Emerging Trends of Women's Employment in the Organised Sector in India[1]

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This paper is an attempt to analyse trends with respect to organized (or formal) sector employment. The focus on organized sector stems from the fact that this sector is associated with social security benefits such as maternity leave and pensions which can influence women's participation greatly.

Trends in women's employment in the organized sector in India are examined over the last two decades (1991-92 to 2010-11) with special emphasis on the eleventh five year plan period. Given India's growth profile, particularly in that period, one pertinent question which this paper tends to seek is whether this growth has resulted in more work for women in the organized or formal sector.

We examine the following:

- Trends in overall employment of women in the organized sector;
- The share of public and private organized sector;
- Factors affecting employment mainly education;
- State-wise variations in organized sector employment;
- Sectoral trends in organized employment; and
- Wage parity in the organized sector

I. Methodology and Limitations

Secondary data mainly from Employment Market Information (EMI) Programme[I] conducted by the Directorate General of Employment & Training (DGET) has been used for the analysis. Since EMI data captures all formal enterprises and establishments, this is the only source of information on formal sector employment in the country. However, it suffers from many drawbacks[II] which need to be kept in mind before we interpret this data even for our limited purpose of understanding the direction of change in women's organised sector employment.

The other challenge was regarding the definitional issues concerning formal or organized sector employees. The DGET uses its definition of organized sector (see end note 1) and all employees within that sector as being organized sector employees. However, the National Commission for Enterprise in Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) has challenged this notion by differentiating between the definitions of formal/organized *sector* and formal *worker*

[1] Background paper submitted to UNDP (India) for the High Level Committee (HLC) on the Status of Women, Government of India. With inputs from Prof Mridul Eapen, Member, HLC.

arguing that within the formal sector also there are a large number of workers (increasing over time) whose work contracts are informal in nature and who have no secure tenure or access to social security benefits. About 38 percent of workers classified under formal/organized sector in 1999-00 were under informal contracts which increased to almost 47 percent in 2004-05 (NCUES 2009). While estimates of organized sector employment are used to derive estimates of informal/unorganized sector workers as a residual of total workers, the NCEUS made direct estimates of the unorganized sector employment based on their definition of unorganized sector employment, for the period under study.

Nevertheless for our purpose we have relied on DGET data, which is the major data source in India for organized sector employment.

II. Trends in Women's Employment in Organised Sector

A. Overall trends

Organised sector, although a major provider of quality employment, has a share of less than ten percent on the overall employment in India. According to the DGET data, the total organized sector employment was estimated at 26.73 million in 1991, increased to 28.24 million in 1997 and then started declining to reach a new low of 26.45 in 2005. This decline has been both in terms of absolute numbers as well as share of organized sector in total employment (Papola and Sahu, 2012)[2]. Thereafter it again increased to 28.09 million in 2009; 28.99 million in 2011 and 29.57 million in 2012 (6.2 percent of total workforce). The reversal was more due to the private sector than the public sector which continued to witness a decline (Papola and Sahu, 2012; also see section C for details).

Rangarajan (2006)[3] has argued that the NSS data of regular wage and salary earning workers is a better measure of organized employment and going by NCEUS definition of formal /organised workers, the estimated organized sector workforce at 62.6 million in 2004-05 is much higher than that of DGET. However, as many policy makers argue, it is the quality of employment that is beginning to matter more in India than the quantity of employment, a fact pointed out by the Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (EAC, 2007) as well as in the Eleventh Five Year Plan document (Planning Commission, 2008). Papola and Sahu (2012) have also pointed that employment growth in the

[2] Papola and Sahu, Growth and Structure of Employment in India. Long-Term and Post-Reform Performance and the Emerging Challenge, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development, New Delhi, March 2012

[3] C. Rangarajan, Employment and Growth, July 2006

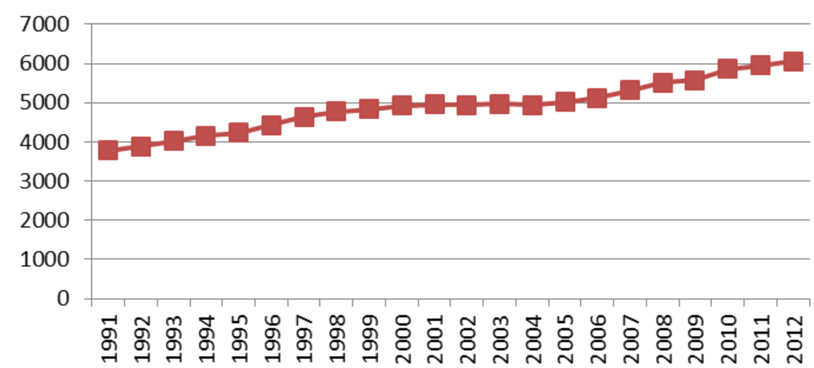
organized sector which seems to have picked up in recent years, has been mostly in the categories of casual and contract labour. NCUES (2007) figures also reveal that almost half of the organized sector employment, 29.1 million, is informal in nature, that is without any job/social security and if we look at this from the sectoral point of view, formal sector employment is 33.4 million only which is still higher but much closer to the DGET estimates of 26.5 million in 2004-05.[4]

Going by the NCEUS estimates, in 2004-05, 13.7% of all employed in India were in formal sector but only around 7.4% of all employed were actually formal workers. As per the DGET data this works out to be only 5.8 percent in 2004-05.[5] Also while DGET data shows that there has been a gradual shrinkage in the organized sector employment in India, NCUES data shows that this has increased over the years 1999-2000 to 2004-05 (NCUES, 2009). However, as stated earlier we depend largely on the DGET data.

B. Women's Employment

It is interesting to understand the gender dimensions of organized sector employment. Female employment in the organised sector during the same period, however, has certainly shown a gradually increasing trend (Figure 1) from 3.78 million in 1991to 4.64 million in 1997 and from 5.02 million in 2005; to 5.58 million in 2009, 5.95 million in 2011 and 6.05 million in 2012. There has been only one exception in 2004 which saw a decline in female employment.

