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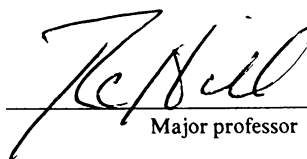
Women Workers in India's Pharmaceutical
Industry: A Study of Industry
Structure and Social Stratification

presented by

Ranjana V. Damle

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology


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WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA'S PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY:
A STUDY OF INDUSTRY STRUCTURE
AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

By

Ranjana V. Damle

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA'S PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY: A STUDY OF INDUSTRY STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

By

Ranjana V. Damle

Women's participation in the organized sector blue-collar work has been marginal in India. The pharmaceutical industry, however, is one of the few industries that have drawn on female labor. A dynamic and prosperous industry in India's modern sector, the pharmaceutical industry is at present characterized by a stratified structure of firms in terms of size and ownership. The study focused on the differing labor market status and its impact on women's work experiences, household characteristics, their attitudes towards work, and their empowerment. The study design included three groups of women - women workers from transnational corporations, large-scale local firms, and small-scale local firms in Bombay, India. The study was based on

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schedule-structured interviews with a few open-ended questions. Scales were created to measure (socioeconomic status) SES and household division of labor.

The data strongly suggested that separate labor markets existed for the different types of firm. Despite the similarities in education and attitudes towards work and other issues, women were stratified in terms of work trajectories, wages, working conditions, and SES. Women working for transnational firms received better wages and other rewards compared to their counterparts in the local sector. Initial SES differences among women seemed to have been enhanced by the women's place of insertion in the industry. Women's households were differently organized across different firms. Women working for large firms often belonged to nuclear households whereas women in local firms tended to have larger households. Ironically, better-paid women from transnational corporations reportedly spent longer hours doing housework and had less help available than the women in small firms. On the other hand, these women had a greater control over monetary issues suggesting greater power. Women in all firm types expressed that working had positively affected their status and power in the household.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study became possible because of the contributions - both direct and indirect - made by a lot of individuals from two different continents. First of all, at the foundation of this study are the women in the pharmaceutical industry whose work-filled lives fascinated and inspired me. I am indebted to these women for ever. I must also thank their supervisors and union leaders for cooperation in making this project possible by providing me the access to the firms and giving me a great deal of information on the industry. Special acknowledgment is also due to many feminist and labor activists in Bombay who provided rare insights on the intricacies of women's industrial employment.

My deepest gratitude is extended to my guidance committee, especially my major advisor, Professor Rick Hill, who were instrumental in the entire process of research and writing. Professor Marilyn Aronoff was involved in the study from its inception and I thank her for her support.

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Professor Susan Tiano from the University of New Mexico was instrumental in my study with her scholarly advice at many points in time whenever needed. Thanks are also due to Professor Jane Hood and Bob Fiala who were supportive and helpful with this study.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of my family - my husband, daughter Karishma, and others - without whose patience, quite literally, this work would not have seen the light of day.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a case study of women who work for India's pharmaceutical industry, one of the most dynamic and prosperous industries in India's modern sector.¹ A unique merit of the study lies in its comparative approach; it examines female workers stratified within a single industry and across firms of differing sizes and types of ownership. The study has both theoretical and practical import as it attempts to assess the impact of differential labor market status on women's economic position, household organization, attitudes on various issues, and on feelings of empowerment.

Women's work in the developing countries assumed a special significance for feminists as well as policymakers with the realization in the 1970's that women tend to benefit less by development compared to men (Boserup

"Modern sector," for the narrow purpose of the study has been defined as a sector that developed through contact with Western technology and industry. Examples of modern sector industries are: engineering, metals, plastics, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and electronics. The traditional sector," on the other hand, includes industries that had roots in pre-colonial economies. Textile, garment, and food-processing are examples of traditional sector industries.

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1970). Women seem to have less access to education and skill-training although they are engaged in long and arduous labor to ensure subsistence. Women's paid work has mainly occurred in areas that are roughly extensions of their familial roles - such as nursing and teaching. Women's entry into the electronics and pharmaceutical industries finds its explanation in the fact that female workers have such "feminine" qualities as patience for repetitive work and finger dexterity (Fernandez-Kelly 1983). Studies have found that women's jobs are rated and paid lower than men's, and that they are the first to go with automation (Lamphere 1987; Anant et al 1987).

While many scholars have pointed to inequity in the process of development which excludes women from better work opportunities, others have argued that women are exploited by being incorporated in development. The mass entry of women into export-processing industrial zones, the institutions of quick economic development which pay low wages for unorganized occupations, is considered by these scholars a prime example of the exploitation of women in undesirable jobs that bring them few long-term benefits.

There is growing evidence of the disadvantages faced by women in the labor market and their limited access to better jobs. However, studies have also suggested that entry into modern manufacturing jobs can provide a degree of autonomy in personal matters and feelings of self-esteem, both of which lead to lessened dependency on

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the family (Lim 1983; Foo 1987). Such contradictory views on women's gains from participating in the industrial work point to the great need for more research on female workers in developing countries. Studies of women's blue-collar work have primarily focused on export-zones and paid less attention to mainstream industries. In the case of India, studies on women's blue-collar work and its impact on women's socioeconomic status and attitudes are seriously lacking. The present study proposes to fill these gaps by examining women's participation in the pharmaceutical industry in India.

Women's labor force participation in India has remained stagnant in this century. Moreover, their work is largely represented in the agricultural and service sectors (Nant et al 1987). With the findings that women's participation in the old ghettos such as textile manufacturing is on the decline (Sawara 1986), and that a great proportion of women's productive work occurs in the ever-growing unorganized sector, it is important to examine what the status of women is in such well-established niches in the pharmaceutical industry.

The question of women's work lends itself to several related inquiries. What type of jobs are available to women and who gets those jobs? How do these jobs affect women's socioeconomic status and their status in the household? How is the household division of labor worked to facilitate women's work outside the home? Do

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differences in work and socioeconomic status correlate with gender and class consciousness exhibited by female workers? This study explores the impact of work in the pharmaceutical industry on female workers.

Specifically, the study aims to achieve three broad objectives: 1. to compare three groups of women in terms of their work environment and reward structure; 2. to explore the implications of differing work experiences for women on their household structure; 3. to undertake a comparative analysis of women's subjective assessment of their work, family situation, and perception of empowerment and status.

India's pharmaceutical industry is a major export-substitution industry in India's modern sector that boasts of women's employment on a significant scale.² Pharmaceutical transnationals (TNCs) in India began employing women as packers in the 1940's, during the period "import-substitution" industrialization.³ Following in the footsteps of the TNCs, Indian pharmaceutical companies

The pharmaceutical industry is the front-runner among a few industries in India that employ women on a significant scale. The other notable examples are textile, cement, bidi (traditional, hand-rolled cigarettes), food processing, and electronics industries.

Many developing nations followed a policy of localized production of commodities, through both foreign and indigenous investments, to stop the economic drain caused by imports. This phase of industrialization is called "import substitution." In many countries in Asia, import substitution began in the 1940's.

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started recruiting women in the 1950's. Although this remains a major industry providing employment for women, there is some evidence that the TNCs have virtually stopped hiring women since the 1960's and that women's job opportunities within the industry seem to be restricted to the mushrooming small-scale pharmaceutical companies that offer considerably poorer wages, working conditions, and security to women workers compared to their transnational counterparts (Banaji 1985).

The pharmaceutical industry in India is divided structurally into large, medium, and small sized firms. In terms of ownership, it can also be classified into categories of foreign versus local private ownership.⁴ Although the entire industry is considered to be part of the organized sector,⁵ the levels of technology, productivity, assets, profits, and turnover vastly vary with firm size. This, in turn, has affected the structure

India also has five public sector pharmaceutical companies. This study is limited to private-sector units located in Bombay.

The "organized sector" in this study is defined as the sector that comes under Bombay's Factories Act, a definition used by Joshi and Joshi (1976) and Holmstrom (1985). Although the range of factories covered by the Factories Act is enormous - factories employing 10 workers with power and 20 workers, without power - conceptually it is a useful definition. This definition allows us to distinguish between informal and undocumented activities and those that are documented and bound by governmental regulation.

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the job market for the industry in at least two visible
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Such stratification of women has deep implications for
 their households. Women earning low salaries are likely to
 belong to households where income-pooling of several
 earners is essential for survival. Thus women earning
 relatively low wages would likely live with extended
 families incorporating multiple generations and couples, as
 their families might be dependent on income-pooling of
 several earners. Larger households are likely to follow an
 and gender hierarchy in decision-making and division of
 labor of housework. Hence women with smaller paychecks are
 likely to live in "traditional" family set-ups with
 constraints on their autonomy and a division of labor
 unfavorable to women.

Given that rewards, nature of labor process, and the
 resulting work experience would be different from firm to
 firm, the pertinent question is whether or not the women's
 family, and attitudes also differ across these
 firms. Also a related question appears: What accounts for
 women's specific placement in these hierarchically
 organized pharmaceutical firms? These research questions
 provided the impetus for this study.

The study will compare the socioeconomic backgrounds
 and education received by female workers in order to
 ascertain whether there are any systematic differences
 that might explain their placement in firms of different

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es. Researchers have found that TNCs are increasingly undertaking automation, decentralizing facilities to escape certain industrial laws, and using profit enhancing techniques such as subcontracting to smaller firms, which meant fewer "top" TNC job openings. More recent female entrants in the labor market who have skill and education find jobs only in smaller firms which offer less pay or job security.

The place of insertion into this segmented labor market carries long-term consequences for the women. They are likely to differ not only on issues such as the type of work they do, the nature of control under which they perform their tasks, and the level of benefits and wages they receive, but also in terms of their perceptions, expectations, and attitudes. While anticipating a discussion of the theoretical foundation of these positions in the following sections, we can argue that women working for larger organizations will show greater awareness of their subordination as workers and as women when contrasted with the women working for smaller firms.

The study was conducted in the pharmaceutical firms of various sizes located in Bombay, and based on interviews of female workers, managers and union leaders in nine different firms. Additional information on the workers and the pharmaceutical industry was gathered by examining documents on labor, industrial, and drug policy prepared by

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overnment, researchers, "watch dog" consumer groups, trade unions, and newspapers and magazines.

The sections in the thesis are outlined as follows:

Chapter One discusses pertinent literature in the areas of men and work, women in the industrializing societies, and men and labor markets. This presentation of theoretical and substantive issues in the literature on men is followed in Chapter Two by the discussion on India's industrial growth with a special emphasis on the pharmaceutical industry. Chapter Three presents the hypotheses that are examined in the course of this study and the methodology chosen. (Elaboration of definitions and measurements of variables appears in Appendix 1).

Chapter Four presents a sketchy picture of the firms included in the study to create a backdrop for women's work experiences and their attitudes and opinions on work-related issues. Chapter Five, on the other hand, involves examination of the women's social and demographic characteristics to explain their specific job placement. Chapters Six and Seven focus on women's households. The chapters explore and analyze women's attitudes on socioeconomic status (Ch. Six), household structure, and division of labor in the household (Ch. Seven). Chapter eight presents data on women's attitudes towards gender division of labor, gender equality, and perceptions of

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r status within their households. Chapter Nine
usses the observations and conclusions that result from
research project.

The appendices include sections on definitions and
urements of variables, demographic information, trade
ns in the pharmaceutical industry, and the
tionnaire used for interviews in this study.

The next chapter reconstructs the theoretical
etwork chosen for this study and examines the relevant
rature.

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In recent years industrialization on significant amount of centuries and cultures societies have initiated and policymakers for long and hard hours compared to men, to health and longevity conditions and wages

The conditions which labor is performing industrialization. was home-based and while carrying out children and maintenance production moved a division of work by Wages work became part of the private sphere

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In recent years, inquiry into the impact of industrialization on the status of women has generated a significant amount of research which has scanned different societies and cultures. Women in the industrializing societies have initiated a special interest among scholars and policymakers following the recognition that, despite long and hard hours of work, women have less access, compared to men, to such rewards of development as improved health and longevity, education, and better working conditions and wages.

The conditions of labor and social relations under which labor is performed have changed with the advent of industrialization. In preindustrial societies, production was home-based and women participated in the production of goods and carrying out reproductive work of bearing and rearing children and maintaining upkeep of the household. As industrialization moved away from home into the factory, the division of work became more sharply gender-based. Paid work became primarily men's domain and women occupied the domestic sphere of home. Women entered paid work when

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Two opposing
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dictated by the family's need for wages and when there was demand for their labor. Women's work participation, however, was considered to be less important than men's, only secondary to their reproductive responsibilities. As a result of this assumption, women were mainly employed in low-status jobs that paid less than jobs held by men.

To answer the basic question of whether women are relatively better off as a result of industrial development, studies have looked at macro-level data on education, longevity, fertility, age at marriage, rate of employment, and so on. Another crucial area of research has been the investigation of women's employment within the context of industrialization and its impact on their family structure and personal lives.

Work provides one not only with livelihood but also with identity; waged work carries more prestige than unpaid work in the market economy. These observations steered the research towards the link between women's status and their participation in paid and unpaid work. Thus, studies have examined data on women's perceptions of their status at home and in the labor market. Studies have also looked into the division of labor at home and in the labor market, and explored its implications for women's status.

Two opposing viewpoints have emerged on the issue of the impact of women's labor force participation upon their status.

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working helps to improve women's status (Lim 1983). On the other hand, some scholars have argued that work is superexploitative and demeaning to women (Elson 1981).

The first argument contends that waged work in the public sphere results in a multitude of tangible and intangible benefits for women. Employment encourages self-confidence and autonomy, and thus, eventually, social participation (Omvedt 1980). Waged work can also reduce dependence on men, or their families, and enhance status in public life and in the household (Lim 1983).

Scholars have also argued that gainful employment promotes women's integration into public life. Working women have moved from the category of the superpoor in most developing countries (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Tiano 1987; Lim 1983). Some argue that rising demand for female labor, rather than aimed at exploitation of their cheap labor, may eventually lead to women's greater bargaining power and narrowing of the sex-wage differential (Lim 1983).

There is also, however, a great deal of literature examining the negative impact of industrialization on the processes of which have marginalized the role of women in the productive sphere and undermined their status in the family as well. One argument contends that the jobs available to women are exploitative by nature. Gender segregation of tasks and occupations, largely

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EXPLANATION AND CRI

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archal-capitalist in origin, limits access to jobs, results in the degradation of tasks, low pay, and lack of opportunity for women (Elson and Pearson 1981; Gonzalez-Kelly 1983).

These differing observations are identified in the literature as "integration" versus "exploitation" hypotheses (Tiano 1987), or as "liberation" versus "exploitation" hypotheses (Lim 1983). Scholars with Marxist, feminist, and developmentalist perspectives disagree on the question of women's gains resulting from work.

CRITIQUE AND ANALYSIS OF THEORIES CLAIMING A POSITIVE IMPACT

Developmentalism

Developmentalists, in kinship with functionalist thinking, emphasize the beneficial aspects of development through such mechanisms as universal education, mass media, expanding labor markets. The control of family over members is supposed to give way to independence; traditional values of age and gender hierarchy decline as members migrate to take up waged work. Work outside home opens up broader horizons, global awareness, increased opportunities, and modern values of individualism and autonomy. Modern values also promote the possibility of delayed marriage and fewer children. Inkeles and Smith

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observed a link between modernity of attitudes and
 re to urban/industrial milieu among the respondents
 developing nations. Within the same paradigm,
 ton (1968) has argued that economic development is
 nished by the rise of modern political institutions
 ay in traditional bases of power. Allegiance
 ly shifts from religious, ethnic, and traditional
 ty figures to the nation-state. Power is
 uted more on the basis of achievement and less on
 criptive characteristics as clan, caste, or gender.
 here is a move towards rationalized polity,
 alistic values, greater political awareness, and
 al mobilization of the masses.

Marxist Theory

xist theory, showing congruence with the
 mental perspective on the issue of women's status,
 tained that women's participation in waged labor
 their emancipation. Marxist analysis of women's
 tion, however, sharply differs from the
 mentalists' emphasis on the shift from "traditional"
 rn" values as the mechanism of liberation of
 According to the Marxist theory, the roots of
 subordination to men lie in their loss of control
 surplus created in the society and their
 nt relegation to the private sphere of family.
 emancipation is dependent on their return to the

public sphere (Engel
proletarianization u
to undermine working
their privilege over
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true liberation of v
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The main probl
stess from its basi
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Economic hist
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sphere (Engels 1884, 1972). The process of
 rianization under industrial capitalism is supposed
 rmine working class men's control over property and
 privilege over women, and eliminate the inequality
 the genders. Marxist feminists maintain that the
 beration of women will be achieved by socialist
 ion. However, they also emphasize the need for
 private domestic labor as a necessary step beyond
 g women equal rights (Chinchilla 1977; Sacks 1975).

Critique

e main problem with the developmentalist vision
 rom its basic assumptions that the process of
 ialization is linear, even, and smooth, and that it
 oly follows the western model of development. There
 an implicit assumption that with the rise in demand
 r, women's insertion into the labor market would be
 ively as well as quantitatively incremental.
 nomic histories of most developing societies have
 o be incongruent with these assumptions. Colonial
 on, post-colonial relations of dependence with the
 industrial countries, as well as sociocultural
 istics of the developing nations seem to have
 in uneven development. In their frenzied struggle
 d industrial growth, these nations are faced with
 contradictions as the coexistence of high-tech
 and modern agriculture with an impoverished

subsistence-level and
the widening gap bet

The Marxist per
feminists who point
proletarianization
Women's employment
occupations mostly
defied the expectat
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treated women as a
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capitalist system
labor at home has e
feminists, then, th
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Moreover, the
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istence-level agriculture, feudal land relations, and widening gap between the rich and poor (Frank 1966).

The Marxist perspective has come under attack by

ists who point out that the process of

tarianization is not free of gender differences.

's employment is characterized by a narrow range of

ations mostly lacking status and mobility, and has

d the expectation of women's mass entry into the

ctive jobs (Tinker 1976). Industrialization has

ed women as a reserve force to be pulled out from or

back to the household to fulfil the needs of the world

alist system (Simeral 1978). Moreover, women's free

at home has enhanced accumulation. According to the

ists, then, the process of proletarianization by

does not guarantee gender equality in the workplace

e family.

Moreover, the position of women in a particular

y is determined by a number of factors. Tradition of

ned public role for women, reform movements, local

s governing women's role in the family, as well as

ic factors such as industrial growth, impact of world

y, and rising demand for women's labor may all

bute to determining the status of women in a given

y. Thus we cannot assume that industrial growth

tically translates into female education, better

ment, and higher status, as claimed by

omentalists (Tinker 1976). Similarly, elimination of

capitalist relations
women equality with
the same significance
(1972).

EXPLANATION AND CRITIQUE

Developmentalists
Industrialization of
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Socialist-feminists
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alist relations in the society is unlikely to grant equality with men unless gender equalization assumes same significance as does class struggle (Leacock

NATION AND CRITIQUE OF THEORIES CLAIMING A NEGATIVE IMPACT

Developmentalism

Developmentalist scholars claiming negative impact of industrialization on women have presented different views on the issue. Boserup (1970), in her landmark study of women in developing societies, observed that women are getting marginalized from productive activities as mechanized production and traditional farming systems gave way to factory and modern agriculture. While their traditional skills are lost, women are not absorbed into modern industry because of discriminatory practices of the managers, or because they are reluctant to work next to men in the workplace. Boserup argues, the exclusion of women from the major sectors of development, such as modern factory or industry, deal a blow to women's status.

Socialist-Feminism

Socialist-feminists agree with Boserup's observations but dispute her interpretations. For example, Beneria and Beneria (1981), in their critique of Boserup's work, argue that

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Socialist-feminism
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men's absence from the better, modern sector jobs is not
 a case of simple discrimination, but rather an expression
 of gender hierarchy embedded in social and economic
 institutions.

Socialist-feminists view women's limited opportunities
 in the labor market and their dependent status at home to
 be mutually reinforcing aspects of the same process -
 the subordination of women. They argue that gender
 differentiation in the society is the result of patriarchal
 capitalism - the interaction of capitalism and patriarchy.
 Marxism provides an analysis of the exploitation of labor
 and class struggle endemic to capitalism. The feminist
 concept of patriarchy, on the other hand, focuses on the
 phenomenon of male control of female labor and sexuality
 which is present in all classes and in almost all known
 societies. The feminist theory argues that legal,
 political, economic, and religious institutions are
 patriarchal in nature and thus have historically
 strengthened women's subordination in the society (Hartmann

Socialist-feminists claim that definition of women as
 subordinate gender allows men the privilege of female
 labor and creates unequal division of labor in the
 world. The capitalist class benefits from this system
 in many ways. Capitalist profits are enhanced with the

practice of sex-wage
marketplace, and with
the household (Hartm

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ce of sex-wage or exclusionary discrimination in the place, and with women's unpaid reproductive labor in household (Hartmann 1981a).

the labor market, women are subjected to the same as men. However, patriarchal institutions define primary work commitments inside the household, thus women a special category of the proletariat.

home commitments compel them to develop strategies combining family responsibilities with paid work home. Women's participation in the public sphere is driven by politico-economic and demographic factors such as the demand for female waged labor and households' need for income. However, the supply of labor is influenced by household organization and dominant ideas about gender roles. Thus macro-level factors greatly influence the changes in women's work, but are mediated through the gradual changes in the dominant and gender ideology prescribing women's appropriate roles (Tilly and Scott 1978; Lamphere 1987).

Radicalist-feminists maintain that patriarchal domination of women is not eradicated, but only altered, perhaps even strengthened, by the process of capitalist development.

Critique

developmentalist approach to women as a weaker, population has come under attack by

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alist-feminists. They have questioned the assumption that the present course of development is inevitable, or desirable (Beneria and Sen 1981). Krishnaraj (1983), an economist from India, has argued that the day-to-day process of development inherently creates inequality and injustice. "How many 'weaker groups' must we add up, if the major processes in the economy keep creating new weaker groups?" she asks (1983: 26). Others have claimed that the problem is not one of women being excluded from the process of development, but, rather, of the conditions through which women are integrated into the development process" (Elson and Pearson 1981), obviously referring to women's routine inclusion in the exploitative jobs that offer poor wages and working conditions.

The feminist literature, however, is in danger of focusing on the "other side", by accentuating "gender" while minimizing the significance of class and economic and political issues which are strongly influential in defining the situation of working class women and women of color. In the case of both, lack of access to economic and political power proves to be detrimental to their well-being - an issue they share with their men. In the end, for a vast majority of women from the toiling masses in the Third World, exploitation based on class and gender is inseparable, conceptually and in reality.

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Socialist-feminists have also been accused of logical biases such as the assumption that transnational corporations' exploitation of the labor of poor women of the Third World in their export-processing units is detrimental to the women's physical and emotional health, and to their economic situation. These biases can cloud the methodology and interpretation of the results (Foo 1987; Foo and Lim 1987). Foo and Lim argue that women working for transnational corporations are better off because of the higher wages and working conditions offered by these corporations. Lim and Foo also maintain that transnationals have improved their practices, set a good example of labor relations for local entrepreneurs and have had a positive impact on the economy and the labor force of the host countries. According to Lim and Foo, the gender gap visible in the industrial arena is not the result of transnational corporations' practices but the result of preexisting local traditions based on gender discrimination in the society.

Thus, the "integration/liberation" versus "exploitation" debate highlights some extremely important points from opposite camps. However, each side makes a simplistic presentation of a complex reality which ignores elements of both exploitation and liberation. Women continue to be employed for their low cost and productivity. Hence a majority of jobs, assigned as "women's,"

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by them wages not much beyond subsistence and allow women little "real" opportunity to exercise independence. Because work is gender-divided and housework is their main, women find themselves excessively burdened with waged work and housework. However, having waged work is likely to have a deep and lasting impact on a woman's self image and, further, on the process of renegotiation of status and power at home and in the workplace. Women may also gain a sense of independence in such matters as mate-selection and personal consumption pattern.

The "integration/liberation" versus "exploitation" theses are inadequate to comprehend the dynamics of the position of women in the Third World for a number of reasons. First of all, these theses are derived from biologically opposed paradigms. Ensuing research focuses on one side of the issue, leading researchers to paint a partial picture of the women's situation.

Secondly, much of the current literature reflects a basic assumption that working women constitute a homogeneous group in terms of class and are clustered in lower rung occupations. This assumption has restricted the research focus to bottom level jobs and left out the women in better jobs. Although a relatively small proportion of women work in better occupations, a study of their positions is just as important to gauge the impact of work on women.

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Current research also suffers from a few methodological omissions. Much research is done on the relatively new "export-processing zone" employment, while several rural and urban industries producing for the domestic market are not taken into account. Also, despite the interest in exploring the impact of working on women's lives, a relatively limited amount of work has been done on the relationship between work variables and the structure of working women's households, women's subjective evaluations of their own status, and women's awareness of class and gender issues.

An important link in the relationship between women's work and their status in the society is the issue of their empowerment in the household. The next section will examine important concepts and propositions that have appeared in the theoretical discourse and research on women and family power."

WOMEN AND FAMILY POWER

Scholars have concerned themselves with the processes that enhance women's prestige and power in the family and defined the role of work in women's empowerment. Power, defined as the ability of an individual within a social relationship to carry out his or her will, even in the face of resistance by others (McDonald 1980). Initially, researchers emphasized the economic resources as important

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ements in power in the family (Blood and Wolfe 1960).
 ter, researchers extended the sources or bases of power
 include normative, affective, and personality
 characteristics. The normative resources theory looked at
 the cultural and normative context. Rodman (1972) claimed
 applicability of the theory in varied cultural context
 based on the data from four different countries. The
 balance of power between spouses, according to this theory,
 is influenced by the interaction of comparative resources
 of husband and wife, and the cultural expectations about
 the distribution of marital power.

Thus, the resources brought by wife to the marriage
 are supposed to influence her power within the given
 cultural and normative context. TNC employment, argues
 that, allows women not only economic independence but
 an opportunity to defy family's traditional power over women
 and a chance to come together in a sex-segregated workplace
 where they can achieve solidarity due to common interests
 (1990). The same logic can be extended to factory
 employment in general.

Some researchers have focused on assessing women's
 household status based on the premise that women's entry
 into the labor market initiates changes in the household.
 The division of labor, which is found in almost all
 cultures, evolves and stratifies genders in the household.
 If the workplace is a "contested terrain," the
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der contradiction. Women perform long hours of "unpaid and unhonored" work and still experience dependent and lower status in relation to men in the household (Sen 1990).

Structural change in the household is perceived to be forthcoming mainly through the "dual linkage" to the labor market (Safilios-Rothschild 1976). Women's greater access to the public arena through employment is likely to not only make them economically less dependent on men but also allow women less time to perform household duties. Therefore, waged work is supposed to reorganize the gender division of labor in women's favor. As women's labor force commitments get stronger and come closer to those of men, household division of labor and leisure will be renegotiated (Safilios-Rothschild 1976). This argument implicitly recognizes the liberating and conflict potential of remunerated work. However, this vision pertains to industrial societies. Does it have application in the developing societies?

Safilios-Rothschild contend that elite women of the Third World can rely on women relatives of the same class, on servants of the lower classes to manage the household, and need not challenge patriarchal structures. For working class women, I would argue, lack these privileges and access to such resources. Thus class (or gender) enters as a variable that affects outcomes under patriarchal capitalism."

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It can be argued that working class women who participate in waged work have to carry an enormous work load. It is also conceivable that the more crucial, in absolute or relative terms, a woman's employment is for the household income, the greater the autonomy experienced by her, as stable employment may initiate a gradual and subtle reduction in patriarchal control. Gender division of labor is likely to be influenced by women's economic contribution as well as prolonged absence from the household, which necessitates a reorganization of the housework.

Hartmann (1981b), on the other hand argues that conflicting forces are at work which may influence household division of labor. For instance, capital's need for women's labor, households' need for women's wages, and women's struggles against the patriarchal legacy of housework may result in reduced standards or shift of some tasks to the marketplace. However, equalization of housework allocation between husbands and wives is not evident in the foreseeable future.

The preceding arguments highlight the use of housework as a measure of power in research on family power. The resource theory of power emphasizes the potential for powerment through economic and other resources. Distribution of power in the family may be a function of cultural context which provides the normative expectations of how power is divided. The socialist-feminist theory argues that patriarchy, the driving force behind the

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Global Restructuring

Ward (1990) examines the impact of restructuring and labor restructuring on women in developing countries. She argues that on a global level, the movement of labor from the core to the semi-periphery has led to a new form of development, one that provides women with opportunities for participating in the global economy. This is particularly true in the informal sector, where women are often employed in low-paying, insecure jobs.

TNCs and local labor of women to increase the flexibility of international trade. Women's households are often subsidized by the state, which provides them with social services and subsidies for their children. This is particularly true in the case of women in the informal sector, who are often employed in low-paying, insecure jobs.

Ward raises the question of the role of women in the global economy. She argues that women's participation in the global economy is often limited by their lack of access to capital and resources. This is particularly true in the case of women in the informal sector, who are often employed in low-paying, insecure jobs. She also argues that women's participation in the global economy is often limited by their lack of access to capital and resources.

qual and gendered division of housework, persists even when women take up waged work.

Global Restructuring and Women's Empowerment

Ward (1990) examines the links between global restructuring and housework, formal and informal work by women in developing countries. Restructuring of production at the global level has meant assembly line work is relegated to semi-periphery or periphery. Export-oriented development provides the impetus for the host countries for participating in the new division of labor in the structure of production. Global restructuring in the developing countries is marked by women's increased participation in the informal sector, argues Ward.

TNCs and local capitalists use the informal-sector employment of women to avoid labor legislation, achieve flexibility of informal work, and to keep labor costs low.

Women's household labor as well as informal labor subsidizes production and reproduction and allows low wages for men in the marketplace.

Ward raises an important question: How do women's experiences in the global restructuring affect their empowerment? Some of the issues raised by Ward are relevant to our study. How do women manage the time pressures and tensions resulting from their heavy workload and their responsibilities as wife and mother? How does their work affect their sense of self, autonomy, and

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STUDIES EXAMINING

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wer? The studies incorporated in her collection point at the contradictory impact of TNC employment on women's empowerment. The work is limiting since it is underpaid and offers little mobility. The patriarchal ideology prevails at home and through state policies. Nonetheless, women's independence and autonomy is enhanced. Women also find ways of achieving solidarity and registering their resistance through subtle or blatant struggles.

Whether women's work participation in the developing nations allows them relief from gender subordination in the home and the workplace, or whether it furthers their capitalist and patriarchal exploitation, has been a much debated but undecided issue. The following section will review the relevant empirical work.

STUDIES EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON WOMEN

Is the availability of manufacturing jobs for women critical in altering women's roles and, thereby, their status? A number of studies have tackled this question in recent years by examining the impact of gainful employment on women and their families. The rapidly industrializing nations of East and Southeast Asia have relied heavily on young single women's labor for their export-oriented industrialization, thus providing a fruitful testing ground for assessing working women's changing roles in the context of global economic forces. These studies have shown that

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Women's Changing Roles

In a recent study, Foo (1987) investigates the impact of manufacturing employment on nuptial attitudes and behavior of young female Malaysian factory workers. According to her findings the women enjoy the sense of independence and opportunity to meet non-kin men their work introduces them. Not surprisingly, the age of marriage has increased among women in this group. Nonetheless, familial ties remain strong. Prompted by the value of parental remittance, women continue to remit a portion of their earnings to their parents. Also, marriage and children remain the supreme goals in their lives. Women, however, do not experience ambivalence about their status. While their self-esteem for themselves is high, they are also aware of the poor reputation suffered by factory girls and the low status accorded them by society.

Foo asserts that modernity and traditionalism are not antithetical concepts, but, rather, a continuum. Nor is the loss of a traditional value orientation toward family necessarily a sign of exploitation of women. Women resolve the tension of conflicting values by accommodating them; while women enjoy the mobility and financial

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dependence, they honor their obligations as daughters, wives, and mothers, which, Foo declares, is a sign of rationality rather than exploitation.

In her study of women in Taiwan, Kung (1981) compares perceptions of older, non-working to those of younger, working women on working women's status. She reports that older women recognize the daughter to be a valuable economic resource suggesting an increment in working women's status. This, however, has not changed the daughter's dependent status at home and the family continues to exert control over women. In the parents' view, daughters cannot assume autonomy; they "belong" to husband's family and marriage is supposed to be the primary goal in their lives. While the daughters feel obligated to make economic contributions to the family, they do not feel free to influence decisions at home. The younger working women are not able to translate their earnings into greater power, Kung reports.

Salaff (1981) has echoes a similar theme in her study in Hong Kong, where working women have gained personal freedom while, at the same time, family loyalty has retained a significant value and families exert considerable control over the young women's lives.

That factory work often proves to be an extension of patriarchal relations in the family is revealed in Ong (1987) study of women factory workers. In her research on female workers in a small Malaysian town, Ong

notes that the factories' workers' families were under a type of patriarchy. Thus, patriarchal

Some scholars argue that the state is not available to women workers. Better jobs can be found in the informal sector and society. In Hong Kong, it is noted that women have made significant contributions to successful industries. Ideology of women workers is not as strong as it once was, but it still exists despite an increase in the number of women in the workforce. 42% for the women workers. Putting the burden of household production on women. Moreover, women's dependence on men is a result of gender-segregated labor markets and dependence at home.

Greenhalgh (1995) argues that the state's analysis of the economic situation in Taiwan is a key factor in national development. The state's control over women's labor is a key factor in the state's control over women's labor. Used for enhancing the state's control over women's labor. Securing its future by controlling women's labor. On the work-share, the state's control over women's labor. Homebound women workers. Their families benefit from their labor.

es that the factory management arranged socials with the
ers' families and conveyed to them that their daughters
under a type of fatherly control in the factories.

, patriarchal relations extended to the factory.

