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Gendered occupational segregation in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata

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Abstract

Liberalization since the early 1980s has placed the big urban agglomerations at the centre of the global economy. The bigger cities have become a place for privileged interactions and exchanges, thus emerging as important actors in this new economic system.¹ This is as true for India as it is elsewhere in the world. An enquiry into such urban agglomerations is important, as it leads one to understand the vital contemporary social, economic and political processes in society. To decode the city is to decode the wider and underlying social structures.

These cities have restructured themselves as prominent participants or leaders in the sectoral shift...to service production, leading to tertiarization of the labour market. This shift has a direct effect on women's work and lives. It is often argued that it has resulted in the greater feminization of the urban labour market and increased fragmentation of women's work.²

In India too, with the development of this sector, the cities have shown tendencies for employment generation and individual prosperity. Evidently women's participation in work is highly dependent on factors that vary from one country to another or from one city to another. In this paper a general picture of the share of women and men workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata has been analyzed as these two cities have different.

Keywords:

1. Introduction

Liberalization since the early 1980s has placed the big urban agglomerations at the centre of the global economy. The bigger cities have become a place for privileged interactions and exchanges, thus emerging as important actors in this new economic system. This is as true for India as it is elsewhere in the world. An enquiry into such urban agglomerations is important, as it leads one to understand the vital contemporary social, economic and political processes in society. To decode the city is to decode the wider and underlying social structures.

These cities have restructured themselves as prominent participants or leaders in the sectoral shift...to service production, leading to tertiarization of the labour market. This shift has a direct effect on women's work and lives. It is often argued that it has resulted in the greater feminization of the urban labour market and increased fragmentation of women's work. Both horizontal and vertical segmentation of women's work is visible today. Horizontal segmentation occurs when the production process is separated into different segments according to the labour process. Vertical segmentation can occur by personal characteristics: age, education, experience, personal connections and so on. Whatever the case may be the employment position of women has altered with the increased inputs of information-intensive work. As a result, in almost all parts of the world the rate of entry of women in the banking, insurance and telecommunications industries has been impressive. Thus women's numerical predominance in the service sector is visible in the urban labour market of most industrialized and developing countries.

In India too, with the development of this sector, the cities have shown tendencies for employment generation and individual prosperity. Evidently women's participation in work is highly dependent on factors that vary from one country to another or from one city to another.

Methods and Materials

The first section in this paper gives a general picture of the share of women and men workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata. This analysis is based on the following data sets

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- 1) Secondary data extracted from:
 - Census of India (1991 and 2001)
 - NSSO (61st Round – 2004-05 and 65th Round – 200910)

The analysis is done in terms of four service categories:

1. Professional, Technical and Related workers
2. Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers
3. Clerical and related workers
4. Sales and “Other” services workers.

The following demographic indicators have been used in the analysis:

- i) Age ii) Education iii) Marital Status iv) Head of Household
- v) Religion vi) Caste vii) Family Type

2.1 The Service Sector in Delhi and Kolkata

The data tabulated in the Table 1 shows the participation of women and men workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata. A very interesting picture emerges from this data. It shows that from 1991 to 2001 the share of women in the service sector of Delhi increased from 8.76 per cent to 16.38 per cent i.e it has nearly doubled. In Kolkata the share of women in the service sector was more in 1991 (18.04 per cent), but it has declined to 14.40 per cent in 2001. In both of these metropolises as elsewhere men dominate the service sector and had a share above 80 per cent both in 1991 and 2001.

Table 1: Women and men workers within the service Sector in delhi and kolkata - 1991 and 2001

| Metropolitan Cities | Women | | Men | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1991 (Percentage share) | 2001 (Percentage share) | 1991 (Percentage share) | 2001 (Percentage share) |
| Delhi | 8.76 | 16.38 | 91.24 | 83.62 |
| Kolkata | 18.04 | 14.40 | 81.96 | 85.60 |

Source: Economic Tables, Census of India, 1991 and 2001, Government of India.

Similar trends were seen as one compares the participation of women and men in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata in the context of total workers. Delhi experienced increase in the share of women in the different services from 59.94 per cent in 1991 to 65.03 in 2001. This can be attributed to the Changes the city is experiencing after the adoption of structural adjustment programme. In Kolkata the picture is entirely different, as, here the share of women in these services declined from 70.94 per cent in 1991 to 55.21 per cent in 2001 (Table 2). When men were considered the data in Table 4.2 shows that their share had decreased in Delhi, while in Kolkata it showed an increasing trend.

