see that from home to field women have been under evaluated. From ancient to medieval and not in the more shaper age of capitalism the patriarchal arrangement of society always nourished by the social hierarchy between men and women.

Informal sector is one the sector in which this kind of discrimination is been observed. Furthermore, Capitalism tries to use individual aspiration and their institutional set-up to act according to their need. That's why in the neo- liberal policies, especially after 1991, have created immense zeal for capitalism to act their role according to their need in the Indian society.

This turned to weaken of state role for the women's welfare. This resulted in expansion of unorganized sector in India, which have been vulnerable for women in India. The new form of jobs like service sector has provided that they are in favour of women's physical capacity are creating neo- logic to fit women labour in labour market, but the reality is that it has seen that there is less possibility of women to organize against authority.

Although there are efforts and policies has been initiated regarding the informal sector, but at the same time, the transparency and implementation are still lacking. And related with women, this sector is giving a platform to get a job and livelihood better but still not providing much to make justice and fill the gap of gender difference.

Chapter 4

Women Street Vendors in India

Introduction

This chapter gives a broader analysis of the women's occupations and their status compared to men in India. It also explores street vending as a profession and their pattern. The chapter looked into the various dimension of women street vending and attempted to undertake a thorough assessment with the help of analyses made by many researchers and case studies of women street vendors of India.

It is easy for the state to be less concern about its functioning as often sector lacks appropriate and organized mechanism to press government. In these situations, women's vulnerability increases. The informal sector is oppressive for the people who are at the margins especially women. Without proper mechanism of income and addressing women's needs informal sector provide a less favorable atmosphere to women. Nature of unorganized sector is predisposed by an economic policy adopted by the state and global economy. Influenced of liberal policies in economic programme has effected society worldwide. In this case marginalized group who were getting the benefit of welfare policies of the state depended on the mercy of the capitalist system.

Women's works can support various informal sector activities. These activities include assisting work in various agricultural and non- agricultural fields.

Street vending as a profession has its own character. Insecure nature of job and place, the mobility of jobs, flourishing new marketplaces, opening of online sources of buying product and social devaluation of work are some components that shows that this profession has varieties of problems. In case of India social position, stigma regarding profession and informal nature of jobs signifies that women in this profession are at the margins of society and market system. To understand these circumstances this chapter aims to analyze the position of women in street vending profession in India. How women's role in this profession is helping to understand gender based marginality and role of state and society is a concern that this work is going to reveal. And this is important is to know in case of women street vendors.

Women's Occupation: Nature and Pattern in India

Nature of Indian society has a great impact on women's work in India. India as a society evolves many forms of economic activity from tradition to modern age India experienced a lot of variety in its occupational history and women's economic activity has no exception in this. Women in India largely marginalized in the major occupation. Women have larger share in agricultural sector and in occupation which is either low esteem or low paid or suitable for family roles. It is noticeable that women's household role always kept in mind by the people who provide an opportunity for women.

Many reports, documents show women's marginalized position is almost every sphere of economic activity. Women's participation in employment is very less in India (see table no. 4.1) and significantly low in almost every sector as compared to their population proportion.

Table 4.1: Share of Women in Employment by Type (in %)

1.Total employment	27.4
2.Agricultural employment	35.9
2.1Agricultural wage employment	37.2
2.1.1..Formal agricultural wage employment	3.1
2.1.2 Informal agricultural wage employment	37.3
2.2 agricultural self employment	35.0
3.Non-agricultural employment	18.5
3.1 non-agricultural wage employment	18.3
3.1.1formal non-agricultural wage employment	17.5
3.1.2 Informal non-wage employment	18.6
3.2 Non-agricultural self-employment	18.9
3.2.1 Formal non-agricultural self-employment	14.9
3.2.2 informal non-agricultural self-employment	19.0

Source: ILO, p.107

According to ILO (International Labour Organization, 2013), in India, Women's share in the employment sector is relatively low. However, ILO fails to identify women working in agricultural and non agricultural sector. Very often it is not well documented. In the agricultural field, women do a lot of work and assisting their family members. It has also been observed many times women working in cottage and small industries do a lot of work.

Table 4.2: Share of Women in Informal Non-Agricultural Employment by Component (in %)

1. Informal Employment	Total	49.8
	1.1 Self –employment	59.7
	1.2 Wage employment	35.0
2. Employment in the Informal Sector	Total	50.6
	2.1 Self -employment	59.6
	2.2 Wage employment	22.0
3. Informal Employment Outside the Informal Sector	Total	47.3
	3.1 Self -employment	72.4
	3.2 Wage employment	47.1
	3.3 Formal sector	35.9

Source: ILO, 2013.

In India Urban areas are full of migrated people who carry their traditional skills and knowledge and bring it to urban areas. Many scanty towns, slums, and the peripheral city are filled by people who do jobs in the informal sector. These are places where people associated with the profession of informal sector like street vending gather to seek employment. Women's occupational status is also determined with these urban set. As data describe (see table no.4. 2) nearly half of the population, women are engaged in informal employment (49.8). Within this share of self-employment (59.6) is higher than wage employment (22.0).

The social composition has a significant role in getting jobs and the type of job in India. Indian society which has caste-based structure has its own problem of social practices, so it reflects in women's employment too. As per question of the participation of social group in the economic sector in India women from ST category are more engaged than SC and OBC. It is noticeable that women from higher caste have low percentage than women from marginalized groups (for the participation of the social groups SC, ST, OBCs, and others see table no. 4.3).

Table 4.3 Participation with Major Social Groups in India (2011-2012)

Sex	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Total
Men	84.0%	81.1%	80%	75.7%	79.7%
Women	50.2%	34.7%	32.4%	23.6%	30.7%

Source: Gender Perspective in Women's Labour UN Women, p. no.15.

Street Vending: Nature and Pattern of Profession

In A. Naik's (2017) understanding streets are spaces where various activities take place. His observation regarding the challenges faced by street vendors, "The street is where the unlicensed street food vendor meets extreme police brutality as she returns home after a long day's work". On streets, people do their daily jobs that are recognized as street vendors. Therefore, street vendor is a person who engages himself in vending of articles, goods, wares, food items or merchandise of everyday use to the general public and they do this in a street, lane, side, walk, footpath, pavement, public park or such places in public or private area, from a temporary built-up structure or by moving from place to place and includes, hawker, peddler, squatter and all other synonyms terms which may be local or region specific.