Some scholars have looked at the kind of jobs
lable to women, taking the premise that access to
er jobs can translate into greater esteem in the family
society. In her Singapore study, Wong (1986) notes
women have made modest gains despite a spectacularly
essful industrialization program in the country.

logy of women's home-bound roles still continues to
t despite an impressive economic participation rate of
for the women above 15 years of age, thus inevitably
ing the burden of the "double day" on the women.

over, women's access to jobs is limited to low-paying,
er-segregated occupations which reinforce women's
dence at home and low status in the workplace.

Greenhalgh (1985) and Gallin (1984) present an
sis of the economic role of women in the family and
nal development in their separate studies of working
ters in Taiwan. Greenhalgh finds that families retain
ol over women's labor and that the woman's income is
for enhancing the family's social standing and
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e work-sharing between younger, working and older,
ound women both of whose labor benefited not only
families but the capitalist system as a whole.

Greenhalgh (1995) has mobilized women to enter the daughters' incomes status or to invest pursuits as insurance entry into the labor daughters are a testament patriarchal exploitation emphasizing that women benefit to the women

In a similar Taiwan's industrial drawing young women women take care of maintains that the docile work force domestic work relations work also provide children, thus supporting familial ideology capitalist state relative to men, vis-a-vis older family. These other Eastern developing

Greenhalgh (1985) observes that capitalist expansion has mobilized women to work in factories. Families allow women to enter the labor force but control their incomes. Daughters' incomes are extracted by the families to raise status or to invest in sons' educational or business pursuits as insurance for the future. The young women's entry into the labor market and the remittances by the daughters are a testimony to their capitalist and patriarchal exploitation, proclaims Greenhalgh, thus emphasizing that work does not result in any significant benefit to the women.

In a similar vein, Gallin (1984) points out that Taiwan's industrialization has relied on women's labor - by drawing young women in the labor force, and letting the old women take care of the unpaid household work. Gallin maintains that the subordinate position of women assures a docile work force at a low wage rate. Also, older women's domestic work releases younger women for employment. Such work also provides the older women old age security from children, thus saving the state welfare money. Thus familial ideologies and women's subordination benefits the capitalist state. The position of women remains unaltered relative to men, but the position of younger women improves vis-a-vis older women when they are earning members of the family. These observations may find parallels in other eastern developing countries.

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While the preceding studies show greater mobility and greater patriarchal exploitation of young female workers, in other studies scholars have observed the influence of age, education, marital status, social class, and ethnicity on how work affects women. Research has also examined the stratification of labor markets and its impact on female workers.

Influence of Social and Demographic Factors

In a study of female workers in Puerto Rico, Safa reports that work affects young and old women differently. Safa observes that younger workers working in rural plants are more complacent with work and less assertive towards the management compared to their older counterparts working for older plants in an urban area. Younger women come from patriarchal rural traditions that transfer the father's authority to the managers. Also, young women live in joint families where income-pooling is common. They are therefore more secure than the older women but perhaps more docile because of the security. In contrast, older married women are more worried about their families and hence are more assertive and militant. Absence of a support network to care for the house means more work but also a stronger hold of patriarchy on the working women. Thus, women experience work differently due to a number of

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Salaff and Wong (1984) have argued that social class
a significant effect on women's employment in
pore. "Within the narrow range of jobs, the female
force is stratified with regard to family background
ndustrial niche at the time of development" (p. 190).
's class position and related family support are
umental in not only their adjustment to the new
trial order, but also in their access to the
ified job market.

While class position improves access to better jobs,
trial employment sometimes stratifies female labor on
asis of age, marital status, education, or race.
rative studies of the electronics and garment
trial units in maquiladoras, the export-processing
rialization program at the U.S.-Mexico border,
s the issue of workers' stratification. The
onics industry, by virtue of its strength in the
market, is able to attract younger and better
ed women, thus enhancing workers' stratification in
of education, age, and marital and socioeconomic
(SES) (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Tiano 1987).

oreover, in the study of female workers in the
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electronics factories are younger, more educated and, most importantly, show greater class consciousness compared to counterparts in the garment and service industries. This suggests that global economic forces are instrumental in the stratification of labor markets, and creating differences in socio-political awareness among workers. The reverse case of stratification based on marital status has been reported by a study of electronics workers in major Indian cities (Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987). In these cities the percentage of older married women was higher in large- and medium-scale industries than in the small-scale firms. Also, the researchers observed that women work between the ages of 21 and 35 and then slowly withdraw from the labor market, which they explained by saying "Women have a heavy schedule at home and at the workplace. As a result many may be opting to leave jobs or seek alternate employment after the financial responsibilities at home are considerably reduced" (p. 50). This suggests a different pattern based on the local social norms or economic conditions. More married women enter the labor market because early marriage is the norm. Women seem to work when they have young children, and leave jobs around the age of 40. Is this a case of exhaustion prompting exit from industrial jobs? In the West, this pattern of life cycle is different from that in the West where women tend to enter, and not leave, the labor force after children are grown.

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heimer 1970; Fox and Hesse-Biber 1984). The findings
 via need to be further explored and explained.
 studies from the U.K. (Westwood 1985) have indicated
 sian and other minority women are employed in the
 s of garment and other firms that are at the bottom
 industrial ladder, thus stratifying the female
 s according to race. Thus, minorities remain at the
 end of stratified workers. Workers are divided by
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port-processing zones, similar to the
 mentioned maquiladoras, that have sprung up in most
 ing countries provide evidence to scholars'
 ons that global restructuring has a deep impact on
 orkers. In the past two decades a new international
 n of labor has emerged that has triggered a transfer
 l processing units to the Third World, which is
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 al parks have shown preference for female labor.
 ntries for their part treat them as an opportunity
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any of the above-mentioned reports support the
ation" thesis by pointing out that a working woman is
to achieve personal gains such as greater independence
f-esteem by bringing valued incomes to her family.
find that women attach a positive value to working
because they experience some independence ensuing
gework (Kung 1981; Foo and Lim 1989). There is
e that women gain a degree of independence in such
as mate-selection and personal consumption pattern
87; Tiano and Fiala 1988).

the same time, studies have also suggested that
rk does not always result in the lessening of
chal control of the families over women's lives.
r, proponents of the "exploitation" thesis have
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Previous studies have taken into account effects of personal characteristics such as age, marital status, and education, but have paid less attention to the process of men's stratification and its impact on women and their households. The present study fills this deficiency by examining the stratified work force in the pharmaceutical industry in terms of material rewards, household status, attitudes and opinions.

Scholars have argued that women's experiences at work distancing from the household because of paid employment may gradually initiate awareness of their active interests as workers or their disadvantaged position as women, and provide an impetus for changing their own circumstances at work and home. Social researchers have been interested in gauging women's awareness of their class and gender issues as a result of working.

Women's Awareness of Class and Gender

The relationship between work characteristics and the worker's personality has generated some research interest, and studies have found a strong relationship between occupational conditions and workers' psychological well-being. A path-breaking American study and its replication in Japan revealed that occupational

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direction - measured in terms of complexity of work, less of supervision, and routinization - leads to intellectual flexibility and a positive, flexible, and directed orientation to self and society (Kohn and Serfaty 1982; Naoi and Schooler 1985).

Similarly, researchers have sought to explore the relationship between work variables and women's assessment of their exploitation. One of the important works in the area is that done by Tilly (1981) on women workers' collective action in nineteenth-century France. Here "collective action" can be treated as a measure of class consciousness, because such consciousness precedes actual

This study distinguished between organizations of different sizes and work characteristics, and found that women who worked for larger organizations, and within a more complex division of labor, exhibited greater propensity for collective action. On the other hand, women employed in small-scale firms controlled by father-like figures, were less prone to political mobilization.

Some other studies have also tried to establish a link between the worker control techniques employed in the workplace and class consciousness among the workers. In a study of female garment workers in Puerto Rico, Safa (1985) finds that young women living with parents and closely linked to patriarchal norms and practices, who are working for small firms, are deferential to their managers and seldom question their authority.

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ilar paternalistic control system was found in Malaysian factories by Ong (1987). She reports that the management demonstrates to the families that the workplace provides shelterly care and control by arranging social events in the factory for the families of female workers. This way the community feels confidence in the factories, and the latter ensures obedience by the workers.

Tiano and Fiala have discovered a similar connection between the type of control at work and women's class and gender consciousness (1988). The researchers distinguish between technocratic versus patronistic control systems of work in the maquiladora firms. The concepts are derived from Burawoy's (1983, 1984) typologies of factory regimes - company state, market despotism, patriarchal, and paternalistic - which Burawoy developed to explain the differences in workers' class consciousness.¹

In Tiano and Fiala's scheme "technocratic" factories have strong ties to the state; they are less patriarchal, smaller in size, and characterized by de-skilling of labor. "Patronistic" factories, on the other hand, represent

"Company state" regimes are characterized by heavy state intervention; "market despotism" represents domination by capital; "patriarchal" regimes involve a father-like figure organizing labor in a "family-like" configuration; "paternalistic" factory regimes imply employer closely regulating the lives of workers through welfare activities and other attempts directed at family welfare (Burawoy 1983; 1984). This discussion is taken from Tiano and Fiala (1988).

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control of workers based on personal relations. The technocratic firms are subsidiaries of TNCs, defined as modern enterprises that use modern machinery and organizational techniques. These firms also have strong links to the state. Supervision is impersonal and less patriarchal than in smaller firms. The patronistic firms are largely locally-owned, small-sized firms that offer unstable and low-wage jobs, involve strenuous work, and employ arbitrary rules and procedures for recruitment and other such decisions. Supervision frequently involved personal and paternalistic elements.

Tiano and Fiala found support for the hypothesis that women working for technocratically-controlled electronics firms would exhibit greater class and political consciousness and gender awareness than their counterparts in the patronistically-controlled garment industry. Thus, previous studies establish a strong link between organization of work and women's awareness of class and other issues.

Are differences in the work setting related to status differentiation and concomitant attitudinal differences? A study done in Kanpur, India, comparing female industrial and non-industrial workers, tested hypotheses that the two groups would exhibit differences in the SES and the level of bourgeoisie - measured in terms of middle-class consumption and educational/career aspirations - and that better working conditions would result in less awareness of

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workers' exploitation. Both hypotheses were supported by data suggesting that workers' stratification into industrial and non-industrial jobs was related not only to differences in SES but also to aspiration levels, thus enhancing the gap between them. Furthermore, the study found that non-industrial work was related to greater status and embourgeoisement, and also to less awareness of working class issues of exploitation.

The present research will draw on this literature and look at the relationship between the size of the organization, mechanisms of control used, and women's attitudes on several work and household issues.

Household constitutes another important element in the study of women's status. Women are primarily associated with their household and mother/wife role. Does women's employment outside home redefine women's relation to the household by changing the traditional division of labor? The following section will discuss some important findings on working women and their households.

Women and the Organization of Household

Social scientists have viewed the division of labor in the household as a crucial test of women's position and role in the household. Research done in India and elsewhere tests the proposition that waged work increases

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men's influence at home, as reflected in the reduced workload and increased participation in the decision-making.

In her study of bidi workers, Bhati (1985), explores working women's contribution to household budget and its impact on their status. The respondents, predominantly low-income women who made a substantial economic contribution to their household, asserted that they had a greater say in household spending, increased freedom to spend on their own, and better treatment in the family as a result of their earning power.

In a detailed study done in Jodhpur, India, Talwar (1984) compares working and non-working women's households to assess the amount of work done by each gender, the gender-specific allocation of tasks, and role-sharing done between both genders. Her data show that women's and men's work is clearly demarcated, with women doing the cooking, mending, and cleaning tasks, and men doing purchasing and looking after the children's education. However, more working women are drawn into the traditional male work as compared to the non-working women, thus suggesting a move towards role-sharing. Working women's husbands/fathers are more likely to participate in housework than those of non-working women. However, working women seem to do all male and female tasks and thus carry out more work than non-working women, suggesting a greater burden for working women.

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These findings concur with Bhoite's (1988) report on the typical workload of an employed woman. She argues that the reality is far different from the hypothetical model of working woman in which she is supposed to be relieved of household work by helpful husband, relatives, servants, or labor-saving gadgets. In fact the women in her sample do housework, care for children, and follow time-consuming religious duties besides working full-time.

Thus, working results in a "double day" for women. Not surprisingly, researchers have found that working women indicate that they mainly work for economic reasons, that work for them is not a "career decision," that they work due to the economic necessity (Safa 1985; Sharan 1985; Dwivedi 1986; Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987; Joshi 1988). This suggests that doubling of work - household and waged work - creates an enormous stress, that the value of supposed "independence" gained by wage earning is outweighed by the prospect of working practically around the clock in the absence of help. Unless women's household duties are shared, income is going to be the overriding motivation for working; it will not be for self-enhancement, or other lofty goals.

Agarwal's study, done in 1988, examines the status and role of middle class educated women in the Indian family in Meerut, a town in North India. She reports that there is a strong link between the level of the wife's education, income, and occupational status relative to the husband's

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and her status at home. Agarwal's indices of status are husband's sharing in housework and wife's contribution in decision-making. She observes that urban residence in the nuclear family is more conducive to husband's participation in the housework. Also, where wife and husband are equally educated or where the husband's occupation is of a similar status to the wife's, the husband is more likely to help at home compared to the husband who has greater education or higher occupational status than his wife. When husband and wife earn similar incomes, husband is more likely to participate in the housework. Agarwal reports similar observations about the wife's participation in decisions about child-rearing.

However, these observations do not apply to money-related decisions, where women have considerably less power. Sixty-four percent of wives are only consulted by husbands and the remaining thirty-six percent of wives are never even consulted on money matters. Money was, thus, controlled by men irrespective of the wife's income, education, or occupation. The role of women in middle class families is changing fast but their status is not changing at the same rate, concludes Agarwal in this study of educated working women.

In another interesting study, Sinha and Prabha (1988) explored the difference in the household status of white-blue-collar women. Their indices of status include power for household decisions, freedom of movement,

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Sinha and Prabha examined eleven different areas of women's mobility. They found that blue-collar women face relatively fewer restrictions than their white-collar counterparts. Comparison of self-perception of status in the family revealed that blue-collar women enjoy a better position. Comparison of mechanisms of conflict resolution indicated that a greater proportion of white-collar women have to give in to their husbands. This study indicates that, contrary to common assumption, white-collar women may not be better off than blue-collar women.

These studies clearly suggest that women's household status does not automatically improve with paid employment. While husbands seem to be taking greater interest in household work, the prospect of gender equalization is a distant dream. Thus, studies suggest there might be class differences in women's gains, or the nature of women's employment relative to their husbands' may be a crucial factor in women's status at home. Equalization of incomes, education, and occupational

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LABOR MARKETS

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status breeds greater equality between men and women. More research on women in different work situations and different socioeconomic strata is needed to improve our understanding of the mechanisms of women's status change.

Next, we will touch on the concept of labor market segmentation. The pharmaceutical industry is vertically divided into firms of different scales that offer varying rewards to workers. What are the factors that influence the placement of workers in the firms of different size? In the following section, theory and research that sheds light on the segmentation of labor markets in the developing countries will be discussed.

LABOR MARKET SEGMENTATION: THEORY AND LITERATURE

The theory of labor market segmentation attempts to provide an explanation of unequal access to employment based on social characteristics such as gender and race, rather than on skill levels. The theory identifies division of labor markets into dynamic and peripheral sectors, and into sub-sectors within the two. The "primary" sector employment offers job security, mobility, and better wages. The "secondary" sector, on the other hand, is characterized by poor pay scales and working conditions, and a lack of job security and mobility (Harris 1979). Although the jobs in different sectors require different education and skill level of workers,

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theory emphasizes that recruitment is also based on extra-economic factors such as workers' gender, race and ethnicity, migratory status, and rural or urban origin. Women are overrepresented in the secondary labor market, suggesting gender bias and imperfection in the functioning of labor markets.

The theory of labor market segmentation maintains that capitalism is characterized by a polarized industrial structure and that sociocultural and institutional factors contribute toward discriminatory practices and stratification. Socialist-feminists, on the other hand, take the analysis of gender further and claim that patriarchy, in conjunction with capitalism, creates gender hierarchy far deeper than that implied by simple discrimination. Patriarchal capitalism pervades and institutionalizes gender stratification in all social and cultural aspects of society.

The notion of labor market segmentation can be carried over to analyze the labor markets in developing countries. Labor markets are segmented on gender, ethnicity, and income lines (Mukhopadhyay 1981). However, developing countries provide a significantly different structural context, that of "dependent capitalism," compared to advanced industrial nations, and hence "segmentation" takes place in a pronouncedly dissimilar manner.

In the urban context, researchers have distinguished between the segments by using concepts such as "dual"

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primary and secondary) economy, formal and informal sectors, organized and unorganized sectors, or primary, secondary and tertiary sectors (Joshi and Joshi 1976). Two leading authorities on the labor markets in India, Deshpande and Papola (1979), conceptually divide the labor markets into "factory," "workshop," and "casual" in their World Bank-sponsored study on labor markets in Bombay, India. They note the privileged position of the factory workers in terms of pay and job security when compared with the temporary factory workers, workers in the workshops, and the mass of casual workers in the labor market.

They also found that the workers are largely confined to one segment and an upward move from the lower to a higher segment is difficult. The entry into any segment is a function of not only training and skill, but also access to key people and information. Thus new migrants to the cities are typically clustered in low grade jobs, even when they are equally or better educated than the old migrants occupying better jobs.

Deshpande (1979, quoted in Holmstrom 1985) reports that workers in smaller establishments/workshops tend to have higher educational levels than those working for factories. Similar findings are reported by Joshi and Joshi (1976) who argue that a wide range of skilled and unskilled people work for low wages in the unskilled sector. Holmstrom maintains that information is not a free good, and getting jobs depends largely on contacts and

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"...So much depends on the first job - is it in a factory, in a workshop or casual labour? - or, rather, on the network of relationships one already belongs to, since this largely determines the sector and type of industry where the first job will be" (p. 188). Scholars have discovered that in urban labor markets

developing countries quality of available jobs and that available pool of workers can dramatically vary (Kannappan 1983). Informal kinship ties play a role in dissemination of job information. Even the recruitment criteria are based on ascriptive as well as more modern criteria. In his review of data from a number of large cities of developing countries, Kannappan finds that employment exchanges play a "negligible" role in urban labor markets.

Do these informal networks determine privilege and disadvantage in the crowded labor markets of developing countries? What role does gender play in allocation of jobs? Studies of labor markets have not explored beyond surface levels the role of gender in the segmentation of labor markets. However, the Census and other data indicate that women's participation in the "factory" sector has steadily fallen - 10.4% in 1963 to 8.7% in 1972, according to the Census (Sharan 1985) - a trend that has only recently seen a reversal. It has widely been noted that there is a rigid occupational segregation allowing women

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try only in a few industries and jobs, and that women tend to occupy less desirable jobs in all sectors while they predominate in the casual sector (Mukhopadhyay 1981). The decline in the total number of female workers was evident, from 41.8 million in 1911 to 31.2 million in 1971, and their percentage in the labor force fell from 34.4% in 1911 to 17.3% in 1971, according to the Population Censuses. Although this trend has reversed itself, and that there were over 63 million workers in the labor force according to the Census 1981, 95% of them are in the organized sector (Census 1981, referenced in A World Bank Country Study 1991). Despite the problems associated with trend analysis such as changes in definitions especially of home-based productive activities, one can assume that there is only a limited growth at best in women's industrial and organized sector employment.

Percentage of women in India's labor force stood at 17.2% in 1981, with their share in "manufacturing, processing, servicing, and repair" being 14.6%. However, in the state of Maharashtra, whose capital city is Bombay, where women made 30% of the labor force, their share of manufacturing, processing, servicing, and repair" was a mere 12%.² Women's levels of participation in

These figures were taken from Economic Survey of Maharashtra (1986-87), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

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ufacturing activities seem to be low in all of India, even lower in Maharashtra, which suggests that women continued to have a disadvantageous status in the labor market in the 1980's. Studies on female workers have emerged in recent years which document the nature and magnitude of women's role in the unorganized sector employment (Ranade and Ramachandran 1970; Banerjee 1985) or their precarious situation in home-based production (Ghassain 1985). Some work has been done on the women in small-scale factories (Kalpagam 1981).

Studies on India's labor markets brilliantly classify and generalize information with a parsimonious use of a few analytical categories, e.g. "organized" versus "unorganized." However, they also suffer from the loss of informational detail in doing so and fail to capture differences within each sector. Thus, it can be argued that a wide range exists among jobs classified within each "segment" mentioned above. The present case study of female pharmaceutical workers will give insight into the wide range in the situation of women within the "factory" sector, a relatively privileged group of working class women.

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Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion emphasizes the relative advantage of women in Third World labor markets where process of development creates segmented labor markets. The level of entry into the labor market significantly influences the life chances of the worker. The interplay between gender and other political-economic factors in determining women's labor market status are still not well understood, and call for more research. This study attempts to determine whether women's class origins explain their different entry levels, or whether it is their specific job placement that defines their current socioeconomic strata.

While the above-mentioned studies on the effects of work on women and their households make valuable contributions to the discipline, there are certain glaring omissions. For example, less emphasis has been placed on differentiating between types of work and their varying effects on women's status. Industrialization may create stratification among workers, and a woman's specific level of insertion in the stratification is likely to be an important determinant of her status. Greater focus is needed on the comparison of different sectors, industries, and firms of different sizes to identify mechanisms that affect women's status change.

Some empirical questions emerge from the preceding

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view of literature. How do work and its rewards compare in the female workers are placed at different levels of industrial employment? Would women's households show different adjustment patterns if the women were placed in significantly different job and wage-benefit categories? women's attitudes and perception of their status and under issues vary with the type of work they do? Chapter three will discuss the hypotheses designed to be tested in present study.

The next chapter presents a broad picture of India's industrialization and the pharmaceutical industry in India.

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CHAPTER TWO

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Under British rule, India embarked on the path of industrialization with four industries: jute, cotton textiles, railways, and coal. Steel, engineering, chemical, and other modern industries showed only a rudimentary existence. During World War II, the government harnessed its resources to meet defense needs by establishing aircraft and weapon industries. At the dawn of independence in 1947, India's industrial base was dominated by industries such as jute and cotton textiles. (Blomstrom 1985).

The first government of independent India, led by Nehru and his cabinet, affirmed the goal of becoming an industrial economy by building basic and heavy industries. It anticipated that establishment of large units through licensing would encourage the growth of small, ancillary units dependent on them. This policy, while discouraging foreign investment, embraced planned economic development through public sector investment as measures of rapid growth. The government stimulated both public and private enterprise; it intended to develop basic heavy industry,

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By the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1952-1957),
ia's characteristic "small-scale industry" had
liferated while its heavy industry was showing moderate
gress at best (Holmstrom 1985). Despite the avowed goal
developing basic and intermediate industries, the
ustrial policy weakened large scale foreign and national
enterprise, while fostering the growth of the small-scale
establishments. Some scholars have attributed this to the
fluence of Gandhian teaching glorifying the traditional
lage (Dhar and Lydall, 1961, quoted in Holmstrom,
5). Others have traced the importance of small
enterprise to government ideology, and also to the negative
fact of labor legislation and unions on large firms
shi and Joshi 1976; Holmsrom 1985).

Jha, on the other hand, explains India's
t-independence, slow industrial growth in terms of class
ucture and the state in India. He argues that the
cess of development may lead to politicizing of lower
dle classes, prosperous peasantry, and sections of the
king classes whose interests are represented by the
ce at the cost of those of big monopoly houses or feudal
ments in the countryside. In the Indian context, he
ains that empowerment of intermediate classes has
lted in a clear policy bias towards the small-scale.¹

Jha emphatically argues that the Indian state is

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the process, industrialization has shifted from basic to consumer goods, short term gains versus long term gains, and from large-scale to less risky, small-scale industry (Jha 1982).

Lal (1981?)² has similarly described the government's reluctance to let market forces define industrial growth in the interest of poor consumers. The government is suspicious of powerful industrial leaders and their profit enhancement, and intervenes from the beginning to end, with such mechanisms as controlled licensing and price-fixation. The government classifies production into "necessities" and "luxury goods." Priority is given to the "necessities" and "luxuries" are discouraged. Prices are fixed on the basis of outdated estimates, with the goal of making essentials available to the poor at a low cost. However, when production costs make production unprofitable

pro-monopoly business and pro-small and medium enterprise. In support of his argument, Jha details the procedural obstacles in obtaining licenses - application, processing, and decision making, which on an average waste 30 days - 'pro-labor' legislation, controlled import duties, and a general harassment of big business. Small-scale firms, in comparison, enjoy a freer reign. They have access to subsidies for power, raw materials, and so on. They often enjoy guaranteed markets.

This publication (14 p.) by Sanjaya Lal was obtained from the files of the Center for Education and Documentation, Bombay, a prestigious research library. The article, unfortunately, does not bear a date, although from references in the article it is likely to be a transcript of a lecture delivered in the early 1980's.

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the given price, the "necessities" in fact disappear from the market. Thus the government's measures for making essentials available at a lower cost to the masses have proven to be counterproductive. These policies have virtually choked industrial progress by discouraging competition and innovation in the marketplace, argues Lal.

Proliferation of small-scale firms has not had the expected distributive effect for the working class. Because of the labor intensive nature of their technology, small-scale firms may have created employment for the large pool of available labor. However, it can be argued that stagnation also translates into limited economic growth and, concomitantly, a low demand for labor. When the firms are in the unorganized sector where governmental controls and provisions for labor do not apply, the position of workers is precarious. Many small-scale firms get away with hiring temporary instead of permanent workers, or with not entering many workers on official pay-rolls at all. Even in the unorganized sector firms are less than a half, or even one third of ones paid by the large scale firms for similar work and skill level (Joshi and Joshi 1976). Although many small-scale firms are in the organized sector the wage gap between small and large firms is still quite striking. Thus, the pattern of industrial growth with the emphasis on the small-scale enterprise has only marginally benefited the worker.

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1988).³

The preceding discussion sheds light on the course of India's industrialization which is characterized by government controls through licensing, production quotas, and a policy of curbing the growth of foreign and indigenous large firms. Ironically, labor stands to gain most in large firms where labor unions are strong. These observations also apply to the pharmaceutical industry and its labor force.

THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

India's pharmaceutical industry was conceived during the nineteenth century when British manufacturers established trading branches to import finished products to India. In the early part of the present century, three Indian entrepreneurs entered the pharmaceutical industry and began an ambitious attempt at innovating formulations for tropical diseases. These attempts had only limited success in the face of foreign competition and lack of the colonial government's support (Ahmad 1988; Pillai 1984).

The pharmaceutical industry in India has shown impressive growth since independence. The number of units has risen from 1,700 in 1952 to over 6,000 in 1983 (Ahmad 1988).³ The investment has gone up from Rs.240 million in

This information is quoted in Ahmad (1988). Sources: (Organization of Pharmaceutical Producers') Annual

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After independence the industry moved from importing drugs, or local manufacturing of imported ingredients, to production of bulk drugs themselves. Today India has reached near self-sufficiency in the production of raw materials as well as drug formulations. In 1984-85, the production of bulk drugs stood at Rs.3.7 billion and formulations at Rs.18 billion.⁵ However, dependence on foreign technology continues. Investment in research and development is very low leading the government to mandate 1% of the total sales value to be spent on research and development by the foreign companies with turn-over more than Rs.5 crore. India's pharmaceutical industry shows many paradoxes such as a strong foreign sector, and yet, relatively low levels of investments in R&D. Also, despite much talk about advance in the production of bulk drugs and formulations, India's share of the world production is as low as 1.2%; its per capita drug

Report 1982, and Chemical Weekly (Annual Issue) 1986. By other estimate there are close to 9,000 pharmaceutical firms although some may exist only on paper (Abrol and Guha).

The exchange rate in 1984-5 was roughly Rs. 13 to \$1. Amount of investment in dollars comes to over \$500 million in 1983.

Ibid. The dollar to rupee exchange rate in 1984-85 was roughly Rs.13 to \$1. The production of bulk drugs stood at \$290 million and of formulations at over \$1.4 billion.

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consumption is one of the lowest in the world, embracing a meagre 20% of the population (Pillai 1984).

This industry incorporates three sectors: 1. the public sector, 2. the foreign sector, and 3. the local private sector. There are some 250 large-scale, organized-sector firms in the industry out of which 45-odd are TNCs from U.K., U.S., Japan, Germany, Switzerland, and other European countries that enjoy more than 40% foreign equity (India 1987). Within the large-scale firms, well over 25% enjoy full or partial foreign ownership. On the other hand, 99% of small scale firms represent indigenous small capital. These figures show the strength of foreign capital in the Indian economy. Over 6,000 small-scale local firms are in production.

The market share of foreign companies is also highly concentrated in India. The top four TNCs controlled nearly 44% of India's drug market in the early 1970's. The market share of the top four foreign firms in Japan, U.S. and Brazil was 24%, 22%, and 14%, respectively, during the same period (Pillai 1984). Even more importantly, foreign firms control new technology and the production of formulations under the international patent protection laws. Formulations manufacture involves relatively simple processes but high returns. The foreign pharmaceutical firms control a sizeable market for formulations, partly due to their efficient marketing techniques (Majumdar and Pillai 1986). Thus, TNCs have a controlling position despite

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limited involvement in research or in production of basic, bulk chemicals. Table 1 below indicates that the TNCs concentrate on the production of more lucrative formulations, rather than bulk drugs. TNCs seem to have enjoyed high profit margins as it is obvious from the figures on repatriation of profits abroad by 6 TNCs (see table 2-2).

TABLE 2-

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**TABLE 2-1 Production of Bulk Drugs and Formulations,
1976-1977 and 1983-84**

Sector	Bulk Drugs		Formulations	
	1976-77	1983-84	1976-77	1983-84
Chemical Sector	85*	290	406	930
Others	63	65	292	615

*Rupees in crores or tens of millions.

Source: Indian Drug Statistics, 1984-85, Ministry of chemicals and Fertilizers, quoted in Majumdar, 1986, p.13

**TABLE 2-2 Remittances by Companies with More than 26%
Foreign Equity**

Name of Co.	Original Equity	Remittances		
		1974-75	1976-77	1978-79
Pharmaxo	--	--	86.44*	120.82
Boehringer	20.00	--	20.36	20.43
Dr. Williams	87.50	--	49.66	55.12
Dr. Reddy's	10.00	16.52	30.74	20.02
Dr. Zila	2.00	18.71	94.86	45.36
Dr. Johnson & Johnson	20.00	--	13.96	11.54

*Rupees in lakhs or hundreds of thousands.

Source: Hathi Committee Report, 1975, quoted in
Mujamdar, 1986, p.38

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The government's initial hospitable policy towards TNCs, which was based on the optimism that TNCs would bring modern technology and conduct R&D activities in India, eventually changed. The drug policy in the 1970's and 1980's has aimed at diluting foreign ownership, making production of basic bulk drugs mandatory, and making priority drugs available at controlled prices.⁶ Although the 1986 Drug Policy releases some of the price controls, numerous restrictions and delays by the government in allotting licenses, its production ceilings for large firms, and protection for the medium- and small-scale firms in the national sector have hurt profits.⁷

These restrictive policies have stifled the growth of the industry and brought on absurdities and imbalances in the forces of supply and demand. Thus, big firms are forced to produce under capacity despite a demand for the product; or, local firms are given a license to produce a drug at a higher cost even when cheaper technology for producing the drug is available with a TNC.⁸ The results

1. "A Shot in the Arm." Cover Story in Update, 10-13 January 1987, on Pharmaceutical Industry.

2. New Drug Policy - A Farce on Health? A report by the India Drug Action Network, A part of Health Action International Network, January 5, 1987.

This is taken from the notes of discussion with a knowledgeable public relations official at Glaxo.

Ibid.

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have been price hikes in non-control drugs, severe shortages in the market, and continued imports of many drugs, all which prolong the consumer's disadvantage and plight. Ironically, despite an unfavorable government policy, TNCs remain a strong and significant sector of the industry (Pillai 1984; Ahmad 1988). With the introduction of FERA (Foreign Equity Regulation Act, 1973), the government aims at diluting foreign ownership to 40% or less, and reducing foreign control. However, experts point out that it is not difficult for a TNC to exercise effective control without the majority interests.

The small-scale sector presents a different character with over 6,000 units in operation that contribute but 20% of the overall production. They are unable to support research and development expenditure, and are often blamed for substandard products in the market. Moreover, there is evidence of large firms using small-scale firms as subcontractors. Cheaper labor costs, less government controls, and freedom from hassles from unions may be part of the reasons why large companies transfer some of the production to small-scale firms.

Female workers have become an integral part of the industry for over four decades. They have been working mainly as packers, doing such non-production jobs as filling ointments, tablets, liquids, and capsules into tubes, bottles, or ampoules; putting caps on; affixing seals and labels; and inspecting for quality. Some of

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these jobs are fully or partially automated in large firms. In the small-scale firms, many of these jobs still remain manual. There is some evidence that women's jobs in the larger companies are replaced either with men or machines (Gothoskar 1982).

Although the content of jobs is essentially similar in the industry, organization of work as well as wages and benefits may be significantly different across the firms of differing sizes. Thus, specific placement within the hierarchical structure of the industry has a direct impact on the worker. Women in the organized sector work under the umbrella of strong unionization and protective labor laws. However, these precise advantages make women less attractive to managers.⁹ Women's recruitment in large firms has slowed down to a snail's pace, partly due to stagnation, and, perhaps, also because they are less attractive as workers. On the other hand, work in small-scale firms is harder, more hazard-prone, poorly paid, and in increasing demand of female labor.

This is consistent with labor economists' observations that growth of the organized sector lags behind the increase in the labor supply, leading to the burgeoning of

One manager bluntly said, "If it was up to me I would get rid of all female office staff because, legally, I cannot keep them after sunset even if there is work to do. Same with the factory workers."

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casual and informal sector jobs.¹⁰ The important questions this study will examine are the following. What are the differences in the characteristics of women placed in the "wage enclaves" of large corporations as opposed to the much weaker jobs in the small-scale sector? Do these jobs impact women's socioeconomic status, their attitude to work and family, and their self-esteem differently? These questions will be dealt with in the chapters following the next one on the study's hypotheses, research design, and methods of data analysis.