Figure 1: Growth of Women's Employment in Organised Sector in last two decades



Source: Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour

The share of women in the organized sector works out to be 14.4 percent in 1992; 18.1 percent in 2002 and 20.5 percent in 2011. The percentage witnessed a growing trend over the years even through the period of 2002-2005 wherein overall organized sector employment declined. (Table 1). Nevertheless it needs to be noted that even with this growth only 4 percent of the total women employed in India are in the organized sector

[4] NCUES, 2007. The report also mentions that this is most likely because DGET underreporting is principally confined to informal workers. This fact further supported our decision to use DGET data for analysis in this paper.

[5] Klaveren, et al, Jan 2010, An Overview of Women's Work and Employment in India Decisions for Life MDG3 Project Country Report No. 13, Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS).

and the likelihood of a women worker finding a job in the organized sector is about 0.67 of a male worker (Papola and Sahu, 2012)

This data, further needs to be read with the rider, whether women's organized employment is actually increasing or this is only due to an increase in informal employment in the organized sector. Unfortunately NCUES report does not give this kind of sex-disaggregated data.

Table 1: Employment in Organised Sector (Figures in Thousands)

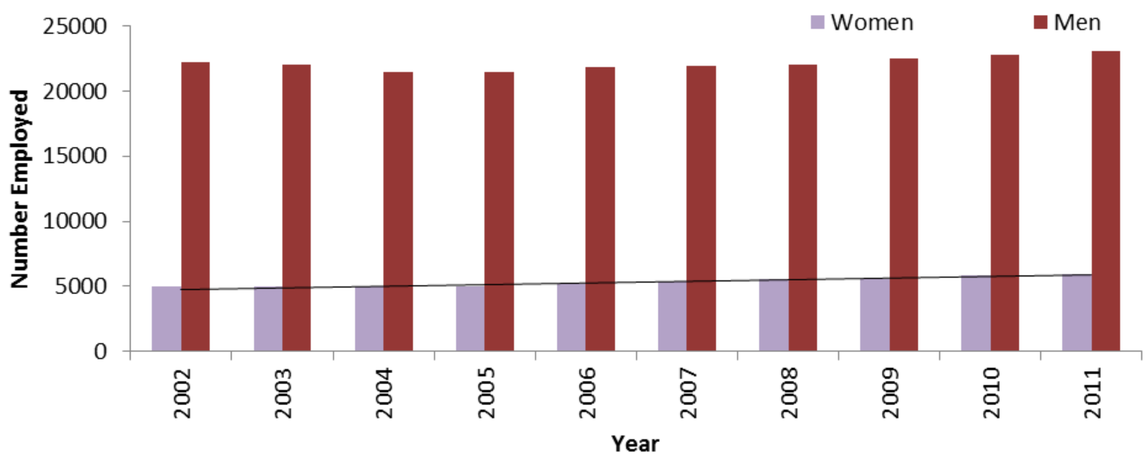
Year	Total	Women	Percentage of Women
1991	26735	3781	14.1
2001	27789	4949	17.8
2002	27206	4935	18.1
2003	27000	4968	18.4
2004	26443	4934	18.7
2005	26459	5016	19
2006	26993	5121	19
2007	27276	5312	19.5
2008	27548	5512	20
2009	28098	5580	19.9
2010	28708	5859	20.4
2011	28999	5954	20.5
2012	29579	6054	20.5

Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour

However given the fact that employment of women has largely increased in Community, personal and Social services, as we see later, it is not unlikely that this reflects the large number of women who have been recruited into public employment at the state/regional level, in a number of service providing activities be it ICDS or Mid Day Meal Programme or the SSA teachers as "social workers" or "voluntary workers" or as in the case of ASHAs, "honorary volunteers", who do not have any social security benefits. The swelling of numbers then, can to a large extent be explained as informal employment within the formal sector. For instance estimates in late 2000s suggested that 16 percent of all school teachers in the country are such contractual teachers.

Furthermore the gender gap in the organized sector remains high. As can be seen from figure 2, as per DGET, out of every 10 people employed in the organized sector, eight are men and only two are women.

Figure 2: Women and Men in Organised Sector Employment (2002-2011)



Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour

Annual survey of Industries (ASI) 2011-12, is another source of employment data which is the principal source of industrial statistics, particularly for the organised manufacturing sector in India.[iii] These data also show that of all the total number of workers employed in the organized sector, only 12.51 women are directly employed as against 52.91 percent men being directly employed. Rest all are contractual workers. This further reiterates the fact that the gender gap in the organized sector remains huge (more on this later).

C. Share of Public and Private Sector in Organised Employment

To better understand the nature of employment of women, it is required to see if the growth in employment has been through the public sector or whether the private sector has absorbed more women within the organized labour force.

Data show that employment for women in the public sector has increased in absolute terms from 2.35 million in 1991 to 3.17 million in 2011 registering a growth of 35.1 percent. However, much of this growth was recorded in the decade of 1991 to 2001 (21.8 per cent) as against 2001 to 2011 (10.9 percent); reflecting the reduced role of the State in the post Reforms period. The beginning of the 1990s saw the initiation of economic reforms. Consequently, the public sector was no longer seen as an employment provider; it has, in fact, experienced an absolute decline in employment in recent years (Papola, 2007).

Also this growth has come mainly in the sectors of community, social and personal services; financing, insurance, real estate and business services and transport, storage and communications. Manufacturing sector in fact has recorded a negative growth rate reinforcing the views of jobless growth in the sector (Goldar, 2000, Kanan and Ravindran, 2009; Kapoor, 2014). In 2011 thus, 76 percent of public sector employment has been for community, social and personal services; with 7 percent for financing, insurance, real estate and business services; 6 percent for transport and communications and 7 percent for mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction; 2 percent for agriculture and 2 percent for utility services.

The percentage of women among public sector employees has also risen over the years from 12.31 percent in 1991 to 15.4 percent in 2002 and from 16.8 percent in 2007 to 18.1 percent in 2011. The high percentage is mainly the result of employment in regional and local government jobs (Klaveren, et al, 2010 and Mehrotra and Sahu, 2012[6]) as data shows that the number of women employees in Central government has remained stagnant over the last two decades from 0.29 million in 1991 to 0.24 million in 2011. The percentage of women in central government has also remained low at 10% in 2011. (Table 2).