Further, the definition of a street vendor as included in the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors is: "A street vendor is a person who offers goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanently built structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or head-load)." Government policy asserts the importance of all these vendors, stating: "Street vendors form a very important segment of the unorganized sector in the country. It is estimated that in several cities street vendors count for about 2 per cent of the population. Women constitute a large segment of these street vendors in almost every city. Street vending is not only a source of self-employment to the poor in cities and towns but also a means to provide 'affordable' as well as 'convenient' services to a majority of the urban population."

In the informal sector, street vending is a significant occupation of all activities, since it has employment for marginal or poor people. Women street vendors in India work as hawkers, peddler, street vendor, spherical who sell articles of daily utility and general merchandise such as vegetables, cane baskets, broomsticks, making beedi, petty cosmetics, bangles, cloth, utensils, food items, toys etc. on footpaths, road sides or by going from door to door. In India, street vendors are around 2% to 2.5% of the population, and it is estimated that 10 million are the total population who are engaged in such activities.

In addition to that, Ruchi Sankrit (2015) has done a study on women street vendors and discussed about their various livelihood challenges. She has also mentioned how SEWA (Self-Employed Womens Association) organization is working for their rights and

empowerment. Sankrit argues that “As a livelihood, street vending is a vicious trap of poverty, especially for women workers. It is indicative of low income, physical strain, continuous struggle for space and recognition, harassment, and exploitation.” Looking at the urban areas, she analysis her work on Delhi Women Workers and argues that "Female vendors constitute 30 percent of the total number of street vendors in Delhi; the unionizing of women street vendors is dismal compared to that of men street vendors. As per estimates, in Delhi, only 10- 15 percent of women street vendors are part of trade unions, and there is under- representation of women vendors in executive committees of bigger trade unions." Just like that in other cities, SEWA organization is making women able to find a good platform to empower themselves. Besides that SEWA is intervention for the women street vendors in the urban areas and focused on the creation of model markets for them.

Although there are efforts are making by the organizations, but they are still too little because the legal and illegal issue is still a problematic concern for their survival. Reports (Mohapatra, 2012) have revealed that women street vendors are in a huge number w ho are experiencing work and exclusionary process in their everyday life. Various Studies shows that the main inclusion of vendors is in the age group 16-35 years and in that women are the concentrated one. There are about 40% of total vendors are women and 30% of these women are the sole earning members in their families.

There are also many reasons why women choose for a particular employment such as economic compulsion, unskilled, drunkard/non cooperating husbands, helping hand to husband, unskilled, savings for children's education, find the pride of being self employed and so forth and also, men and women work as street vendors when they do not find other means of livelihood, and it has been observed that for them it is the easiest (low investment and require no specific skills) form for earning their livelihood (Bhowmik, 2001, 2006).

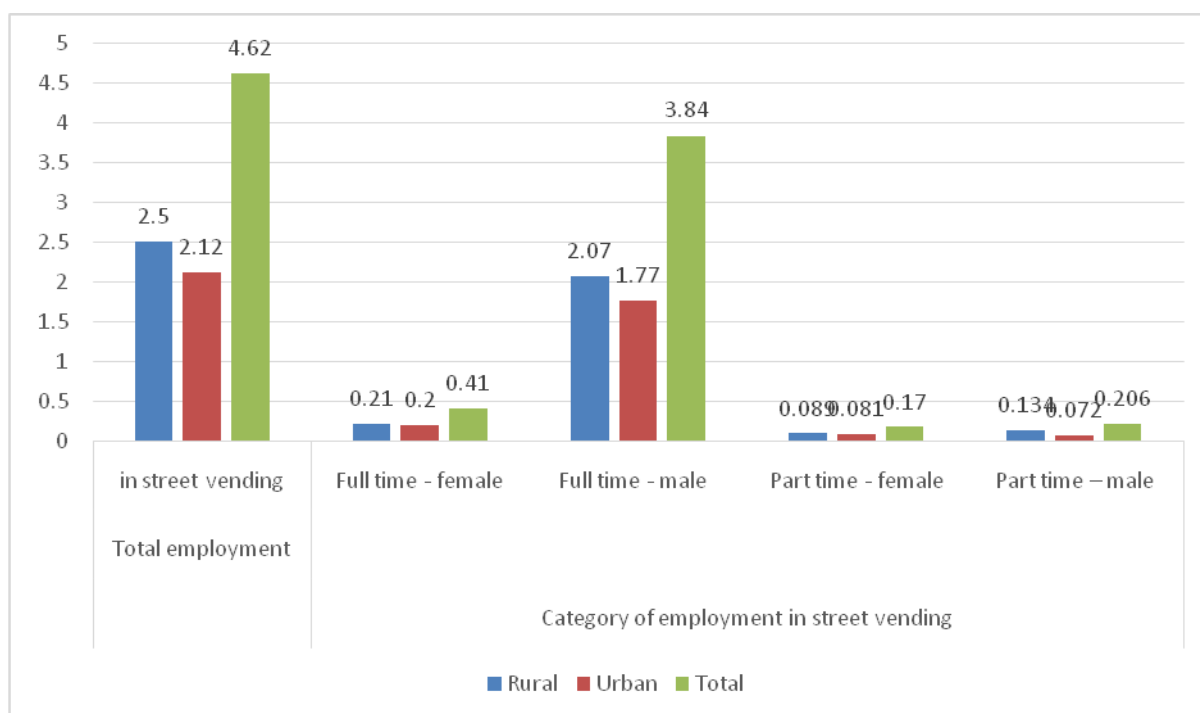
Street Vendors in India: Problems and Prospects

This section focuses on problems and prospects of street vendors in India.

Table 4.4 Employment in Street Vending Profession in India

	Number Employed in Millions					
	Total employment in unincorporated (sector excluding construction)	Total employment in street vending	Category of employment in the street vending			
			Full time - female	Full time - male	Part-time - female	Part-time - male
Rural	53.18	2.5	0.21	2.07	0.089	0.134
Urban	54.80	2.12	0.2	1.77	0.081	0.072
Total	107.98	4.62	0.41	3.84	0.17	0.206

Figure 4.1: Employment in Street Vending Profession in India



Source: Sarvekha, 101st issue, September, 2016. Journal of National Sample Survey Office. Employment estimated from NSS 67th Round (July 2010 – June 2011)

As table (4) reveal street vending profession shares 4.62 million of the total profession. Where females are less engaged in comparison to male in both full time and part time job

(see the above chart). In India street vending is a common profession of the people who poor, illiterate and at the margins of the society. Generally, people who are away from traditional work like agriculture and other profession are engaged in this profession. With the advent of modernity street vending got a new character. In India, street vending is majorly located in big cities. It is done by the people who are in search of regular jobs but could find the right kind of the job. Most of the people who are engaged in this profession come from other places. Gender variation in this profession show the very nature of patriarchal set of Indian society. Post independent era was the resulted in rural to urban migration and rural transformation. Hence, this reason also changes the character of market institutions.