Swapna Mukhopadhyay "Urban Labor Markets in India", 89.

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CHAPTER THREE

SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND PROPOSITIONS

This study proposes to fill the gaps in prior literature on the varying impacts of work on women's social strata, organization of their households, and on their attitudes about work, household and gender-related issues. This is an exploratory case study of female pharmaceutical workers in Bombay, India. The pharmaceutical industry is differentiated in terms of size and ownership, in which the women's tasks are limited mainly to packing. The study will explore the question of whether there is any systematic difference in the characteristics of female workers found in the three types of firm - transnational corporations (large-scale firms with foreign equity), large-scale Indian companies, and small-scale Indian companies (private capital).

We will attempt to determine whether the placement of women into different firms can be explained in terms of their age, education, caste, religion, or father's socioeconomic status. Of particular interest is women's

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stratification into TNCs, and large- and small-scale Indian firms, and the consequences of stratification in terms of the material rewards they receive and the type of work organization they experience.

An important goal of the present research is to assess the relationship between level of insertion in the stratified labor market and the structure of the women's households. If the income is sizable, a nuclear household is economically viable. The nuclear household in turn is likely to allow a woman greater autonomy and power in household matters compared to the extended household. Low incomes, on the other hand, make income-pooling and extended families necessary for collective survival. Such families may observe intergenerational and gender hierarchies, thus reducing women's power and autonomy. Moreover, the proportion of the woman's contribution to the household income may be an important issue in determining her status and power. The study investigates whether these intentions are supported in the data by comparing women in terms of their work and household characteristics.

Finally, the study will examine the relationship between firm size and women's attitudes on a variety of issues. Women's appraisal of work and their bosses, their awareness of gender issues, and their perception of autonomy and self-decision are of interest. Moreover, we will examine

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the nature of women's aspirations for the future. This self-reported information will indicate whether women's wishes and dreams are directed at family members, or if they exhibit a sense of individuality.

The following section will delineate our hypotheses that will govern the data analysis. Two types of hypotheses have been incorporated into this study. The first set examines the objective implications of work, measured with the socioeconomic status (SES) and the structure of the household. The subjective aspect involves attitudes and self-perceptions, which are captured by the second set of hypotheses. This is basically an exploratory study and all hypotheses should be considered tentative in nature.

HYPOTHESES EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STRUCTURAL VARIABLES

Hypotheses Related to Women's Education, Work, and Rewards

There are significant differences in the women workers' wages and benefits in the three types of firms: large TNCs, large Indian and small-scale Indian. Larger firms pay more and offer more benefits than the small ones.

Larger firms are not only economically strong, but their work force is typically well-organized and powerful. Due to their strong bargaining power, workers in the larger firms are much better off than their counterparts in the

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Although there is little difference in women's qualifications measured in terms of education, work and rewards differ between TNC and Indian firms irrespective of size.

Women working for the TNCs enjoy higher living standards than those in the local sector firms; similarly, women working for the large local firms have better standards of living than their counterparts in the small-scale firms.

Women's proportional contribution to family income varies with firm type, with TNC workers making the highest proportional contribution, followed by workers in large Indian firms and then those working in small-scale Indian companies.

Hypothesis 3 is based on the premise that women's standards of living concur with their wages and rewards. The study expects to find that women working for three types of firm are stratified in terms of their living standards. Moreover, the study intends to see whether women with well-paying jobs contribute a greater share of family income than their counterparts in jobs paying lower salaries (Hypothesis 4).

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Hypotheses on Women's Social Background

5. All three groups of women originated from similar SES backgrounds, measured in terms of their education and their fathers' education and occupation.

Borrowing from the "convergence of labor markets" thesis suggested by prior research (Holmstrom 1985) the study hypothesizes that the class background of the female respondents is fairly homogeneous. They have similar educational backgrounds and their fathers had similar levels of education or occupations. These women, however, are channeled into different strata of society because of their different entry levels into a stratified labor market.

6. The present SES of the women varies across firms with the women in the large firms enjoying the highest status, measured in terms of their husband's education, occupation, and family's joint income.

7. Women's proportional contribution to family SES varies with firm type, with TNC workers making the highest proportional contribution, followed by large Indian and small-scale workers.

These propositions suggest that the level of insertion in the job market creates vast differences in the class composition of the female pharmaceutical workers.

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HYPOTHESES REGARDING WOMEN AND THEIR HOUSEHOLDS

. Women in smaller firms tend more often to belong to large households made of an extended family structure compared to women working for the larger firms.

This proposition is based on the contention that women earning low wages are likely to belong to low-income families who need to live in an extended structure for income-pooling.

. Household division of labor varies across three types of firm, with women in the large ones enjoying relatively less personal responsibility for housework.

Although, in India, men do not directly participate in the performing of housework, and women typically carry all the load even when they are doing waged work, among modern couples men seem to be making some contributions to housework. In upper-class couples, there is thus likely to be a more equal division of labor at home. It will be interesting to see whether the data show that women living in good money homes are also likely to be married to educated men holding a "modern" outlook on life.

This is a tentative hypothesis since, alternatively, it could be argued that women in TNCs in fact live in small families, have less help available, and end up doing more housework.

Women workers in the TNCs have greater decision-making

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power which is measured by their involvement in tasks which require handling money, namely, shopping and managing money.

This hypothesis expresses the rationale that the female TNC workers would enjoy greater decision-making power because of their sizable financial contribution to their household.

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HYPOTHESES DESIGNED TO RELATE STRUCTURAL VARIABLES TO ATTITUDES

Work appraisal

1. Women in the smaller, paternalistically-controlled firms are likely to be less critical of their management and their working conditions than their counterparts in the larger firms.

This exploratory proposition is based on a rationale that the manager/owner in the smaller firms may maintain a paternalistic, personal relationship and control over his female work force. Hence, women will exhibit loyalty and allegiance to the owner/manager despite the evidence of injustice.

2. Women from the three types of firm make distinctly varied suggestions for the improvement of the workplace. This is a consequence of differences in women's expectations regarding the employers and the workplace.

Gender awareness

Women working for the larger firms exhibit greater "gender awareness" than those working for the small firms.

Women in the larger firms represent greater economic mobility, smaller households, and, thus, a partial freedom from patriarchy. This may lead them to be more conscious of gender issues such as dowry, equal opportunities for sons and daughters, or sharing of housework.

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Individuality

4. Women from large firms express aspirations focused on "self" rather than "family." This will indicate that they are less "family-centered" and more "individualistic" when contrasted with their counterparts in smaller firms.

The differences in the economic situations of these women define their ability to separate themselves from the family and expect different things in life. Women also have different perceptions of their independence, and their status and empowerment in their households.

Definitions and measurements of variables are incorporated in Appendix One. The following section explains the research design, sampling, and other methodological issues.

METHODOLOGY

This research was undertaken in Bombay, a leading industrial center and the capital city of the western state of Maharashtra, India. Bombay also has the distinction of having nurtured India's pharmaceutical industry since the beginning of the twentieth century. Bombay has witnessed the growth of the pharmaceutical industry in different phases. The industry started with subsidiaries of British companies which organized imports of British pharmaceuticals. Later, these subsidiaries undertook some manufacturing locally. The next stage of industrial growth involved Indian entrepreneurs setting up small factories to

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develop and manufacture pharmaceuticals. Today there are 500 pharmaceutical companies in Bombay, making Bombay a strategic place for the study of pharmaceutical workers.

The research was carried out in two stages of data gathering. The first phase involved examination of the following documents to obtain background materials for the study: a) historical and current information in the form of books or monographs on the pharmaceutical industry as a whole and its status in Bombay; b) government documents on industrial planning and drug policy; c) books and reports on trade union activity in Bombay's pharmaceutical industry published by researchers and activists; d) consumer reports, newspaper and magazine editorials, and reports by workers within the pharmaceutical industry on drug policy and the status of the pharmaceutical industry; e) studies and reports on women's industrial employment, their participation in the trade union movement, and their status in the pharmaceutical industry. The researcher accessed several libraries for these documents - three university, independent research and two trade union libraries, the Chamber of Commerce Library, Times of India library, and the Asiatic library.

The second part of the study involved interviewing the workers. Interviews were schedule-structured for the most part, and involved some open-ended questions. Hindi, the local mother tongue, and English, because of the preponderance of Christian women in the pharmaceutical

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work force, were the languages used in the interviews. The interview schedules were printed in both English and Marathi. The interview schedule was later checked for reliability by getting it translated by a person having a command over both Marathi and English languages. Two questions were dropped from the analysis due to some doubts about the consistency in their meaning in the two languages.

Sampling

There are two broad categories of pharmaceutical firms in Bombay: TNCs with foreign equity over 40%,² and firms in the national sector which include foreign firms with equity 40% or less. There is a clear gap between small and large firms in terms of assets, turnover, and number of employees. Most foreign firms and some locally-owned firms are large in terms of scale of operations and number of employees they hire. There are a plethora of small-scale pharmaceutical firms in Bombay.

Since the pharmaceutical firms range from large to small, a listing of all firms was obtained.

Based on the suggestions from the secretary of the Bombay

The Indian Government has been pursuing the policy of foreign equity dilution to under 40 per cent. Firms with a foreign equity of 40 per cent or less are considered to be part of the national sector.

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amber of Commerce a list of firms was narrowed down to about twenty representing all three types. These suggestions were based on the secretary's informal expressions that the management would be open to the idea of research being conducted about their employees. Also, Ixco and CIPLA were recommended because they were the best firms in the TNC and Indian sectors, respectively, and hence were considered important firms in the industry. After visits and prolonged negotiations with the personnel managers and production managers in the large firms, and owners or managers in the small firms, it became clear that all firms would permit the researcher to interview on the factory premises.

Sample size in each firm category was decided upon by two factors: the total pool of female workers, and the number of interviews the firm officials actually agreed to allow during the negotiations. Once the sample size was decided on in each firm, the women were selected with a systematic random sample (every Kth woman). In two firms, one large and one small, all women were interviewed. On the other hand, in two other firms, both small, five women in each firm were interviewed as the managements refused to allow more interviews.

Because of the broad range of items encompassed in the interviews, each interview took between forty-five minutes to one hour. The researcher interviewed seventy-five women in two TNC firms, thirty-five from two large Indian, and

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erty-five also from small-scale Indian firms. In most cases, the researcher needed to negotiate with both the management and the union. In one case, the union compelled the researcher to drop the union-related questions in order to allow interviews. While going through these steps, the researcher also gained privileged information about the unique nature of management-labor union relations, and the negotiations between labor and the unions in each firm from having to negotiate with both management and labor union.

Interviews allowed me to gather information on work, income, and demographic characteristics such as age, education, marital status. Data collection included questions on area of residence, size of household, ages of children, years married, father's and husband's education and occupations, husband's salary, and number of earners in household. Information on religion, caste, preferred political party, favorite political leader, and voting behavior was collected.

Interviews explored personal views of the women on the roles of women's household chores and their right to decisions affecting themselves and their families. Answers to questions about women's perceptions of supervisory control, union, and the firm itself were also recorded.

Information on the historical background of India's pharmaceutical industry was gathered through informal

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discussions with owners, managers, corporate public relation officers, social workers, and trade union leaders in the pharmaceutical industry.

Data Analysis

In order to examine the fourteen exploratory hypotheses formulated in an earlier section, a statistical analysis of the data was conducted by using SPSSX. Over and above the use of frequency distributions and the descriptive statistics, the research also employed inferential statistical techniques such as cross-tabulations, tests of significance, and multiple regression, in order to understand and describe the data and assess relationships among various dependent and independent variables.

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CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

Studies of women's work have assumed prominence since the upsurge of the feminist movement in the 1970's. Gender-specific division of labor in society has not only defined household as female domain, but has also limited women's participation in the marketplace to certain occupations and industries - for example clerical, nursing, teaching, and blue-collar work in textile, garment and service industries. Researchers have investigated the social, economic and normative changes that accompany women's entry into the labor market (Tilly and Scott 1978; Lamphere 1987). A few studies have examined working conditions, presented an ethnographic account of the workplace, and let women articulate their attitudes and opinions about work and their own status (Westwood 1985; Sawara 1986). Sociological and anthropological studies of women in export-oriented industries of Southeast Asia and free-trade zones of Mexico, India, and so on, (Jones ed. 1984; Ong 1987; Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Tiano 1988; Sharma

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and Sengupta 1986) have attempted to gauge work's impact on women's material well-being and on their sense of autonomy and empowerment.

The relationship between type of work and change in women's household status is a rather neglected issue. Women's household status maintains a crucial link to their status in public arena and needs to be studied further. Also, there is a glaring lack of studies on India's female industrial workers. The present case study of female blue-collar workers in India fills these gaps by taking a comparative approach to female workers in the stratified pharmaceutical industry. The present chapter is devoted to describing work in the pharmaceutical industry and women's attitudes towards work.

This chapter briefly describes female workers' job settings and their work. The chapter then explores these workers' previous work experiences, their attitudes towards their present jobs, their opinions about their bosses, work environment, and work-related issues such as safety. Finally, the chapter reviews the female workers' commendations for improvements to make their work experience more desirable. This study hypothesizes that the women working for the TNCs are more critical of their workplace than their counterparts in the Indian firms; likewise, women in the larger Indian firms are more

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critical than those in the smaller firms. The chapter starts by elaborating on the work setting and the type of work women do.

SETTING IN WHICH THE STUDY WAS SITUATED

This study of blue-collar women workers in India's pharmaceutical industry was conducted in Bombay, which is a leading industrial city on the coast of the Arabian Sea in western India. Bombay has been hospitable to industries beginning with the textile industry in the nineteenth century, and to pharmaceutical as well as the engineering, plastic, garment and, more recently, electronics, industries in the last hundred years. The city has grown to phenomenal proportions and the population stands at 10 million. The older pharmaceutical firms are located in the prestigious business districts of Bombay, whereas newer firms, or the branches of older firms, are increasingly appearing in suburban industrial estates or satellite cities.

The pharmaceutical industry is a well-established and growing industry that boasts of modern technology and clean working conditions. Female workers have been an integral part of the industry for over four decades. They have been working mainly as packers, doing such non-production jobs as filling ointments, tablets, liquids, and capsules into vials, bottles, and ampoules; affixing caps; sealing;

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labelling; inspecting for quality control of products; and packing. Some of these jobs are fully or partially automated in large firms. In the small-scale firms, many of these jobs remain manual.

Although the content of jobs is essentially similar across different firms in the industry, work organization, level of mechanization, working conditions, and wages and benefits may significantly vary in different firms. The industry is hierarchically structured so that it can be classified into three broad segments: 1) Public sector¹ Large-scale, modern transnationals (TNCs) which have over 40% to as much as 100% foreign equity. There are approximately forty-five TNCs from the U.K., the U.S., Japan, Germany, Switzerland, and other European countries.² 3) Local firms which include about 200 large private, and over 5,000 small-scale local firms (India 77). These different classes of firm embody different production capabilities, market strengths, and economic power. They also offer different reward and benefit

There are only five public sector companies, all outside Bombay; they are not included in the study.

Majumdar (1986) says that there are forty-five TNCs in India according to the government sources. These only include ones with more than 40% foreign equity. There are only twenty more companies with less than 40% foreign equity in business. Although these are treated as a part of the national sector, they are under effective control of their parent companies, claims Majumdar.

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Bombay has a strong labor movement and labor in large-scale firms is well-organized and has earned impressive salaries and benefits when compared to labor in smaller firms. Perhaps to reduce labor costs, many large-scale firms in the industry are resorting to the practice of subcontracting part of their production to smaller firms (Joshi and Joshi 1976). There also is an increasing drive towards automation. These trends may gradually create worker redundancy. Larger companies have frequent hiring freezes. Moreover, some companies are offering incentives for older employees to retire. Another way of saving labor cost has been to hire temporaries instead of regulars, a practice that is rampant in both small and large firms. Companies hire temporaries who get paid on a day-to-day basis, cannot claim any benefits in the absence of job tenure, and in some cases are assigned arduous jobs that unionized labor would refuse. Existing unions have not pursued their cause. They are the forgotten of the industry, and there is no reliable estimate of how many there are or who they are.³

Most pertinent to our study is the question of female

I witnessed the situation of non-unionized, contract workers in a large chemical company outside Bombay when working in the township built for its employees. These workers did hazardous jobs at a very low pay, the jobs that unionized workers refused to touch.

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bor. In larger companies a large proportion of the male work force is in the middle or older age categories, suggesting that new, younger women workers have not been recruited in the past several years. According to some labor activists, large companies are becoming reluctant to hire women at the prevalent high wage rates. Some employers seem to consider women a liability because of the protective labor regulations which require the employers to offer women six weeks worth of paid maternity leave, separate ladies washrooms, and exemption from shift work.

Women's employment in the small-scale enterprises is declining. Here, not only are the women's wage rates lowest, but many of their legal protections are not in effect. Moreover, women's work takes place in more primitive conditions compared to the large-scale firms. Women work under poor light and ventilation, in small spaces, and often come in contact with potentially hazardous chemicals.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS (TNCs)

These are in the most prosperous segment of the industry. Five of the ten largest pharmaceutical companies in India are transnational corporations. They have access to new research and technologies through their parent companies, enjoy established product markets because they have been operating longer than most local firms, have larger budgets for advertising, and enjoy a competitive

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edge because of the economies of scale. The profitability of TNCs is greater than the firms in the national sector.⁴

Subsidiaries of British pharmaceuticals were introduced in India in the late 1800's, which imported and distributed medicines for their parent companies. Under the import substitution policy of the government, repacking, production of formulations, and some manufacturing of basic and intermediate drugs started in the late 1940's and 1950's (Majumdar 1986). Basic drug manufacturing was heavily pushed by the government under the Industrial Development and Regulations Act, 1952. Transnationals are now engaged in production of both basic drugs and formulations, although their total market share of bulk drugs is far lower than their Indian counterparts. They export drugs to many developing and industrial countries including the Soviet Union and countries in the Middle East and Africa. TNCs have had an excellent record on quality of their products.⁵

The working conditions at TNCs are far from ideal, but

See the discussion of relative profitability, production of bulk versus formulation drugs and market strength of TNC, large- and small-scale firms in "Transnational Corporations in the Pharmaceutical Industry in Developing Countries," United Nations Center on Transnational Corporations, New York, 1984.

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certainly happen to be some of the better and more modern facilities in the entire industrial sector (Banaji 1985). Female workers working for them usually get wages on par with men when at the same grade level. They also get bonuses, different allowances, vacation time, sick leave, and work between forty-five to forty-eight hours-a-week. Sometimes their five-day work weeks get extended due to overtime.

On the down side, transnational firms have practiced segregation of male and female jobs and assigned them different grades. Thus, men work in production. Mechanized jobs are typically a male preserve. Women, on the other hand, are restricted to packing jobs. Women's grades are also rated lower than men's grades. Usually, men are found in semi-skilled or unskilled categories whereas men tend to work in the "skilled" categories.

As the demographic data presented in Appendix Two is clear, the median age of women working for larger companies is quite high. This may mean that the employment of women in TNCs is shrinking, or that women are not getting employed on the same scale as before. Or this phenomenon may reflect a combination of these two factors. Executives from different companies stressed that women make fine workers because they are tenacious, hard-working, do not shirk repetitive jobs which men detest, have no vices, and are better at taking orders. A few executives expressed concern over the number of women working in the pharmaceutical

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industry is likely to shrink because of the legal restrictions that accompany women's employment. For example, laws prescribe that women cannot work after sundown, that separate bathrooms be given to women, and that creche facilities are mandatory if more than twenty-nine women work at the facility. Women also need maternity leave, and get distracted from work if there is sickness or other problems in the family. Such protective laws strengthen women's reproductive roles, at the same time making them undesirable workers.

In the opinion of other industry executives, women's labor is crucial and will be part of the industry in the future. At this point, it remains to be seen whether or not women's employment is going to prevail in the TNC sector of the pharmaceutical industry.

Environment at Glaxo

This United Kingdom-originated company, which changed its name to Glindia in 1987, after I completed my research here, is the largest pharmaceutical company in India in terms of its sales. As of 1987, Glindia employed 599 women and 938 men in its Bombay operations, out of which 574 women and 703 men worked in the factory. Glaxo has had an internal⁶ union since 1951, although external unions have

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often tried to penetrate causing much tension and even violence. At the time of research, the foreign equity stood at 75%.

Glaxo has occupied a strategic location in one of Bombay's better business districts - Worli - on an expensive piece of real estate. The premises house a three-story office building, a few manufacturing plants, and a cafeteria. Over 1500 employees, including workers, staff and management personnel, worked there at the time when this research was being conducted. A medical office and a creche equipped with a trained nurse are also housed at the premises. The cleanliness of the entire area occupied by the company, the elegant reception area (by local standards), and well-dressed staff and uniformed workers of modern appearance all make a favorable impression on the visitor. During the lunch hour, popular music was piped into the enormous cafeteria, a further testimony to the prosperity of the corporation and to the use of modern methods by the management.

The company employs a full-time welfare officer who is supposed to work closely with the workers and take care of their needs. If there is a marital conflict, alcohol

those which are affiliated to local, regional, or even national level organizations of unions. These union operations sometimes include different industries. Membership of an external union may come from the outside the company.

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abuse, or some psychological problem that can potentially undermine the worker's performance, counseling is provided. When the workers have worked twenty-five years or fifty years for the company, they are honored with gifts and a hand-shake from the chairman of the company. Workers get rewards for other reasons as well. For example, if a worker comes up with some ingenious labor- or time-saving idea, s/he gets a special recognition.

The company has introduced many comforts and amenities over the years. Workers get subsidized food, spacious cloak-rooms, a sports room, and subsidized transport which is a useful service in Bombay's congested public transport system. Thus, the workers have experienced improved work conditions over the years.

I began the process of study by paying brief visits to different department heads, union officials and managers in the main office. After a lengthy process of making my case and thrashing out the details of the study, I received permission to interview roughly 10% of the workers in the company's plant in Bombay. I found that many of the bosses had condescending attitudes towards the workers, some were even disdainful of the fat salaries made by the workers. I interviewed forty-five women at Glaxo.

Visitors are not allowed into the actual work areas for security and sanitary reasons. These standards were maintained with rigor; I was not allowed in the restricted areas and conducted interviews just outside the forbidden

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areas. Whenever a glass window was present, I satisfied myself by observing work through the window. Workers wore caps and white gowns, the floors looked clean, and some rooms were air-conditioned. I was told that the work lines were crowded and speedy, creating tension from time to time. Most of the immediate supervisors on packing lines were women who had been promoted to the positions after much experience on the shopfloor.

The best opportunities to observe the women were available in the cloak-room (large rest-room), the cafeteria, or during their commute on the company buses. The most striking thing I found about them was how exhausted and, in some cases, haggard, they looked. During the interviews, a large majority of them emphasized that they worked long work-days, carried out tough household responsibilities, and lacked sufficient help or rest.

"Difficult to cope with long hours and work at home and here," said one. "(There is a) lot of housework, children's responsibility, especially girls' responsibility is major, but (there is) no time to look into it," said another. Yet another complained that it was a problem that she "cannot participate in children's educational activities, or pay enough attention to children." A number of women complained of "double duty" and one of them even stated that the working hours be "less for married women."

One respondent observed, "Women here are separated from the outside world. Quite likely, they have become

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narrow in their outlook. (Buying) matching blouses, saris, (getting) waxing (done) and facials - everything is done here."

The only recreation at hand seemed to be their activities during breaks, lunch hours, and a few minutes before and after work. They did their sari and cosmetic shopping, or bought cakes or other goodies while still at work. Enterprising women and men sold this interesting merchandise on the factory premises if they were on the payroll, or outside the compound walls if they were outsiders to the company. Most of these women maintained manicured appearances although their eyes looked baggy and their skin pale. Women seemed to joke around and tease each other, showing camaraderie. At the same time, some managers pointed out that there were some ongoing, nasty feuds between some women, and that these women were capable of fighting tooth and nail, and that they did not spare use of foul language when tempers flared.

Another important observation was about the mixture of different cultural groups at Glaxo. It was obvious that a large number of Christian women worked there, making it necessary for everyone else to speak English. It was quite interesting to see even older Hindu women carrying on conversations in a special type of "factory" English, the English that was characterized by frequent use of words

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such as "man" and "y'all," and which bore a Goan flavor. Many Catholics in Bombay come from Goa, a former Portuguese colony about four hundred miles south of Bombay.

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The parent company of this firm is Werner-Lambert from the U.S. with the equity share of 82.33%. The company occupies a large area in an industrial suburb called Saki Naka. The interior of the compound presents a contrast to the outside environment, which is that of an old, filthy, and decaying industrial area. By contrast, the company premises are very well-maintained. Tall trees and manicured lawns adorn the grounds. There are several buildings that contain offices, plants, laboratories, a medical office, a large cloak-room for women, and a spacious cafeteria. All these buildings are one- or two-story structures connected with pathways that are surrounded by green foliage. The buildings are clean, spacious, and most of them air-conditioned.

The company, borrowing its creed from the parent company, announces its commitment to better products and better service with innovativeness in this age of the global market." The managers often express awareness of their privileged access to research in the West. They also talk about their wider responsibilities as a transnational company in providing health care, bringing out better products, and commitment to the welfare of the work force.

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The office that I occupied to conduct interviews overlooked the packing department through a large glass window. The workers in white uniforms presented a picture of a modern industry. They were busy racing with conveyor belts, monitoring filling, capping, sealing, stamping, or loading the products in cartons and getting them ready to go. In another room, inspection of tablets and capsules was going on; it is a job that is quite hard on the eyes. Immediate supervisors were women risen from the rank-and-file. All the managerial staff above them were made up of men with technical or business education.

The managers supervising the operations were distant with workers, the only exchange between them and the workers being about work. When I spoke to women informally in the cafeteria, many women expressed their resentment at the managers' matter-of-fact way of pushing work. The schism between the two groups was obvious. The management faced a problem of chronic absenteeism by some workers. Some of the female workers argued that they had to be absent for extended periods because of family emergencies involving sickness. They were expected to take care of sick parents and children, which the family considers to be their first priority over paid work.

Women expressed bitterness towards the management's attitude. "They don't understand women's problems. After all, women have to carry all the pressure of work." Many women complained that management favored men in promotions

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to higher grades. They also seemed to think that the work was hard, at least on some lines, and that the management did not understand the workers who had to fight for even small concessions from the management.

Nearly 250 female employees worked in the factory. I interviewed twenty-two female workers at Parke Davis.

LOCAL LARGE-SCALE FIRMS

Large-scale firms in the national sector were founded decades ago and have established themselves in the pharmaceuticals market. Although many companies engage in importing foreign technology and basic drugs, and in making formulations developed in the West, some of them are also credited with developing remedies for leprosy or other serious local ailments. These companies have done a good job of adapting foreign technology to local conditions or in the manufacture of bulk drugs. Many firms collaborate with foreign firms to bring in new formulations and technology.

Workers in the large local firms are organized. They have made increments in their pay scales and benefits, and achieved improvements in their working conditions. These gains, however, have not come close to what the TNCs can offer.

A woman said the following about the working conditions in the past: The company has "solved all the problems....When we were doing a catacin product, we used

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to feel weak, and were given milk and cookies." Comment about today's work: "Water filling is troublesome (because) we have to fill at the speed of the machine. We cannot sit down when filling. This goes on for 8 hours." Work has changed tremendously over the years, according to her. There is, now, a conveyor belt system. However, this does not mean that "work is more systematic."

The present research included two large Indian companies. In these two companies, however, managers showed an inclination toward not hiring female workers in the future. In one of the companies, a clear policy decision had been made to this effect; in the other, the personnel manager quite bluntly said that if it was up to him, he would get rid of all female employees, especially in administrative areas, because he could not ask them to work late due to laws prohibiting late working hours for women.

**CIPLA (Chemical, Industrial and Pharmaceutical
Laboratories, Ltd.)**

This firm was founded in 1935 by a chemist who believed in the cause of developing medicines locally. CIPLA is still controlled by the founding family. This is one of the oldest Indian companies and also one of the few companies that has remained independent, and, instead of

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importing, has engaged in research and production of its own bulk as well as formulated drugs. CIPLA exports drugs to Japan, the U.K., the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The head office and a plant are located in the company's outfit in the central Bombay area. Other branches of the company are located about 10 miles from Greater Bombay. In their present old location, the company employs about 100 men and 22 women, down from 138 and 30, respectively, in 1978. The reduction is explained in terms of expansion in other places, on the one hand, and by reduced need for workers due to mechanization, on the other. Need for women workers has tapered off, according to a plant manager, because an important quality attached to women, finger dexterity, is no longer important due to mechanization of operations.

The work areas were closed to visitors, and I conducted interviews in the office of a manager who was on vacation. Considering the small number of workers, there seemed to be too many supervisors and managers looking over the shoulders of the workers, which the female workers, most of them middle-aged or older, clearly resented. I was told of many verbal clashes between younger managers and older veteran workers. The workers also expressed that the company should provide transportation, better food in their cafeteria, and a better ladies' room in the factory.

Through collective bargaining the workers received allowances, some medical care, and subsidized travel. The

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company also offers fringe benefits such as scholarships for bright children of their employees.

A manager at CIPLA asserted that in Indian, especially family-run companies, the relations between labor and management are stable, close, and deep. Compared to the TNCs there is less turnover in the management, which allows for steady, family-like relationships.

Women in this plant were relatively older employees who resented the fact that too many younger bosses came in, spoke arrogantly, and gave contradictory orders. I interviewed twenty women in CIPLA.

Unichem

Unichem is located in a newer, suburban industrial estate although it was established as early as 1944. The buildings are modern, and small but clean premises house the office and plant. There is a medical office, but the company has not provided creche services to its workers. The company has granted some attractive benefits such as leave travel allowances, housing and conveyance (commuting) allowances, and it boasts a cafeteria and a recreation room.

The company has expanded and has two more plants elsewhere. It maintains a technical collaboration with pharmaceutical enterprises in Belgium and Japan. At the time I was conducting the present research, by some claims, sixty per cent of the work force was idle because of a

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temporary ban on two of its products, a multi-vitamin and an estrogen-progesterone test. These two products have been banned by the World Health Organization outside India. The matter was in court affecting the business of hundreds of thousands of rupees and making the work force idle.

Both the management personnel and union workers that I talked to conveyed the fact that the need for workers had been shrinking due to gradual automation. Male workers were preferred because they are available for shift work. The policy of not hiring women had been in effect for over fifteen years. Out of the 300 managerial, technical, or administrative personnel less than 20 were women; in the blue-collar work force there were only 31 women to about 590 men. I interviewed fifteen women at Unichem.

SMALL-SCALE LOCAL FIRMS

Current definition of small-scale industry is investment in plant and machinery less than Rs.350,000 or \$20,000.⁷ They are a separate category of firms that not only have smaller investments and work forces than the large-scale firms, but also occupy a different place in the pharmaceutical market. Most of these firms produce for large firms on loan license or subcontracting systems.

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Large companies are interested in subcontracting because they get their production done at a lower costs because of the lower wages at small-scale pharmaceuticals. These small-scale companies that otherwise find it hard to compete in an open market find their niche in this system.

The Indian government's industrial policy has promoted the small-scale sector and protected its profits through subsidies and tax breaks. These policies have resulted in the mushrooming of small pharmaceutical businesses in the past three decades. Small-scales do not have technical or management expertise, nor the capacity to maintain research and development facilities. Their large number has made it difficult for the government to keep quality control on the products entering the market. Small-scale firms are largely to be blamed for the substandard drugs in India's markets.⁸

Work in the pharmaceutical industry calls for an educated work force. Workers are typically at least high school graduates. The standards of recruitment are rising even in small-scale firms, although they are not as high as in large-scale firms. Workers' situations have been less than enviable in the small-scale sector. Workers in many small factories are not able to effectively organize. Even

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when they are organized, the company's economic strength does not allow the same wages and benefits that are available in the large-scale firms. Thus company transportation, vacation travel allowance, educational allowance for children, housing loans, or even basic things such as adequate cafeterias and rest-rooms, are usually not available in small-scale companies.

Interestingly, the five firms I studied and a few others that I visited had work forces made mostly of women. The women working for small firms are fated to work long hours, six- or seven-day weeks with no paid holidays or any other benefits. Some companies even hire most of their female employees as temporaries, thus doing away with paying for these workers' benefits. By keeping the number of workers on their payroll low, the small-scale companies elude legal requirements such as setting up a creche, or to keep the size of the company small on paper to be able to keep the status as a small-scale. The working conditions in this sector are health hazardous, and work is strenuous. Even the women who are in their thirties show signs of decay on their faces and bodies.

Medicare

This is possibly the oldest and most established firm in the sample taken of small-scale firms. It is a small outfit employing a three-person office staff and about sixty-five workers, forty-three of which are regulars and

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twenty-four of which are women. The employees share a common bathroom. A small room with a kitchen serves as a canteen, although not more than tea and snacks were actually made there at the time this study was conducted. Also, company transportation was not available. A doctor visited once a month, but medicines were not subsidized. I interviewed ten women in Medicare.

The workers were aware of all these deficiencies. What was interesting was that while they were quite angry at the way they were treated, they also showed loyalty and allegiance to their company during informal conversations. These sentiments were not found among the workers in larger firms. Women, however, were less sure about their grades or their prospects for the future in the company, when compared to their counterparts in the larger firms.

Lenec Institute

This company is located in the same general area as the previous one. In this congested, decaying industrial area the streets are narrow and dirty, traffic is heavy, and radios blast film music from small, roadside cafes, adding to the noise. Children no more than ten or twelve years of age are spotted carrying boiling tea and hot pakodas (a popular savory, deep-fried snack) to nearby factories.

The small building that houses this factory is a forbidding sight. Inside, work is carried out in four or

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five small rooms right next to the manager's office. The work force is mostly female, and both males and females in the factory are very young. They are all very bashful, loyal, and also needy, and do not utter a word of complaint. There were thirty-four females and twenty males working there at the time. The technical staff consisted of seven people, including one female. All the workers work on daily wages, are not organized because the management has discouraged it, and work seven days a week in the heat of Bombay with only a fan to dispel the discomfort of heat. Because these workers are temporaries on daily wages, the company gets away without paying them dearness allowances, medical aid, or subsidized food. No paid sick or casual leave is available to the workers.