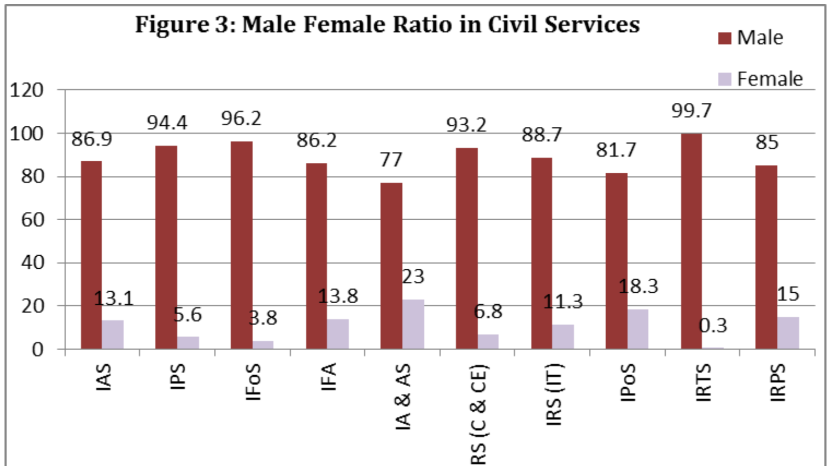
Table 2: Employment in Public Sector in 2011 (Figures in thousands)

Level	Total	Women	Percentage of Women
Central Government	2463	245	9.96
State Government	7218	1654	22.91
Central Government (Quasi)	3454	409	11.84
State Government (Quasi)	2360	269	11.41
Local Bodies	2053	611	29.77

Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour

It also needs to be noted here that the 2012 provisional figures for public sector employment have, for the first time in twenty years, shown a slight decline in percentage of women to 17.9 percent. This trend would need to be monitored and studied closely given that the Government policies especially the National Policy for Empowerment of Women, 2001 did emphasize on the need for equal economic opportunity for women in all spheres including public office. In this context it is also important to see the percentage of women employed in civil services. Figure 3 above shows the gender composition in various civil services as per Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances report (GoI, 2010).

Figure 3: Male Female Ratio in Civil Services



Source: Civil Service Survey, 2010, Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, GoI

Similar to the public sector, the private sector has also registered an increase in absolute numbers from 1.43 million in 1991 to 2.09

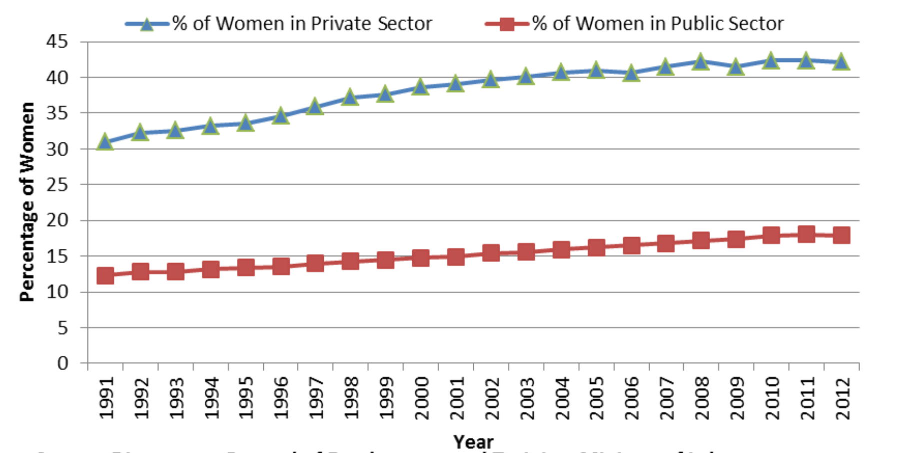
[6]In 2004-05, the regional public sector 7.9 million, of which nearly 18% female, whereas by then locally 1.5 million public servants operated, of which 27.5% female. Mehrotra, Gandhi and Sahoo, April 2012, IAMR Occasional Paper No. 6/2012, Organised and Unorganised Employment in the Nonagriculture Sectors in the 2000s

million in 2001 and 2.78 million in 2011. However the private sector has shown a higher growth (partly due to the small initial base). Interestingly, the growth rate in the decade of 2001 to 2011, which was one of high economic growth was lower at 33.2 percent than the 45.7% growth rate between 1991 to 2001. The maximum growth has been in the financing, insurance, real estate and business services sector, followed by manufacturing and community, social and personal services. In 2011, thus manufacturing sector was the largest employer of women in the organized private sector (34.8 percent). The second largest sector was community, social and personal services (30.6 percent), followed by agriculture and allied activities (15.5 percent) and financing, insurance, real estate and business services sector (15 percent). However, agriculture activities saw a negative Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR)[IV] in the eleventh five year plan, while the others have a CAGR of 2.21 percent, 3.81 percent and 14.38 percent respectively.

The percentage of women in the private sector, has also grown but at a very slow pace- from 18.6 percent in 1991 to 24.3 percent in 2002 and to 25 percent in 2008. However, since then there has been a declining trend and the percentage has reduced slightly to 24.3 percent in 2012.

Interestingly, while the share of women in the private sector is higher than that of public sector, the percentage of women in public sector is showing an increasing trend, from 15.4 in 2002 to 18.07 in 2011; on the other hand the percentage of women employed in the private sector has been more or less stagnant at 24.3 percent. (Figure 4). Another interesting insight is that while overall public sector tends to employ almost two-thirds of the total organized sector workforce; the share of the private sector in employing women is higher with recent 2011 figures showing an almost equal share at 45 percent. (Table 3). This is somewhat surprising since there is a general presumption that public service may be a more attractive employer for women given the social security benefits attached to the job (Mehrotra, et al 2012). Nevertheless public sector remains one of the largest employer of women in the organized sector.