Table: 4.5 Estimated Number of Street Vendors in Million Plus Cities

Cities	Street Vendors	% to Total Urban Population
Ludhiana	25063	0.66
Faridabad	15279	0.40
Delhi	55219	1.45
Jaipur	4856	0.13
Meerut	2848	0.07
Agra	9171	0.24
Lucknow	22479	0.59
Kanpur	31226	0.82
Varanasi	7034	0.18
Patna	5200	0.14
Howrah	17384	0.46
Kolkata	59529	1.56
Indore	10495	0.28
Bhopal	14778	0.39
Ahmedabad	92914	2.44
Vadodara	4196	0.11
Surat	29286	0.77
Nagpur	50710	1.33
Nashik	8493	0.22
Kalyan-Domvli	6606	0.17
Thane	22647	0.60
Greater Mumbai	44223	1.16
Pimprichinchwad	3371	0.09
Pune	7649	0.20
Hyderabad	17309	0.45
Bangalore	26321	0.69
Chennai	17817	0.47
All million plus	612103	16.08

Source : Sarvekhna , 101st issue, September, 2016. Journal of National Sample Survey Office. Employment estimated from NSS 67th Round (July 2010 – June 2011), p 34

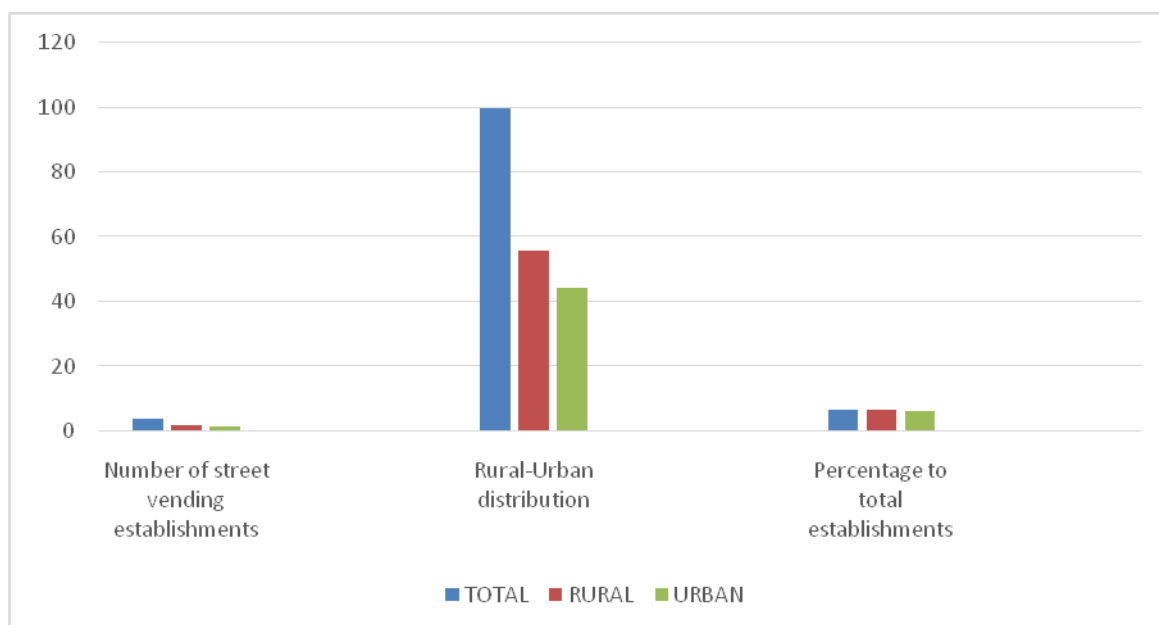
This report investigates that estimated number of street vendors are largely in metro cities. Heavy migration of people from rural to urban are and government inability to give them suitable jobs at their native place are the main causes behind the increasing number of street vendors in India. Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Nagpur, Ahmadabad among the cities which has the concentration of people is higher who are basically working in this profession (see table no 4.5).

Table 4.6 Street Vending Establishments– Rural-Urban Breakup (Number in Millions)

	Total	Rural	Urban
Number of street vending establishments	3.81	2.12	1.69
Rural-Urban distribution	100.00	55.7	44.3
Percentage to total establishments	6.6	6.9	6.3

SOURCE: Sarvekshana 101 (Table No.1, p. no. 26)

Figure 4.2: Estimated Number of Street Vendors and Related Workers (in Millions)



Source: (NCO 911 Group) based on NSS 68th round (July, 2010 – June, 2011) EUS

It is noticeable that In India, rural areas are consists of people who engage in this profession. Along with the growth in Indian economy, which is largely oriented towards on the market and global economy has given impediment traditional agriculture. The green revolution is another reason that has shaped Indian agriculture towards capital-intensive production process this landed rural sector to disenchantment from agricultural work. The growing

population and limited capacity of land use are also responsible for this. This resulted people who are at the margins, engage in unorganized sector and hence the street vending profession is more in practice in rural areas than urban area. As data shows rural share is higher than the urban areas in the street vending (see table no. 4.6 , Figure 4.2).

But social variation in street vending has variation in many ways .It is largely known that people from marginal caste, class group has a large proportion in this occupation. In this way, women from the weaker sections of society found in this occupation. As the table shows male are more engage as full-time jobs than female in both rural and urban areas in India (table 4.4 and 4.8). The reasons are that women also do a domestic activity and they generally do this kind of work to add family income more to help their family members.

Table 4.7 Percentage of Street Vending by Location in India

Location of Enterprise	Percentage
Outside Household Premises with Fixed Premises and with Temporary Structure	27.0
Outside Household Premises with Fixed Premises but Without any Structure	11.6
Mobile Market	18.3
Without Fixed Premises	43.1
Total	100

Source: Sarvekhna 101, NSSO.