This company started in the 1980's. Another company controlled by the same team of owners and managers was dismantled before the inception of the present company. This strategy was frequently used by small-scale firms to avoid unionization. If labor unrest becomes uncontrollable, the firms simply fold their operations and make a fresh start at a new place with a new name and new work force. I interviewed seven female workers in this firm.

Pharmed Gujarat

Located in the same industrial area, Pharmed Gujarat, founded in 1972, is an off-shoot of a company that has been

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in operation since 1947. This is likely to be an example of firms which, instead of expanding, remain small to derive the benefits offered by the government to small-scale firms. Separate sister concerns are developed to take up manufacturing of different drugs.

Pharmed Gujarat employs thirty-eight workers out of which about ten are women. The workers are not bold and outgoing as found to be the case in large-scale firms. The management in this firm is made of people from Gujarat. I could not but notice their friendly attitude and hospitable behavior, the qualities they are known for, which also go hand-in-hand with extremely sharp business acumen. I was disappointed that I never had a chance to observe them in action, dealing with and controlling their work force. I interviewed eight women there.

Bezel Pharma

This is another company that is owned and run by ethnic Gujaratis. The people involved with it were either working for a large pharmaceutical, or had resigned from one to get involved with this small outfit. This company was visibly young - about four years old - and going through growing pains. The factory manager was full of stories about the hardships that befall small firms. First on the list of troubles were labor unions which ruthlessly harass new firms. Second in line were the government's rules and regulations. The problems included licensing,

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restricted quotas, corruption, restriction on the use of electricity, and so on. The company manufactured nearly a hundred products, all of them contracts from several large and medium scale TNCs and local firms.

The factory manager was in close touch with his workers. He was familiar with their family situations, problems, and knew how to build confidence among workers. He proudly announced to me that he considered himself to be the father of the workers, almost all of them women. After a two-month long strike and struggle, the union was in. However, the factory manager believed that he knew how to keep the workers happy, and had no fear of the union. He paid the lowest salaries in the sample taken. However, his methods, such as giving shining stainless steel pots-and-pans or saris as gifts to workers on Hindu festivals, had found appeal with the workers.

While paying low salaries to the regulars, the company had also maintained a work force of temporaries without any benefits. The manager agreed to allow five interviews, which I conducted.

Eupharma

This company was involved in manufacturing birth control drugs for the government, among other contract jobs. The powders from which birth control pills were made were creating hormonal imbalances among women, and scaring them immensely. The management had ignored the problem,

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Workers seemed not to trust their management for yet another reason. After a prolonged clash, the management had thrown out the popular union, then gathered a few loyal workers to form an "internal" union which basically served the management's interests. In fact, when the factory manager sensed that I was closing in on such details he made excuses and kept postponing the scheduling of more interviews with workers. Finally, I had to give up on further interviews as my date of departure approached.

The preceding introduction provides insight into the infrastructure surrounding work in the ten factories included in this study. TNCs, large Indian and small-scale Indian firms differed in many aspects: roominess and appearance of buildings, number of workers, range, and volume of products. The firms also differed in terms of complexity of management bureaucracy and nature of union organization. The introduction was also meant to provide some subjective, but nonetheless crucial, observations on location and physical surrounding; cleanliness of the places; availability and quality of cafeterias, healthcare, recreation, and so on; interaction between management, union, and workers; and workers' remarks about work and bosses.

The broadest differences visible were between the large and small factories. Differences also appeared

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between TNC and large Indian firms. To summarize, TNCs own large and modern factories with greater production capacity than the other two. TNCs have an elaborate bureaucracy divided into separate production and administrative departments. Indian large firms, on the other hand, own modest-looking buildings, make fewer products and have smaller bureaucracies compared to the TNCs. Small-scale factories include outfits housed in few rooms, their workers enjoy bare-bone amenities, and the firms may not have more than two or three people to manage the enterprise.

Unions in larger firms seemed a lot stronger than in small-scale firms. In direct correspondence with firm size, workers in large firms enjoyed paid vacations, sick and casual leaves, and medical and housing allowances. Workers in small-scale firms in the sample were deprived of most of these benefits.

There was one striking similarity in all firms. Women were employed as packers or in inspection while production was assigned to men in all of them. Moreover, in most factories female employees had a few critical comments about their employers.

Having provided this brief introduction to the work setting, this chapter will now explore work-related characteristics of the women in the sample.

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WOMEN WORKERS' WORK EXPERIENCES

In particular, the study will explore the length of time women have been working, whether they held other jobs before those presently held, and the relationships between the firm type and their attitudes and opinions about work. The initial inquiry is aimed at examining the differences in the women's previous work experience.

Table 4-1 Any Jobs Before the Current One, by Firm Type

Previous Jobs	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	17 22.7%	14 40.0%	19 54.3%	50
No	58 77.3%	21 60.0%	16 45.7%	95
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	11.1819	Significance	.0037	

Table 4-1 reveals a systematic pattern in women's previous work experience. For a majority of the TNC workers (77.3%), the present employment was the first employment. The present job was the first job for a lower percentage of workers in the Indian sector - 60% of the workers in the large Indian firms, and 45.7% those in

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small-scale Indian firms had not held other jobs. As stated before, jobs in most firms in the pharmaceutical industry are unionized, stable, and considered attractive employment in the industrial sector as a whole. This may at least partially explain why the workers have held on to their first jobs. This relationship is statistically significant with a chi-square of 11.18 at the significance level of .0037.

Why is the current job their first job for a larger percentage of TNC rather than Indian sector workers? Greater demand for labor in the past may have meant that workers had better jobs available, and that they did not have to keep looking for better jobs. This can only be a partial explanation because workers in the older, large-scale Indian firms seem to have worked elsewhere before.

The only speculative explanation we can present here is that there may be a difference in the information network of these women about the job openings, and that the women in the TNCs were able to access these better jobs through the informal network of kin or social group. Or, by sheer chance, these women were at the right place and time when looking for a job. Unfortunately, information is not available to unravel the mystery of the difference in women's work trajectories across firms.

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Table 4-2 How Many Previous Jobs, by Firm Type

Number of Previous Jobs	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
None	57 77.0%	21 60.0%	16 45.7%	94
One	12 16.2%	10 28.6%	12 36.7%	34
Two	5 6.8%	4 11.4%	6 17.6%	15
Missing	74 100.0% (1)	35 100.0%	34 100.0% (1)	143 100% (2)
Chi-sq	11.6655	Significance	.0200	

The data show a strong relationship between the number of previous jobs the workers have had and the firm type.

Although for a majority of all the pharmaceutical employees in the sample (65%) the current job was their first job, and despite the fact that only 35% of the total workers in the sample in fact did one or more jobs before landing their present positions, it is clear that a greater proportion of women in the newer, small-scale firms worked other jobs before their present employment. In significant contrast with the workers in the larger firms - only 23% of TNC workers and 40% of the workers in the large Indian firms - over 54% of the small-scale employees in the sample have worked elsewhere before their current employment.

The work trajectory of young workers in the small-scale firms perhaps indicates that the labor market

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for the larger firms in the industry is saturated, and that younger female workers are competing for the available, small-scale sector jobs. Table 3 on the length of service further emphasizes that women workers in the older firms have stayed in their jobs for a long period, that there seem to be very few new recruits in the older firms, and that the new recruits are found mainly in the small-scale firms.

The variable "length of service" was coded as a continuous variable, but later recoded into three categories - 1-14, 15-24, 25+ - in order to create three roughly equal groupings in terms of years of service.

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Table 4-3 Length of Employment in Years, by Firm Type

Years with the Present Firm	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
1 through 14 Years	12 16.0%	2 5.7%	31 88.6%	45
15 through 24 Years	27 36.0%	18 51.4%	3 8.6%	48
25 years +	36 48.0%	15 42.9%	1 2.9%	52
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%

Chi-sq 74.3215

Significance .0001

Three important observations can be made from Table 4-3. First, there is a very strong relationship between the number of years spent working for the present firm and the firm type. Large-scale firms have been around longer and hence workers show a longer tenure compared to the small-scale firms.

Secondly, one must also note that the women working for smaller firms are younger and have been in these jobs for fewer years than their large-firm counterparts. However, a large proportion of these women have worked in previous jobs for a short time, but quit those, and now settled in these present jobs. We may infer from this that even the small-scale employment, with all its drawbacks

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mentioned earlier, is preferred employment for these young women. This again points to the saturated labor markets for the larger firms.

The third interesting observation to note here is that once they found their present employment, the women in the sample have shown remarkable stability in their jobs. Another interpretation of this can be that the jobs in these large firms are relatively attractive, so the women prefer to remain in their present employment rather than switch jobs.

Our data indicate that women are committed to wagework and tenaciously stick in the same jobs. Thus, contrary to prevalent belief among researchers as well as employers, these data suggest that women take their employment seriously. Two factors may be at play here: women's tendency to stick in one job is related to the desirability of the job itself.

To summarize, women in pharmaceutical firms systematically differ in terms of job tenure and work trajectory. For a majority of women in TNCs work is stable; their present jobs are their first jobs and the women have stayed with them for many years until the present. For the women in small-scale factories, the opposite end of the spectrum, there is a greater chance of having held previous jobs. Small-scale workers have shorter tenure in their present jobs compared to their counterparts in larger firms.

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These findings are consistent with the labor market segmentation theory. According to this theory, labor markets are divided into primary and secondary, and further subdivided within each sector (Edwards 1979). Primary employment is characterized by stable work; skill training; charted paths of career advance within the firm; occupational mobility; and decent monetary and intrinsic rewards of work. Secondary labor markets are identified by abundant supply of labor; clustering of unskilled, low-wage occupations; low mobility; and high turnover of workers. The present data bears out the theory of labor market segmentation in that work tenure and trajectory are varied across firms. Although work in all firms is semi- or unskilled, the workers in large firms enjoy longer work tenure, suggesting a stable work force. The workers in small-scale firms and, to a lesser extent, those in large Indian firms, tend to have worked previously. These workers moved from job to job before they landed a desirable one, which suggests crowding of and competition in the job market. Thus it appears that women in different types of firms are competing in different labor markets, although their work probably falls in the secondary sector, characterized by low skill levels and limited mobility.

Next, we will examine female workers' views on their jobs, safety of the workplace, work's impact on health,

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fairness of their supervisors, and their perceptions of changes in the work process over the years of employment and suggestions for improving their work environments.

It is important to note that a large percentage of women have reported no grievances with respect to the safety conditions and the impact of working conditions on health. As the accompanying table shows, what is most anomalous is that many grievances on health and safety conditions have come from women working in the TNC sector, the sector that is highly regarded for its modern technology and superior working conditions, and not from the women in small-scale factories. While it is often the case that small-scale firms have no budgets for the recreation and comfort of their employees, and also that they are less regulated and show less regard for worker safety, workers there had fewer grievances.

This may be an example of the lack of worker awareness. This also may have resulted from the lack of security in the job, or the consciousness that there are not many good jobs out there, which could prompt the women to be less critical of their environments. As Table 4-4 shows, there is little difference in terms of being critical between the women working for large Indian firms (22.9%) and small-scale firms (29%). However, there appears to be a substantial gap of over twenty percentage

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Table 4-4 Comments about Health and Safety Conditions, by Firm Type

Health and Safety	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
No Comment	32 49.2%	27 77.1%	22 71.0%	81
Grievance	33 50.8%	8 22.9%	9 29.0%	50
Missing	65 100.0% (10)	35 100.0%	31 100.0% (4)	131 100% (14)
Chi-sq	8.9463	Significance	.0114	

The chi-square is small but statistically significant, indicating a relationship between the two variables - grievance about health and safety, and firm type. Let us take a brief look at the nature of women's grievances in different firms.

Do the women feel their supervisor is fair to them? Table 4-5 presents the results of this query, and the results are consistent with the finding that the women at TNCs reveal greater grievances than those in Indian firms.

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Table 4-5 Female Workers' Comments Regarding Fairness of Treatment by the Supervisor, by Firm Type

Supervisors Fair or Not	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
	50	30	33	113
Fair	69.4%	85.7%	94.3%	
Not Fair	14 19.4%	2 5.7%	2 5.7%	18
Sometimes	8 11.1%	3 8.6%		11
Missing	72 100.0% (3)	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	142 100% (3)
Chi-sq	11.1188	Significance	.0253	

The information obtained in the interviews with the female workers is thought-provoking. It is interesting to observe the systematic difference between the three sets of workers in terms of their perceptions of their supervisors. Although on the whole 79.6% of the women in the industry find their supervisors to be fair, the percentage is even higher in small-scale firms (94.3%). A very small proportion of all the workers (12.7%) have reported displeasure with their supervisors, showing a systematic difference among the women in TNC, large Indian, and small-scale enterprises.

Out of the eighteen women who report that their supervisors are not fair, fourteen (77.8%) belong to the TNCs. How do we explain how the well-trained supervisory

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staff of the TNCs are more "unfair" than their counterparts in the Indian firms? Or is it a question of perception, that women working for lower wages are at the same time more accepting and less questioning of their circumstance? The broader question of their treatment on the shopfloor was briefly discussed during the interviews and many women's voices came alive with various comments.

A woman in a large Indian firm stated, "(working conditions are) not so good. We have to ask for permission from a man to go to the bathroom. (The supervisors) are not good with anyone else other than their favorite people."

After asking for comments on their supervisors, I also requested that the respondents make suggestions to the company on any work- or worker-related issues, in order to improve their jobs. What kind of suggestions do women have for their bosses? Table 4-6 delineates the broad areas in which the women suggested improvements.

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Table 4-6 Suggestions for Improvement in Working Conditions, by Firm Type

Suggestions	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Pay, Bonus, Promotion, Loans	12 22.6%	1 5.9%	3 13.6%	16
Better Treatment	26 49.1%	4 23.5%	1 4.5%	31
Amenities to Improve Work	15 28.3%	12 70.6%	18 81.8%	45
	53 100.0%	17 100.0%	22 100.0%	92
Missing	(22)	(18)	(13)	(53)
Chi-sq	23.1999	Significance	.0001	

The most frequent demands among the TNC workers had to do with better treatment for themselves. Indian sector workers, on the other hand, demanded improved working conditions.

A great proportion, about half, of the TNC workers suggested that the dealings with the workers be more humane. This suggestion casts doubt on the assumption that management in the TNC firms is more modern and sophisticated. Over 28%, the second largest category, of TNC workers made suggestions for improving the work setting. Demand for more money and benefits was made by less than a fourth of TNC women.

Women in the Indian sector emphasized amenities - better cloak room, recreation room, cafeteria, and company

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transportation - as their major priority. This category of suggestion was chosen by 70.6% of female workers in large Indian and 81.8% of those in small-scale firms. It is quite interesting that in the low-paying, small-scale sector, money and benefits was not the majority demand.

The demand for humane treatment by the TNC workers does not come as a total surprise. Female and male workers in TNCs have progressively made gains in monetary rewards and amenities over the years through collective bargaining. Hence, their foremost concern seems to be better treatment from the management. This perhaps indicates that on the issue of humane treatment the battle between labor and management continues.

In the Indian sector, women are more interested in acquiring fringe benefits such as improved rest rooms, better food service, and sports and music. This underscores the wretchedness of the work environment in which these women have to spend most of the their waking hours, year after year.

The surprising finding in the results was the considerable difference in the type of suggestion made by the three types of pharmaceutical industry workers. Suggestions from the workers in TNC and large Indian firms pointed to different priorities despite the common factor of firm size. In making suggestions, the women from large and small Indian companies stood closer together, and quite apart from the women in the TNC, suggesting that the work

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experiences and/or workers' expectations about their work situation are different in the TNC versus Indian firms. Women in the TNCs were more critical of their management's dealings with workers; women in the local sector, on the other hand, wanted more facilities and comforts.

These results, however, should be viewed with caution because of the large number of missing cases, and especially from the data on large Indian firms. The large number of missing cases in Tables 4-6 and 4-8 is a result of non-response. It is a reflection of the fact that women are not used to articulating their grievances (Table 4-6). They are perhaps also not accustomed to totally hypothetical questions such as whether they would consider another job. They are all too aware that it is difficult to find attractive jobs.

Next, I will tackle the question of the commitment of these women to holding on to their current jobs, or being in the labor market at all.

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Table 4-7 Desire to Quit the Job, by Firm Type

Want to Quit?	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
	31	9	2	42
Yes	41.3%	25.7%	5.9%	
	44	26	32	102
No	58.7%	74.3%	94.1%	
	75	35	34	144
Missing	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
			(1)	(1)
Chi-sq	14.4981	Significance	.0007	

A minority of women - less than 30% of the sample - wished to quit their jobs, a wish which they probably did not intend to act on. At the same time, although most female workers expressed no desire to quit their jobs, this is not necessarily proof of their undying commitment to work. This may instead reflect the economic necessity in their lives which rules out quitting work as a viable option. This is consistent with previous literature that has reported that female blue-collar workers take up employment out of economic need, rather than for a desire to make a career (Sawara 1986; Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987).

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Table 4-8 Considering Another Job, by Firm Type

Another Job?	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
	6	5	3	14
Yes	11.8%	20.0%	37.5%	
	45	20	5	70
No	88.2%	80.0%	62.5%	
	51	25	8	84
Missing	100.0% (24)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (27)	100% (61)
Chi-sq	3.1436	Significance	.2076	

When asked if they would like to take up another job, the predominant answer was "no" (Table 4-8), probably implying that as long as they have to work, the women would rather work in the jobs they were well settled into.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has described the work settings of the TNCs, large Indian, and small-scale firms, and throws light on differences in the work environment. Most women in the sample reported that the present job was their first job, indicating that jobs in the pharmaceutical industry are desirable; women are not looking for better employment. Most women (80%) in the sample reported that their supervisors were fair. Very few women registered grievances in terms of health and safety conditions. Women overwhelmingly indicated that they did not want to quit their present positions or take up other jobs. On all

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these counts, however, there were systematic differences among women working for different firms.

Women's work trajectories varied across the firms, with the TNC workers having the greatest chance of entering their present employment at the onset of their career. Women in large and small-scale Indian firms, on the other hand, take a longer route and first go through other work, suggesting more crowding and competition in acquiring jobs. Women in large firms, TNCs as well as Indian, have worked longer in their present jobs than those in small scale firms. Elsewhere in this study it is also observed that women's rewards are different across firms, with TNCs paying the highest wages and small-scale Indian firms the lowest (Ch. Six, p.160). Thus, employment characteristics such as work trajectory before entry into the present job, work rewards, and work tenure seem to differ across three types of firm. This suggests existence a of dual labor market structure within one industry.

Studies have recognized segmentation of labor markets (Joshi and Joshi 1976; Deshpande and Papola 1979) and have explored women's relegation to the "unorganized" or "informal" sector, where wages are subsistence level or less, and work seasonal and unstable (Banerjee 1985). However, few studies have looked at stratification of workers into segments within one industry. As this chapter points out, work and amenities at work are differently organized in firms. Also, workers' expectations seem to

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differ across firms and can be taken as reflections of the gaps in their socioeconomic strata. Two broad research questions anticipate further research from these findings.

1) First, investigation of the relationship between different strata of the industry. This study found that large firms subcontract some production to small-scale firms. This means that large firms profit partly because of the lower wages paid to small-scale firms' employees. Thus, a stratified industrial structure may involve greater exploitation of a section of workers, an issue that needs further investigation. 2) Secondly, it is not yet very well understood what factors are related to entry into different levels of industry. We need to know more about the real-life consequences of stratification for workers in terms of their SES, position in the household and in the workplace, and subjective feelings of status and well-being.

This study also found that female workers were not overly concerned with health and safety standards in their firms. However, a greater proportion of women in the TNCs expressed grievances about safety standards. This may be a case of greater awareness among TNC women rather than TNCs having worse health and safety records in the pharmaceutical industry. Similarly, while most women in all three types of firm thought their supervisor to be

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fair, a relatively greater percentage of TNC women thought that the supervisor was "not" fair or only "sometimes" fair, compared to the others.

Another interesting observation was made when we asked the women to offer suggestions to improve their workplace. Although TNC workers make better money than the women in the Indian-sector firms, a greater percentage of women in the TNCs suggested that their pay and bonuses be raised. TNC workers' most popular demand was better treatment at work, while the overriding demand of small-scale workers was improved amenities and comforts in the workplace. These differences perhaps reflect how expectations adapt to circumstances of work, subdue the weaker section of the working class, and further pave the way for stratification of workers. Or, differences in expectations suggest that the women belong to different social strata, have different life chances, and have different expectations.

The preceding findings on women's attitudes are crucial as they suggest differences in attitude towards work based on women's place of insertion in the stratified labor market. Virtually no study has addressed the issue of worker stratification and its ramifications for attitudes towards work. The findings in this study point to the need for further work on stratification of blue-collar workers. This area of study has a bearing on

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other important issues such as work satisfaction, class consciousness, and mobilization in the various segments of the working class.

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CHAPTER FIVE

FACTORS IN WOMEN'S PLACEMENT IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

Theories focusing on the "supply" factors as well as those concentrating on "demand" factors in the labor market have tackled the problems of the functioning of labor markets where skills and labor power are exchanged for wages and status. Scholarship on labor markets has included a range of theories attempting to explain the dynamics behind workers' placement into different jobs. Is access to jobs determined by the worker's skill level, and is competition perfect at the given level of skill? Human capital theory argues that unequal access to better employment opportunities is a consequence of unequal qualifications. Some labor studies done in India, on the other hand, explain unequal access to jobs in terms of imperfect information about employment opportunities (Holmstrom 1985).

The theory of labor market segmentation was developed to explain unequal access to employment opportunities, and maintains that the economy is divided into sectors carrying unequal rewards. Also, labor markets are divided on the basis of extra-economic factors such as class, race,

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ethnicity, and gender that perpetuate unequal access to jobs, poverty, and stratification of workers.

Socialist-feminist scholars focus on gender hierarchy in the society which, they emphasize, results in women's overrepresentation in secondary sector jobs.

Gender and class are both at work when we examine the enclaves of women's employment. Research on the export-processing zone of the U.S.-Mexican border reveals that the modern electronics industry's preference for young and single women has created a stratification among female workers where older and married women are relegated to older garment or service industries (Tiano 1987).

Free-trade zones worldwide, housing export-processing, have shown a preference for younger females. These findings suggest that employers' preferences concerning factors such as age, marital status, and rural versus urban origins may lead to a stratification of the work force. Salaff and Wong, in contrast, in their data on Singapore, noted that higher class position eases women's entry into better jobs, hinting at preexisting and widening class differences.

In light of these observations, the empirical problem this study deals with is: What explains women's placement into different strata of the pharmaceutical industry? Did these women belong to different class backgrounds to begin with, and were they channeled into stratified jobs

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accordingly? Or, was their placement in different strata based on factors such as education, age, marital status, migratory status, or religion?

The pharmaceutical industry is made up of varying types of firms in terms of scale and ownership. While employment in the pharmaceutical industry is attractive, work in the larger, more established, and, particularly, TNC firms is considered among the best in the entire industrial sector. Analysis of the data, presented in Chapter Six, has indicated that there is a significant wage-gap between women working for TNC, large Indian, and small pharmaceutical firms. Because of the disparity of rewards, level of employment in this stratified industry is of great consequence to the workers' lives.

To understand women's job placement, this study will investigate the influence of fathers' and mothers' educational and occupational status on entry into their respective firms. Parents' education and occupation status provide a proxy for women's socioeconomic status, and it is important to know whether the family's socioeconomic status facilitates a woman's entry into a given job.

The following tables reveal the relationships between firm size and workers' age, migratory status, religion, caste, education, and parents' education and occupation.

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DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WOMEN WORKERS

Table 5-1 Age by Firm Type

Age	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
low - 29	13 17.3%	3 8.6%	29 82.9%	45
30 - 44	33 44.0%	13 37.1%	5 14.3%	51
45 - +	29 38.7%	19 54.3%	1 2.9%	49
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	61.34	Significance	.00001	

Age is an important predictor of placement because older women are mainly found in older and larger enterprises. Younger women, on the other hand, are found in more recently established, small-scale firms. An overwhelming majority, nearly 83%, of small-scale firms' employees are young women under 30, whereas only 17.3% of TNC and 8.6% of large Indian firm female workers belong to this young age group. The proportion of workers in the middle (30-45) and older (45+) age groups represented in the TNC sample are 44% and 38.7%, respectively. This order is reversed in large Indian firms. The biggest age category represented in the large Indian firms is the oldest (54.3%), followed by the middle age category (37.1%). Thus this table clearly shows that age is

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Table 5-2 Marital Status by Firm Type

Women's Marital Status	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Married	59 78.7%	24 68.6%	18 51.4%	101
Single, Divorced, Widowed	16 21.3%	11 31.4%	17 48.6%	44
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	8.1729	Significance	.0168	

There is a small but unidirectional relationship between marital status and firm type in the data. A somewhat greater percentage of married women work for TNCs, followed by the large Indian and then the small-scale firms. However, the difference is small - 78.7% in the TNCs versus 68.6% in the large Indian firms and 51.4% in the small-scale firms. An interesting point to note is that women working in the small-scale firms are young, with half of them also single. This suggests a trend towards late marriage for working young women. Next, we will look at migratory status as an explanation of different placements of pharmaceutical workers.

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Table 5-3 Migratory Status by Firm Type

Migratory Status	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
	53	22	24	99
Native	70.7%	62.9%	68.6%	
	22	13	11	46
New Migrant to Bombay	29.3%	37.1%	31.4%	
	75	35	35	145
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
Chi-sq	.67	Significance	.71	

Prior research on labor in India has shown that whether one is a new or an old migrant to the city has a bearing on acquiring industrial employment. Old migrants have better "connections" and hence greater chances of gaining access to better jobs in the market. New migrants, on the other hand, have less information and fewer choices, and end up in less desirable jobs (Holmstrom 1985).

In these data, however, no relationship is found between migratory status - as an indicator of whether the female worker was born in the city or migrated from elsewhere - and job placement.¹ As the small chi-square and significance level of this table indicate, birthplace

¹ While conducting the interviews, I gathered information on age and total years of residence in Bombay, which allowed me to determine whether the respondent had lived outside Bombay for any length of time. I classified the respondents as "new migrants" only those who had been born and had lived outside Bombay.

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Table 5-4

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In the following tables, the relationships between demographic variables of religion, caste and firm type, and, then education of self, father, mother, and firm type will be explored.

Table 5-4 Religion by Firm Type

Religion	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
	47	24	31	102
Hindu	62.7%	68.6%	88.6%	
	28	11	4	43
Other	37.3%	31.4%	11.4%	
	75	35	35	145
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
Chi-sq	7.746	Significance	.0208	

In these data, religion shows a relationship to the firm type. Specifically, larger and older firms - both TNC and large Indian - seem to employ more non-Hindu women (90.5% of all non-Hindu women) than the small-scale Indian firms.²

² The category "other" religions is mainly made up of Christian and Parsi women since there are only a couple of Muslim, and no Jewish or Sikh, women in the sample.

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Table 5-5 Caste by Firm Type

Caste	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
	18	11	28	57
low	41.9%	45.8%	87.5%	
	25	13	4	42
high	58.1%	54.2%	12.5%	
	43	24	32	99
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
Missing	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)*
Chi-sq 17.43 Significance .0002				

*The variable of "caste" pertains only to Hindu women, 99 in total in the sample.

Our data show that small firms have the highest percentages of people from lower caste groups - 87.5% of all their employees belong to lower castes. Conversely, larger firms, TNCs as well as Indian, employ a greater percentage of higher castes - 58.1% and 54.2%, respectively.

The tables above present two interesting findings. TNC firms employ larger percentages of non-Hindu women. This finding can be explained in three different ways. First, it is possible that non-Hindu, mainly Christian and Parsi, women entered the work force before Hindu women did, and hence their proportion is relatively greater in older firms. Secondly, it is also likely that these Christian as well as Parsi women were educated in English while Hindu women were not, so they were preferred by the older companies. On the other hand, it is also possible that the

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TNCs, who began female employment in the pharmaceutical industry when the British were still ruling India, had a preference for non-Hindu, mainly Christian, women.

Also of interest is the finding that the percentage of higher castes is greater in the sample of Hindu women that work in larger firms, whereas a majority of workers in small-scale firms are members of the lower castes.

Table 5-6 Education of the Respondents by Firm Type

Education - Self	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Less Than High-school Diploma	15 20.0%	21 60.0%	11 31.4%	47
High-school Diploma +	60 80.0%	14 40.0%	24 68.6%	98
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	17.44		Significance	.0002

The table on education of the workers shows interesting results, with a huge gap appearing between employees at the TNCs and small-scale Indian firms on the one hand, and those working in the large Indian firms on the other. TNCs seem to employ the greatest percentage of workers with educations of high-school diploma or better (80.0%). Small-scale Indian firms are close behind with 68.6% of their work force similarly educated. Large-scale

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Indian firms seem to trail far behind with only 40% of their work force showing education at high-school level or greater.

Most women working for older and larger companies were hired two decades ago and now belong to either the middle or older age group. The educational requirements for entry into TNC jobs seem to have been higher than in the larger Indian firms at the time. Similar higher standards, however, seem to apply to more recent entrants of much less attractive, small-scale sector jobs. These results suggest that the labor market for the pharmaceutical industry, is getting saturated. Hence, entry requirements have become more stringent over the years. Now I explore whether the parents' education and work have a bearing on women's placement in the pharmaceutical industry.

Table 5-7 Education of the Respondents' Mothers by Firm Type

Mother's Education	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Less Than High-school Diploma	49 81.7%	23 85.2%	29 100.0%	101
High-school Diploma +	11 18.3%	4 14.8%	0	15
	60 100.0%	27 100.0%	29 100.0%	116
Missing	(15)	(8)	(6)	(29)
Chi-sq	5.94		Significance	.05

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According to this table, the relationship between mother's education and type of employment placement is not very strong but nonetheless suggestive. Mothers of the women working for small-scale firms in the sample do not have high-school diplomas, which may be indicative of socioeconomic or cultural differences between the workers in the small- versus large-scale firms. This finding is significant, especially in the light of the fact that these women are younger and are likely to have younger mothers, and that formal education has become more common in recent years. Similarly, there is weak, but unidirectional relationship between the daughters' placement and whether or not their mothers worked (Table 5-8).

Table 5-8 Mother's Work by Firm Type

Mother's Work	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Yes	15 20.0%	11 33.3%	16 48.5%	42
No	60 80.0%	22 66.7%	17 51.5%	99
Missing	75 100.0%	33 100.0% (2)	33 100.0% (2)	141 100% (4)
Chi-sq	9.149	Significance	.0103	

This table (Table 5-8) indicates that a greater percentage of mothers of the small-scale workers (48.5%)

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worked compared to their counterparts in larger Indian or TNC firms (33.3% and 20%, respectively). Of all the mothers, however, 70% never worked and that seems to be the norm with respect to these data.

Table 5-9 Education of the Respondents' Fathers, by Firm Type

Father's Education	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Less Than High-school Diploma	16 25.8%	16 57.1%	20 69.0%	52
High-school Diploma +	46 74.2%	12 42.9%	9 31.0%	67
	62 100.0%	28 100.0%	29 100.0%	119
Missing	(13)	(7)	(6)	(26)
Chi-sq	17.64	Significance	.0001	

Fathers of the women workers at TNC plants are likely to be more educated - with high-school diplomas or better - than their counterparts in Indian firms. Educational levels of the fathers of women in small-scale factories were the lowest in this sample. Thus, educational levels of both fathers and mothers seem to be related to the women's place of insertion in the industry.

There was a difference in fathers' and mothers' educational levels. A vast majority of the mothers of pharmaceutical workers were not educated up to the level of

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earning a high-school diploma. The percentage of mothers with high school diplomas was 18.3% in TNCs and 14.8% in large Indian firms. None of the mothers of small-scale workers had acquired a high-school diploma. This scenario changed with respect to the fathers' education. First of all, a greater proportion of fathers had a high-school diploma - 74.2% in TNC, 42.9% in large Indian, and 31% in small-scale firms. Thus, there is a systematic variation in the fathers' education levels but a very small difference in regards to mothers' education levels.

One point to consider here is that the women in larger firms are older than the women in small firms (Table 5-1). Nonetheless, their fathers were more educated, suggesting that these women's families were likely to be an upwardly mobile population. And yet, their mothers were not very different from each other, which may be an indication of modest class origins.

Table 5-10 Father's Occupation by Firm Type

Father's Occupation	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
White-Collar	41 64.1%	11 33.3%	5 15.2%	57
Blue-Collar	23 35.9%	22 66.7%	28 84.8%	73
Missing	64 100.0% (11)	33 100.0% (12)	33 100.0% (12)	130 100% (15)
Chi-sq	24.5710	Significance	.00001	

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Father's occupation, differentiated in terms of white-collar and blue-collar, seems to have a bearing on what kinds of jobs the women landed, according to these data. Nearly 65% of the fathers of the TNC workers had white-collar employment, as against 15% of the fathers of small-scale workers. The fathers of the workers of the large Indian firms were in the middle category (over 33%).

The preceding information in Tables 5-1 to 5-10 suggests that workers in the three types of pharmaceutical firms - namely, TNC's, large-scale and small-scale Indian firms - do possess somewhat different social and personal characteristics. The sharpest contrast appears between the TNC and small-scale workers, and the workers of the large local firms fall somewhere in the middle.

Women workers' age is the most distinguishing characteristic in the data. Small-scale firms employ younger women, whereas larger firms have on their payrolls older veterans with long tenure in their jobs. The proportion of Hindu women is greater in Indian firms and proportionately more Christian/Parsi/Muslim women work in the two TNCs examined in this study. Also, castes are unevenly distributed among the Hindu workers across the firms. Small-scale industries have a larger proportion of relatively lower castes. TNCs, also large Indian firms, show the greatest proportion of higher-caste Hindu women.