Figure 4: Percentage of Women in Organised Sector



Source: Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour

Table 3: Share of Public and Private Sector in Women's Employment in Organised Sector (figures in thousands)

Year	Public Sector		Private Sector		%age Public Sector		%age Private Sector	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
1991	19058	2347	7677	1434	71	62	29	38
2001	19138	2859	8652	2090	69	58	31	42
2002	18773	2887	8432	2049	69	58	31	42
2003	18580	2905	8421	2064	69	58	31	42
2004	18197	2890	8246	2044	69	59	31	41
2005	18007	2921	8452	2095	68	58	32	42
2006	18188	3003	8805	2118	67	59	33	41
2007	18002	3018	9274	2294	66	57	34	43
2008	17674	3040	9875	2472	64	55	36	45
2009	17790	3091	10307	2489	63	55	37	45
2010	17862	3196	10846	2663	62	55	38	45
2011	17548	3171	11452	2783	61	53	39	47
2012	17609	3152	11970	2903	60	52	40	48

Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour

An important aspect to note here is also that while the private sector particularly the corporate sector has opened the doors of opportunities for competent women professionals, across industries from banking to information technology, this equality of opportunity as been more often than not restricted at entry level. A disappointing revealation is that the proportion of women adorning senior positions is a meager 5 percent (Rajesh, et al, 2013a)[7]. Thus there is a very discernible glass ceiling in these sectors which prevent the growth of women within an organization. Further many of the private sector jobs, particularly those in IT sector, which are actually better paid and quality employment are witness a very high attrition rate often due to the socio-cultural biases as well as lack of employer support systems (Rajesh, et al, 2013b)[8]. Nevertheless, more women than ever before are making it to the corner offices, beating their global counterparts. A study of 215 top Indian companies by global executive research firm, EMA

[7] Rajesh, Ekambaram and Rakesh, Corporate Sector's Role in the Enablement of Women Careers in India: An Empirical Study, The SIJ Transactions on Industrial, Financial & Business Management (IFBM), Vol. 1, No. 5, November-December 2013.

[8] S. Rajesh, K. Ekambaram & A. Rakesh (2013), "The Role of Flexible Working Arrangements in Career Sustainability of Indian Women Professionals", *Journal of Business Management & Economics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Pp. 62–80.

Partners International, has revealed that the proportion of women CEOs and MDs in Indian companies has risen to 21 % in 2013 from 11 % in 2009.[9]

D. Employment Growth Rates

Further, while absolute numbers employed has increased over the period the rate of growth has been very miniscule. Table 4 shows the annual employment growth rate in the organized sector for men and women. As can be seen while the rate of growth for men has been lower than that of women, both trends how high fluctuations over the years. In terms of the compound annual growth rates, data show that in the last ten years the CAGR for women's' employment has been more than three times that of men while in the last five years (Eleventh Five Year Plan period) this was slightly more than double. Again here the CAGR for public sector has been much lower than that of private sector at 0.94 percent and 0.99 percent as against 3.11 percent and 3.94 percent in the same periods (data not shown here).

Table 4: Annual Employment Growth Rate in Organised Sector in last ten years

Year	Total	Men	Women
2002-03	-0.75	-1.07	0.67
2003-04	-2.07	-2.38	-0.68
2004-05	0.06	-0.31	1.66
2005-06	2.02	2.01	2.08
2006-07	1.05	0.42	3.74
2007-08	1.00	0.33	3.77
2008-09	2.00	2.19	1.23
2009-10	2.17	1.47	4.99
2010-11	1.01	0.86	1.63
CAGR for the ten year period	0.64%	0.34%	1.89%
CAGR for XI Plan Period	1.23%	0.97%	2.31%
Author's Calculation based on DGET data			

The data does tempt one to agree with the characterization of growth in organized sector as often being "Jobless" (Kannan and Raveendran, 2009). In fact the aggregate employment elasticity estimates for India have declined over the decades and vary from 0.18 (arc elasticity) to 0,20 (point elasticity) during the post reform period, pointing out to the fact that finding productive jobs in India is going to be a big challenge and there is a need to step up growth particularly the employment intensity of growth (Misra and Suresh, 2014)[10].

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9 http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/20131025/news/43395544_1_vanithanarayananintelindiaibmindia

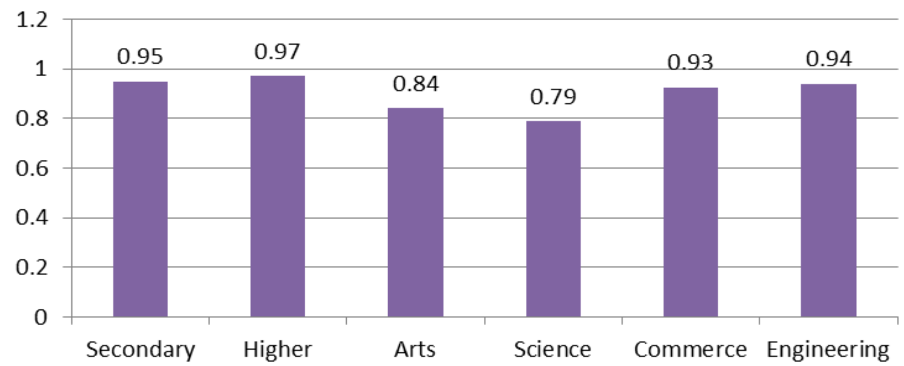
10 Misra and Suresh, Estimating Employment Elasticity of Growth for the Indian Economy, RBI Working Paper Series, DEPR, June 2014

Ranarajan (2006) has also pointed that the growth in employment has always lagged behind the growth in GDP mainly influenced by two factors: a) the sectoral employment elasticities have been decreasing, and b) the shifting of employment shares has not been in tandem with the sectoral shares in output. In addition, the increased capital to labour ration in the organized sector is also a concern for a labour abundant country like India (GoI, 2013; Misra and Suresh, 2014).

E. Impact of Education on Organised Sector Employment

To better understand the situation, data was analysed to see if this trend was related to enrollment in schools and colleges. There was found to be very strong positive correlation between women in organized sector and female education indicators. (Figure 5). As can be seen from the figure, there is a very high degree of positive correlation between rise in female education (particularly gender parity) and employment of women in organized sector. What is more interesting is to see that the correlation is higher for enrollment in highest in case of higher secondary, which does point to the need for universalization of higher secondary education for employment. A related inference which may also be drawn from this data is that most vocational courses also demand X pass for enrollment and access to skill development vocational training does have an established impact on women's employment. This argument is also strengthened by the fact that the correlation for job-oriented course like commerce, engineering and technical is much higher than that for regular courses. This also matches with our analysis on sectoral employment (see table 8) which shows that financial services and trade were among the fastest growing sector for women's organized employment in XI plan period, while manufacturing was the largest employer.