Table 2: women and men workers in the total workers In the service sector in delhi and kolkata - 1991 and 2001.

| Metropolitan Cities | Women | | Men | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1991 (Percentage share) | 2001 (Percentage share) | 1991 (Percentage share) | 2001 (Percentage share) |
| Delhi | 59.94 | 65.03 | 50.06 | 48.27 |
| Kolkata | 70.94 | 55.21 | 22.80 | 55.31 |

Source: Economic Tables, Census of India, 1991 and 2001, Government of India

The data in the Tables 3, 4, 5, shows the predominance of women in professional and related services in the service sector in Delhi and Kolkata. A detailed analysis of data in Table 4.3 shows that women workers were mainly concentrated in professional, technical and related services and their share in these services has increased over time both for Delhi and Kolkata. In 2001, 56.38 per cent of women workers in the service sector of Delhi (38.35 per cent in 1991) and 45.62 per cent in Kolkata (were either employed or engaged in these services. But here they were mainly confined to two jobs, namely, a) teachers and b) nurses and other medical and health technicians.

Teachers were the dominant group (Table 4) among women workers in the service sector of Delhi (nearly 25 per cent in 1991 and 29 per cent in 2001) and Kolkata (nearly 25 per cent in 1991 and 23 per cent in 2001), as even today teaching is regarded as the best occupation for the women. This is because teaching is looked upon as affine way for young women in urban areas to earn money and to use their education. It is also the result of the phenomenal growth of the educational establishments and institutions in India since Independence. Nurses or other medicine and health technicians are generally women as these jobs are associated with the caring nature of women.

Table 3: women and men workers in different services (one - digit) in delhi and kolkata - 1991 and 2001

| Cities | Professional, Technical and Related workers | | | | Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers | | | | Clerical and Related Workers | | | | Sales and Service Workers | | | |
|---------|---|------|-------------------------|------|--|------|-------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|---------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|
| | 1991 (Percentage share) | | 2001 (Percentage share) | | 1991 (Percentage share) | | 2001 (Percentage share) | | 1991 (Percentage share) | | 2001 (Percentage share) | | 1991 (Percentage share) | | 2001 (Percentage share) | |
| | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M |
| Delhi | 38.6 | 16.2 | 56.4 | 17.9 | 4.7 | 20.2 | 8.1 | 16.3 | 27.4 | 23.4 | 18.3 | 14.3 | 29.5 | 57.1 | 17.2 | 51.5 |
| Kolkata | 35.2 | 18.4 | 45.6 | 11.5 | 1.8 | 15.6 | 4.1 | 9.6 | 18.5 | 26.4 | 19.6 | 22.7 | 44.5 | 54.6 | 30.6 | 56.2 |

Source: Economic Tables, Census of India, 1991 and 2001, Government of India.

In the case of men the trends were different as most of them were either employed or engaged as sales or service workers (more than 50 per cent in 2001 both for Delhi and Kolkata). The interesting picture which emerges here is that in sales and other services the share of women workers has shown a decline in both these cities. Another feature which can be interpreted from the above data is that women are entering some of the male dominated services. For example, if we see the case of administrative, executive and managerial services (legislators, senior officials and managers for 2001) the share of women in these services has increased from 4.70 per cent in 1991 to 8.07 per cent in 2001 in Delhi and from 1.77 per cent in 1991 to 4.10 in 2001 in Kolkata. This clearly indicates that from 1991 to 2001 there was some change in the structural composition of the service sector in these two cities. The most prominent of them being that women have started entering into services which were often regarded or specified as jobs exclusively for men. The share of women in sales and other services was also high; among these the

proportion of domestic servants was particularly high in Kolkata (30.17 per cent in 1991), this is because here cheaper workers are available from the immediate rural hinterland. Moreover, personal services such as domestic work, cleaning and cooking services and taking care of children and the elderly, are increasing rapidly in the urban areas. With rising female labour force participation rate the demand for personal services grows since employed women spend a higher proportion of their income on services which they themselves would have rendered with in the household had they not been employed.

Another segment where women are preferred is the clerical services. It is said that the introduction of the typewriter in the last quarter of the nineteenth century restructured clerical occupations and provided new avenues for women. Women were somewhat forced into clerical jobs as the opportunities for entering professions were limited. Another reason can be that many women give up their jobs when they get married or become mothers, these jobs provide easy entry into the labour market as it requires relatively short training.