Fathers of the TNC workers were slightly more educated, and a greater proportion of them worked in white-collar jobs.

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Educational and work status of the parents of the workers in large-scale local firms fell somewhere in the middle of that of the TNC and the small-scale workers.

Education of the workers themselves differed from this pattern. The workers in TNCs were more likely to be at least high-school graduates, and closely following behind in level of education were the younger (and much lower paid) workers from the small-scale firms. In terms of education, the workers in large local firms were less accomplished.

In order to identify the characteristics that best describe the workers in the three types of pharmaceutical firms, regression analysis was performed between the above-mentioned social variables and three firm types, treated as three dependent variables. The results of regression are presented in three tables below.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL VARIABLES AND PLACEMENT

In the first table (Table 5-11), TNC employment is the dependent variable, with age, education, parents' education, father's occupation, mother's work, religion, and marital status as independent variables.³ In the

³ The variable of caste was dropped from the analysis in order to not lose too much data. Caste does not apply to

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second and the third tables (Tables 5-12 and 5-13), the same variables function as independent variables; placement in large Indian firms and small-scale firms are the dependent variables.

Two methods of regression, "stepwise" and "enter," were used. "Stepwise" was used to pick out the most important independent variables that explain the variance in the dependent variables. On the other hand, the method "enter" was also used to find out the total impact on the dependent variables of the entire range of independent variables that were chosen for theoretical reasons, whether or not these variables had statistically significant relationships with the dependent variables - TNC, large Indian, and small-scale Indian firms.

Variables of age and education were both measured in number of years and used in the regression analysis as continuous variables. Variables such as placement in TNC, large local, or small-scale firms, whether mother worked or not, and religion were nominal variables. Father's occupation, an ordinal level variable, was recoded into a two-category nominal variable ("white-collar"/"blue-collar"). These nominal level variables were recoded into dummy variables by assigning the scores of 1 and 0 to the two categories as follows:

non-Hindu women, and, hence, to one third of the cases.

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- Placement into the TNCs versus other placements
- Placement into the large-scale Indian firms versus other placements
- Placement into the small-scale Indian firms versus other placements
- Religion - Hindu versus other
- Whether mother worked or not
- Father's occupation - white-collar versus blue-collar
- Marital Status - married versus single/divorced/widowed

Independent variables - education of self, father's education, father's occupation, whether mother worked or not, age, marital status, and religion.

B = Unstandardized Regression Coefficients
SE B = Standard Error of B
Beta = Standardized Regression Coefficients
N = No. of cases

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Table 5-12 Regression Analysis of the Effects of Seven Independent Variables on Placements in Large Indian Firms - Stepwise and Enter

Steps	Education Self Fa.	Father's Occupation	Mother's Work	Age	Marital Status	Relig.	R ²	N
(1)				.01			.12	103
SE B				.00				
Beta				.35				
F = 15.0507				Significance		.0002		
(2)								
B	-.08			.01			.20	103
SE B	.02			.00				
Beta	-.27			.37				
F = 13.0367				Significance		.00001		
(3) - Enter All Independent Variables								
B	-.07	-.00	-.07	.02	.01	.03	.03	.21 103
SE B	.03	.01	.09	.09	.00	.09	.09	
Beta	-.25	-.02	-.08	.02	.39	.03	.03	
F = 3.7799				Significance		.0012		

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Table 5-13 Regression Analysis of the Effects of Seven Independent Variables on Placements in Small-Scale Firms - Stepwise and Enter

Steps	Education Self Fa.	Father's Occupation	Mother's Works	Age	Marital Status	Relig.	R^2	N
(1)								
B				-.02			.26	103
SE B				.00				
Beta				-.51				
F = 37.4075				Significance			.00001	
(2)								
B		-.19		-.01			.32	103
SE B		.06		.00				
Beta		-.24		-.45				
F = 24.2960				Significance			.00001	
(3) - Enter All Independent Variables								
B	-.00	-.01	-.11	.09	-.01	-.12	.05	.36 103
SE B	.02	.01	.08	.07	.00	.07	.08	
Beta	-.02	-.12	-.14	.10	-.40	-.13	.06	
F = 8.0456				Significance			.00001	

Education and father's occupation are the variables that best explain placement into the TNC firms. The total variance explained amounts to 27% ($R^2=27$). The F value is 19.4280 at the significance level of .00001.

At this point, other independent variables - whether or not mother worked, age, marital status, and father's education - are entered into the regression. The model explains 33% of the variance in the placement. The F value lowers to 6.9723 at the significance level of .00001.

The beta weights (standardized regression coefficients) allow us to gauge the relative contribution of different independent variables in explaining variation in the placement of workers. As Table 5-11 most clearly shows, respondent's education and father's occupation have the most significant, positive effect on the respondent's being placed in a TNC. Other variables, e.g. religion, marital status, whether or not mother works, and age have smaller beta weights, indicating their limited bearing on the dependent variable - placement into the TNC.

The Table 5-12 examines the same seven independent variables to estimate their impact on the second dependent variable - placement into large-scale Indian firms. Independent Variables are education of self, education of father, occupation of father, whether mother worked or not, age, marital status, and religion.

As Table 5-12 shows, age and education of self are the two most important independent variables in explaining

placement in large-scale Indian firms. Together they explain 20% of the variance ($R^2=20$). The F is 13.0367 at the significance level of .00001. When the other independent variables are entered in the regression analysis, the R^2 raises up to 21, and the F value is 3.7799 at the significance level of .0012. The variable education indicates a minus sign; education is negatively related to placement in large Indian firms.

Older women in the sample are more likely to work for larger Indian firms. Education, on the other hand, is negatively related to placement, meaning that women placed in large-scale Indian firms are a less educated group in the entire sample. Variables of father's education, mother's education, whether or not mother worked, and marital status have low beta values and do not seem to make much impact on placement in large-scale Indian firms. The independent variables together explain only 21% of variation in the placement in large Indian firms versus other firms.

The Table 5-13 shows the relationship between placement into small-scale firms and the independent variables of education of self, education of father, occupation of father, whether mother worked or not, age, marital status, and religion. The variables of age and father's occupation appear to be the strongest explanations of placement in small-scale firms, according to the stepwise regression analysis.

The two variables together explain 32% of variance in placement ($R^2=32$). The F stands at a solid 24.2960 at the significance level of .00001. The beta values are -.51 for age and -.24 for father's occupation. The negative relationship between the dependent and the independent variables suggests that the women working for small-scale firms are younger, and their fathers have a greater chance of being blue-collar compared to the fathers of their counterparts in large-scale firms.

All seven independent variables are entered when the explained variance raises to 36%. The F stands at 8.0456, with the significance level of .00001. A comparison of beta weights makes it clear that age, father's occupation, marital status, and father's education best explain the placement in small-scale firms. All these relationships are negative. In other words, women in small-scale firms are younger and likely to be single, and they tend to have blue-collar and less educated fathers.

The three regression analyses suggest that education, age and father's occupation have a significant bearing and variables of marital status and father's education have some impact on women's specific placements in the industry. Women in larger firms are older and married; women in TNCs tend to have white-collar fathers; women in TNCs and small-scale firms tend to be more educated; and women in large Indian firms are often less educated and have fathers with low education levels.

Concluding Remarks

The preceding analysis has indicated that differences indeed exist in the social and personal characteristics that describe women attached with the three firm types in the pharmaceutical industry. Age and education are two important variables in predicting placement; women in TNCs and large Indian firms are older and have more education than their counterparts in the small firms. They are also more likely to be married. Father's occupation is another important variable; women working in TNCs have more chance of having white-collar, educated fathers. Women in Indian firms are distinguished by lower levels of their fathers' education and their blue-collar status.

An interesting finding of the study, and one neglected in prior literature, is that non-Hindu women have privileged access to employment in large firms; they make up between 37% and 30% of the labor force in TNC and large Indian firms, respectively. Why did the TNCs show a preference for Parsi and Christian women? Was it their ability to speak English or their religion that made them attractive to TNC firms? Can this be because non-Hindu women were first to enter the labor market? We need further research in order to better understand such aspects of the labor market. Our study also found that, among the Hindu constituency, upper-caste women were more frequently found in larger firms than in small-scale firms.

These data are consistent with Salaff and Wong's findings in their study of women's industrial employment in Singapore that class background has a bearing on women's entry to better positions. Women working for TNCs were more likely to have educated and white-collar fathers, compared with their counterparts in the local sector.

This study contradicts previous finding in literature pertaining to this subject that younger and non-married women have a favorable position in the labor market (Tiano 1987; Safa 1985; Fernandez-Kelly 1983). The present data, by contrast, reveals that lucrative jobs in the industry are held by older, married women, and that younger, single women are clustered in small-scale jobs.

Finally, these results suggest only small differences in age, education, father's education and occupation, mother's work, religion, and marital status across firms; the independent variables explain up to 36% of variance. Thus, differences among women in the three types of firm are not exceedingly sharp, but, nonetheless, noteworthy.

These data indicate that neither education nor social characteristics such as religion, marital status, or father's education or occupation have decisive bearing on workers' placement. However, since specific placement has lasting consequences in terms of life chances for the workers, the question remains: What are the mechanisms of placement? Is it access to information, a variable not considered in this study? Is it an aspect of recruitment

process, which is yet to be understood and considered in the literature? Or, is it more or less a random event? Further research is needed to answer these questions about women's placement in the industry.

CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN'S SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Previous studies on female workers in the developing countries have explored the demographic and social characteristics of workers employed in different industries and sectors of the economy. Such queries are aimed at understanding the structure of the labor market and position of women of different ages, education levels, and marital, ethnic, or migratory status in the labor market (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Tiano 1987; Foo 1987; Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987).

Studies in the past have neglected the analysis of socioeconomic status (SES) of female workers, partly because, customarily, women's SES is determined by that of their husbands' or fathers.' Another possible reason is that studies have focused mainly on the female workers in the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder. In the case of such groups, discussion of social strata is redundant and of limited theoretical or practical import. Indeed, it can be argued that to fully understand the impact of development on female workers, different sectors of female employment need to be examined. Also, impact of work will

not be completely grasped unless we look at the women as separate entities, as well as parts of their families. Thus, we need to focus on one major aspect - women's stratification into different segments of the industrial sector. While some scholars have dealt with the problem of stratification of workers (Tiano 1987), there have been few studies on the stratification of workers within a single industry, and its impact on the workers' SES and on their personal lives. This study fills the gap in the literature by focusing on the SES of women stratified into different firms within the pharmaceutical industry.

Bombay's pharmaceutical industry includes firms of differing sizes in its TNC and national sectors. These firms offer varying rewards and benefits to its employees. This study investigates whether firm type is an important variable in predicting income and rewards, along with the variables of education and years of service. The study hypothesizes that women working for the pharmaceutical industry in Bombay, India, have different incomes; women in the TNCs are expected to have greater incomes than those in the large Indian firms. Women working for small-scale firms are expected to have the lowest income levels in the sample. The study also hypothesizes that women in different firms have different standards of living, measured in terms of the type of dwelling they occupy.

The study makes a number of hypotheses to investigate women's contributions to their households' incomes and

SES. It has been hypothesized that married women's combined family incomes vary across different pharmaceutical firms. In other words, this study contends that female TNC workers belong to higher-income groups than the women in the Indian sector. Within the Indian sector, women in the larger firms have greater family incomes than those in the small-scale firms.

This study also investigates the proportions of family incomes contributed by the women who are currently married. A tentative hypothesis made by this study is that women's contributions to their families' incomes vary with the type of firm they work for. The TNC workers make the highest proportional contributions, while the women in large Indian and small-scale Indian firms follow behind.

The study also hypothesizes that female pharmaceutical workers' SES varies across the three firm types. This study contends that type of women's employment is positively related to the SES of their households, and that women working in more established firms and unionized jobs are likely to make greater contributions to their households' SES compared to those in weaker, small-scale jobs. It has been, therefore, hypothesized that women's SES is influenced by their place of insertion in the pharmaceutical industry, and that their status is not entirely determined by their husbands' occupations and incomes.

Finally, this study investigates an important question. Are the social backgrounds of female workers' natal families varied or similar? If they are stratified in terms of their SES at present, is it due to their employment, or because of their class background prior to employment? My hypothesis is that these pharmaceutical workers come from similar socioeconomic backgrounds, that there is no difference in the fathers' status across different firms, but that there is a status difference among them today along firm type.

My analysis begins with the examination of the women's individual incomes. Thereafter, we will compare the standards of living among them. Our measure is relatively simple, namely, the type of home they live in.

WOMEN'S INCOMES AND STANDARD OF LIVING

The first table looks at the monthly incomes of female workers in the TNCs, large local firms, and small-scale local firms.

Table 6-1 Respondents' Monthly Income by Firm Type

Monthly Income*	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Up to 1,500	2 2.9%	2 5.7%	32 91.4%	36
1,501- 2,400	27 39.1%	19 54.3%	3 8.6%	49
2,401- 4,000	40 58.0%	14 40.0%	0	54
	69 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	139 100%
Missing	(6)			(6)
Chi-sq	108.69	Significance	.00001	

*Income is in rupees. Exchange rate in 1987 was roughly Rs.13 to a \$1. The three categories translate into: up to \$115; \$115 - \$184; \$184 - \$307.

The data presented in Table 6-1 clearly suggest that there is a systematic and wide gap between the women's earnings in the large (transnational and local) and small local firms. The highest paying employers are the TNCs, the second best are the large Indian firms, with the small-scale Indian firms trailing far behind. A substantial 88.9% of all those earning Rs. 1,500 or less per month work for small-scale companies. On the other hand, a large proportion (74.1%) of women earning more than Rs. 2,400 per month are found in the TNCs. The remaining 25.9% of women earning Rs. 2,401 or more work in the large Indian firms. The data on salaries indicate that there is a wage hierarchy in the firms; TNCs are at the top and small-scale Indian firms at the bottom.

The city of Bombay is notorious for its urban congestion, housing shortage, and astronomical costs of even modest dwellings. Therefore, female workers' urban accommodations provide a measure of the standard of living enjoyed by them. Is there a variation in the dwelling type across different firms? If so, one interpretation would be that there is a systematic SES difference among women.

Table 6-2 Respondents' Housing by Firm Type

Type of Housing	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Flat	61 81.3%	12 34.3%	9 25.7%	82
Chawl, etc.	14 18.7%	23 65.7%	26 74.3%	63
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	39.35		Significance	.00001

These data suggest that there is a wide gap between living standards of women working for the TNCs and those working for Indian firms. Of all the TNC workers, 81.3% live in flats, whereas only 34.3% of those working for large-scale Indian firms and 25.3% of those working for small-scale companies can afford the same privilege. Thus, the tables above strongly suggest that there are significant wage differences among women working for the firms within the industry.

The information presented in Table 6-2 supports the contention that women working within the hierarchical structure of the pharmaceutical industry in fact have quite disparate incomes and, possibly, living standards. In Bombay, flats are an approximate equivalent of condominiums in the United States and considered one of the better options in accommodations. Chawls, or even lesser-quality accommodations such as hutment colonies, usually involve smaller dwellings with shared bathroom facilities for many households. In the light of this information, it is obvious that the women living in flats are more privileged and enjoy higher SES than those living in chawls.

A more involved analysis of women's relative contributions to household incomes and socioeconomic status pertains to married women only (Tables 6-3 to 6-9). We first present data on husband's income, household income, and women's income relative to the household income. Married women's (69% of the sample) SES has been measured using two scales: the first scale comprises husband's education, occupation and income; the second one adds the respondent's income and education. Comparison of the two scores allows us to gauge the wife's contribution to the socioeconomic status of the household. Single women are excluded from the analysis of socioeconomic status because the data on their fathers' or siblings' incomes is not available, and also because working daughters' roles in household income, and in influencing the SES of the

household, is likely to be less critical than that of married women.

DETERMINING THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Next, Tables 6-3, 6-4, and 6-5 examine husbands' earnings, combined household incomes, and women's incomes relative to the combined household incomes.

Table 6-3 Husband's Monthly Income by Firm Type

Husband's Income*	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Up to 1,500	7 15.9%	13 56.5%	8 57.1%	28
1,501- 2,400	18 40.9%	6 26.1%	3 21.4%	27
2,401- 6,000	19 43.2%	4 17.4%	3 21.4%	26
	44 100.0%	23 100.0%	14 100.0%	81 100%
Missing	(15)	(1)	(4)	(20)

Chi-sq 15.147

Significance .0044.

*In dollars, the three income categories are as follows: up to \$115; \$115 - \$184; \$184 - \$307.

Table 6-3 indicates that husbands' incomes systematically vary with the type of firm their wives work for, and that a significant cleavage appears between the Indian (large as well as small) firms and the TNCs. Over 84% of TNC's working women's husbands make more than

Rs.1,500 per month. On the other hand, a large proportion of husbands of women in large and small Indian firms make Rs. 1,500 or less per month (56.5% and 57.1%, respectively). This leads us to believe that husbands' salary levels correspond with those of their working wives. Thus high-income women have a strong chance of being married to high-income men, whereas lower-income women are frequently married to lower-income men.

The next pertinent question is: How do women's salaries compare to those of their husbands? Are women's salaries always only a fraction of their men's? Or are women's contributions substantial, equal, or even greater than that of their men? The following tables present the distribution of husband's and wife's combined income and, then, the relative income of the wives with respect to the combined household income. Relative income is calculated by dividing the wife's income by the combined income of both spouses.

Table 6-4 Combined Monthly Income by Firm Type

Combined Monthly Income*	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Up to 3,000	3 7.1%	12 52.2%	10 71.0%	25
3,001- 4,500	17 40.5%	8 34.3%	4 28.6%	29
4,501- 9,500	22 52.4%	3 13.0%	0	25
	42 100.0%	23 100.0%	14 100.0%	79 100%
Missing	(17)	(1)	(4)	(22)
Chi-sq	31.122	Significance	.00001	

*In dollars, the three income categories are as follows: up to \$230; \$230 - \$346; \$346 - \$730.

Pharmaceutical workers' household incomes are closely related to firm type. Women's household incomes are in the higher range of the spectrum when they work for the TNCs, and the lowest when they work in small-scale factories. Next, we examine what wives' earnings are relative to their husbands'.

Table 6-5 Women's Relative Income by Firm Type

Women's Relative Income	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Less Than 50%	15 35.7%	6 26.1%	9 64.3%	30
50% or more	27 64.3%	17 73.9%	5 35.7%	49
Missing	42 100.0% (17)	23 100.0% (1)	14 100.0% (4)	79 100% (22)
Chi-sq	5.585	Significance	.0612	

The data presented here suggest that the women in the sample are significant providers in the family. A solid majority of the women working for the larger industries (over 64% of those in the TNCs and almost 74% those in the large local firms) are equal or better partners in the family's income. This suggests that the level of insertion in the stratified industry has a bearing on the economic role of women in their households.¹

The pharmaceutical workers in the sample are important earners in their households. Women's relative contributions to household income are greater if they work for large-scale firms. Interestingly, the variable of

¹ These results should be viewed with caution because of the problem of missing information. Data on income is available for only 79 cases out of 101 married women, so about 20% of the cases are missing.

husband's income is statistically related to the firm type, indicating that women working for larger firms are likely to have husbands earning good incomes.

Next, Tables 6 and 7 present data on pharmaceutical workers' husbands' occupations and education levels.

Table 6-6 Husband's Occupation by Firm Type

Husband's Occupation	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
white-collar	36 66.7%	13 46.4%	7 36.8%	56
blue-collar	18 33.3%	15 53.6%	12 63.2%	45
	54 100.0%	28 100.0%	19 100.0%	101
Missing	(5)	(4)		(9)
Chi-sq	6.3903	Significance	.0409	

Table 6-7 Husband's Education by Firm Type

Husband's Education	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Less Than High School		10 31.3%	3 16.7%	13
High School	21 38.2%	12 37.5%	7 38.9%	40
High School+	34 61.8%	10 31.3%	8 44.4%	52
Missing	55 100.0% (4)	32 100.0%	18 100.0% (1)	105 100% (5)
Chi-sq	24.4452		Significance	.00001

Table 6-6 suggests that the relationship between husband's occupation and firm type is weak but suggestive of the same pattern as observed before. Husbands connected with TNCs have greater likelihood of being in white-collar occupations, whereas the husbands of local sector workers are more likely to be in blue-collar occupations. Within the local sector, a similar pattern emerges with large- and small-scale firm workers.

Data on husband's education (Table 6-7) are suggestive of a strong correlation between husband's education and the respondent's place of insertion in the pharmaceutical industry. Husbands of the women in the TNCs, as a group, have more education. They have at least a high school

diploma, while over 60% of them have some college or technical school education. Husbands of the respondents in the Indian sector tend to have relatively less education.

This study also attempts to measure the respondents' SES in two ways. The first measure, Socioeconomic Status I, is based on husband's occupation, education and income; the second measure, Socioeconomic Status II, on the other hand, includes both husband's and wife's income, education, and husband's occupation.

Socioeconomic Status I included three components, education, occupation and income, and it measured husband's SES. Data on education and income was recoded into three categories each. Occupations were initially recorded into 99 categories but later recoded into two. The variables were scored as follows:

a) Education:

1. high - beyond high school (3 pt.s)
2. medium - high school (2 pt.s)
3. low - less than high school (1 pt.)

b) Income:

1. high - Rs. 2401-6000 (3 pt.s)
2. medium - Rs.1501-2400 (2 pt.s)
3. low - Rs. low-1500 (1 pt.)

c) Occupation:

1. white collar (2 pt.s)
2. blue collar (1 pt.)

All three scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories. The scores ranged from 3 through 8; scores

3 through 5 were codes as "low," and 6 through 8 as "high." The frequencies were 49 for "high" and 23 for "low" Socioeconomic Status I.

Because of the cluster of scores in the middle, it was a tough decision how to arrive at two categories. I opted for a distribution where the category "high" was larger than category "low." The distribution for Socioeconomic Status I was as follow: high - 49; low - 23. The same policy was followed when the variables of Socioeconomic Status II and Father's Socioeconomic Status were constructed.

Socioeconomic Status II was calculated the same as above but with two additions. Wife's income and education were added to the scores.

- a) Husband's Education: same as above, three categories.
- b) Wife's Education: same as above, three categories.
- c) Occupation: same as above, two categories.
- d) Income: husband and wife's combined income
 - 1. high - Rs. 4501-9500 (3 pt.s)
 - 2. medium - Rs. 3001-4500 (2 pt.s)
 - 3. low - Rs. low-3000 (1 pt.)

The 4 scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories. The scores ranged from 4 through 11; scores 4 through 7 were codes as "low," and 8 through 11 as "high." The frequencies were 46 for "high" and 25 for "low" Socioeconomic Status II.

My hypothesis is that the women's contribution is crucial in determining the SES of the household. Tables

6-8 and 6-9 indicate that this hypothesis is supported by the data.

When SES is measured only by husband's income, education, and occupation, we find a pattern similar to the one we observed with income (see Table 6-8). SES is somewhat higher in the TNC households; households of the workers in large Indian firms are next, followed by the small-scale factory workers' households. This relationship between status and firm type is statistically non-significant. However, when the respondents' income and education are included in the status measure (see Table 6-9), the gap between the households widens and the relationship becomes sharper; the respondents in the small-scale and large Indian firms appear more likely to be in the lower status category than those working for the TNCs.

In other words, when SES is determined by both husbands' and wives' educations and incomes, and husbands' occupations, the gap between the TNC workers and the workers in the Indian sector becomes wider. The hypothesis that the TNC workers make a greater contribution to their households' SES is supported by the data. There is, however, little difference between the contributions made by the workers in the large and small-scale Indian firms to their individual households' SES.

Tables 6-8 Socioeconomic Status I, by Firm Type

Socioeconomic Status I	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
low	6 15.0%	10 52.6%	7 53.8%	23
high	34 85.0%	9 47.4%	6 46.2%	49
-				
Missing	40 100.0% (19)	19 100.0% (5)	13 100.0% (5)	72 100% (29)

Chi-sq 12.1603

Significance .0022

Table 6-9 Socioeconomic Status II, by Firm Type

Socioeconomic Status II	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
low	5 12.8%	11 57.9%	9 69.2%	25
high	34 87.2%	8 42.1%	4 30.8%	46
Missing	39 100.0% (20)	19 100.0% (5)	13 100.0% (5)	71 100% (30)

Chi-sq 20.3386

Significance .00001

Thus, the comparison of Tables 6-8 and 6-9 clearly indicates that when women's income and education is included in the status measure, the relationship between status and firm type is significantly stronger. In other words, women's place of insertion has a bearing on the SES of their households, especially when they work in better industrial jobs.

Although these measures of SES are not precise or highly sophisticated, they correctly point to a trend towards stratification of workers because of disparate placement in the labor market. The present results also indicate that women's occupations do influence their SES, and hence should be included in the measurement of household's SES. This is also an issue of practical importance because the status differences translate into differences in life-style, and education and future of the children who are being brought up in the various types of households.

The next hypothesis to be examined is that the female pharmaceutical workers come from similar SES backgrounds, and that there is no difference in the fathers' status across different firms. This would mean that the present status difference among women is attributable to the women's place of insertion in the job market.

Fathers' SES is determined from their education and occupations. We defined the socioeconomic status as a cumulative effect of education and occupation. Education

was recorded in the number of years and later recoded into three categories, and given scores as follows:

1. high - beyond high school (3 pt.s)
2. medium - high school (2 pt.s)
3. low - less than high school (1 pt.)

Occupations were recorded into 99 categories, later collapsed into two, and scored as follows:

1. white-collar - (2 pt.s)
2. blue-collar - (1 pt.)

Education and occupation scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories - Socioeconomic Status high (68) and low (42). The scores ranged from 1 through 5. Scores 1 and 2 were codes into "low," and 3 through 5 into "high.

As Table 10 suggests, fathers' education levels and occupations vary across firms. Contrary to the hypothesis, the women in fact originated from dissimilar social backgrounds.

Table 6-10 Father's Socioeconomic Status by Firm Type

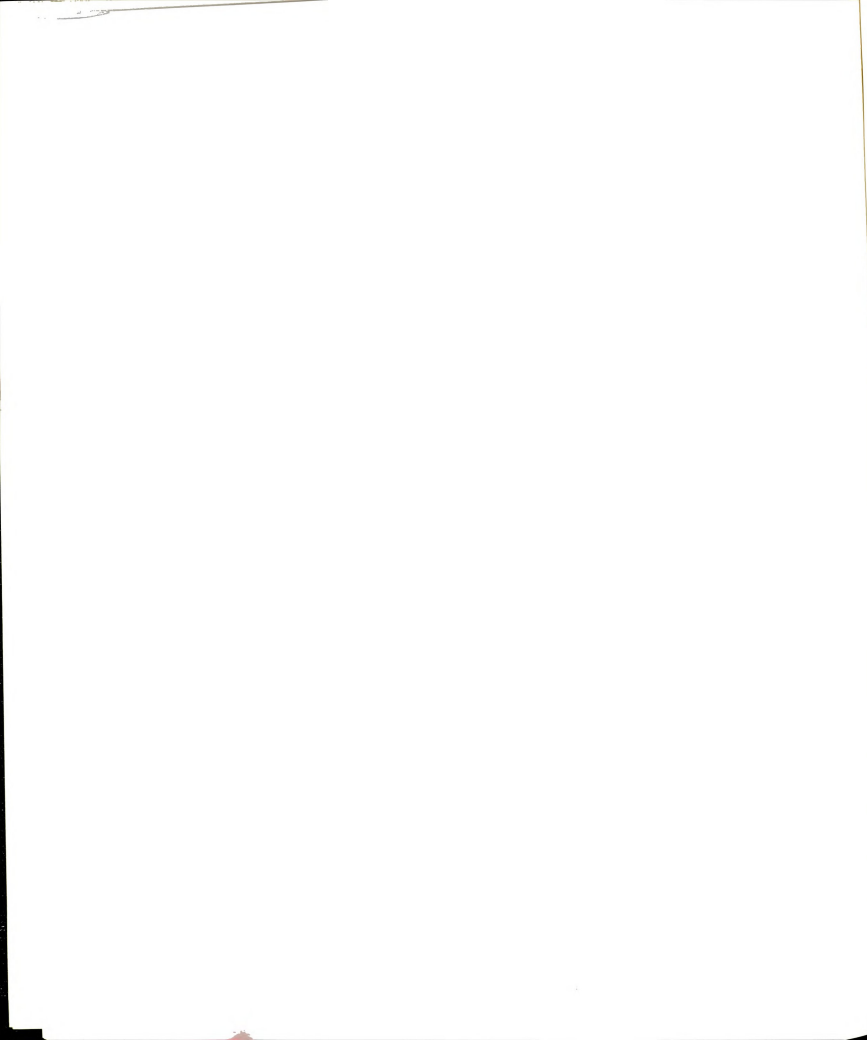
Father's Socioeconomic Status*	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
blue-collar	11 20.4%	13 46.4%	18 64.3%	42
white-collar	43 79.6%	15 53.6%	10 35.7%	68
Missing	54 100.0% (21)	28 100.0% (7)	28 100.0% (7)	110 100% (35)

Chi-sq 16.5233

Significance .0002

*Since we have calculated this measure to compare married women's past versus present SES, we have selected only the fathers of the women who are currently married to create this particular measure.

The hypothesis that the female pharmaceutical workers came from similar SES backgrounds, but currently belong to groups of varying statuses chiefly because of their particular placement in the industry, was only partially supported. The data on father's status (Table 6-10) indicates that the women in fact came from different status backgrounds, that women who enjoy higher status today were likely to have fathers from backgrounds of high SES. Thus the first part of the hypothesis is not supported by the data. The latter part of the hypothesis, however, finds support in the data analyzed earlier. There is a status hierarchy across the three types of firm.



Concluding Remarks

This chapter has thrown light on the SES differences among female pharmaceutical industry workers. The data indicated support for the hypotheses that women have different incomes across firms, and that their present SES differ according to firm type. The study also showed support for the hypothesis that the female workers in this modern sector of employment make significant contributions to their households' incomes and SES. While the data suggested that the women in larger firms were married to men who have high incomes and status than their counterparts in the smaller firms, the women seemed to be significantly responsible for the higher status of their households.

The women with better jobs had fathers who were more educated and had better jobs than the fathers of the women in small-scale industry jobs. The hypothesis that the female workers come from a homogeneous class background was not supported by the data. Nonetheless, the striking differences in the present SES of the women working for large versus small firms allow us to argue that the initial SES differences are enhanced by women's specific placements in the industry.

Previous literature in the area of women and development has not sufficiently dealt with the issue of class and status differences in access to jobs. Salaff and Wong (1984) have made reference to class as an important

factor in gaining access to better employment in the stratified job market in Singapore. This study has made similar observations about the link between social strata and type of jobs women get.

This study has found that the women in better employment play a crucial role in improving their households' fortunes. This clearly indicates that women's wagework should not be ignored by policymakers and researchers in determining their households' SES. Nor should the role of the women as breadwinners be underestimated by development planners in the West and in the developing countries. Labor policy should take into account the importance of women's wages to their households and facilitate women's work through provisions such as improved healthcare for women and daycare for their children.

Finally, these findings suggest a strong urgency for assessing the link between growth of various sectors of the economy and its impact on the employment of women. Researchers have a great deal of work ahead in understanding long-range consequences of specific placements in the stratified labor market for women's status.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORKING WOMEN'S HOUSEHOLDS

This study primarily attempts to examine whether the family characteristics, division of labor in the household, and self-evaluation of status differ among women engaged in disparate types of employment in the pharmaceutical industry. Are there any systematic differences in their household structure in congruence with the women's age, education, or work-related variables such as income or firm type? The chapter first presents a brief review of women's marital status, family size, and composition of the household within each firm type.

Very little prior work has been done on the relationship between the size and type of the employing firm and a woman's household. This study hypothesizes that women working for larger firms and earning relatively better wages are likely to live in smaller, nuclear families, and enjoy shared housework and lighter workload than their peers in smaller firms. The present study proposes to examine whether the working women in the sample enjoy differential levels of power and autonomy.

The extended family is far from being extinct in India, where nearly 70% of the population lives in rural areas. The system of households made up not only of the immediate family consisting of a couple and children, but of married siblings, parents, aunts, and uncles, is not uncommon even in cities. Housing is scarce and expensive in cities and families have to share space and accommodate each other. This option becomes possible because of the tradition and prevalence of the extended family in Indian society.

The task now is to determine whether the occurrence of extended family in workers' lives systematically relates to firm type or not. The following tables indicate that larger households are more common among smaller firm workers, who belong to lower-income families.

Table 7-1 Household Size by Firm Type

Household Size	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Up to 5 members	57 81.4%	24 68.6%	17 48.6%	98
6 or more members	13 18.6%	11 31.4%	18 51.4%	42
	70 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	140
Missing	(5)			(5)
Chi-sq	11.7833	Significance	.0027	

Table 7-1 provides firm support for the hypothesis that household size is related to firm type. The data inform us that women working for the TNCs (81.4% of them) have a greater chance of living in small households than the women working in large Indian firms or small-scale factories, in which the percentage of small households is lower - 68.6% and 48.6%, respectively.

Thus, there appears to be an inverse relationship between household size and firm type. If we can make a tentative assumption that small household size is concurrent with being able to afford an autonomous habitat, workers in large-scale firms are able to maintain nuclear households more frequently than women in small-scale firms. We can infer that larger households, more frequently found among workers in Indian firms, are based on economic necessity of income-pooling.

Next, we will investigate marital status, number of children, and type of household in which the pharmaceutical workers live. These are important considerations in evaluating the amount of housework the women have to deal with.