Figure 5: Correlation between women in organized sector and gender parity in education (ratio of girls to boys enrolled)



Source: Employment from Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Education data from Men and Women in India 2013, Central Statistical Organisation and NUEPA, GoI

Unfortunately, however, the ratio of girls to 100 boys in these streams are in reverse order to their employment opportunities-(86.0 for Arts, 72.7 for Science, 67.3 for Commerce and 40.3 technical and engineering courses. Thus while technical and engineering courses do have a higher influence on organized sector employment, the ratio of girls to boys is lowest in that stream. While data on the class dimensions of these female enrollment trends are not available, there is reasonable cause to believe that women from better off sections of society and in urban areas have more access to the latter courses.

Further, state-wise analysis for 2011 data, shows a very weak and negative correlation between the GER in schools/ Female Literacy Rate and women's organized sector employment, which shows that there are many contextual factors affecting women's employment, a fact reinforced in other studies (Lohita, 2014). Not drawing any hasty inferences thus, it would be good to point out here that women are not a homogenous community and it is essential to probe the class and spatial context further for understanding the factors affecting women's organized sector employment.

F. State-wise Trends

An interesting observation emerging from the state-wise analysis is the trend in decadal growth rate for women's employment in organized sector. (Table 5). DGET data shows that at least 15 states have shown a decline in the growth rate of women's employment in organized sector in the last decade as compared to that of the previous decade. There are no regional dimensions emerging from this analysis which could throw light on the reasons for this trend. In terms of overall growth rate, Karnataka, A & N Islands, Himachal Pradesh, Chandigarh Manipur and Andhra Pradesh have fared better with growth rates above 100 percent from 1991 to 2011.

Table 5: Decadal Growth Rate of Women's Employment in Organised Sector in States

	Decadal Growth Rate (1991 to 2001)	Decadal Growth Rate (2001-2011)
Leaders (Above 50 percent)	Karnataka, Manipur, Andhra Pradesh, A&N Islands, Chandigarh, Meghalaya	Puducherry, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh
Movers (Between 10 to 50)	Himachal Pradesh, Odisha, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Mizoram, Nagaland, Haryana, Punjab, Maharashtra, Kerala	Gujarat, Nagaland, A&N Islands, Chandigarh, Uttarakhand, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Chattisgarh, Punjab, Odisha, Delhi, Tripura, Tamil Nadu
Laggers (Less than 10 percent or negative growth rates)	Delhi, Assam, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Puducherry	Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Manipur, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Meghalaya, Daman & Diu, Mizoram, Bihar

Source: On the basis of employment data from Directorate of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour

However, as can be seen from Table 5, states like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh which were doing well in the 1990, have slowed down in the last decade, while those like Gujarat and Maharastra have picked up the pace in terms of providing employment to women in the organized sector. This is interesting since the former states have been known for their growth in the IT sector (one which has not only led the service sector growth in India but also is known for accessibility for women). It is also thus important to see the sectoral or occupational divisions of women's employment in the organized sector. Unfortunately, separate state-wise data on IT sector is not available to be able to do more in-depth analysis.[11]

It is also important to note that in more than 12 states, public sector is still the largest employer of women in the organized sector absorbing more than 80% in 2011. In nine other states, this percentage was below 80 percent but above the national average of 53 percent. Only 10 States were below national average with more women in private sector. Interestingly both Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh fall in this category, which might explain the declining employment growth rate in these states.

Table 6: Percentage of Women in organized public sector by States (2011)

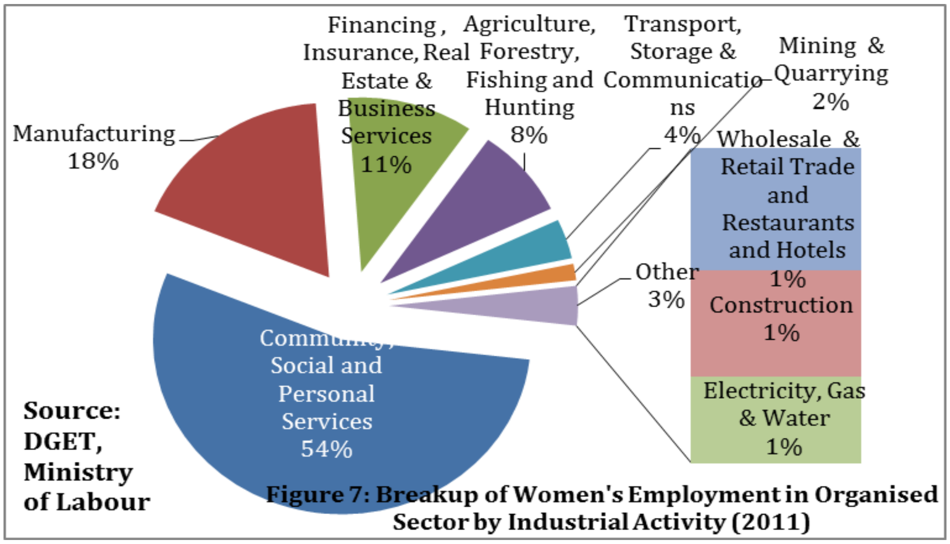
Number	More than 80%	Above National Average of 53% but below 80%	Less than 53%
1	Manipur	Jharkhand	Tamil Nadu
2	A&N Islands	Rajasthan	Goa
3	Mizoram	Uttar Pradesh	Andhra Pradesh
4	Tripura	Uttarakhand	Maharashtra
5	Jammu & Kashmir	Delhi	Puducherry
6	Bihar	Punjab	Kerala
7	Odisha	Gujarat	West Bengal
8	Nagaland	Chandigarh	Karnataka
9	Chattisgarh	Haryana	Assam
10	Madhya Pradesh		Daman & Diu
11	Meghalaya		
12	Himachal Pradesh		

Source: On the basis of employment data from Directorate of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour

[11] This also reinstates the fact the growth of output may not corroborate with growth in employment particularly in organized sector. In 2004-05, service sector produced almost 50 percent of India's GDP, however it employed only 27% of the labour force, Also out of this 110 million employed only 30.4 million (27.6%) were in the formal sector. (NCUES, 2009).