Table 4: women and men workers in different services (two- digit) in delhi and kolkata - 1991

| OCCUPATIONS | DELHI | | KOLKATA | |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) |
| 1. PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS | 38.35 | 15.85 | 35.17 | 18.35 |
| i) Teachers | 25.83 | 2.35 | 24.06 | 3.48 |
| ii) Nursing and other Medical and Health Technicians | 4.26 | 0.38 | 6.32 | 0.65 |
| iii) Physicians and Surgeons | 2.44 | 1.29 | 1.38 | 1.07 |
| iv) Accountants, Auditors and Related Workers | 1.65 | 3.06 | 0.46 | 1.31 |
| v) Jurists | 0.33 | 0.51 | 0.38 | 0.67 |
| vi) Other Professions | 3.84 | 8.26 | 2.57 | 11.17 |
| 2. ADMINISTRATIVE AND EXECUTIVE WORKERS | 4.70 | 13.77 | 1.77 | 15.59 |
| i) Working Proprietors, Directors and Managers: Construction and Manufacturing | 1.31 | 5.32 | 0.53 | 3.20 |
| ii) Administrative and Executive Officials: Government and Local Bodies | 0.81 | 1.48 | 0.32 | 0.64 |
| iii) Directors and Managers: Financial Institutions | 0.65 | 0.68 | 0.17 | 1.08 |
| iv) Working Proprietors, Directors and Managers: Trade | 0.61 | 2.51 | 0.28 | 1.71 |
| v) Other Administrative and Executive Services | 1.32 | 3.78 | 0.47 | 8.96 |
| 3. CLERICAL WORKERS | 27.44 | 27.64 | 18.52 | 26.41 |
| i) Clerical and Related Workers | 11.64 | 13.15 | 12.47 | 18.94 |
| ii) Stenographers and Typists | 5.85 | 1.48 | 1.90 | 0.98 |
| iii) Book-keepers, Cashiers and related workers | 2.90 | 2.22 | 1.23 | 2.85 |
| iv) Clerical and Other Supervisors | 5.06 | 4.49 | 1.76 | 2.89 |
| v) Other Clerical Services | 1.99 | 6.30 | 1.16 | 0.75 |
| 4. SALES AND SERVICE WORKERS | 29.51 | 60.02 | 44.54 | 54.63 |
| i) Salesmen, Shop Assistants and related workers | 4.21 | 15.72 | 2.62 | 13.27 |
| ii) Merchants and Shopkeepers | 3.40 | 17.88 | 4.22 | 23.14 |
| iii) Insurance, Real Estate, Securities and Auctioneers | 0.39 | 1.69 | 0.38 | 1.06 |
| iv) Maids, other house - keeping workers, n.e.c. | 9.99 | 1.99 | 30.17 | 1.84 |
| v) Sweepers, Cleaners and related workers | 7.45 | 3.35 | 2.05 | 1.81 |
| vi) Hotel and Restaurant Keepers | 0.37 | 1.56 | 0.16 | 0.59 |
| vii) Other Sales and Services | 3.70 | 17.81 | 4.94 | 12.72 |
| TOTAL (1-4) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Economic Tables, Census of India, 1991

Table 5: women and men workers in different services (two- digit)in delhi and kolkata - 2001

| OCCUPATIONS | DELHI | | KOLKATA | |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) |
| 1. LEGISTRATORS, SENIOR OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS | 8.07 | 16.32 | 4.10 | 9.59 |
| Legislators and Senior Officials | 2.79 | 4.40 | 0.93 | 1.19 |
| Corporate Managers | 5.25 | 11.91 | 3.15 | 8.41 |
| 2. PROFESSIONALS, TECHNICAL AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS | 56.38 | 17.92 | 45.62 | 11.50 |
| Life Science and Health Professionals | 8.99 | 7.60 | 8.75 | 3.53 |
| Teaching and Associate Professionals | 28.50 | 1.87 | 23.01 | 2.40 |
| Other Professionals | 15.19 | 8.46 | 12.02 | 5.58 |
| 3. CLERKS | 18.27 | 14.28 | 19.65 | 22.75 |
| Office Clerks | 15.82 | 12.59 | 18.08 | 21.75 |
| Customer Service Clerks | 2.46 | 1.69 | 1.59 | 1.07 |
| 4. SERVICE WORKERS, SHOP AND MARKET SALES WORKERS | 17.24 | 51.49 | 30.57 | 56.16 |
| Personal and Protective Service Workers | 9.24 | 11.87 | 16.51 | 10.60 |
| Models, Sales Persons and Demonstrators | 8.01 | 39.62 | 14.08 | 45.55 |
| TOTAL (1 – 4) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Economic Tables, Census of India, 2001