Street vending profession is associated with the mobility and structure of the workplace. It is observable that since the population is at the margin at economic status, so they either use own premises or any structure which have no fixed structure (43.1%). These occupations have a variety of options regarding products and services hence they use it every opportunity to sell their services or product according to season and place. As table 4.7 shows that there are higher proportions of without any structure associated with household premises as compare to other premises and structure.

Women and Street Vendor in India: Interrogating Role and Dynamics of Women's Work in India

Women street vendors face a lot of issues and concerns particularly with respect to; working hours, public toilet facility, awareness about organizations that work for them and particularly membership to these organizations and about their rights on street vending. They are doubly disadvantaged because they not only earn for their families but they rear their families to a meaningful existence. The issues with women street vender in the urban area really matter of concern as they facing a lot in everyday of life for instance, income is uncertain in this work; Government bodies not doing well to support them; bargaining issues are more with women vendors than men; their income is not that well that they can make any investment as their situation is hand to mouth; they often get into debt because of family and festival and other things; migration is another issue as they live a temporary life because of that; the earnings usually goes in the hand of male members or on rearing and raising children; health issues are a big matter of fact in them; the issue of illiteracy and un- skilled work affecting their wage earnings and health security both; Sexual harassment and Low value to work as well as the domestic burden are major factor of women street vendors vulnerable condition and so on so forth.

Therefore, Street Vending is the largest informal sector and the source of livelihood to the people in the Indian society, especially the urban poor. In that consequence, women vendors are one of them who are facing multi-dimensional challenges in the informal sector. And the National Commission on Self Employed Women estimates that about 94% of the total female work force is to be found in informal sector. In case informal workers there are issues which persist in the public sphere for instance; the "Report on the Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods" by the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector states that, "The lack of recognition of the role of street vendors culminates in a multitude of problems faced by them such as obtaining licenses, insecurity of earnings, insecurity of place of hawking, gratifying officers and muscle-men, constant eviction threats, fines and harassment by traffic policemen." So, women get affects most with that and not only these are some problems they face, they also at the same time challenge this patriarchal and market system to fight for their space and identity.

Therefore, Women are effective in the unorganized sector are contributing a major divide to the nation development, but they are unsecured and backward socio economically, educationally, politically too. One can observe that there is unfairness in wages, nature of work, availability of work, on the basis of sex and bargaining power is mostly with the employers is so exploitative in nature. Moreover, the gender position in the public sphere is conditioned by the historically developed social institution. With certain norms, order and code and conduct limit the social interaction and thus this social become a decisive factor for an economic activity where women suffer and marginalised many ways. In this way, this study is trying to locate problem and perspective of market as an activity in public places, the importance of gender and its location in market principles. With the linking of various social hierarchies, this study tries to understand socio-economy of women and consigned social mobility.

Women Street Vendors in India: A Situational Account of Unorganized Occupation

Historically women segregated in almost every sphere of life. In organized sector, nature of job is very responsible for conditioning people's life that are engage in this profession. And on the other side, public sphere of one area where women's position are less in number in comparison to men, therefore, almost every sphere of the world this is a reality and India is no exception. In India, women are less in number than men in this profession because the presence in public and interacting with outsider have historically prevented.

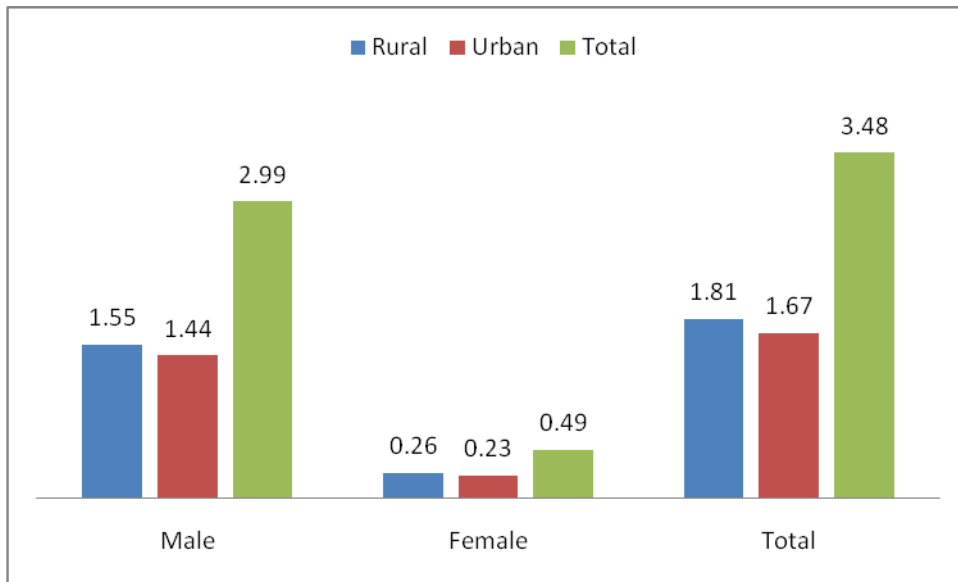
The investigations show that women are less engaged in street vending than men (see table no. 8) as nature of jobs that is public interaction is an important cause for this. Irrespective of women's discrimination in the economic field and patriarchal nature of society where women are restricted to jobs is responsible.

Table 4.8 Estimated Number of Street Vendors and Related Workers (In Millions)

	Male	Female	Total
Rural	1.55	0.26	1.81
Urban	1.44	0.23	1.67
Total	2.99	0.49	3.48

Sarvekshan 101,NSSO, (NCO 911 group) based on NSS 68th round (July, 2010 – June, 2011) p 30.

Figure 4.3: Gender Differences in Estimated Number of Street Vendors and Related Workers (in millions)



Source: Sarvekshan 101, NSSO, (NCO 911 group) based on NSS 68th round (July, 2010 – June, 2011) p 30.

In India, regarding Gendered division of labour, it is associated with the traditional patriarchal setup. Consequently, street vending is no option in this case. This clearly can be a trace that street vending is a male dominated profession (P.C. Manmohan ,2016:101). The distribution of male and female workers in rural- urban set up is shown in the above mentioned chart.