G. Sectoral Trends

The distribution of women in the work force among the various sectors of the economy reveals some interesting trends. A majority of women are employed in the agricultural sector (68.4%), followed by the service sector (15.8%). However, with a very low (almost negative) employment elasticity and slower growth in organized employment within the sector, there is less potential for formal jobs for women in the same. Women in India will need to move out of agriculture, into manufacturing and service sectors. For women to move out of agriculture, the right economic and social conditions are needed, such as quality education and relevant skills development, access to inputs and credit (Klaveren, et al, Jan 2010).



Source: DGET, Ministry of Labour

Figure 7: Breakup of Women's Employment in Organised Sector by Industrial Activity (2011)

Given the lack of these, the movement of women into better formal jobs in the organised sector remains weak. Entry into the service sector has still been somewhat promising, with more than 71 percent of the women employed in the organized sector are involved in service sector (Figure 6- Based on the occupational classification of DGET). However, the fact remains that for the service sector to have an impact on overall employment, it will need to have a much larger base, along with maintaining a high employment elasticity of 0.3-0.5. Rangaragan (2006) had projected that even at a growth rate of 10 percent the share of service sector in employment will not rise beyond 29 percent in 2013. The limited potential of the service sector to create formal jobs point to the need for policy focus on employment generating sectors rather than export generating sectors.

Within the service sector, hotels; computer and related activities; telecommunications; freight transport by motor vehicles; trade, banking, finance; supporting and auxiliary transport activities; and monetary intermediation have generated employment within organised services (Mehrortra and Sahu, 2012). However, women organized sector employment data shows that more than half are in the community, social and personal services (54 percent) which involves mainly public administration and defence; compulsory social security; education; health and social work; and other community, social and personal service activities.

As can be seen from table 7, more than 74 percent of these jobs are in the public sector probably resulting from the increasing social sector investment in the last decade. This again raises the question of whether this is informal work in the organized sector for women, as recent employment trends in the government has been known to be contractual and temporary in nature (issue discussed earlier). Recent news reports based on Indian Staffing federation (ISF) reports have shown that 1.4 million short term written job contract holders have been deployed primarily in professions such as middle and primary education teaching associate professionals, other office clerks, secondary education teaching professionals, protective service workers, personal care workers, etc. [12]

Table 7: Trends across Sectors in Organised Employment for Women across public and private sectors in 2011 (figures in thousands)

Industrial activity	Total	Women in Private Sector		Women in Public Sector	
		Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Community, Social and Personal Services	3214	851	26	2363	74
Manufacturing	1044	967	93	77	7
Financing , Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services	639	417	65	222	35
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	491	431	88	60	12
Transport, Storage & Communications	217	27	13	190	87
Mining & Quarrying	90	7	8	83	92
Wholesale & Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels	84	70	83	14	17
Construction	72	7	10	65	90
Electricity, Gas & Water	59	3	5	56	95
Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour					

Other than DGET, data sources like NASSCOM, HR Survey 2011 have pointed out that 37% of the IT-BPO workforce is female. However, this data pertains to the fact that women are not actually moving from the informal sector to the formal (organized) sector or growing up the ladder but rather new (or young) women are getting better opportunities in the organized workforce. Even in with this and other women professionals in finance, information technology, etc, the road is not all clear and they often face multiple problems in terms of absence of support systems to enable their careers (see box).

[12] Indian Staffing Federation (ISF), is an apex body of leading staffing companies in India. In August 2014, it released a comprehensive report on the Flexi Staffing in the Government and Public sector during the National Conclave. The report shows a rise in temporization in the government sector workforce comprising of 12.3 million.

Women in Professional Sectors- Career Enablers

Studies with women professionals have pointed out the various factors which are career disabling/enabling. An online study with 235 IT professional showed that child care and spouse relocation were the most significant life events behind a women taking a career break. Added to this were structural barriers like the lack of support systems at home, long working hours and poor child care and nursing facilities (Rajesh, et, al, 2013b). Another empirical study by the same authors with 1060 women professionals revealed that the most sought after organization provided career enabler for women was flexible working. The importance of flexible working hours in retention of women has already been opined by other researchers (Munck, 2001; Hewlette & Luce, 2005; Mayhew, 2012). The other recognized career enablers were by mentoring support, skill building programmes and day-care centres provided by employers (Rajesh, et al, 2013a).

Papoli and Sahu (2012) determine that along with other factors, a necessary condition for increased organized sector employment is essentially an increase in the aggregate employment in any industry. Misra and Suresh (2012) and Rangaragan (2006) have emphasized on the sectoral employment elasticities to determine the potential of a sector to employ more people. Read in conjunction with each other, the manufacturing sector emerges as one of the major potential sector for organized employment. Mehrotra and Sahu (2012) have done an analysis of the jobs intensive, jobless growth, and jobs declining sectors over the years using NSSO data. The study shows that while the manufacturing sector witnessed jobless growth from 1999-2000 to 2004-05, it emerged as a productive employment-generating sector over the period 2004-05 to 2008-09. Papoli and Sahu (2012) have also emphasized on the potential of the sector to generate aggregate and organized employment. The Manufacturing sector in India, has also hovered the highest employment elasticities both overall at 0.29-0.33 and in organized manufacturing at 0.42-0.57 (Misra and Suresh, 2012). Thus the manufacturing sector emerges as a major sector for producing formal sector jobs. Unfortunately, hardly 18 percent of the women in organized sector are employed by the manufacturing sector.

Further, sectors like public administration, defence and compulsory social security; and other scheduled passenger land transport and retail trade, were those wherein employment is either declining or has declined (Mehrotra and Sahu, 2012). This analysis is important as it is in many of the declining or stagnant jobs sectors especially public administration, defence and compulsory social security and manufacturing are those where women mostly are present in the organized sector. To get a better sense of women's employment trends an analysis of the changes in these sectors across the eleventh five year plan period was also done. (Table 8).