Table 7-2 Marital Status by Firm Type

Marital Status	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Married	59 78.7%	24 68.6%	18 51.4%	101
Single, Divorced, Widowed	16 21.3%	11 31.4%	17 48.6	44
	75 100.0%	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	145 100%
Chi-sq	8.1729	Significance	.0168	

Table 7-3 Number of Children by Firm Type

Number of Children	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Up to 2	38 70.4%	12 50.0%	13 76.5%	63
3 or more	16 29.6%	12 50.0%	4 23.5%	32
Missing	54 100.0% (4)	24 100.0%	17 100.0% (4)	95 100%
Chi-sq	4.0400	Significance	.1325	

Women employed in the pharmaceutical industry seem to favor small families. Nearly two thirds of the women with children fall into the category of having two or fewer children.¹ Interestingly, women in the TNC and large Indian firms, although similar in age, differ in terms of family size; the difference, of twenty percentage points, is quite substantial. In fact, TNC workers share small family size with small-scale workers who are much younger as a group. This may be taken as an indication that workers in the TNCs have more modern attitudes.

This report now looks at composition of households, divided into two categories - nuclear (comprising husband, wife, unmarried children), and extended (multi-generational, multi-couple).

Table 7-4 Household Composition by Firm Type

Household Composition	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Nuclear	39 54.9%	16 45.7%	14 40.0%	69
Extended	32 45.1%	19 54.3%	21 60.0%	72
Missing	71 100.0% (4)	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	141 100% (4)
Chi-sq	2.2943	Significance	.3175	

¹ Raw frequencies, in fact, show that only three women have five or six children. (See Appendix Two)

The nuclear family seems to be as common as the extended family in the sample, with close to 49% of the households falling in the former category. The variable household composition does not have a statistically significant relationship with firm type; however, there is an unmistakable pattern in this relationship. Table 7-3 shows that the nuclear family is slightly more common for women in the TNC sector. Women workers in Indian firms are more likely to be living in multi-generational extended families in which the in-laws or married siblings live under the same roof. In the extended-family household, traditional gender and generational hierarchies are observed; relatively older women and men exercise control.

The study expects to find, then, that wives (and daughters) in the larger and extended households experience greater work-loads due to the ideology of female submission and gender-based division of labor in the household.

In light of the information on the pharmaceutical industry's women workers' households, the study extends its inquiry into two crucial areas: 1. the division of labor in the households of the workers, and 2. workers' attitudes on several issues. Specifically, the study investigates whether the firm type and the organization of the household are related to the division of labor in the household and to the workers' attitudes. Or, is it the demographic

factors such as marital status and age that have an impact on the household division of labor and on women's attitudes?

WORKING WOMEN AND DIVISION OF LABOR IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Gender division of labor has been observed in most known cultures in the past as well as in the present century. Although gender division of work is not uniform or steadfast, it has followed a certain kind of logic. Division of labor based on gender in the society prior to industrialization roughly dictated that men would be involved in securing the bread whereas women would mind the hearth and children. While women's activities did not preclude farming or participating in the craft production, upkeep of the household was always women's responsibility.

As production became separated from home under industrial capitalism, the household changed from being a unit of production to a unit of consumption. Large peasant households gradually gave way to smaller proletarian family units. An ideology of appropriate gender roles emerged that defined man as the wage-earner and woman as the housewife. With this ideology gender division became intensified by strongly tying women to household activities and excluding men from the routine of maintaining the house. Men were supposed to perform productive jobs to earn wages and support their dependent families.

In reality, many women, particularly those of the lower strata or those who did not have husbands, entered the labor market. Yet they were also responsible for the reproductive activities in and around the house. Wagework, supposedly the men's role, was simply stacked on their duties around the house. Despite the ideology of woman as a homemaker, women's participation in the labor market has steadily risen in the present century. Studies indicate, however, that men's contributions to housework have been unequal. Information on gender division of labor in households in developing economies is sporadic, but nonetheless suggests that the household work is tedious, even hard, and men's assistance negligible. Working women have to cope up with the "double days" which include a full load of paid as well as household work.

Recent studies done in India have suggested that the extent of women's participation in household chores continues even when they work for wages. Moreover, their contribution to tasks previously considered to be men's work increases (Talwar 1986). Other reports, however, have pointed out that working women's participation in financial decision-making remains marginal (Agarwal 1988). This study attempts to compare working women in three types of firm in terms of their traditional duties at home, their contribution to tasks previously considered as men's, and their involvement in the management of household income.

In the present study, data were collected on the distribution of nine household chores among the members. These chores were basic tasks involved in maintaining the house such as cooking, cleaning (mainly sweeping and wiping the floors), laundry and dish-washing, caring for children as well as old or sick people, and making beds. Additionally, cleaner, and perhaps lighter, tasks such as shopping for groceries, writing letters (handling correspondence), looking after children's homework, and management of money were also included.

Information was collected by asking each interviewee which member, or combination of members, of the household performed each of the above tasks. Later these responses on household work were coded into thirty different categories ranging from servant, self, husband, to sister-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The preliminary analysis involved examining how much time the women spent in doing housework per week, and whether or not they had paid help - "servant" - to do some of the housework. The following two tables will examine the relationship between firm type and time spent doing housework and access to a servant's assistance.

Table 7-5 Time Spent Doing Housework, by Firm Type

Time Spent in Housework/Week	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
15 hours+	48 73.8%	26 81.3%	22 64.7%	96
0 to 14	17 26.2%	6 18.8%	12 35.3%	35
Missing	65 100.0% (10)	32 100.0% (3)	34 100.0% (1)	131 100% (14)
Chi-sq	2.3328	Significance	.3114	

Nearly three women out of four reported that they spent long hours doing housework, irrespective of where they worked. Since they had to clock-in at 7:30 a.m. or 8:00 a.m., and they typically had to commute from some distance, their day started at anywhere between 4:00 and 5:00 a.m. They usually worked 48-hour weeks.

Many of the respondents stated that they had to cook lunches, including chapatis (India's unleavened bread), then get themselves ready for work before starting their commute on crowded Bombay buses or local trains. The women worked 8- to 9-hour days amidst the roaring sounds of machinery, after which they had to make it home on roads or trains teeming with commuters. At home, more housework awaited in the form of hungry family members or children requiring help. How many of these women at least had some hired help available?

Table 7-6 Availability of Help from a Servant, by Firm Type

Servant Available	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
	24	16	29	69
No Servant	40.0%	45.7%	82.9%	
	36	19	6	61
Servant	60.0%	54.3%	17.1%	
	60	35	35	130
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
Chi-sq	18.6313	Significance	.00001	

Table 7-6 indicates that, while more than half the women do not have hired help available to them, out of those who do, 60% are TNC workers whereas less than 10% work for the small-scale firms. Two interpretations are plausible. First, women in larger firms are in a better financial position to afford help. Second, women in small-scale firms live in larger households where housework gets shared. However, a more in-depth analysis follows to create a better picture of women's workload at home.

The analysis began by exploring the gender division of labor in the household by separating the tasks into categories of "female" and "female and/or male." This categorization gave insight into how tasks are defined as gender-specific in the working class families in the study.

The study primarily focused on two inquiries: 1) The number of tasks respondents themselves performed either alone or with the help of other members. This focus was

directed at finding the variety of activities the women respondents were involved in. 2) The type of tasks that women performed exclusively. This inquiry gave us an in-depth look at the range of chores working women carried out without help.

At the analysis phase, the above foci evolved into two different strategies of recoding the gathered information:

1. Which tasks were done by women themselves (alone or in combination with other members), and which ones by other members or servants? To find the answer, thirty initial categories of task performance were recoded into two - a) self, or self and others; b) others. These variables are called "division of labor I" variables, which include "cooking1," "cleaning1," "making bed1," "laundry1," "shopping1," "money-management1," "kids' homework1," "letter-writing1," "care of the sick1."

2. Which tasks were done by the women exclusively, as opposed to the ones in which they received help, or the ones that were done by other members of the household? To investigate this, the data were recoded into two categories - a) self; b) self and others, or others. These variables are called "division of labor II" variables, which include "cooking2," "cleaning2," "making bed2," "laundry2," "shopping2,"

"money-management2," "kids' homework2,"

"letter-writing2", "care of the sick2."

After gauging the pattern of division of labor of housework, we came to the central tasks in the analysis - exploring and explaining the differences in the work allocation. The working women in the sample work in the pharmaceutical industry and have a great deal in common. Most of them are organized. They have had ten to fourteen years of schooling and share the experiences of living in Bombay. However, they work for firms that are different in size, two of which have foreign parent companies. Women also belong to different age groups (and different castes and religions are represented in the sample) and differ on the kind of households they belong to.

We can argue that marital status is an important variable. Older, married, working women have less work because of the work-sharing from grown children. Younger unmarried women may also have less work because the mother, married sister, or sister-in-law might take the burden of raising the family. Age and education also are important variables since younger age and education have been associated with egalitarian values and work-sharing between husband and wife.

Would the division of tasks be different among households of different sizes? Is it likely that married and single women's work loads will be different? Or, would

the firm type explain the division of labor because of the related differences in work, wages, as well as household? To answer the above questions, data were analyzed in two parts. First, household tasks were crosstabulated with firm type. Then two scales, "division of labor I" and "division of labor II", were created by combining variables on household tasks, after which multiple regression analysis was carried out with the division of labor scales as dependent variables. Thus, the question was explored whether division of labor can be explained in terms of firm type, or by three other potentially explanatory variables of age, marital status, and household size.

We first present the frequencies on gender division of labor in the nine tasks found in the pharmaceutical workers' households. This allows us to identify the prevalent norm about gender-division of household chores.

Table 7-7 Gender Division of Labor

	Females Including Respondents*	Husband, Father, Other Males, Or Males and Females Together
Cooking (132)**	121 (91.7%)	11 (8.3%)
Cleaning (131)	124 (93.9%)	8 (6.1%)
Laundry (119)	103 (85.1%)	18 (14.9%)
Making Beds (128)	84 (65.6%)	44 (34.4%)
Shopping (131)	84 (64.1%)	47 (35.9%)
Caring for the Sick, etc (102)	68 (66.7%)	34 (33.3%)
Letters (97)	53 (54.6%)	44 (45.4%)
Kids' homework (73)	38 (52.1%)	35 (47.9%)
Money Management (126)	63 (50%)	63 (50%)

* Servants are included in this category because household servants replace women's labor, not men's.

** Total no. of cases for which data is available or question is applicable.

The classification of tasks into female versus male or male/female presented in Table 7-1 brings out the gender allocation of tasks in the households under study. The data clearly show that such tasks as cooking, cleaning, and laundry (and dish-washing) are a female preserve. Over 84% of the women's households assign these tasks to women and hence these are "female" tasks.

Making beds and shopping for grains and vegetables are two chores that are clean and relatively less strenuous than cooking and cleaning. These tasks are carried out mainly by female members of the family, while participation of male members seems to be quite prominent (about 35%). Shopping involves handling money, a traditionally male domain, which might also explain men's participation in this task.

In the respondents' households, men seem to contribute in taking care of the sick, elderly, and children (33.3%). This finding is indicative of the accommodations members have to make in the working women's households. Since women have to be absent from home for extended periods, other women as well as men have to take over the care of care-dependent individuals.

Letter-writing and helping children with studies are tasks that presuppose some education and also a position of control. These two tasks would presume participation of male members. These data show that women still out-number men by a small margin, although a large number of men seem

to get involved in performing these tasks. Thus, in over 54% of the cases women are involved in letter-writing, and over 52% of the time women help children with their studies.

Finally, we come to the task of money management, an undoubtedly male domain according to previous literature. The households of female pharmaceutical workers in the sample seem to have broken this tradition since half the valid responses (50%) placed women (the respondent or other female member of the family) in charge of the management of money.

Thus Table 7-7 on the gender classification of tasks yields some interesting results. While reaffirming cooking, cleaning, and laundry as women's tasks, it also suggests that women seem to participate in "male" activities such as shopping, managing money, and helping kids with studies. Women's involvement in tasks traditionally carried out by men can be explained in terms of their increased importance and power as earning members of the household. These women's power may also have come from their economic contribution as well as their education, self-confidence, and perhaps the increased ability to to manage outdoor tasks based on their work experience. On the other hand, data indicate that women perform most of the household work and that men's participation in cooking and cleaning has been minimal.

Preliminary crosstabular analysis which was done to see whether the variables of firm type, age, marital status or the size of the household are related to gender division of labor, indicated that none of these independent variables are related to gender division labor in the household. In other words, the given gender division of labor is uniformly found in all working women's households, and that type of work, age, marital status, and household size have little bearing on the gender division of labor found. These crosstabs tables are not presented here; instead, multivariate analyses among these variables were performed, results of which are presented in Tables 7-10 and 7-11.

Next, the task of finding how labor is divided between the respondents and other members is undertaken. Tables 7-8 and 7-9 throw light on the respondents' share of work, i.e., on how the work is divided: a) the respondent (alone or together with others) versus other male and female members in the household, and b) the respondent alone versus the rest of the family.

Table 7-8 Division of Labor I

	Respondents Alone or w/ Others	Others in the Household*
Cooking (132)**	92 (69.7%)	40 (30.3%)
Cleaning (132)	56 (42.4%)	76 (57.6%)
Laundry (121)	41 (33.9%)	80 (66.1%)
Making Beds (128)	71 (55.5%)	57 (44.5%)
Shopping (121)	78 (59.5%)	53 (40.5%)
Caring for the Sick, etc (102)	67 (65.7%)	35 (34.3%)
Letters (97)	52 (53.6%)	45 (46.4%)
Kids' homework (73)	37 (50.7)	36 (49.3%)
Money Management (126)	66 (52.4%)	60 (47.6%)

* The second column/category includes servants along with the rest of the household members.

** Total no. of cases for which data is available or question is applicable.

Table 7-8 shows that female respondents in the study participate in all household chores chosen for study, and their participation is extensive (more than 50% of the cases) in all chores except cleaning and laundry in which they receive help from family or hired hands.

Cooking is the most common chore in which the highest percentage of women are involved (nearly 70%), while caring for sick, elderly, and children is another task in which a large percentage of respondents are engaged (65.7%). The table does suggest that a significant percentage of the working women (from about 34% to 42%) in the sample have to perform strenuous cleaning and laundry tasks on a daily basis, while between 57% and close to two thirds of women are able to get these tasks done from others.

Over half the women in the study get involved in helping children with studies, looking after correspondence, and managing money affairs, suggesting that women are entering the areas of power and control in the household. The next table, Table 7-9, provides information on the areas in which women take care of chores alone, without help.

Table 7-9

Division of Labor II

Respondents Alone	Other Household Members Alone or Jointly w/ Respondent	
Cooking		
(132)**	68 (51.5%)	64 (48.5%)
Cleaning		
(132)	46 (34.8%)	86 (65.2%)
Laundry		
(121)	28 (23.1%)	93 (76.9%)
Making Beds		
(128)	58 (45.3%)	70 (54.7%)
Shopping		
(121)	51 (38.9%)	80 (61.1%)
Caring for		
the Sick, etc	38 (37.3%)	64 (62.7%)
(102)		
Letters		
(97)	40 (41.2%)	57 (58.8%)
Kids' homework		
(73)	30 (41.1%)	43 (58.9%)
Money		
Management		
(126)	47 (37.3%)	79 (62.7%)

** Total no. of cases for which data is available or question is applicable.

The figures in Table 7-9 clearly indicate that a significant proportion of female pharmaceutical workers bear sole responsibility for housework while they also bring substantial paychecks home. Cooking involves over 51% of women while chores such as making beds or managing correspondence as well as helping kids' homework follow closely behind.

Thus roughly between a third and a half the women in the sample cannot count on others for help and carry out tasks ranging from cooking to looking after the children. Cleaning and laundry are two activities in which women find assistance - probably from servants. It is also noteworthy that tasks of shopping and managing money are singularly controlled by over 38% and 37% of the women, respectively. Thus these women seem to be working in the areas which are usually considered a men's domain, such as managing money, or areas that are not necessarily assigned to a particular gender, such as writing letters.

After getting a feel for women's household duties, we will turn to exploring the differences, if any, in the household division of labor. In other words, we will gauge the differences in women's housework across firm size, and also with respect to age, marital status, and size of household. Household division of work is likely to be different for married and single women, and also vary with household size. Age is deemed to be another important factor, with the rationale that a middle-aged woman with

grown children is likely to have different workload than a young woman with small children.

Two scales, "Division of Labor I" and "Division of Labor II" were created by adding scores on household tasks (see Appendix One). Division of Labor I measures the tasks which women perform either alone or with some help. Because of the large number of missing data, categories of "letter-writing" and "kids' homework" were dropped at this stage. Thus the scale included the variables cooking1, cleaning1, laundry1, making bed1, caring1, shopping1, and managing money1.

Division of Labor II measures the tasks which women perform without help, by themselves. The variables in the scale are - cooking2, cleaning2, laundry2, making bed2, caring2, shopping2, and managing money2.

The reliability tests on the two variables, done through SPSSX, produced an alpha of .69 and .70 respectively, figures that are considered to be satisfactory by experts, suggesting that the seven individual items in the scales seem to be highly correlated.

A multivariate analysis was performed between division of labor I and II and firm type, age, marital status, and household size of the respondent. Other important variables, education of self and composition of the

household, were dropped from the models because of their limited contribution to explaining the variations in the division of labor.

Dependent Variable - Division of Labor I

Other variables in the model - TNCs, large Indian firms, small-scale firms, age, marital status, size of the household.

Table 7-10 Regression Analysis of the Effects of Six Independent Variables on Division of Labor I - Stepwise and Enter

Steps	TNCs	Large	Small-Scale	Marital	Age	Household	R ²	N
	Ind. Firms	Firms	Firms	Status	Size	Size		

(1)

B					.54	.22	88
SE B					.10		
Beta					.47		

F = 24.9692

Significance .00001

(2)

B			-1.40		.48	.33	88
SE B			.36		.10		
Beta			-.34		.41		

F = 21.8099

Significance .00001

(3)

B	-1.05			-1.26	.37	.39	88
SE B	.35			.35	.10		
Beta	-.27			-.30	.32		

F = 18.8157

Significance .00001

(4) - Enter All Independent Variables

B	-.77	.33	.40	-1.33	.01	.39	.40	88
SE B	.82	.86	.76	.36	.02	.10		
Beta	-.19	.07	.09	-.32	.08	.34		

F = 9.4074

Significance .00001

B = Unstandardized Regression Coefficients
 SE B = Standard Error of B
 Beta = Standardized Regression Coefficients
 N = No. of cases

When "stepwise" and "enter" programs, two multiple regression methods, were jointly administered, size of household emerged as the strongest explanation of the variance in division of labor. "Marital status" and "TNCs" followed "size of household" in the two following steps, after which the pin limit of .05 was reached.

The three variables accounting for most variance - size of household, marital status, and TNCs - explained 39% of the variance in Division of Labor I ($R^2=39$). When the remaining three variables of age, large Indian firms, and small-scale firms were entered, the value of total explained variance stood at 40% ($R^2=40$). The F was 18.8157 at the significance level of .00001, indicating that the correlations are statistically significant.

In Table 7-10, the beta weights, a measure of the relative contribution of each variable in the model when all other explanatory variables have been held constant, reveal that the variables size of household, marital status, and whether are not employed in the TNCs, have a significant impact on how the work is divided.

Division of Labor I is defined as work that women do with or without other members' involvement versus work that is done entirely by others. The analysis shows that women have to carry out many tasks when they live in small households, and work is done by other members in the larger households. Similarly, married women have to carry out more tasks, whereas single, divorced or widowed women often

get other members to do the housework. Women in TNCs tend to get involved in most household tasks, whereas in the households of the women in Indian firms, other members do tasks more often. Age and other two firm types seem to have only small influence on the division of labor.

Model 2: Dependent Variable - Division of Labor II

Other variables in the model - TNCs, large Indian, small-scale, age, marital status, size of the household

Table 7-11 Regression Analysis of the Effects of Six Independent Variables on Division of Labor II - Stepwise and Enter

Steps	TNCs	Large	Small-Scale	Marital	Age	Household	R ²	N
	Ind. Firms	Firms	Firms	Status		Size		

(1)

B						.52	.19	88
SE B						.11		
Beta						.43		

F = 20.5204

Significance .00001

(2)

B				-1.21		.47	.26	88
SE B				.40		.11		
Beta				-.28		.39		

F = 15.8256

Significance .00001

(3)

B	-.84				-1.10	.38	.30	88
SE B	.39				.39	.11		
Beta	-.20				-.25	.32		

F = 12.4835

Significance .00001

(4) - Enter All Independent Variables

B	.04	.96		1.09		-1.20	.01	.41	.32	88
SE B	.91	.95		.84		.40	.02	.12		
Beta	.01	.21		.24		-.28	.08	.34		

F = 6.6764

Significance .00001

B = Unstandardized Regression Coefficients

SE B = Standard Error of B

Beta = Standardized Regression Coefficients

N = No. of cases

When "stepwise" and "enter" programs, two multiple regression methods, were jointly administered, size of household emerged as the strongest explanation of the variance. As in the case of the previous model, "marital status" and "TNCs" followed "size of household" in the two following steps, after which the pin limit of .05 was reached. The three explanatory variables explained 30% ($R^2 = 30$).

The other three variables - age, large Indian and small-scale - were entered as specified in the program. After all six explanatory variables had been entered, the value of total explained variance (R^2) remained at .32, the F was 6.6764 at the significance level of .00001. The beta weights - partial regression coefficients - were large for variables of size of household, marital status, and large and small Indian firms. The relationship between marital status and division of labor was negative.

The second division of labor variable measures the number of task performed by the women alone, and separates the tasks that are done by others or by the respondents in conjunction with others in the household. Our data analysis shows that, as in the previous model, division of labor between women and others in the household is strongly related to size of household and women respondents' marital status. The variable TNC emerged as a strong explanatory variable in the stepwise equation and this selection was computer-generated. A more important indicator is the beta

weight which indicates a variable's contribution in explaining variance when other variables were statistically held constant. Placement in Indian firms - large and small - is strongly and positively related to Division of Labor II.

Thus, the regression analysis shows that women have to carry out many tasks when they live in small households, but work more often is done by other members in larger households. Similarly, married women have to carry out more tasks, whereas single, divorced or widowed women often get other members to do the housework. Beta weights of the variables of large Indian and small-scale suggest that women working for these firms in the Indian sector have a greater chance of performing household tasks with help, compared to their counterparts in TNCs. Age, surprisingly, has little influence on work division in both models.

These results make intuitive sense. Women living in larger households get assistance from other members. Married women are in charge of the household and have more responsibilities than non-married women who typically live with parents, married siblings, etc.

Women working for the TNCs are more affluent and able to afford nuclear households. They end up with more work than the women in Indian firms, because there are fewer adults in their households to share work. The relationship

between marital status, household size, and women's housework is consistent with reports from elsewhere (Safa 1985).

MANAGEMENT OF MONEY - AN ISSUE OF POWER

The scales on division of labor measured the pattern of work allocation in the respondents' households. The tasks incorporated in the scale included traditional "female" tasks such as cooking, laundry, cleaning, and making beds. Tasks such as letter-writing, helping the children with homework, shopping and, most of all, management of household money presuppose literacy, control, and authority to some extent. Hence these tasks can be considered "male" tasks. In our frequency distribution presented above, these tasks appear to be gender-neutral, since a little over 50% of the households assign these tasks to women, while in rest of the households men perform these tasks.

The following two tables present crosstabular analyses between shopping, management of money, and firm type. The results will suggest that women in larger firms, especially the TNCs, seem to engage in "male" tasks more often than their counterparts in small-scale firms.

Table 7-12 Shopping, a "Male Task," by Firm Type

Shopping	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Women Alone,	44	24	10	78
W/ Others	71.0%	68.6%	29.4%	
Others	18	11	24	53
	29.0%	31.4%	70.6%	
Missing	62	35	34	131
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
	(13)		(1)	(14)
Chi-sq	17.3333	Significance	.0001	

The Table 7-12 shows a strong relationship between allocation of shopping as a chore and firm type. Over 70% of the women in TNCs do the shopping for their households, whereas only slightly over 29% of those working for small firms do shopping. (Chi-square = 17.3333 and significance level = .0001, both suggest a strong statistical association between the two variables.)

This relationship, however, reflects differences among married and unmarried women as well as across firms. As Tables 7-13a and 7-13b show the relationship between "shopping" and firm type when marital status has been held constant.

Table 7-13a Shopping by Firm Type by Marital Status - the Category "Married."

Shopping	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Women Alone, W/ Others	35 74.5%	18 75.0%	10 55.6%	63
Others	12 25.5%	6 25.0%	8 44.4%	26
	47 100.0%	29 100.0%	18 100.0%	89 100%

Chi-sq 2.3968

Significance .3016

Table 7-13b Shopping by Firm Type by Marital Status - the Category "Single/Divorced/Widowed/Separated."

Shopping	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Women Alone, W/ Others	9 60.0%	6 54.5%		15
Others	6 40.0%	5 45.5%	16 100.0%	27
	15 100.0%	11 100.0%	16 100.0%	42 100%

Missing 14

Chi-sq 19.3989

Significance .00001

It is clear from Tables 7-13a and 7-13b that the relationship between firm type and "shopping" is weaker when "marital status" is controlled for, suggesting that the difference found in large and small firms was partly the difference between married and unmarried women. The direction of relationship, however, stays the same within two categories of "married" versus "single/divorced/widowed/separated" women. Thus, a greater percentage of married women in large firms participate in shopping activities those in small-scale firms; the same observation holds true among single women.

Table 7-14 Management of Money by Firm Type

Management of Money	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Women Alone, W/ Others	39 66.1%	21 61.8%	6 18.2%	66
Others	20 33.9%	13 38.2%	27 81.8%	60
	59 100.0%	34 100.0%	33 100.0%	126 100%
Missing	(16)	(1)	(2)	(19)
Chi-sq	22.2978	Significance	.00001	

The crosstabulation between "management of money" and "firm type" is statistically strong which is reflected in the large chi-square (22.2978) with a significance level of

.00001. This means that women's participation in the management of money is not a sporadic event, but is a systematic occurrence related to their placement in the pharmaceutical industry. The data show that women in large firms have a substantially greater chance of participating in the crucial area of money management than the women in small-scale firms. This relationship continues to exist, although it is slightly weaker, when "marital status" of the women is held constant. This strongly suggests that employment in large firms, especially in the TNCs, allows the women greater power in the management of money in the household.

Table 7-15a Management of Money by Firm Type by Marital Status - the Category "Married."

Management of Money	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Women Alone, W/ Others	29 63.0%	13 56.5%	6 33.3%	48
Others	17 37.0%	10 43.5%	12 66.7%	39
	46 100.0%	23 100.0%	18 100.0%	87 100%
Chi-sq	4.6654	Significance	.0900	

Table 7-15b Management of Money by Firm Type by Marital Status - the Category "Single/Divorced/Widowed/Separated"

Management of Money	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Women Alone, W/ Others	10 76.9%	8 72.7%		18
Others	3 23.1%	3 27.3%	15 100.0%	21
	13 100.0%	11 100.0%	15 100.0%	39 100%
Missing	19			
Chi-sq	26.8982	Significance	.00001	

The preceding crosstabular analysis clearly shows that the women working for the larger firms are likely to have a greater role in important matters involving money. The relationship is significant even after allowing for the effect of the intervening variable "marital status."

Concluding Remarks

This chapter on the division of labor in the pharmaceutical workers' households has yielded some interesting results. The three groups of women differ from each other in terms of their marital status and household size. Thus, women in larger firms are likely to be married and living in smaller households. Two thirds of all women in the industry tend to have two or less children, suggesting that the modern norms of smaller family size exist in firms of all types. The data also suggest that there is a greater likelihood that women in TNCs and, less often, in large Indian firms, have nuclear households. Women in the small-scale firms, on the other hand, tend to live in the households with extended families.

Household division of work was a major inquiry in this study, and I found that households across firms allocate their work on the basis of gender. Thus women perform most of the chores themselves or together with other members although they are out for work nine to ten hours per day. The data have indicated that women in the TNC have the highest chance of being able to afford paid help in

housework followed by those in the large Indian firms. These TNCs workers, on the other hand, have less help available from others in the household than their counterparts in the Indian firms. Women in the Indian sector have a greater chance of living in larger households and count on work-sharing from other members.

I found that women spend long hours in housework irrespective of their incomes. These results are consistent with prior findings in the literature on women's work in India. Bhoite (1988) similarly reports that working women do housework, care for children, and follow time-consuming religious duties, making their days painfully long. Talwar (1984) observes that working and non-working women carry out similar tasks, although male members of the working women's households tend to help out a little more than those of non-working women.

Some researchers have reported that women's waged work earns them greater power in decisions concerning children and purchasing (Talwar 1984), but less so concerning money which is largely controlled by the men (Agarwal 1988). In contrast to these findings, our data show that the women in the TNCs have greater involvement in important tasks such as management of household income. Thus, women in better jobs in larger firms seem to have greater access to power in our sample of pharmaceutical workers. The data from our

small sample thus strongly suggest that the type of placement has long-range influence on the material conditions of living and the housework women do.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOMEN AND ATTITUDES

The households of women employed in the pharmaceutical industry are predominantly small. The women have small numbers of children and majority of them live in units containing five or fewer members. Within the industry, however, there are systematic differences in the households across firms of different size and ownership. Thus women in the Indian firms, especially the small-scale firms, tend to live in larger and multi-generational, extended households. In light of the information on income as well as household structure differences between the TNCs, large Indian, and small-scale firms, we will investigate whether women in different firms assess their position in the household differently, or whether they perceive women's problems and gender issues differently from each other.

WOMEN AND ATTITUDES ABOUT GENDER EQUALITY

Women in this study have some important things in common. They work full-time, do similar tasks, and hold permanent jobs. Also, these women have in common the

industry they work for, one that is part of India's modern sector. The jobs held by these workers are part of the organized sector, implying privilege in a developing country's crowded labor markets and large unorganized sector. These females also live in one of the largest, most cosmopolitan, and most populated metropolises in the world, Bombay, which suggests a certain commonality of experience for them.

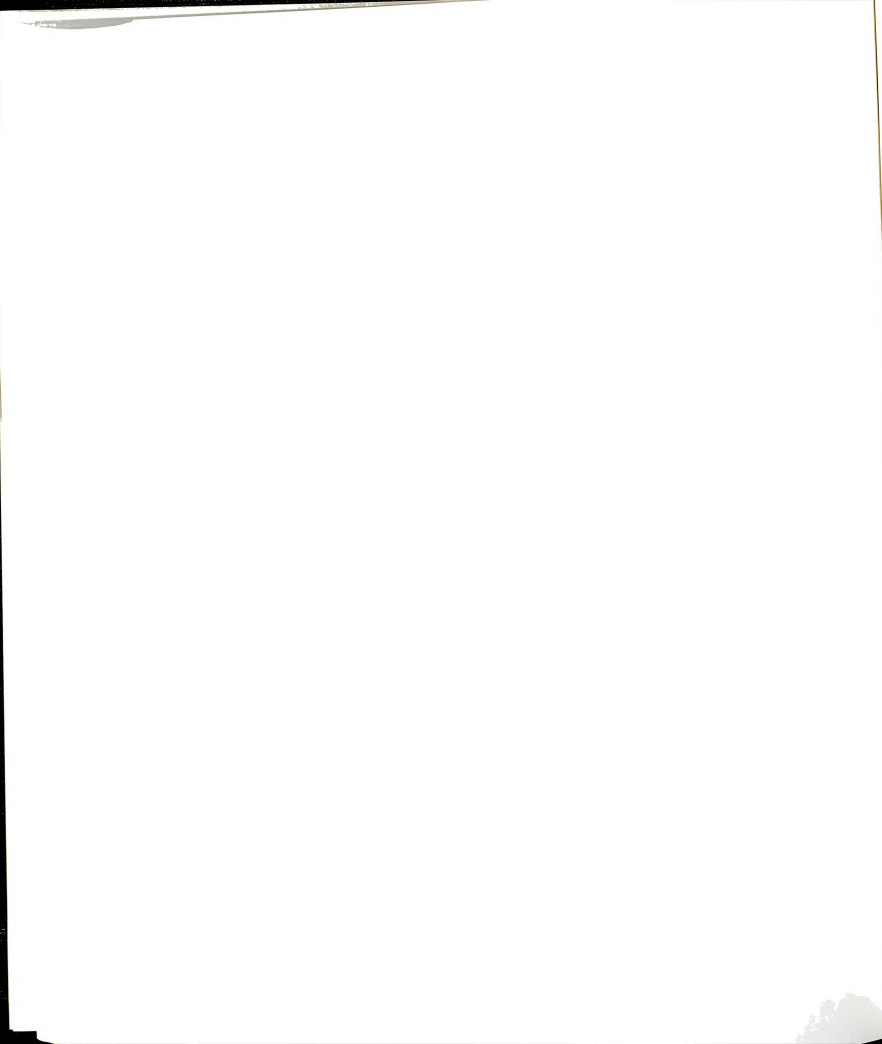
However, there are several crucial differences between these female pharmaceutical workers. In an industry that is stratified into firms of various sizes and differing degrees of economic strength, they are placed into firms offering varying rewards and working conditions. An important research question of the study was: Do the respondents' attitudes towards sex roles present a picture of homogeneity of attitude due to the commonality of their experience, or do they differ because their work and households are different?

Very few past studies have investigated the question of sex-role attitudes of women. Studies on modernization have found a link between modern factory work and modern attitudes such as personal independence, gender equality, and interest in current events. This study examines women's gender awareness by specifically looking at how working women feel about gender-based division of household work and men's participation in it. The study also probes opinions about accepting and offering of dowry, educating

sons and daughters, and about whether women should be obedient to elders. Finally, the study attempts to examine whether the women feel that their status has improved in the family and whether they think they are able to make independent decisions.

The two most important points that emerge in the following data analysis are that an overwhelming proportion of the female respondents have modern attitudes and opinions, and that, contrary to expectations, there is no difference between women working for different firms. The only exception is the systematic relationship of the variable of "obedience" with firm type; women have different opinions on whether women should be obedient to elders in the family.

Crosstabulations between various attitude and opinion measures and firm type are presented below.