(Loosely defined) Market Place and Position of Women

The problem with the nature of the job assigned with the street market that it is loosely defined by the society and state. This issue also comes when to implement policy and programme by the state. Women in India are mainly engaged with the household enterprises and less in the mobile market (see table below). This shows how social security is a most challenging factor for women to get their livelihood. In that case they are bound with the limited accessibility of economic resources and many times are salary and another incentive their gets are not sufficient for their requirement or their family needs. In Indian society,

women are always associated with the family it is still a distant threat for women to live a dignified life if she is single and her economic position becomes low as well. Many of them are vulnerable and are depending on family as well as on the male member of society. This also curtails their freedom to exercise her economic activity. They lack regarding their work and financial condition.

Table 4.9 Estimated Percentage Distribution of Enterprises by Ownership and Location in India

Type of Ownership	With Household Premise	Outside Household Premises with Fixed Premises and With Permanent Structure	Outside Household Premises with Fixed Premises and With Temp. Structure	With Fixed Premises but Without Any Structure	Mobile Market	Without Fixed Premises (Street Vendors)
Female Proprietary	80.5%	12.9%	1.2%	1.1%	0.8%	3.6%
Male Proprietary	34.8%	42.1%	3.1%	2.4%	4.8%	12.8%
Other Type	54.2%	40.1%	0.9%	1.8%	0.7%	2.3%
Total	43.6%	37.0%	2.6%	2.1%	3.9%	10.8%

Source: Sunil Jain, and J.S. Tomar, National Seminar on Results of NSSO Surveys On Unincorporated Non-Agricultural Enterprises (excluding construction); (NSSO 67th round); P.71, NSSO, MSOP, New Delhi.

It can also be observed that more than 80% female proprietary enterprise against 34.8% male proprietary enterprise was operating from within in household premises. Only 12.9% female were engaged in their occupation against 42.1%. In case of street vending profession female association was 3.6% against male which was 12.8%. In case of mobile market female share is 0.8% against male which was 4.8% (see table 4.9).

Social Composition and Gender

Social composition is a decisive factor in many times while deciding the nature of occupation in India. In the case of women, it gets extra attention by the society. In India where, social composition is filled by many caste and religious groups, women's position is always at the margins in getting the opportunity. It has been traced that lower caste gets little accessibility

to the resources (Thorat and Newman, 2010). In case of women it is equally true. As data reveals (see table below) that woman who are engaged in these activity major portions is from OBC category in urban areas and SCs proportion is less as compared to the other caste.(table 4.10) The social stigma for the lower caste in the form of untouchability is a very important factor for engaging them in economic practices. If their identity of the caste which they belong reveal in public it is often possible they will get less opportunity to sell their product. In that case, they have to hide their social identity. This factor is more vital in rural areas where people can identify others social group easily.

Table 4.10 Social Composition of Self Employed Man and Women In Territory Sector in India (in 1000)

	Female				Male			
	Self-employment		Territory Sector		Self-employment		Territory Sector	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
ST	536	308	39	553	489	285	91	503
SC	386	326	73	522	341	282	153	539
OBC	587	470	78	414	579	427	185	550
Others	536	308	39	553	489	285	91	503

Source: NSS Report No. 543: Employment and unemployment situation among social groups in India, P. no.39.

Social Question in Informal Economy: An Assessment of Women in Street Vending Occupation

In informal economy, women as street vendors constitute a large number in almost every town or city. A woman involved in different occupations of street vending constitutes nearly 2 % of the population of a metropolis (National Policy for Urban Street Vendors: 1). Sharit K. Bhowmik observes that the social composition of the street vendors and discusses about the women street vendors. Sex composition of the street vendors in India in different cities case is weighed profoundly in favour of males. He did surveys in the cities and found that cities like Imphal and Ahmedabad are those women are in large numbers and the other cities, for instance, Patna and Calcutta their participation is low then the male ones. But at the time it is also a fact that where female is not working directly, they are supporting to their husbands from behind. Here it is noted that women who are not directly involved are

indirectly involved and still contributing through their support into their family. Another thing is that the illiteracy rate is higher among these women.

In terms of the caste background, in some cities the upper caste women are involved but not in a large number. The concentration of the ST, STs, and OBCs women are more prominent. Therefore caste factor is also big matter in this profession where the notion of the upper caste women that they higher caste so they should not work outside the domestic sphere is present. The patriarchal notion, as well as caste factor both, plays a vital role in their case. The participation of the women in the street works get hinders and sometimes been the notion of 'bad' and 'good' women also been used for them. Not only has this but played a vital role in the family kinship, market and society (Maithreyi Krishnaraj, 1997). Hence, it has been observed that in this way the women street vendors in India have a different picture. The discrimination and exclusion have many levels, and they are facing that.

Further, the debate of unpaid, underpaid, unnoticed and invisible is still a question regarding women street hawkers. Though women street vendors contribute a lot to the urban economy as well as in the national account as well but it has been investigated through many reports, surveys and case studies that their condition and situation both are not well in many terms. As the debate of paid and unpaid has been discussed earlier in the informal sector but it is such an uncertain fact which cannot be neglected within the case of women street hawkers. And the equal distribution of the wages and low wage income issue have been reported through surveys by Sharit K. Bhowmik For instance; the women head loaders who sell a variety of items and who work at whole- sale goods market, mandis, and bazaars have been untouched in most of the studies. The issues related their working lives and challenging the difficulties with their work is pathetic. Malvika Upadhya's work on Azadpur mandi (Delhi), a wholesale market study explores their issues and challenges as mandi workers. In terms of the Income, their share is low and the low wage and even their paid labour are undervalued because they are women. Women vendors low-income issue compared to men is higher. In the case of semi-skilled, low- skilled or unskilled women migrants, this can translate into their entry into the low- paying, organised or unorganized sector with high exposure to exploitation and abuse" (Mohapatra, 2012:2012). Sharit K. Bhowmik, Dedulal Saha, C.N. Ray and others have noted in their studies that large female street vendors have much lower income in India.

In addition to that, the financial issue and the child rearing is a prime factor why women are involved in this profession, but the low income and unpaid labour affects their household. When the income is low, the investment also gets affected. In most of the cases the drunkard husbands or non cooperating husbands make situation worse at the home as what women earns outside goes to their husbands and in the case of widows, if their husband died in the debts, they have to earn and give that share in the name of loan. This also leads to the burden of loan and they get in debts, and this leads their income drainage and the illegal charges they have to face (Gomiben case study by Konwar and Sharma in Delhi). The other thing is that the unemployment and the unskilled work is very prominent in their case, therefore they live a hard life and struggle a lot with their livelihood.