Table 8: Trends across Sectors in Organised Employment for Women in XI Five Year Plan Period (in thousands)

Industrial activity	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Growth over the XI Plan period
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	490.6	508.3	466.5	476.9	490.5	-0.04
Mining & Quarrying	83.7	84.1	82.8	110.6	90.0	7.44
Manufacturing	944.7	1010.4	989.6	1030.1	1044.1	10.52
Electricity, Gas & Water	53.3	49.9	54.1	61.0	59.6	11.82
Construction	65.4	64.9	66.4	74.8	72.4	10.73
Wholesale & Retail Trade and Restaurants and Hotels	51.6	63.2	67.8	73.4	83.9	62.60
Transport, Storage & Communications	194.9	199.7	207.1	214.7	217.3	11.46
Financing , Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services	412.5	476.7	541.8	597.8	639.4	55.01
Community, Social and Personal Services	2961.0	2981.7	3251.3	3200.9	3214.1	8.55
Source: Directorate General of Employment & Training, Ministry of Labour						

Here too it was found that the community and social services sector has shown very slow growth which is a disturbing trend for women's employment. Manufacturing sector has also not witnessed a very high growth. This added to concerns of a jobless growth as reported in some studies (Kapoor, 2010), could push back the progress made in women's employment in the organized sector.

Table 8 also shows that the maximum growth has been in sectors like wholesale and retail trade; restaurants and hotels; financing and insurance; real estate and business services. It is interesting to note here that in all the three major growth sectors, it is the private sector which has the larger share of women employment which again points to the need for deeper analysis into impact of economic growth on women's organized sector employment.

H. Gender Wage Parity

Another important factor to analyse in women's organized sector employment is the wage parity in the sector. Many studies have revealed that in most sectors women end up being paid lesser than their male counterparts. While specific data for organized sector is not available, Annual Survey of Industries (ASI) reports do provide good insights into the same.[V]

As per ASI 2011-12, at all India level, the average daily earnings were recorded to be Rs. 171.40 for women much lower than the Rs. 305.57 for men, as well as that of Rs. 237.60 for contract workers, Rs. 268.96 for all workers and Rs. 416.18 for all employees. Table 9 shows the average daily earnings for men and women in public and private sector.

Statewise data is given in appendix 1. The average daily earnings for women workers were the highest at Rs. 1063.09 in Meghalaya, whereas it was reported to be lowest at Rs. 84.12 in Tripura. Among industries, the highest wages/salaries paid per day worked to women workers was reported at Rs. 1564.01 in manufacture of musical Instruments followed by industry groups- manufacture of weapons and ammunition (Rs. 955.95) and manufacture of motor vehicles' (Rs. 883.68), whereas it was lowest at Rs. 82.20 in manufacture of railway locomotives and rolling stock.' followed by industry groups-manufacture of tobacco products' (Rs. 105.65), saw milling and planing of wood' (Rs. 117.53) and manufacture of other chemical products' (Rs. 124.08).

Table 9: All-India Average Daily Earnings in Industries

Sector	Directly Employed workers			Contract Employees	All workers	All employees
	Men	Women	Total			
Public	876.93	350.89	821.63	326.53	679.41	944.99
Private	274.52	165.94	255.67	233.51	248.89	387.75
Total	305.57	171.4	282.71	237.6	268.96	416.18

Source: Annual Survey of Industries

It is important to note here that there seems to be a trend of lower wages in female dominated sector like tobacco products as against the other sector, a fact also pointed out by Chaudhari and Panigrah (2013). The same study has shown that on an aggregate level female workers are getting on an average 48 percent lesser wages than that of male. This also varies across industries with women getting as low as 24 percent of what men get in the chemical industry sector. This is 39 percent, 50 percent and 75 percent for tobacco, food processing and pharma/apparel sectors respectively. State-wise the wage differentials are very high in Kerala, Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. [13]

[13] It is important to note here that ASI data only pertains to organized sector.

III. Conclusion and Challenges for women in the Organized sector

The beginning of the 1990s saw the initiation of economic reforms and with that the boost in India's economic growth. It was a natural expectation that this should have led to higher employment opportunities and decent work options for the people, which as earlier sections showed has been a major failure of the development process.

While for women though numbers are extremely small in terms of absolute numbers the number of women employed by the formal or organized sector has increased over the last two decades.[1].

Consequent to the reforms, the public sector was no longer seen as the major employment provider and the onus of employment provision has fallen upon the private sector. In terms of women's employment the private sector does seem to have shown certain positive trends in employing women with almost one-fourth of organized private sector workforce being women.

However, there is a long way to go. While there were encouraging trends in the earlier decade (between 1991 to 1998), the last decade not only has shown stagnation but also to some extend reflects a period of 'jobless growth'. Data clearly shows that the desired improvements in the status of organized sector employment in general and women's organized sector employment in particular have not been achieved.

What is more disturbing is the fact that even the jobs which have been added in the formal sector might have been informal in nature with less or no social security attached to it. NCUES (2009) report has very clearly highlighted the entire increase in the employment in the organised or formal sector over the period 1999-00 to 2004-05 has largely been of informal in nature i.e. without any job or social security. Mehrotra (2012) has also reinstated that formal employment in the organised sector is not increasing and that employers are increasingly hiring workers on contractual terms. The use of contract workers to run canteens or do housekeeping and gardening, employing teachers on temporary basis, and 'outsourcing' jobs such as data entry are some examples that are very visible in the country. These jobs, which offer no employment benefits and social security, mean that those who got jobs created in recent years are extremely vulnerable to the loss of livelihood in downturns like the current slump in the economy. All these trends are expected to be more applicable to women. This means that all the gains made in terms of increasing women's employment in the organized sector would be nullified. (Although organized trends have never been studied separately, an analysis by Thomas Jayan shows that it was women who lost most of the jobs lost in recent years particularly in the manufacturing sector which is the largest employer of organized sector women after public sector)[14]

Another major challenge is the lack of wage parity among men and women. In most sectors but particularly the manufacturing sector, women still receive a lot less than what men receive. Furthermore the widely held notions of gender bias have spread its roots so strongly across the manufacturing sector that women are still often excluded from managerial and senior management roles leading to a stagnant growth of women in the industry. (Deloitte and the Manufacturing Institute Report). This trend adding to the huge wage differentials between the workers and supervisors/managers in the organized manufacturing sector (Rs.269 for workers vs Rs.1176 for supervisors/managers as per ASI 2011-12) this further adds to the lower economic gains of women within the sector. This could well apply to other sectors also. Recent newspaper reports had shown similar trends in the information technology sector.