**Table 8-1 "Should Boys and Girls Be Reared Differently,"
by Firm Type**

Different Rearing	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	12 16.2%	4 11.8%	7 21.2%	23
No Difference	62 83.8%	30 88.2%	26 78.8%	118
Missing	74 100.0% (1)	34 100.0% (1)	33 100.0% (2)	141 100% (4)
Chi-sq	1.1005	Significance	.5767	

**Table 8-2 "Should Boys and Girls Be Educated Differently,"
by Firm Type**

Education Different	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	15 20.0%	2 5.9%	5 14.3%	22
No Difference	60 80.0%	32 94.1%	30 85.7%	122
Missing	75 100.0%	34 100.0% (1)	35 100.0%	144 100% (1)
Chi-sq	4.1379	Significance	.1263	

On the essentially gender issue that is still quite relevant in the old and developing society of India, of whether or not boys and girls should be reared and educated differently, the majority in the present data agrees that there should be no difference in rearing or education for boys and girls (see Tables 8-1 and 8-2). These results are quite important as they are suggestive of the modernizing influence of work (or related factors such as urban residence, education of self and husband, etc.) on opinions and attitudes.

Dowry has been a burning issue among women's groups over the past two decades in India because it is a cause of much family violence against women, and there have been strong efforts to educate people on the issue through media. This study explored how the women workers felt about dowry, which is a symbol of women's inferiority in the society. Women were asked whether they would accept or offer a dowry in a family wedding. Their answers are recorded in Tables 8-3 and 8-4.

**Table 8-3 Accepting Dowry in a Male Family Member's
Wedding, by Firm Type**

Accept Dowry	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	12 17.4%	4 11.8%	4 11.4%	20
No Dowry	57 82.6%	30 88.2%	31 88.6%	118
Missing	69 100.0% (6)	34 100.0% (1)	35 100.0% (7)	138 100%

Chi-sq 0.9429

Significance .6240

**Table 8-4 Offering Dowry in a Female Family Member's
Wedding, by Firm Type**

Offer Dowry	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Yes	16 23.5%	11 32.4%	6 17.1%	33
No Dowry	52 76.5%	23 67.6%	29 82.9%	104
Missing	68 100.0% (7)	34 100.0% (1)	35 100.0% (8)	137 100%

Chi-sq 2.1949

Significance .3337

The responses of the female workers from all three firm types on the question of dowry unequivocally indicate that dowry-giving or -accepting is unpopular with them. However, some of their comments are quite illuminating on the issue:

"Dowry custom is not there (in our community). But if they ask, if the family (of the groom) is well-to-do, we might have to give dowry," said one. Another woman played a variation on the tune, with "No dowry, unless the marriage stops without it. Dowry system is wrong, and I have six daughters." Here the point to reckon with is that dowry may be disliked, but is a hard fact of life. Although the attitude towards dowry is common among all workers, it is not clear whether it is treated as a question of women's compromised dignity. One woman among many put the issue in these words: "No accepting dowry. Can't afford to give it either. It is wrong, now that we give education (to daughters)."

Our respondents are not in favor of raising boys and girls differently, or of giving them different types of education. Dowry is seen as undesirable. Thus, women in the study seem to be free of traditional practices, at least in principle. This probe went further in the area of work-sharing among men and women in the home, and the results are presented in Table 8-5.

Table 8-5 Should men help in the housework, by Firm Type

Should Men Help?	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
No	9 15.0%	10 28.6%	10 28.6%	29
Yes	51 85.0%	25 71.4%	25 71.4%	101
Missing	60 100.0% (15)	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	130 100% (15)

Chi-sq 3.5185

Significance .1721

A large majority - over 77% of women - express the opinion that men should help with housework. Women workers from all three firm types voiced this opinion, although their proportion is much (fourteen percentage points) larger in the TNCs. These results should be seen with caution, however, because when asked to elaborate on the idea of work-sharing, many women defended this traditional division of work.

WOMEN AND INDIVIDUALITY

Women in India are socialized to become submissive and obedient. Are these ideals woven into the female personality applicable today, even in cases of working women employed in these highly sought-after jobs? When

asked whether the respondents believed that the women should be obedient, the responses were far from being traditional or unanimous.

Table 8-6 Obedience to Authority, by Firm Type

Obedience	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	18 25.5%	20 57.1%	20 57.1%	58
Sometimes, Or Never	53 74.6%	15 42.9%	15 42.9%	83
Missing	71 100.0% (4)	35 100.0%	35 100.0%	141 100% (4)
Chi-sq	15.0080	Significance	.0005	

Table 8-6 is important for two reasons. First, while the majority of the women feel that obedience is not an important value, they are systematically divided between TNC and Indian firms. Close to three fourths of TNC workers state that obedience to elders in the family is not necessary, while the proportion of such an opinion drops to less than half in both large and small firms in the Indian sector. We can speculate that work and union experiences have created a sense of esteem and power among women. However, our data is not sufficiently detailed to provide a support for this explanation of the difference between women in TNC and Indian firms.

The second important thing to note is that the results in Table 8-6 are somewhat contradicted in the next Table 8-7 in which the issue of independent decision-making among the workers is explored.

Table 8-7 Independent Decision by Firm Type

Independent Decision	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
No	21 30.4%	14 40.0%	9 26.5%	44
Always, Sometimes, Or Consensus	48 69.6%	21 60.0%	25 73.5%	94
Missing	69 100.0% (6)	35 100.0%	34 100.0% (1)	138 100% (7)
Chi-sq	1.5629		Significance	.4577

A majority of women in the sample claimed that they enjoyed independence in making decisions on issues concerning themselves. Although the women in TNCs and Indian firms felt differently about obedience as a value for women, they were not too dissimilar in their feelings about self-decision. In fact, the results somewhat reversed; while a greater proportion of women in TNCs stated that they did not believe in obedience for women, the women in small-scale firms out-proportioned them in claiming self-decision.

Women's approaches to themselves and their families were assessed from their responses to this simple question: What is your greatest wish for the future? The responses ranged from "all desires have been crushed," "death in peace," "good marriage for daughter," "good job for husband," to "happy retirement," "financial independence." We recoded the responses into two simple categories -- "family-oriented wishes" as opposed to "self-oriented wishes," -- and crosstabulated them with firm type to see whether there are systematic differences among the workers' aspirations for the future.

The results are presented in table 8-8. The data show a substantively, not simply statistically, significant relationship between women's orientations and firm type. The women working in the more prosperous TNC jobs appear to be individualistic and show concerns over retirement, building a house, or having a comfortable life. Women in large and small Indian firms, on the other hand, more often seem family-oriented in expressing their wishes where they are concerned about their children's marriages, jobs, and education. Thus, the variable distinguishes between family-centrality and individuality. The differences among women in this aspect can be taken as signs of different life-styles that emerge from differing work experiences.

Table 8-8 Greatest Wish by Firm Type

Greatest Wish	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
None	4 6.7%	8 24.2%	4 12.1%	16
Family-Oriented Wish	24 40.0%	16 48.5%	19 57.6%	59
Self-Oriented Wish	32 53.3%	9 27.3%	10 30.3%	51
Missing	60 100.0% (15)	33 100.0% (2)	33 100.0% (2)	126 100% (19)

Chi-sq 10.9829

Significance .0267

The study, at this point, aims at investigating another important question. How do these working women, significant earners in their families, perceive their position in their families? The study hypothesized that women in the larger firms report that they have acquired more respect and decision-making power within their families. Employment in better jobs is likely to create self-esteem and, in turn, a feeling of having status and power in the household.

As the Tables 8-9 and 8-10 exhibit, the data do not support the hypothesis about differences in the feelings of greater status and empowerment. In this area of perception, there is little difference between women in TNCs and the Indian sector, or women in the small and large firms. Nonetheless, it is important to observe that the

majority, between 54% and 60% of the female workers, indicated that they feel empowered and find greater status for themselves in their households.

Table 8-9 Greater Status by Firm Type

Greater Status	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	34 57.6%	17 51.5%	24 72.7%	75
No	25 42.4%	16 48.5%	9 27.3%	50
Missing	59 100.0% (16)	33 100.0% (2)	33 100.0% (2)	125 100% (20)
Chi-sq	3.4495	Significance	.1782	

Table 8-10 Empowerment by Firm Type

Empowerment	TNC	Large Indian	Small-scale	
Yes	26 56.5%	11 44.0%	17 65.4%	54
No	20 43.5%	14 56.0%	9 34.6%	43
Missing	46 100.0% (29)	25 100.0% (10)	26 100.0% (9)	97 100% (48)
Chi-sq	2.3975	Significance	.3015	

Tables 8-9 and 8-10 strongly suggest that although more than half of all female pharmaceutical industry workers included in the sample do feel their status and power has increased because they work, these females are spread quite evenly over the three types of firm. It would seem that the type of industry they work for has no bearing on the women's feelings on status or empowerment.

Studies done in Southeast Asian societies have argued that the single most drawback of having a manufacturing employment for the women is poor reputation the "factory girls" suffer from in the society (Lim 1983; Ong 1987). Women in this study rarely stated that their employment raised questions about their character. Most women in fact conveyed that working women, because of their earning power, enjoy greater respect in their families than non-working women. "Yes, there is rise in status due to

work. Nobody cares unless you work," said a woman working for a small-scale firm.

On the other hand, a young female worker from a large-scale Indian company said, "Some people call names, start rumors, ask questions about where the wife goes. (On the other hand) some others respect a working woman." Another woman, in a similar vein, confided, "Some people think working women are no good. But most people like them. (Working women) have a better situation at home."

Concluding Remarks

This chapter examines female workers' attitudes on gender roles, values of individuality versus family-centrality, and their perceptions of status and power in the household.

Women in the pharmaceutical industry hold egalitarian ideas on raising children, offering or accepting of dowry, and work-sharing between genders. This suggests a modernity of attitudes towards gender relations across firms. Our hypothesis that there is a systematic difference in women's gender attitudes, that women in large firms show more egalitarian gender orientation than those in smaller firms, was not supported by the data.

Tiano and Fiala (1988) reports in her study of maquiladoras that workers in the electronics factories held more modern and egalitarian values than their counterparts

in textile or service industries. They have attributed this to the modern authority structure in the electronics industry. These data show that, despite the differences in the organization of work, there is no difference in women's values of gender equality. I would argue that the finding of "no differences" is an important one; it provides a reference point for the future comparative work on gender attitudes among women. This finding also supports the contention among some liberal and socialist feminists that wagework leads to modern value orientations.

Some interesting findings emerged when I analyzed the responses to two questions on obedience and independence: "Do you think it is important for a woman to do what her parents, husband or in-laws want her to do?" and "Do you feel that you decide on matters concerning your life, or do you often find yourself doing what others want you to do?"

It was found that the hypothesis that women in the large firms enjoy greater sense of autonomy and power was partially supported; women in the TNC firms (nearly 75%) strongly opposed the idea of obedience whereas over 57% of the women in both large Indian and small-scale Indian firms said that they think obedience is a good value for women. These results showed a discrepancy with responses to the question on "independent decisions." Here, 73.5% of the women in small-scale firms claimed that they made their own decisions, followed by the women in TNCs (69.6%) and large

Indian firms (60%). In other words, those women who upheld the value of obedience also expressed independence in decision-making.

This discrepancy can be interpreted as women's desire for independence but their conscious effort to find consensus in the household. Foo (1987) has reported similar findings in her data on Malaysian female factory workers in her study of their conjugal attitudes.

On the other hand, this discrepancy may mean that working outside home may be creating a contradiction in values and action. Thus, the young women in small-scales are freer in spirit despite their traditional upbringing.

The discrepancy may be explained in terms of class differences in interpreting the meaning of obedience and self-decision. Thus, the women in TNCs have greater expectations and hence feel that they are not able to exercise their will. This has a parallel in Sharan's (1988) report that women in the middle class underestimate their own status whereas their working class counterparts overestimate it. Finally, the contradiction in results can be explained in terms of weakness of methodology, that the questions were not clear enough, causing different interpretations.

By asking women what their greatest wish in life was, I assessed whether their thinking is self- or family-centered. There is a finding of weak relationship between firm type and greatest wish; women in small firms

show family-centered wishes as opposed to the women in large firms who express individualistic wishes. Thus, employment is likely to have a bearing on one's values and perceptions.

Women working in the pharmaceutical industry uniformly report that there is rise in their status and power in the household. This suggests that working has positive impact on women's sense of well-being, as suggested by previous research and theory (Lim 1983; Kung 1981).

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed to examine the impact of waged work on women and their households. The study design included three groups of female workers employed in the firms of varying sizes in India's pharmaceutical industry. This study analyzed the differences among women in terms of their work experiences and organization of their households. To further understand the differences among them, the study also compared women's views about work, self, and more abstract issues such as sense of status, esteem, independence, and attitudes towards gender equality. Such a comparative approach was premised on the assumption that different work experiences have varying impact on the workers' economic status and attitudes towards crucial aspects in life.

Female workers have become an integral part of India's pharmaceutical industry, where they have been employed in packing or related jobs. The sight of female workers in white gowns busily at work in the clean environments of large pharmaceutical firms symbolizes their victorious entry into the modern-sector employment. However, jobs in

the pharmaceutical industry confer upon their female workers significantly varied experiences in terms of physical environment, organization of work, and reward structure. This study found that there are significant differences among the firms of different sizes and ownership.

WOMEN'S SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The differences in the wages and rewards are significant in the three types of firm included in the study - TNCs, and large- and small-scale firms. Workers in the TNCs are at the upper end of the spectrum of wages and benefits offered in the industry. Within the Indian sector, workers in the large firms earn better incomes and other benefits than the workers in the small-scale sector. The wages of the workers in small-scale companies are often only a fraction of those offered by the TNC and large-scale Indian firms.

Not surprisingly, households of female workers enjoy varying levels of living standards, measured in terms of the type of housing units they occupy. My hypothesis that women in three firm types enjoy different SES levels was supported by the data. One of the most important findings in the study was that women working for large firms, especially the TNCs, make significant economic contributions to their households' incomes and SES. It can

be argued based on the data that women are crucial actors in defining their households' economic status. The relationship between firm type and SES levels was weak when the SES measure was assessed on the basis of husbands' education/occupation/income to measure status. When the SES measure included women's education and income in the measure, the status difference was heightened, underwriting the advantage of women working in large firms over those in small firms.

The data also indicate that the wages of the workers in small-scale firms are a smaller but important proportion of their households' incomes. These results are consistent with previous findings that female blue collar workers' incomes meet their households' survival needs, and that women's work is not a pastime (Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987).

WOMEN AND THE SEGMENTATION OF LABOR MARKETS

The literature on the labor markets in the developing countries has assessed the problems of overabundance of labor, type of employment growth, and mechanisms of labor allocation visible in the labor markets. Studies have found evidence of separate, non-competing labor market in the urban industrial centers of the developing nations.

Existence of dual labor markets has been widely noted by labor economists in India (Mukhopadhyay 1981, 1989; Deshpande 1983), and finds support in my data.

This study found that women not only work in differing working conditions, they have different work trajectories. Thus, workers in the TNCs frequently report their present place of employment as their first since their entry into the labor market. Women in the national-sector firms, on the other hand, tend to have worked in other jobs before getting employed into the present ones. The women in larger firms have enjoyed longer tenure in their jobs than their counterparts in the small-scale firms. Thus, my sample suggests that women in the three groups are in different career paths and in the jobs offering varying rewards and benefits. This suggests the existence of separate, non-competing labor markets.

The literature on dual labor market theory has dealt with the segmentation of labor markets based on gender or ethnicity whereby women and minorities are pushed into undesirable, secondary-sector employment (Edwards 1979). However, it is important to note that this study finds stratification among the "women's" jobs. This raises questions about the mechanisms that influence women's specific place of insertion in the labor market.

While the female workers in this study are part of the "factory" or "organized" sector, they are divided into firms that are large and powerful and those that are on the

borderline between the "factory" and "workshop" sectors, or "organized" and "unorganized" sectors. The study attempted to gauge the operational criteria in the labor market that explain women's particular placements. In other words, the study examined the the differences in the education levels, and other demographic and social characteristics of women working for different types of firm.

The study found that age, education, religion, and father's education and occupation have some effect on women's placements. Older, married women tend to be in larger firms. Fathers of TNC workers are more likely to have worked in white-collar jobs and had longer schooling. Non-Hindus are found in larger, better-paying firms, whereas lower-caste Hindu women tend to work in small-scale firms. Educational levels of TNC and small-scale workers are higher than those who work for large Indian firms. This last observation indicates that the standards of recruitment are becoming stricter even for the weaker jobs in the industry, suggesting abundance of labor supply.

An important observation the study made is that workers in the better jobs in the industry are typically older and married. This contradicts the reports from different parts of the developing world that manufacturing jobs are occupied by young and single women who have an advantage over older, married women in the labor market (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Jones ed. 1984). One explanation is that this finding may hold true only in unionized jobs

in the modern-sector industries offering stable jobs. In industries and firms in the secondary sector where women's jobs are not secure, older, married women in fact may find themselves in a vulnerable position.

This study explored the differences in the class backgrounds of workers. My hypothesis that all pharmaceutical workers come from similar class backgrounds was not supported by the data. Women in TNCs tend to have fathers who had greater education and held white-collar jobs. This suggests that the TNC workers were somewhat more privileged, that the women who had fathers in white-collar jobs also had access to better jobs in the labor market.

Although the women working in the TNC jobs had slightly higher SES than the rest, the differences in variables of education levels, ages, and other characteristics of women in the three types of firm, or the tasks they perform are not vastly different from each other. This raises questions about the basis on which their stratification occurs. Is it the difference in their class position, or in the network of kin which provides job referrals of information on jobs that influence their levels of entry in the stratified labor market? Is there a possibility of mobility from lower to higher strata? Is the gap between different different sectors widening or stationary? These questions are outside the scope of this study but suggest a strong need for research on the issue

of workers's stratification in the labor market. Some studies have noted the importance of informal information networks and availability of referrals from kin-members in initial job placement. Whether or not these observations apply to female workers can be determined by further empirical work on female workers.

WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

This study explored women's attitudes towards work and made some interesting observations. The female workers in the pharmaceutical industry tend to be complacent about their workplace. They report little grievances over the treatment accorded them by their supervisors or the health and safety standards maintained at their workplaces.

However, the women in the TNCs are more critical of their workplace than their counterparts in the national sector. This study observed that proportionately more women in the TNCs feel that the supervisors are not fair, or that the safety conditions are not satisfactory, than the women in the national sector. Thus, the data suggest that the women in the TNCs are more aware and critical of their surroundings than the women in the Indian firms where safety standards are often more questionable than in the TNCs.

When asked to make suggestions to their firms, proportionately more TNC workers suggested wage- and

benefit-hikes than those in small and large Indian firms. Given that the wages in the TNC sector are among the best in the entire industrial sector, this finding suggests that TNC workers are an upwardly-mobile group with middle-class aspirations. The most frequent demand by the Indian-sector workers was for greater facilities and comforts in the workplace. Sharan (1986) has reported that women workers in better employment are upwardly bound and show greater displeasure with their situation than those in inferior jobs. These data concur with her findings and suggest embourgeoisement of TNC workers.

The women also stated that they do not want to quit or that they do not want to find a different employment. This suggests a strong work commitment on the part of female workers, and contradicts a prevalent belief that women are not serious about their wagework. Similar findings have appeared in previous literature assessing women's job commitment (Ramanamma and Bambawale 1987).

WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLDS

A major research question of the study was whether women with different placements live in correspondingly different types of household. I found strong evidence of differences in the characteristics of households among three groups of women.

The study found that there is a difference in the household size; workers in larger firms tend to live in smaller, nuclear households, whereas workers in small-scale firms are likely to be living in larger households. This supports my contention that women with small incomes live in families where income-pooling is done. Although single women tend to live with parents in India, which may explain the larger size of households, the fact remains that daughters and married sons cohabit with parents in large households. This can potentially have a negative impact on women's autonomy. On the other hand, studies done in the different parts of the developing world have suggested that larger households can also mean shared burden of running a household, and a possibility of some relief from housework for the working woman (Safa 1985; Beneria and Roldan 1987).

Contrary to the expectations, I found that the TNC workers spend similar amounts of time doing housework than their peers in large and small Indian-sector firms. These women typically live in small, nuclear households, and have little help available. On the other hand, I also found that women in small-scale firms, and those living in larger households get more help in terms of housework. In other words, the poorly-paid women who live in large households shoulder less housework than women in larger firms who make much better incomes.

The trade-off between "relief from patriarchy" in a nuclear household and "shared housework" in an extended

household deserves a careful examination. In the heart of the debate are issues of health and longevity of the working women, and welfare of the children, as well as the positive, long-range psychological and ideological consequences of freedom from "patriarchal" domination of women in the extended-family household. The SES level of the household, affordability of help, modern gadgetry, or pre-processed foods, and, importantly, possibility of shared work between genders are some of the important variables in the meaningful consideration of the debate.

It is not known whether small, nuclear families or large, extended households foster greater well-being of women. There is nothing inherently desirable about either type of household. The issue whether women are better-off or worse-off in large households can only be resolved with more empirical work.

The present data, nonetheless, clearly demonstrate that women in better-paid jobs are able to afford greater living standards, and, therefore, are better-off than those in poorly-paid jobs. Thus, irrespective of the size of the household, women in well-paying jobs report that they enjoy greater autonomy in the household.

That TNC workers enjoy a strong position in the household becomes clear from the findings that women in the TNCs and, to a lesser extent, in large Indian firms tend to undertake "men's" tasks involving money and power - such as shopping and management of money. These results are

consistent with the findings from studies in India. Agarwal (1988) has argued that there is a link between wife's income and occupational status relative to her husband's, and her status at home.

Results from another measure of empowerment - women's self-perception of improvements in status and power - suggested that, in fact, greater proportion of the women in the small firms report a sense of greater status and empowerment, than their counterparts in larger firms. It clearly shows that although the wages are considerably lower, women in small-scale firms experience a relatively greater increment in their status in their household and community. The issue of empowerment shows links to intangible benefits of working, quite apart from the size of the absolute or relative economic contribution of a woman to her household.

The study had hypothesized differences in awareness of exploitation at work or in the household among the three groups of women. Although a small difference was found in the critical attitude toward employers, and that TNC workers were more critical than other workers of their workplace, I found little difference among women in terms of gender awareness. Women reveal egalitarian attitudes in gender-related matters such as education of the children, practice of dowry, and division of labor in the household. They tend to express opinions that boys and girls should receive similar educations and upbringing, that the

institution of dowry is demeaning and should be abolished, and housework should be shared between the husband and wife.

On the other hand, while there are difference concerning the value of "obedience," and women in the Indian firms tend to believe that women need to be obedient to elders, women in all firms overwhelmingly also claim that they are able to have independence in decision-making.

Women in the TNCs and large Indian firms appear more self-oriented than their counterparts in the small-scale firms and this may be sign of the differences in the levels of affluence among the two groups. However, women also report that their status at home has improved and that they enjoy greater power in the households. The data on attitudes tend to suggest that women's attitudes and sense of status and empowerment are similar across firms. Such similarity is likely to emanate from their engaging in wage employment.

These findings are significant because they show a similarity in awareness level, while there exist differences in living standards. Thus women in my sample are culturally and educationally quite similar although they belong to different SES levels. Such circumstances can potentially lead to feelings of relative deprivation among the women in the small firms.

The discussion of research findings now brings me to the implicit but fundamental question that motivated this study: Are women better-off or worse off because of their waged work? The objective criterion of increased living standards would suggest that the women are indeed better-off. The women also indicate that their status and autonomy in the household has improved, which is another proof that their employment helps to raise their social status. In consistency with previous reports suggesting greater self-esteem for working women (Kung 1981; Foo 1987), this study found that women have gained a measure of confidence and positive image of themselves which can be attributed to their working outside the home.

Although a few women reported that their neighbors or family members secretly question their "character" because they work with men, or that they are treated unkindly because they work outside their home, an overwhelming majority enjoyed acceptance of their status as working women in their social circle.

Moreover, there was no evidence of coercion by the family into making the women pursue waged work. With very few exceptions, nor was there an evidence of delayed marriages of daughters to expropriate their salaries. It can be argued that women acquire egalitarianism and self-esteem by working in a modern-sector workplace. Thus,

in concurrence with the data from East and Southeast Asian countries, my data shows that women's status improves with wagework.

The next question that derives from the question on working women's status is: whether or not women's wagework enhances their exploitation as women, as some socialist-feminist scholars have argued (Elson and Pearson 1981). This is a complex question and many different aspects of women's employment need to be considered to answer it. First it should be understood that women are exploited in their jobs as any other worker are. Moreover, these workers are branded into packing jobs only. They are also hired for their "patience" and "dexterity." These suggest limits on their access to other jobs in the industry. When mechanization hits, women tend to lose their jobs to men and machines. Unions are not too enthusiastic in pursuing women's causes, nor can these women be easily employed in other industries. Thus, these jobs show signs of classic "female" jobs which exploit gender in the labor market.

There is no evidence, however, of blatant forms of sexism or sexual harassment in the workplace. Nonetheless, the women report that unions or managements are often rude. They also complain that fellow male workers get better grades and skill-training than the women. Moreover, there is some evidence that women's jobs in large firms are shrinking. These observations point to their exploitation

at the workplace. These grievances do not call for withdrawal from the labor market but organization and collective action, in my opinion.

The critical problem that the study brings forth is that of women's segmentation into firms offering varying wage-scales and quality of workplace. This study raises the question of whether women's exploitation is enhanced by their employment into stratified firms. This problem can be unraveled only by further investigation of the relationship between different strata of the industry. This study found that large firms subcontract some production to small-scale firms. This means that large firms profit partly because of the lower wages paid to the small-scale employees. Thus, stratified industrial structure may involve greater exploitation of the women in smaller firms.

To summarize, this study has made a contribution to the discipline of gender studies, and specifically, to the area of women's work in development. This study of female industrial workers takes a comparative look at the women's position in the segmented labor market and examines their relative positions as workers and also as female members of their households. Very little prior research has dealt with the question of female workers' stratification within a single industry. This work attempts to fill the gap in the literature, and addresses the issue of the impact of different types of employment on women's status.

Whereas much current research has been conducted on young, single female workers, and those working in free-trade zones, workers in other, equally important industries and older workers have been neglected. This research focuses on the section of the working class that has been ignored - married and middle-aged or older women with a long tenure in their industrial employment. In contrast to the previous literature that suggests that young, single women have an advantage in the labor market over older, married women (Tiano 1988; Fernandez-Kelly 1983), this study found that older, married women work for larger firms in both transnational as well as national sectors.

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE STUDY

The two most striking weaknesses of the study come from its small size of sample and inability to incorporate open-ended interviews in the design of study. Large sample size and long, open-ended interviews would likely have facilitated a better understanding of many issues, such as attitudes of individuality and self-esteem, feelings of empowerment, and allowed more in-depth look at both the workplaces and households.

One of the strengths of the study is its address of the issue of women's status in the small-scale sector where a rising number of women work at low wage-rates. This

study also raises questions about the future of female employment in the pharmaceutical industry, quality of the jobs that are available to women, and the real-life consequences of different jobs for the women. Previous research on working women's status in development has failed to focus on these wider, political and economic issues. This study argues that contexts of the state policy and the nature of economy should be taken into consideration to enhance the understanding about women's employment and their status in the society.

India's preferential treatment of small-scale sector suggests a steady growth of this sector. Policymakers need to safeguard working women's interests in this employment by improved industrial inspection to monitor safety conditions, and for the implementation of provisions such as employee benefits, minimum wages, and creche services for their young children. This study is a preliminary attempt to understand women workers' lives in the vertically divided pharmaceutical industry. Much further research work is needed before we will fully comprehend labor market stratification and its short- and long-term consequences for female workers' status.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES

A) Employment Variables:

1. Firm size: Classified into the categories large and small, based on the monetary turnover and number of permanent and temporary workers on the payroll.
2. Firm Ownership: Classified into the categories of transnational corporations or TNCs and locally-owned firms. TNCs have at least foreign equity. The two companies selected for study had 75% and 82.33% foreign equity. The Indian firms are owned by indigenous entrepreneurs.
3. Reward structure: It is measured in terms of pay-scales and bonus, benefits such as dearness allowance, medical allowance, company transportation and vacation allowance (leave travel concession).

B) Demographic and Structural Variables:

1. Migratory status - a new migrant versus a native. A new migrant is defined in terms of whether the worker was born, and has lived part of her life, outside the city of Bombay. A native has been born and brought up in Bombay. Bombay is a city of migrants; it was developed by the

British for commercial purposes, and most of its growth is not more than a hundred years old.

2. Background socioeconomic status (SES): Measured in terms of father's education and occupation (details of the scale at the end of this chapter.) This is an independent variable in the present study.

3. Present SES: A dependent variable that will be constructed based on the wife's education and income; husband's income, education and occupation; joint family income (details of the scale at the end of this chapter.)

4. Age: Measured as a continuous variable, age serves to describe the sample. Also it is an independent variable.

5. Household Size: Includes all resident members related to each other by blood or other kin ties.

6. Extended Family: Households incorporating multiple generations and couples living under the same roof. This may include married siblings with or without children sharing the same house; parents may be present. Cousins, aunts or uncles may also be present.

7. Nuclear Family: Basic conjugal unit - a married couple living with unmarried children.

C) Household Division of Labor:

Determined from the self-reports of the allocation of ten household tasks among members of the household.

Details in the chapter 7.

1. Division of Labor I: Distinguishes between tasks that are done by the respondents alone or with the help of

others (score 1), and tasks done by others (score 2). The scale was created by adding the scores on 7 household tasks. Higher scores meant greater work participation by other members.

2. Division of Labor II: Distinguishes between tasks that are done by the respondents solely (score 1), and tasks done by others, or respondents and others (score 2). The scale was created by adding the scores on 7 household tasks. Higher scores meant greater work participation by other members.

D) Employment-Related Attitudinal Variable:

1. Critical Work Appraisal: Measured in terms of suggestions made to the management for improvements, and feeling whether or not the supervisor accords a fair treatment. This attitudinal variable is also a key dependent variable in the study.

E) Other Attitudinal Variables:

1. Gender Awareness: Awareness of gender issues is measured in terms of opinions on a variety of issues - equal treatment for male and female children with regard to their education and age at marriage; belief in dowry system; expecting husband's participation in the housework.

a. Do you think girls and boys should be raised differently?

b. Do you think boys and girls should get different kinds of education?

c. Would you mind if your family accepts dowry for your brother or son?

d. Would you be willing to offer dowry for your sister, sister-in-law or your daughter?

e. Should men help with housework?

2. Individuality: Individuality is gauged by asking five questions. Thoughts on obedience; self-perception about independence in making decisions; their greatest wish in life, whether it reflects family-centered attitude, or individualism; personal assessment on increase in status in the family as a result of employment; feeling of empowerment because of paid work.

a. Is it important for a woman to do what her parents, husband or in-laws (elders) want her to do?

b. Do you feel that you decide on matters concerning your life, or do you find yourself doing what others want you to do? Who are those other people?

c. What is your biggest wish for your life in the years to come?

d. Do you think you have a greater status because you work?

e. Do you think you have more power in the household because you work?

Question c was an open-ended question; responses for the others were yes, no (and elaborate). Answers to c were recorded into 35 responses, and later recoded into 3 - "no wish," "family-oriented wish," and "self-oriented wish."

F) Socioeconomic Status (SES):

Education, occupation and income have emerged as most useful indicators of status in the prior literature. Some researchers also include caste or ethnicity as added dimensions of status. Sharan (1986), for her study of female workers in Kanpur, developed an SES scale which inspired one I used in the present study of pharmaceutical workers. I did not use caste as a dimension in calculating the SES of Hindu respondents for two reasons: most women in the sample belong to high status groups and there is not enough variance in the variable (see a discussion of this issue in Babbie: 394); small sample size did not allow two separate analyses for Hindu and non-Hindu women.

Father's Socioeconomic Status (SES): We defined the socioeconomic status as a cumulative effect of education and occupation.

a) Education was recorded in the number of years and later recoded into three categories, and given scores as follows:

1. high - beyond high school (3 pt.s)
2. medium - high school (2 pt.s)
3. low - less than high school (1 pt.)

b) Occupations were recorded into 99 categories, later collapsed into two, and scored as follows:

1. white-collar - all type of work that requires record-keeping, book-keeping or managing, presupposes education (2 pt.s)
2. blue-collar - skilled or unskilled menial and service jobs (1 pt.)

Education and occupation scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories - high and low.

Frequency Distribution:

Father's Education

high	22
medium	45
low	52

Father's Occupation

high	64
low	67

Father's Socioeconomic Status

high	46
low	65

Socioeconomic Status I - Husband's Socioeconomic Status

(SES): Essentially the same method as above was used, except that the final score had three components - education, occupation, and income. Education and income had three categories and occupation was recoded into two.

a) Education:

1. high - beyond high school (3 pt.s)
2. medium - high school (2 pt.s)
3. low - less than high school (1 pt.)

b) Income:

1. high - Rs.2401-6000 (3 pt.s)
2. medium - Rs.1501-2400 (2 pt.s)
3. low - Rs.low-1500 (1 pt.)

c) Occupation:

1. white collar (2 pt.s)
2. blue collar (1 pt.)

All three scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories - high and low.

Frequency Distribution:**Husband's Income**

Rs.2401-6000	26
Rs.1501-2400	27
Rs.low-1500	28

Education

high	52
medium	40
low	13

Occupation

high	84
low	41

Husband's Socioeconomic Status

high	31
low	42

Socioeconomic Status II - Household's Current Socioeconomic Status: Same as above but with two additions. Wife's income and education were added to the scores.

- a) Husband's Education: same as above, three categories
- b) Wife's Education: same as above, three categories
- c) Occupation: same as above, two categories
- d) Income: husband and wife's combined income

- 1. high - Rs. 4501-9500 (3 pt.s)
- 2. medium - Rs. 3001-4500 (2 pt.s)
- 3. low - Rs. low-3000 (1 pt.)

The 4 scores were added up and then collapsed into two categories - high and low.