In the urban areas the migration of the women for the work is also very well known, and because of that the identity and recognition with the society get affected. Sharma and Konwar argue about their case study and interview of a street vendor Gomiben and observe about her that "she lives with multiple identities which are often marginalized and oppressed." "However, she works tirelessly day after day and deconstructs the social constructs of gender, poverty, migrancy and so on to advocate for herself and her fellow vendors their rightful space in the capital city" (Sharma and Konwar, 2014:48).

Sharma and Konwar observe about the women street vendors of capital city of India that "Delhi, in particular, refuses to give her much deserved space and she often positioned where she cannot continue her trade for long due to lack of buyers." So, despite the issues and challenges, Gomiben has continued to struggle in the city with hope in 'limited situations' (Sharma and Konwar, 2014: 48)

Further, it has been observed that the migrations of these workers are larger towards the urban areas. "Women and child migrants are the most vulnerable. In the case of the internal migration in India, women and children mostly migrate as associated migrants with the main decision to migrate are taken by the male of the household" (Mohapatra, 2012:202). Hence, as an associated migrant, they undergo with greater vulnerability due to condensed economic choices and lack of social support in the 'new area of destination.'

Since, "Inter- district and Intra- state migrant workers are yet another less advantaged group in labour market working for subsistence living" (Mohapatra, 2012:202). Short-term

migration also happens within the states and districts, and most of the studies show that over the years such migration has increased important giving rise to urban organized economy. But at the same time these workers are seen as the crowd for the other urban people.

To extend it, the migration leads to living a new life and new place, in case of women street vendors they usually make slums and the other like place their home to live and this affects their children's upbringing, socialization as well as hinder their personal development. And the slum areas generally observed the untidy place where the facility of drinking water as well is not available, and health becomes a matter of fact where most of the disease affects their daily lives. Therefore, the hardship for women in making livelihood is present in this profession.

Regarding health and sanitation, women street vendors not only face this where they live as well as their work site. Sharma and Konwar have interviewed with Gomiben, and she also mentioned the toilet facilities are lacking in their case. Bhowmik and others also mentioned in their studies. Regarding with the women workers and their children at the work site Upadhyay has mentioned about the facility of the drinking water as well as the poor facility of the toilets and crèches are absent in the market areas, and the associated issues are present in their case. Malvika Upadhya observed in her case study about the women head loaders that,

Even though females have been working they are constantly worried about their children. Even though females have been working for many years in the mandi there is no place (crèches) in the mandi where they can keep their children. Due to this many females have to go back home early. Moreover, there are no toilets close to the mandi. Some women said that "Even if they (toilets) exist we do not know their locations (Upadhya, 2017: 571).

All of them said that there are no sanitary pad dispensers in the mandi. Therefore, during menstrual cycles, emergency toilet conditions and for taking care of children, women have to go back home." She extends her argument and says

Besides, there are no separate resting spaces for women. Some women said that due to this, they have to sit with men at times; some men are bothersome, which makes them very uncomfortable. Therefore, when they get tired, they prefer to sit in groups for some time and then start working again so that they do not have to talk to strange men. There are no proper drinking water facilities in the mandi as well. Though there are some 'pious' (drinking water taps) installed, they generally have no water (Malvika Upadhya, 2017:571)

Sharma and Konwar also argue about women street hawkers that "All day long they roam around working hard and sometimes they cannot find a public toilet, so many of them have urine infections" (Sharma and Konwar, 2014:54). There is lack of awareness and hygiene as well in them. The mental and physical health of the street vendors has been affected as ailments associated with stress is notified by ILO which include hyperacidity, migraine, digestive problems, lack of sleep, etc, Therefore, this shows how their health is getting affected.

The sexual harassment while at work is another issue which women street vendors are facing in this job. The everyday life a women street hawker is unique and full of challenges in the society. They not only have to find a way of earning a viable livelihood but the presence of adverse factors like sexual overtures, women also have to deal with other forms of harassment like facing social discrimination and invisibility, and because of that, they scrutinize that their trade and community get insulted.

Gender relations at the workplace shows that when women share their workplaces with men, they usually dominated by men (Kapadia, 1999). The studies have shown that women are generally troubled by owners, middlemen, and capitalists. For instance; "men hold superior positions at workplaces, taking salaries of their wives, not allowing them to interact with other men and getting paid more than women...there is a male dominance in the field and men instruct and allocate tasks to women and do not allow women to rise above the level of a loader" (Upadhyay, 2017:573). But at the same time, some women are active at their place to challenge the patriarchal institution, for instance; "women through their daily interactions, violation of patriarchal norms and coping strategies have battled against masculinities odds..." (Upadhyay, 2017:573).

Urban vending is not merely a source of employment rather it 'provides 'affordable' services to the majority of the urban population. The role played by the street vendors in the economy as in the society needs to be given due credit, but they seem as unlawful entities and are notified to continuous harassment by the civic authorities or Police.

To assess state in terms of that, the main agenda is about street hawker's rights and regarding that Supreme Court of India ruled 'if properly regulated according to the exigency of the circumstances, the small traders on the sidewalks can considerably add to the comfort and

convenience of general public, by making available ordinary articles of everyday use for a comparatively lesser price. An ordinary person, not very affluent, while hurrying towards his home after a day's work can pick up these articles without going out of his way to find a regular market. The right to carry on a trade or business mentioned in article 19 (1) of the constitution, on street pavements, if properly regulated cannot be denied on the ground that the streets are meant exclusively for passing or repassing and no other use" (National Policy for Urban Street Vendors: 1). In terms of that the articles 39 (a) and (b) of the constitution also mentioned about the state policy direction in which 'men and women equally have right to an adequate means of livelihood,' and second the 'ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub serve the common good' (National Policy For Urban Street Vendors).

The Government of India has paying attention to the needs and demands of street vendors. "The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA) has proposed Street Vendors (Protection of livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Bill, 2012 which is aimed at regulating street vendors in public spaces and also at protecting rights.... As a result of the Supreme court of India recognizing street vending as a source of livelihood in 2010 and directing MoHUPA to work on central legislation" (Sharma and Konwar, 2014:57). The everyday struggle for space and the existing licensing system is also considered to noted and make more suitable policies to them. However, this bill is recognising vendors as workers in labour for and giving identity and legitimation to the women street hawkers, but the bill implementation is still a question as India has not implemented any specific act for street vendors in a fairly manner.