Social barriers also extend to the lack of existence of support systems both with the family and at the work place. Indian women still share the larger burden of domestic responsibilities which necessitates for them to have a very organized work life balance. The lack of penetration of newer concepts like work from home, flexi time, etc in most of the sectors barring a few like IT, results in women opting out of jobs. The most vulnerable time is during the crucial stage of child bearing and child care. While maternity leaves have been made a norm by law, it is applicable only when a women has a job of permanent nature. Most contractual jobs (even in the organized sector) do not provide these facilities. Even when the leave is provided, the woman is looked down upon in the work place as an incompetent employee, often being overlooked during appraisals and promotions. Lack of adequate and reliable crèche and day care facility is another major hindrance which often results in women having to take a break from work, after which rejoining becomes a more difficult challenge.

The last but not the least is what UNESCO report (2010) has stated in terms of "education poverty". In 2005 over three in 10 Indian females (30.7%) aged 17 to 22 had fewer than four years of education, nearly double the proportion of males of the same age (15.6%). This is the most pertinent barrier when it comes to women's employment in the organized sector as it isan entry level barrier. The lack of basic school education like X class pass often prevents women from even enrolling in vocational or skill development classes, thereby forcing them to pursue low paid and unskilled jobs. It is not surprising that even today for

[14] Jayan Jane Thomas, Economic & Political Weekly EPW December 22, 2012, vol xlvil no 51

every one woman in the formal sector there are ten women in the informal sector (NCUES, 2009).

Thus although in recent years trends in higher education do show a gender equitable rate, it is important to note that this results only in a certain section of the women (mainly urban and from better off communities) being able to benefit from the same.

APPENDIX 1

Statewise Average Daily wage Earnings for Directly Employed Workers in 2011

State	Directly Employed workers		
	Men	Women	Gender Parity Index
Jammu & Kashmir	213.65	147.19	0.31
Himachal Pradesh	254.05	197.57	0.22
Punjab	227.42	181.29	0.20
Chandigarh	313.94	357.24	-0.14
Uttrakhand	311.92	198.65	0.36
Haryana	328.68	257.28	0.22
Delhi	279.11	256.98	0.08
Rajasthan	278.38	115.11	0.59
Uttar Pradesh	224.51	222.58	0.01
Bihar	225.21	133.77	0.41
Sikkim	212.18	167.90	0.21
Nagaland	198.30	114.18	0.42
Manipur	201.52	138.38	0.31
Tripura	206.79	84.12	0.59
Meghalaya	242.47	1063.09	-3.38
Assam	218.67	130.65	0.40
West Bengal	299.36	122.65	0.59
Jharkhand	562.39	460.84	0.18
Orissa	456.60	192.91	0.58
Chhattisgarh	359.79	214.94	0.40
Madhya Pradesh	324.46	215.80	0.33
Gujarat	203.24	209.75	-0.03
Daman & Diu	288.88	196.66	0.32
D & N Haveli	272.21	193.32	0.29
Maharashtra	434.50	227.32	0.48
Andhra Pradesh	334.04	171.65	0.49
Karnataka	362.92	188.93	0.48
Goa	522.79	285.10	0.45
Kerala	411.75	133.56	0.68
Tamil Nadu	304.64	153.04	0.50
Pondicherry	311.83	209.51	0.33
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	273.84	237.84	0.13

Source: Annual Survey of Industries, 2011-12 (Volume II).

[I] The EMI programme covers only the organised sector of the economy which inter-alia covers all establishments in the public sector irrespective of their size, and non-agricultural establishments in the private sector employing ten or more persons.

[II] Under the EMI programme, collection of data is done following the establishment reporting system. The establishments are required to furnish at regular intervals details about the number of persons they employ by sex, vacancies that have occurred and the type of persons. While the information from non-agricultural establishments in the private sector employing twenty five or more persons is mandatory under the provisions of EE (CNV) Act 1959 data from the establishments employing ten to twenty four persons is collected on a voluntary basis. Questions have often been raised on the reliability due to increasing under coverage and under reporting over the years, But the EMI data has remained the only source on organized employment in the country.

[III] The major advantage of ASI data (released by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, MOSPI) is that it is conducted annually and hence provides time series information. The ASI was launched in 1960 with 1959 as the reference year and is continuing since then except for 1972. The scope and coverage of ASI survey has been modified from time to time. The census (or large scale) sector was modified to include units employing 100 and more workers instead of 200 and more workers. In ASI 2004-05, National Industrial Classification (NIC) 2004 was introduced and from 2008-09, the latest classification NIC-2008 was introduced. Given the fact that industrial sector occupies an important position in the Indian economy, job creation in the industrial sector, particularly manufacturing sector is the key to achieving the employment challenge as envisaged in the 12th Plan.

[IV] Formula for calculating Compound Annual Growth Rate; CAGR *= ((FV/PV)^(1/n)) – 1*; *where FV is the ending value, PV is its beginning value, and n is the # of years.*

[V] As per ASI- Wages/salaries are defined to include all remuneration in monetary terms and also payable more or less regularly in each pay period to workers as compensation for the work done during the accounting year. It includes:

i) Wages and salaries including paid for leave period and holidays;
ii) Payment for dearness, overtime, compensatory, house rent and other allowances;
iii) Production bonus, good attendance bonus, incentive bonus, etc. which are paid more or less regularly for each pay period; and
iv) Lay-off payments and compensation for unemployment except where such payments are made from trust or other social funds set up especially for this purpose.

The amount of wages/salaries payable during the accounting year are expressed in terms of gross value i.e. before deductions for fines, damages, taxes, provident fund, employees' state insurance contribution, etc. For workers employed through contractors, payment made to these workers and not the payment made to the contractors are recorded. Benefits in kind (perquisites) of individual nature are only included. It excludes employer's imputed value of group benefits in kind and travelling and other expenditures incurred for business purposes and reimbursed by the employer.