Frequency Distribution:

Combined Income		Wife's Education	
Rs.4501-9500	25	high	15
Rs.3001-4500	29	medium	83
Rs.low-3000	25	low	47
Husband's Education		Occupation	
high	52	high	31
medium	40	low	42
low	13		
Household's Socioeconomic Status			
high	48		
low	24		

The idea for this scale came from text books on methodology (Nachimas and Nachimas 1987; Babbie 1989) and from Sharan's work (1985; 1986). Sharan uses an additional component, ' caste', in her scale. The problem with having caste in the scale in the present data analysis was that we would have to forego the data on non-Hindu women to whom issue of caste is not applicable. Due to the small size of the sample, we decided against using caste as a component in the socioeconomic status measure.

APPENDIX TWO

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Table A. 2-1

Firms	Sample Size
TNC -	1. 53
	2. 22
Large Indian -	1. 20
	2. 15
Small-Scale Indian -	1. 5
	2. 5
	3. 9
	4. 8
	5. 8

Table A. 2-2

Age

Range -	19 - 59
Median -	40
Mode -	45
Average -	38.97

Table A. 2-3**Marital Status**

Single -	27
Married -	100
Divorced -	2
Separated -	3
Widowed -	12
Remarried -	1

Table A. 2-4**Number of Children**

None -	19
One -	24
Two -	39
Three -	23
Four -	4
Five -	4
Six -	1
Not Applicable -	27

Table A. 2-5**Number of Children Under Five**

None -	82
One -	19
Two -	3

Table A. 2-6**Size of the Household**

One -	3
Two -	15
Three -	19
Four -	29
Five -	32
Six -	19
Seven -	12
Eight -	8
Nine -	2
Ten + -	1

Table A. 2-7**Monthly Income - Self**

Range -	Rs. 300 through Rs. 4000.
Median -	2000
Mode -	2500
Average -	1998.84

Table A. 2-8**Husband's Income**

Range -	Rs. 0 through Rs.6000
Median -	2000
Mode -	2000
Average -	2011.60

Table A. 2-9**Combined Monthly Income**

Range - Rs. 1150 through Rs. 9500

Median - 4000

Mode - 4500

Average - 4082.78

Table A. 2-10**Relative Income (Wife's Income as a Portion of Combined Income)**

Range - 29% through 100%

Median - 53%

Mode - 50%

Average - 54%

Table A. 2-11**Father's Occupation**

Professional/Administrative - 14

Service-Upper Level - 41

Service-Lower Level - 12

Blue-Collar (Skilled) - 24

Blue-Collar (Semi-Skilled) - 12

Blue-Collar (Unskilled) - 15

Self-Employed - 2

Self-Employed-Lower Level - 10

Table A. 2-12**Husband's Occupation**

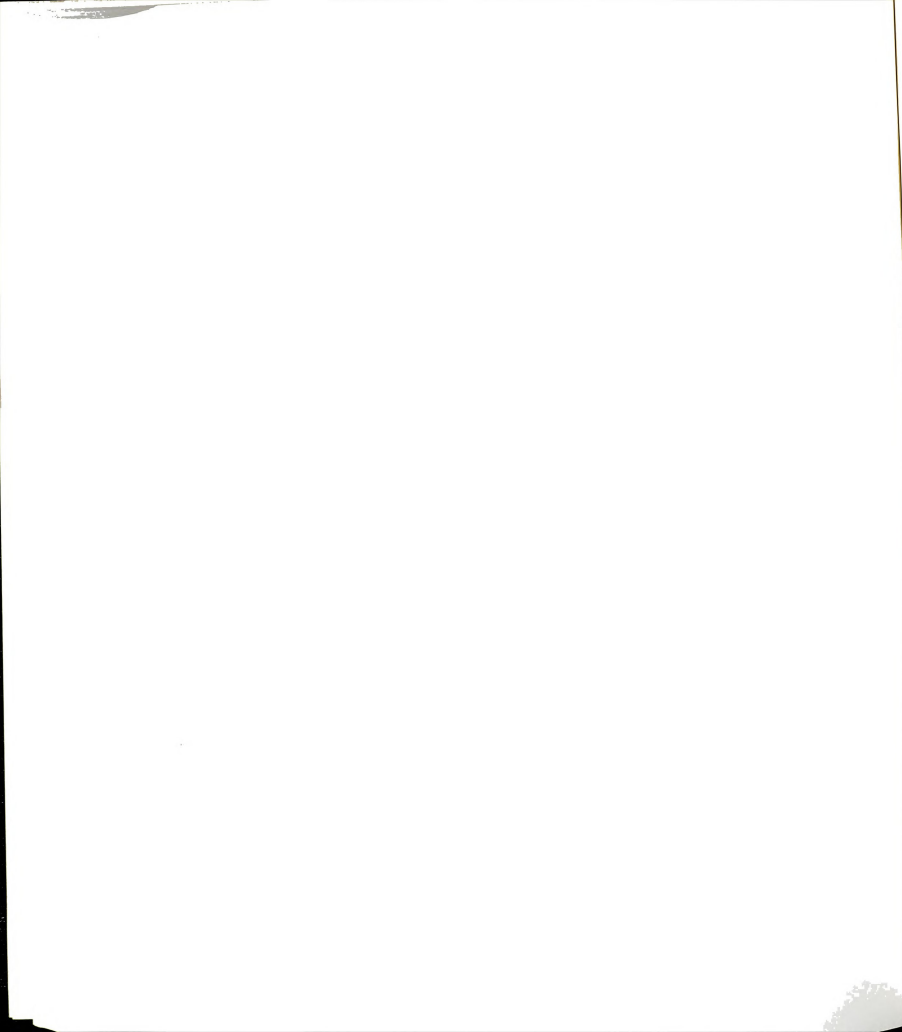
Professional/Administrative -	19
Service-Upper Level -	32
Service-Lower Level -	6
Blue-Collar (Skilled) -	22
Blue-Collar (Semi-Skilled) -	8
Blue-Collar (Unskilled) -	0
Self-Employed -	5
Self-Employed-Lower Level -	9

Table A. 2-13**Religion**

Hindu -	102
Muslim -	5
Christian -	23
Buddhist -	3
Parsi -	11
Jain -	1

Table A. 2-14**Caste**

Scheduled Caste -	1
Kunbi (Peasant Caste) -	2
Occupation-Based (Middle Range) -	16
Vani (Merchant) -	10
Maratha/Patel (Kshatriya, land-owning or warrior castes) -	28
C.K.P./Saraswat/Nayar -	29
Brahmin -	13



APPENDIX THREE

PHARMACEUTICAL TRADE UNIONS

The pharmaceutical industry boasts of modern technology, clean work environment, and increasing industrial output. Firms within the industry that employ twenty workers without power or ten workers with power fall within the organized sector, as defined by the Factories Act 1948, and are bound by government's industrial and labor laws. Out of the nine firms included in the sample, all but one have unions. Unions are an integral part of the industrial sector, and the pharmaceutical industry. However, experiences associated with this study suggested that unions vary in their organization, methods and effectiveness.

Transnational Companies and Unions

Glaxo - This United Kingdom-originated company is the largest pharmaceutical company in India in terms of its sales. As of 1987, Glaxo employed 599 women and 938 men in its Bombay operations, out of which 574 women and 703 men worked in the factory. Glaxo has had an internal union since 1951, although external unions have often tried to

penetrate causing much tension and even violence. (See Chapter Four for discussion of external and internal unions.)

The union office is located on the factory premises with full-time leaders and staff that are on company payroll. During the course of this research, I encountered unions on a number of occasions providing a rare glimpse into the working of the union. It was quite clear that the union has a good standing with workers and played an important role in the organization of work.

The management acknowledged that the union was a force to be reckoned with. That the union is a real power became clear on the same day that the personnel department accepted my proposal for conducting the present study in their factory. I was informed that their approval was not sufficient, and the personnel department would have to approach the union leadership for their approval. "Unless the union okays this project, none of the workers would cooperate with the researcher. On the other hand, even unwilling workers would allow an interview if the union puts in its good word." After a brief meeting, the project not only received a stamp of approval, but also received help and useful information from union officials on a number of labor-related issues. These union leaders appeared to be highly educated, charismatic and fully devoted to their cause of protecting the workers' interests.

The union has been influential in the day-to-day operations. The company cannot make any changes in work without discussing them with the union first. Any individual worker grievances are followed through by the union. In the process of collective bargaining the union has proven effective in earning monetary gains for the workers. This union has been supportive of some of the women's historic struggles such as the struggle in 1960-61 of married women to earn the right to work.. The union also took interest in getting a creche established for workers' children under five. Despite this commendable record, it seemed that female workers did not participate in union business even though they made about 40% of the work force at the time.

Parke Davis - This is another large company with foreign equity. Parent company is U.S.-based Warner Lambert. The union in this company is affiliated to a national-level chemical and pharmaceutical workers' union. The strength and importance of the union seemed to parallel that of the internal union at Glaxo described above. The union office is located on company premises and enjoys the assistance of a staff that is on company payroll.

The company has made impressive productivity increments over the years. Through collective bargaining, the union has helped workers make monetary gains. The union also negotiates solutions to problems between workers and management on issues such as absenteeism, increased

work load, mechanization and speed. During my visits there, I once witnessed a work-stoppage. A union representative was immediately summoned who talked to both the supervisor and the workers concerned. Given the mistrust between the workers and the supervisory and upper management personnel, the union's role was absolutely crucial for conflict resolution.

According to the union secretary, there were no women on the committee because they preferred not to stay late for meetings. Naturally, they had no part in the negotiations with management. I was curious to find out what women workers had to say about this. Their response strongly suggested disillusionment. They seemed to think that neither the management nor the union cared about women and hence they did not care to participate in union activities.

Large-Scale, Locally-Owned Firms and Unions

CIPLA - CIPLA is probably the oldest Indian-owned pharmaceutical company in Bombay. This is the only firm where I was unable to meet with any of the union officials. The information on unions has been derived solely from the interviews with female packers or managers.

The union is internal and unionization took place about twelve years back, although the company is about

seventy years old. Labor-management relations have been quite stable over the past fifty years, according to the management.

Unichem - This firm has had an internal union. In the locally-owned firms, unions seemed less influential to an outsider. The leadership seemed less sophisticated compared to TNC unions. The union secretary casually told me that while pharmaceutical firms will increasingly hire women for various reasons, this was not going to happen at Unichem. After women earned the right to work after marriage in the 1960's, management in this firm decided not to hire women. As a result, there were only thirty-one women compared to over 500 men in this firm. A member of the management had asserted this was a male-oriented company, obviously the union had not challenged this policy.

The union seemed effective in bargaining for more pay, benefits such as leave travel concession (vacation allowance), increments, and medical, housing and educational allowances. On the other hand, union help was essential for the management to enact mechanization and other work-related changes since workers typically resisted productivity increases. Thus, as in other firms, the union seemed to play a mediator's role between workers and management.

Small-Scale, Locally-Owned Firms and Unions

Unions in the small-scale factories were a class by themselves; they were organized differently and faced different sets of issues and problems. Here are some examples.

Pharmed Gujarat - This is a small company located in an old industrial area in Bombay. It is managed by an energetic and educated man and it employed thirty-eight people in 1987, including ten women. The union in Pharmed Gujarat was affiliated with a powerful, right-wing, regional political party called Shiv Sena. Research in this company was undertaken relatively early in this study. At that time, I had no experience about the union's important role, but the power of the unions did become apparent in an early encounter.

After the manager's approval of the project, interviews with women workers started the next morning. The first woman interviewee was nervous, and it was a difficult task to derive answers from her. When the woman exited after the interview, two people, a man and a woman, stormed into the room, visibly upset. They were workers who also held elected positions in the union. They were upset because I had not taken their 'permission' to conduct the interviews. They seemed suspicious of the management and, hence, suspected my motives. They had no way of knowing what the purpose of the study was, and assumed that the management was surreptitiously making the workers talk

to me to serve their own purpose. I tried to appease the two by offering to show them the questionnaire and explaining the nature of the study. I renewed the vow of complete secrecy of the interviews. Unfortunately, it was too late. Although I could see that they trusted me and my motives, now they could not back off. They were offended by the fact that the management did not find it important to consult them before allowing the study. This became a prestige issue. After some negotiation, they agreed to allow the interviews if all the questions about the union were stricken out, and if a female union representative was present in the room during the interviews.

I was more than happy to comply with the first demand. I had gotten a lot more information about the union through this episode than would have become available through some routine questions asked of the female workers. However, I, resisted the second demand of having a union representative present at all times during interviews. By this time the tone of conflict had faded and I was informed in a friendly manner that this was in my own interest. The female workers there were quite nervous and would not be comfortable answering any questions unless their trusted union representative and coworker was present. I agreed to the arrangement on the condition that she would not listen to the conversation since it was of personal nature. Thus, we arrived at a mutually agreeable arrangement.

Lenec Institute - This company as well as the previous, Pharmed Gujarat, dismantled their outfits due to bitter labor unrest, and later, reinstituted the companies under a different name and registration. Although Pharmed Gujarat, which reopened under a new name in early 1970's, has a union, Lenec Institute has gotten away without a union after its reopening in the early 1980's. This is possible partly because most workers are young and have worked less than four years.

Medicare - This is a fairly well established small-scale company. In the last few years it has had three different unions - one affiliated to a national-level union, one affiliated with the Communist Party of India, and finally, the present one which is affiliated with Shiv Sena.

A manager in Medicare described management and unions with the analogy of a lady against a bully, a sentiment that was echoed by at least one more small-scale company manager. This company was small; the factory manager took care of production and marketing. There appeared to be an on-going feud between workers and older members of the office staff who seemed to wield power that was external to their office job. The personnel manager seemed relatively new and ineffective. Workers resented an old clerk fiercely, and on more than one occasion this researcher was a witness to abusive exchanges between workers and this senior staff member.

This exchange may have other under-currents. For example, members of upper castes often find it revolting that lower castes have forgotten their traditional humility, stopped working hard with docility, and aggressively ask for more rewards. It is possible that these older staff members are unable to accept the change in circumstances where the low-caste working people have been fighting for and making monetary gains.

A female member of the work force who also is a union representative, pointed out that these senior staff members treat the workers shabbily. She claimed that the workers care about the company's progress and do hard jobs.

However, these people do not appreciate these sacrifices and continue to be abusive. In short, mutual disrespect and distrust was quite apparent which must make work experience quite unpleasant for all employees concerned.

Bezel Pharma - This firm had undergone a two-month strike by workers to bring in the union. This was not surprising since the wages in this firm were quite low and management was based on the manager's personal authority; workers complained of favoritism. More than half the workers, however, were casuals and not protected by unions.

Eupharma - The union in this firm is a classic example of co-optation by the management. When the previous union became too inconvenient, management fired a number of workers who were active in the union. Then the oldest, and perhaps most loyal, female worker was invited to form an

internal union which the management instantly approved. Most young workers reportedly felt repressed and without any real representation. They had some urgent concerns such as hormonal imbalance (erratic menstrual cycles) due to the exposure to chemicals on the shopfloor.

Currently Bombay hosts over 4,000 registered unions many, of which are affiliated with larger unions. Some of these are also affiliated with different political parties. Many pharmaceutical firms enjoy a well-educated work force and happen to have internal, independent unions. The labor movement is strong in Bombay and workers in the large-scale, especially transnational, companies have made progressive gains over the years as the productivity has improved. In smaller companies, unions have had a conflictive relationship with the management, and the industrial sector is ridden with frequent strikes, shut-downs, walk-outs, and loss of work-days. Managements for their part have tried to discourage or co-opt unions. They have also followed the policy of hiring temporary workers so that they do not have to pay benefits. Temporary workers are not organized separately, or by the existing unions, and very few unions have fought for the temporary workers' cause.

In all the unions I encountered, women played virtually no role in negotiations or policy-making. Also, in all firms, women were working in packing (or office) jobs, which were typically rated lower than production

jobs. In some firms, automation had excluded women; men had grabbed the new machines and the higher grades that went with those machines. The only forms of automation with which women worked included packing lines such as automatic bottle-filling, sealing, inspection of capsules, or filling bottles in cartons. Conveyor belts increased the output but also put pressure on women without any apparent gains for women. In other words, machines have not necessarily decreased the hardships of manual work. Although not many women workers seemed bothered by it, firms are likely to need less women due to automation. Women's jobs were never on the union's agenda, thus leaving the women workers quite unprotected in the years to come.

This sections elaborates how the female workers feel about their unions. Union membership is automatic; everyone becomes a members of the union as a condition of employment. How serious is their faith in the usefulness of the union? How far do they participate in the union activities?

Table A. 3-1 Usefulness of the Union, by Firm Type

Is the Union Useful?	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
Yes	68 94.4%	34 97.1%	17 81.0%	119
No	4 5.6%	1 2.9%	4 19.0%	9
Missing	72 100.0% (3)	35 100.0%	21 100.0% (14)	128 100% (17)
Chi-sq	5.8114	Significance	.0547	

Almost unanimously, women have expressed a vote of confidence in favor of unions. Women believe that unions are necessary for workers to get their demands met. Male and female workers share many demands such as better wages and medical care.

Women are not as enthusiastic about their unions if asked about their confidence in the union's ability to specifically help female workers. Women have special needs that arise from their special status as women. Their lives are demanding as they juggle their domestic responsibilities as mothers, wives, and daughters-in law, with their paid work. They have demands such as flexible timings, better leave structure and shorter work-days. Some of them also expressed dissatisfaction about the

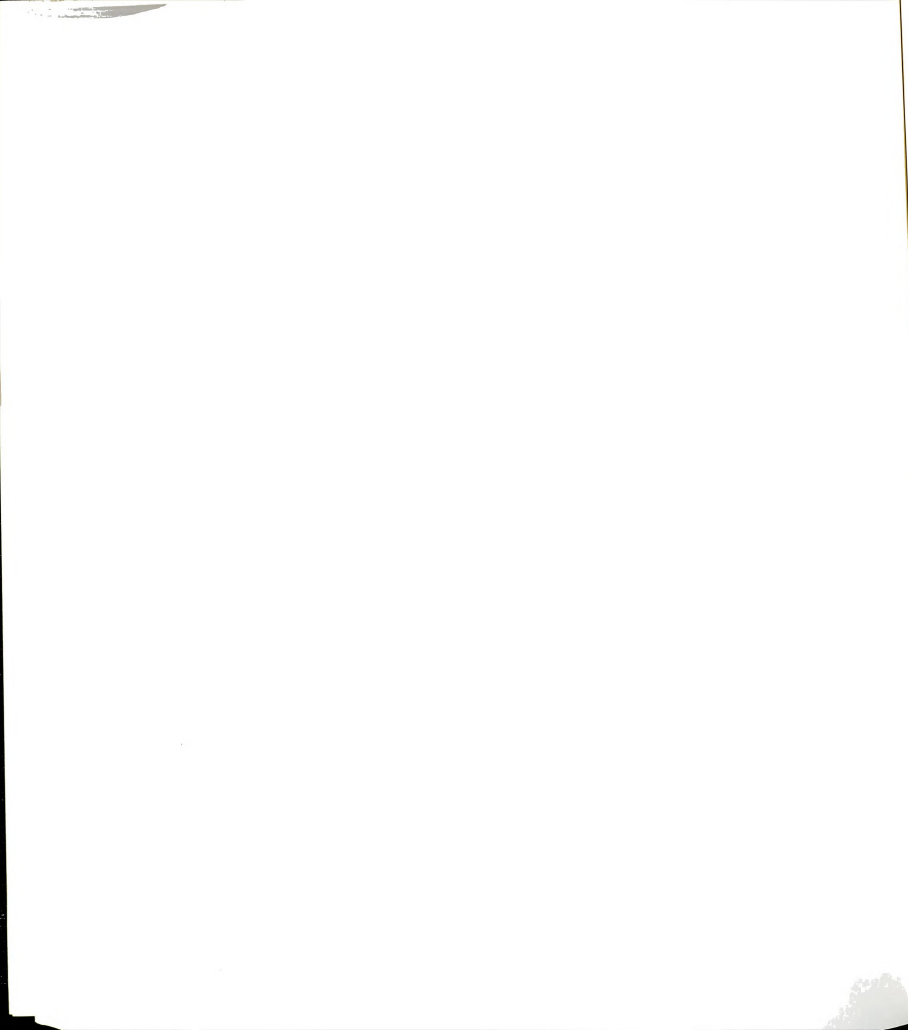
company policy of not letting women work with new machinery, thus depriving them of promotions to higher grades and pay scales. Unions have neglected women's issues.

Table A. 3-2 Union Helpful to Women, by Firm Type

Is the Union Helpful to Women	TNC	Large Indian	Small-Scale	
	56	19	13	88
Confident	77.8%	55.9%	61.9%	
	16	15	8	39
Not Confident	22.2%	44.1%	38.1%	
	72	34	21	127
Missing	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%
	(3)	(1)	(14)	(18)
Chi-sq	5.8483	Significance	.0537	

A noteworthy observation here is that the women in the Indian sector seem to have a somewhat less confidence in their union than the women in the TNC sector.

Unions are strongest and most powerful in larger and prosperous firms. However, women's employment and their issues get limited attention from the union. This may partly be the result of women's lack of energy in



participating in the union activities. Women typically showed little interest in formal unionization, though women's militancy is well-known in times of industrial conflict.¹

¹ According to a feminist labor activist, women have waged some of the most prolonged and fierce industrial struggles in the State of Maharashtra. They also have militantly supported their husbands' struggles in new and old industries, from textile to engineering. They, however, are unable to get involved in unions on day-to-day basis because they are crushed under their productive and reproductive jobs. Secondly, their lack of participation in unions is caused by male dominance of unions.

APPENDIX FOUR

1. Where were you born?
2. How long have you lived in Greater Bombay area?
3. How old are you?
4. How long have you been working in this firm? State the number of years, or the year in which you started working in this firm.
5. Are you married?
 1. Yes 2. No 3. Separated 4. Divorced 5. Widowed
 6. Divorced and Remarried 7. Widowed and Remarried
6. Did you start working before your marriage?
 1. Yes 2. No.
7. Did you work elsewhere before this job? If "yes," name the companies and jobs below:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
8. Do you have children? How many?
 1. Yes 2. No If "yes," give the number -
9. If "yes", who took care of them while you were at work?
10. What kind of home do you live in at present?
 1. Block or Flat
 2. Chawl
 3. Pucca House
 4. Kuchcha House
 5. Hutment in a Colony
 6. Other

11. For those not married:

a) Do you live in a joint family situation in your parents' house?

1. Yes 2. No

b) How many other family members are earning in your family?

c) Do you keep any portion of your salary for yourself?
How much?

12. For those who are married:

a) Did you live in a joint family in your parents' house?

1. Yes 2. No

b) Did you live in a joint family right after marriage?

1. Yes 2. No

c) Do you live in a joint family at present?

1. Yes 2. No

d) How many members are currently earning your family?

13. What kind of home did you live in ten years back?

1. Block or Flat
2. Chawl
3. Pucca House
4. Kuchcha House
5. Hutment in a Colony
6. Other

14. For those who are married:

How long have you been married? How old are your children?

15. State the number and relationship of the members of your family.

1	5
2	6
3	7
4	8

16. How much time does it take each way to get to work?
17. Where do you live? (Please name the area or the suburb.)
18. Do you travel to work by -
 1. BEST bus
 2. Train
 3. Private bus
 4. Company bus
 5. Other
19. How many hours do you work per day?
How many per week?
20. Do you do any overtime? How many hours per month?
21. How much salary do you earn per month?
22. What is your job title? e.g. G.O.
23. How much education have you received?
 1. Can not read or write
 2. Up to 2nd standard
 3. Up to 5th standard
 4. up to 8th standard
 5. Less than S.S.C. (secondary school certificate)
 6. S.S.C./Matric (old system)/H.S.C. (higher secondary)
 7. Diploma holder (name)
 8. Two years or less of college
 9. A bachelor's degree
 10. A master's degree
 11. Some other training

24. How much education did your father receive?

1. Can not read or write
2. Up to 2nd standard
3. Up to 5th standard
4. Up to 8th standard
5. Less than S.S.C. (secondary school certificate)
6. S.S.C./Matric (old system)/H.S.C. (higher secondary)
7. Diploma holder (name)
8. Two years or less of college
9. A bachelor's degree
10. A master's degree
11. Some other training

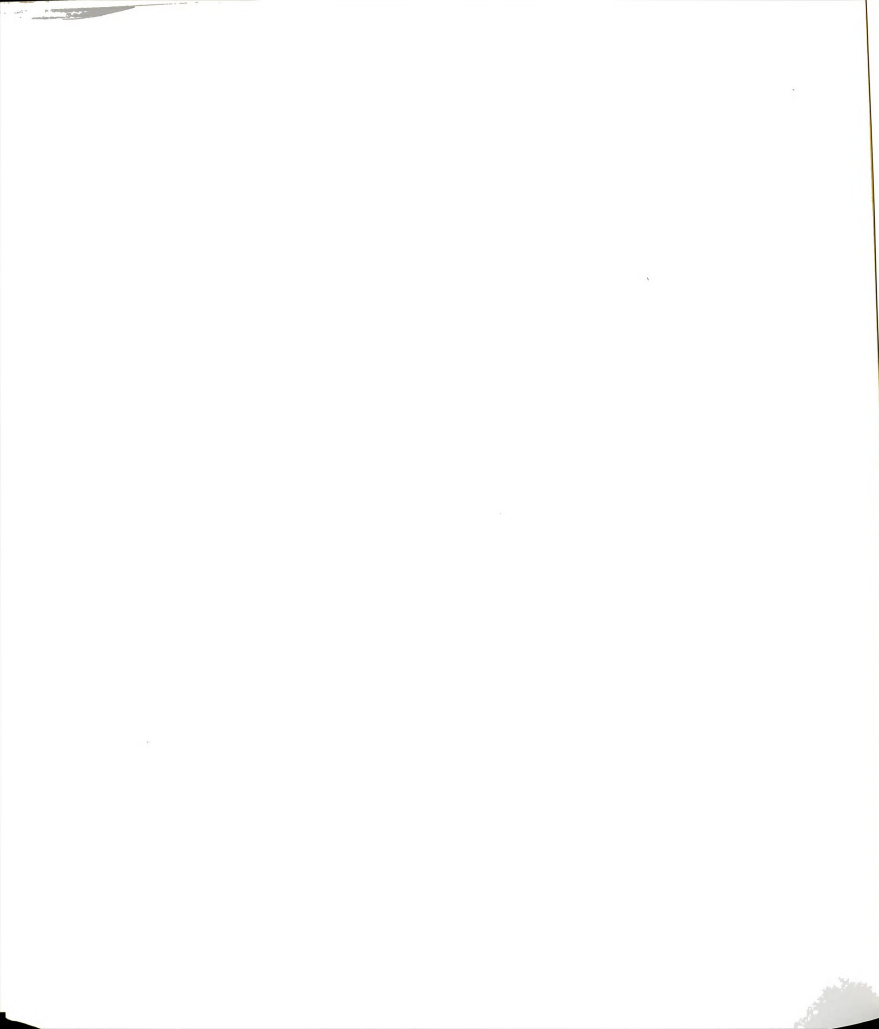
25. How much education did your mother receive?

1. Can not read or write
2. Up to 2nd standard
3. Up to 5th standard
4. Up to 8th standard
5. Less than S.S.C. (secondary school certificate)
6. S.S.C./Matric (old system)/H.S.C. (higher secondary)
7. Diploma holder (name)
8. Two years or less of college
9. A bachelor's degree
10. A master's degree
11. Some other training

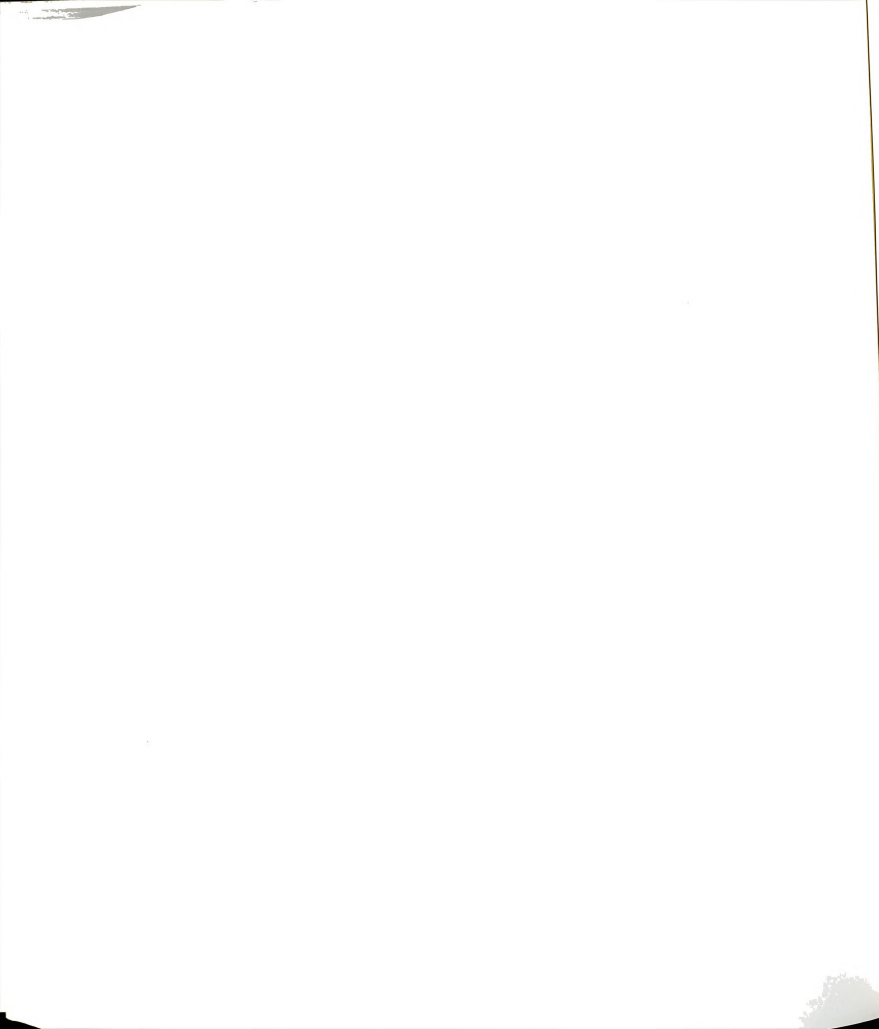
26. What was your father's occupation?

Job title -

Name of the firm -



27. Did your mother work outside home? What was the job? Did she do any other work for money over and above the housework? e.g. bringing home assembly jobs at piece rate; sewing; making tiffins for people.
28. Have you ever thought of leaving your job? Why, or why not?
29. If "yes," would you consider taking another job? What kind?
30. Is there something your company can do to improve your job? Please give suggestions.
31. Do you think you are treated fairly by your supervisor?
1. Yes 2. No
32. Are you a member of the union?
1. Yes 2. No
33. If "yes," do you attend union meetings?
1. Yes,
2. Most of the time
3. Some times
4. No
34. Have you participated in any agitation organized by your union?
1. Yes,
2. Most of the time
3. Some times
4. No
35. Do you think unions are good for the workers? Why, or why not?
36. Do you think that your union is helpful with the problems of women workers? Name the problems specific to women that have been helped or not helped by the union.



37. Did you vote in the last election?

1. Yes 2. No

38. Do you think voting is important? Why, or why not?

39. Which political party do you usually vote for?

1. Congress (I)

2. Congress (S)

3. Janata

4. Jansangh

5. Shiv Sena

6. Socialist Party

7. Other

40. Which past or present political leader, do you think, has done a great deal of good for India?

41. What is your religion? If Hindu, what is your caste or community called?

42. Which religious activities do you perform?

43. What is your mother tongue?

44. What is your husband's occupation and income?

Job title

Firm

Income



45. What level of education has your husband completed?
1. Can not read or write
 2. Up to 2nd standard
 3. Up to 5th standard
 4. Up to 8th standard
 5. Less than S.S.C. (secondary school certificate)
 6. S.S.C./Matric (old system)/H.S.C. (higher secondary)
 7. Diploma holder (name)
 8. Two years or less of college
 9. A bachelor's degree
 10. A master's degree
 11. Some other training
46. Do you have any friends whom you see at least once a month?
1. Yes 2. No
47. Do you have any friends whom you can talk to about most of your problems?
1. Yes 2. No
48. Do you belong to any formal or informal group or organization, such as a music club, or a mahila mandal (ladies club)?
1. Yes 2. No
49. Do you think boys and girls should be raised differently?
1. Yes 2. No
50. Do you think boys and girls should get different kinds of education?
1. Yes 2. No

51. Would you mind if your family accepts dowry for your brother or son?
1. Yes 2. No
52. Would you be willing to offer dowry for your sister, sister-in-law or your daughter? What would be your reasons for choosing to give or not give dowry?
53. At what age should a girl be married according to you?
54. How much total time do you spend per week in doing housework? Include all activities related to raising a family in calculating the total time.
1. 0 to 5 hours 2. 6 to 10 hours 3. 11 to 15 hours
 4. 16 to 20 hours 5. more than 20 hours
55. Who performs the following functions in the family?
1. Making beds
 2. Sweeping and wiping the floor
 3. Cooking
 4. Helping children with their studies
 5. Shopping for food and vegetables
 6. Money-management
 7. Letter-writing
 8. Caring for the infants and the sick
 9. Laundry
 10. Others
56. Whose decision was it to take up a job outside home?
1. Mother
 2. Father
 3. Husband
 4. Yourself
 5. Other

57. Is it important for a woman to do what her parents, husband or in-laws want her to do?
1. Yes, all the time
 2. Sometimes
 3. Never
58. Do you feel that you decide on matters concerning your life, or do you often find yourself doing what others want you to do?
59. If you have to listen to others, who are those other people?
60. What are some of the biggest problems facing you or other women around you?
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
61. What is your biggest wish for your life in the years to come?
62. Has there been a change over time in work?1
1. no change
 2. some change
 3. a lot of change
 8. don't know

Open ended questions seeking comments for the respondents on their work environment and their status at home.

63. Please comment on the health and safety conditions at work.
64. Should men help in housework?
65. How much, what type of work should a man share with his wife?
66. Do you experience rise in status as a result of your employment?
67. Please comment on your feeling about empowerment because of being employed.

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