Further, the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors accounts that "Street Vendors provide valuable services to the urban population while trying to earn a livelihood. This policy aims to ensure that this important section of the urban population finds recognition for its contribution to society, and is conceived of as a major initiative for urban poverty alleviation". Therefore, state shall direct in these policies but the issue is that what is happening and the assessment of that in the society is a different scenario? If in the basic objectives of policies are involved: legal issues of hawking zones, regulation of licensing, facilities of space, role in distribution, self compliance, organizations promotions and participation, rehabilitation of child vendors and social security and financial services then why is such a gap among the men and women are occurring in this arena? And this all are in

the name of support to dignified livelihood how this 'dignified' term is not at in its better condition?

Moreover, the problem of bribe and harassment- street vendors pays daily and weekly bribes to the police and the municipality. This is so much persisting even unionised vendors have to pay bribes. The transparency and corruption making the women street vendors vulnerable as what they earn their half the earning are not theirs. The licensing issue and the problems related with space at the market areas is still making difficulty to them. And "Space for a 'street vendor' in the city is highly contested. Street as a public space gets defined as legal-illegal, mainstream- periphery, beautiful- ugly and so on. It shows how streetscapes are shaped through the interplay of politics, planning and the local economy" (Sharma and Konwar, 2014: 48). And for the women street vendors it is difficult to survive in these spaces. Dedulal Shaha, Anjaria Shapiro, Renana Jabvala and Bhowmik have mentioned about this space and the legality issue in their studies. And in that matter state is not taking appropriate actions to implement the policies and because of that the space of the women street vendors is getting neglected.

Furthermore, there are organizations that are supporting these women street vendors for instance; in Ahmedabad and Delhi the Self employed Women Association (SEWA) a trade union of women in informal sector has been including women street vendors to promote better livelihood through supporting them and raise voice for the rights of marginalized women. In same way in Delhi as well this organisation is supporting in the upliftment of the women street vendors and giving them opportunity to raise their voice against the discrimination and identify what their rights are? SEWA Bharat is a big platform to the women who are working in the street vending and empowering them through different skill management programmes and indulging them in some different works as well (Ruchi Sankrit, 2015). And reports have shown that organizations like NASVI (National Association of Street Vendors of India) which is working under Sharit K. Bhowmik and other similar organizations are active for raising the voice for the street vendor's rights. But these organizations are active in some of the urban cities and have impacted little and such organizations should be promoted by the government of India. However, the issue and the challenges are persisting regarding women street vendors.

Poor infrastructure as well as lack of information leading to suffering those women and market skills is not present in them, so they do not know to compete with the other market-oriented products. After the liberalization, the capitalist oriented marketing has affected these vendors work. The arrival of new online shopping sites is the example how online shopping and media is taking the jobs of street vendors in different ways. People are more active on these sites and making their choices limited to these sites. For instance; they do not want to spend their time to go out and buy fruits and vegetables from the street vendors rather they prefer to buy online shops such as Groffers, Amazon, Flipkart and so forth. Therefore, this cultural is developing in the urban areas in a faster way. Globalization has impacted a lot on these vendors as people are very keen to shop from mall and mall cultural have impacted on the daily markets as well as on the street vendors and people are getting more excited to shop from the mall rather the small markets. The daily work of the street hawkers and their earnings are getting affected by these capitalist-oriented markets.

Conclusion

Women street vendors are the workers of the informal sector are challenging the daily notions of the patriarchal system. They are not fighting and struggling for their wages, unpaid labour, and harassments, but at the same time, they're contributing to the economic system of the nation 'In the public sphere, their expected roles include taking part in all endeavours channelled toward development and nation building' (Okuyade, 2010).

It has been noted that across the life cycle women have more limited access to productive resources which are land, capital, and livestock compared to male counterparts. Early marriage and child bearing, and rearing can also inhibit young women's integration into the labour market. But women are coming forward and participating in the labour market and self- employed as like men. Although their rights and voice are getting hindered, they are still fighting to make their livelihood. They have a lot of importance to the daily lives of the urban people as these women street vendors provide fruits and vegetables, flowers, fish, clothes, readymade food, household goods and varieties of necessity to people in the urban areas. "Without them, the monthly expenses of the middle class will go up and the survival of the poor will become difficult" (Sharma and Konwar, 2014:57). But their contributions are often

seen as invisible as their demands. Therefore, women street vendors are very much important part in the informal economy.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In conclusion it is necessary to discuss the core aspects of the topic which is more important to reflect upon. Gender is generally meant the 'social construction of sexual identity' (Kapadia, 1997). One becomes a woman by performing as woman. Therefore, Gender refers do not only the sexual identity but the differences between the male and females in human society over a wide range of variables for instance; behaviour, identity, personal traits, roles, functions, rights, rewards and so forth. It also refers certain norms which result in producing a particular type of individual, recognised as a man or woman and consequently these norms are applicable to every aspect of life (Krishnaraj, 1996)

Women are subordinated in the society by the two major systems of capitalism and patriarchy. These systems are directly responsible for their low status as workers and the various issues which women face at private and public spheres. Women's history reveals that inequality has its own distinctiveness when it comes in the framework of gender. Studies which focus on women's marginalization show that women's subordination is based on an age old development of social values regarding gender inequality. Keeping this fact in the mind to understand matrix of marginalization from private to public and from social to person, this study has objectively tried to locate issue regarding women's marginalization in one the of most marginalized professions like street vending. This study tries to understand that how the everyday gendered interaction in public places is an important variable in highlighting their marginalization through the labour they perform.

Moreover, this study also aims to focus on the nature of work performed by women street vendors in the informal sector from a sociological perspective. While doing so, it also maps how the profession of street vending impacts their socio-economic condition in the society. The main objective of the study is to identify the conceptual framework which understands the women's work and labour conditions in the Indian society. In order to do that the investigation, the dissertation reflects on the deeper understanding of patriarchy, which plays an important role in portraying women's position in the public sphere and their livelihood.

In this complex matrix of modern and traditional institutions, any tangible step towards upliftment of poverty-stricken women workers necessitates a clear understanding of the specific context of women's work in India. This study also maintains to look closer to the socio-economic condition of women as well as the layered inequality of Indian society. The discrimination in the form of exclusion and inclusion is also a matter of fact to look upon as it investigates how women are included in the economic activity but at the same time how and why they are getting excluded in the Informal sector? This study observes all in a nutshell on the socio-economic and cultural condition of women and suggests implementing a well designed policy which gives them not empowerment but a dignified life to live. Therefore, this project is helpful to understand the women of Indian society and their work life in the Informal Sector. Also tries to locate problem and perspective of market as an activity in public places and the significance of gender and its location in market principles. Other than that, Feminization of workforce is an important to focus in understanding women empowerment though it does little to reduce the women's subordination but still gives an extensive view to reflect on women's issues.

This study is organized in five major chapters including the conclusion. Chapter first introduces the problem, prospects and perspectives used in the study. There is a use of secondary methods to highlight women's issue in the profession of street vending. Various report and narratives with review of literatures are the part of study.

The second chapter "Feminist Discourses on Women's Work" deals with the theoretical aspects of the study which tries to understand feminist discourse and its theoretical reflection on women and labour issues. Feminism has played great role in highlighting women's issue and in this regard this study tries to search the possibility of liberal, Marxist and radical as well as post feminist contributions to understand women's work its nature and its relation with capitalism and patriarchy. Investigate private and public domain and its dimension of gendered work is another effort this study.

Chapter three, "Women, Work and Informal Sector in India" tries to understand women's position in informal sector. Since street vending falls in an informal sector category, it has its own social as well as economic character. In the same way it has its own political economy which is responsible in the form of discrimination and marginalization. With the patriarchal

character of market it is easy to locate how women's marginalization is easy in the public sphere.

Chapter fourth is the evaluative chapter of this work which deals with various aspects of women and street vending in India. Demography of street vending profession as well as women's position in street vending profession is the main aim of the chapter. With the data from various secondary sources like NSSO (National Sample Survey Office), Economic Census and Narratives of NASVI (National Association of Street Vendors of India) and WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) this chapter tries to understand the nature of marginality and its social characteristics. Women's discrimination and marginality cannot determine by the economic indicator or implementing policies and distributing resources rather age old patriarchal structure of society needs more serious social scrutiny to identify the problem.

The emergence of modern market system created a new set of rules and regulation of buying and selling of services and goods. Profession like street vending faced many challenges to cope with the new system. Social transformation brought through industrialization is responsible for emergence of market economy and new type of market place, new kind of values and norms regarding market behaviour. Age old street vending profession in India is now facing new challenges. With the emergence of APP based industry and widespread circulation of online business has harmed the street vending profession. Liberalization policies of Indian government have also brought informality and insecurity in jobs. State is conveniently rolling back its welfare policies, that resulted in the form of marginalization and severe discrimination of the people at the margins and women in this case are facing worse situation.

In this regard narratives tell deeper understanding of the issue. On the workers of informal sector, Ela Bhatt (SEWA Founder) has proposed there should be extensive research to provide data on the economic and social condition. The protection of law she suggests labour laws should be extended and a special welfare fund should be set up to provide crèches, medical services, provident fund, group and maternity insurance for all such workers.

Bereman (1996) argues for social security schemes. He observes that social security schemes should be firm in order to at least build up the countervailing power required for mitigating the destructive consequences of employment insecurity. He extends his discussion by putting

forward that guideline by the government and restriction of the workings of the free market are obligatory to put an end to the exclusion from a decent standard of life of the vast and still increasing army labour in the informal sector which is in various respect used as a reserve.

The other objectives are the examination of the street vending as a livelihood source in the informal sector. In addition that the women street vendors issues, challenges, legal and administrative policies and measures in India is also included in the investigation regarding their work. Street vending policies of 2014 has its own limitations. As it is not specifically concern of women's issues. It is also not give any guarantee of job security. It is obvious to see that state is rolling back its welfare responsibility towards its citizen and many of its responsibility it has given to the private players like NGO.

Non government organization has its own limitation as most of them function to keep in the view of profit and other problem is that they have no power to implement and policy and programme. So again stage role become important. In recent years it has seen that it is because of judiciary it was possible to identify labour or women's issue there is lake of political will.

The present study tried to locate and highlight various socio-economic as well as political aspects of women's issue in street vending profession. It is observable from the available evidences that most of women's narratives in this field shows deeper problem where various data and sources cannot give full picture.

Women's problem regarding professions like street vending has its own challenges. It cannot be framed in a homogenous way like state categories and labour issue of wage and working hours. It is noticeable that the kind of patriarchy developed in India in the frame of caste, class, religion and ethnicity, needs more serious investigation. There need to make women specific policies to address the issue of gender based discrimination in public sphere. There is also need to understand that it is necessary to regularize market to address the issue of gender justice. In case of marginal sections of society the state has a very important role that is of making policies that target women who are at the margins. Obviously state has very important role to tackle the issues of women street vendor. But it is also need of the hour to create a social movement against gender based discrimination. We have to counter ideological significance of gender based patriarchy. Space for women should maximize in

public sphere. It is that social aspects of the state policies regarding economy should get importance. We should understand in terms of social than economy that will create just and equal order in the world.

This study tries to understand the forms of women's labour and its discontent. Social stigma of low esteemed jobs, job insecurity, uncertainty, fear, mobile character of job and state regulation in the form of police and license raj are the issues that shape the kind of discrimination a women face in this profession . So in this way it is important to coteries these kind of profession with its own socio-cultural aspects. In India caste and religion has its own significance that allow one section of society to stigmatize of people and section of society. It is imperative to understand that there are various social sanctioning in India regarding women and their labour. Globalization in the form of capitalism, which is known as rational and calculation is not successful to wipe-out social sanctioning of stigmatized jobs. In this context street vending profession has not only become a site of lower economic reward but social rearward also.

Studies on gender and labour have given magnificent contribution to highlight women's issue in this field. But those studies have failed to understand that social question needs social remedies too. Solving social question like patriarchy with economic and state policies has its limited impact.. It is very difficult to question own social, values, norms and tradition that is responsible for many forms of discrimination. In this context, this study tries to locate social question of women's street vendor that validate their discrimination and create many forms of violence in the form of less accessibility to customer, lack of accessibility to benefits of policies and programme.

So it is necessary to understand that with the spread of the global economy in the form of online shopping and app based economy we need to make policies which are controlled by human beings and not by technology. Otherwise with the spreading of new technology, which has increased its dominance and bargaining power in our social lives, the labour invested by women in street vending would remain useless. To conclude, it is necessary to understand that people in the profession of street vending, especially women need significant intervention by the state.

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