Table 6: women and men workers in different servicesin delhi and kolkata - 2004-05

| OCCUPATIONS | DELHI | | KOLKATA | |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) |
| Professional, Technical and Related Workers | 25.95 | 9.83 | 37.62 | 15.86 |
| Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers | 17.62 | 32.03 | 12.71 | 23.38 |
| Clerical Workers | 13.32 | 17.23 | 4.95 | 14.80 |
| Sales and Service Workers | 43.10 | 40.91 | 44.72 | 45.97 |
| Total Workers | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st Round (2004-05)

Table 7: women and men workers in different servicesin delhi and kolkata – 2009-10

| OCCUPATIONS | DELHI | | KOLKATA | |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) | Women (Percentage share) | Men (Percentage share) |
| Professional, Technical and Associate Professionals | 37.48 | 18.95 | 47.99 | 20.82 |
| Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 14.89 | 53.09 | 11.20 | 22.88 |
| Clerks | 26.04 | 9.40 | 5.67 | 15.75 |
| Service Workers, Shop and Market Sales Workers | 21.59 | 18.56 | 35.14 | 40.54 |
| Total Workers | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 65th Round (2009-10)

2.1.2 Comparative Analysis of data from Census and NSSO

The above analysis clearly indicates the presence of occupational segregation in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata. The scenario in 2009-10 was very much similar to that in 1991 with some minor changes in the share. The data from NSSO and Census, when compared, clearly indicates that women in Delhi and Kolkata were mainly employed in professional and related services. Here, although the term professional has been used in the National Classification of Occupations, but this category includes large number of services such as physical scientists, jurists, accountants, teachers, social scientists, physicians and surgeons, nurses etc. These sub-categories also differ in their remuneration levels. Women were mainly confined in teaching or in

services related to medicine/health especially nursing; the jobs which are generally considered feminine. Similar findings emerge from the primary survey also, as the data shows that in both these cities nearly 30 per cent of the women in the service sector were employed in either of the two (approximately 20 per cent in educational institutions and 10 per cent with medical establishments).

On the basis of Census and NSSO data, it is seen that another segment where women were in large proportion was “other” services which mainly comprises of domestic servants or maids. This forms a part of the informal sector in these cities. The primary survey brings out a similar picture as nearly 13.3 per cent of women workers in Delhi and 32 per cent in Kolkata were engaged in private informal services or were self-employed.

This clearly shows that even after globalization the labour market in Delhi and Kolkata is segregated. The analysis also brings out the fact that the labour market is also gendered. As men were mostly employed or engaged in administrative and managerial or executive services in Delhi or in “other” services which include shop and market sales workers in Kolkata. The interplay of capitalism and patriarchy leads women and men to perform different economic roles in society. Hence, the economic opportunities created by the liberalization are highly unequal. For most woman workers there is no equality of employment and opportunities either for skill development or moving up the ladder are limited with very low income returns.

For a better understanding of women’s labour market participation one has to analyze the interlocking economic, social and cultural processes which combine to influence their role in the economic sphere of the society. Women can become trapped within the most unstable sectors of the economy due to the perception that their priority is their home life and the assumption that they will not be interested in the advancement of their career. This has resulted in the development of hierarchy in the labour market with women primarily placed at the lower end.

In Delhi, paid domestic service is a middle-class necessity. Here, the demand is maintained through a regular flow of migrant workers. These are the most exploitative section as they work for long hours on very low wages without any kind of social security but employment in domestic service appears to be the only promising option for many disadvantaged groups or section with limited opportunities.

The growth in personal services is often attributed to the rise of urban middle class or the emergence of dual careers as a new family norm. Employing personal servants and domestics is no longer a symbol of wealth; but is now largely a middle class and upper middle class phenomenon. Moreover, migrant rural women choose to work as domestic workers in spite of the lower pay and more poorly regulated working conditions, because domestic space of the urban home is often perceived to be safer and more respectable for rural women.

In the case of Kolkata this segregation can be explained in the historical context. In the colonial period participation of women in the labour market was much lower as compared to the rest of the country. Moreover, traditional household

industries or rural industries of tea and jute were there main employers. However, with the introduction of modernization in the industry the avenues of work shrank for them. The only area where women replaced men in Bengal towards the closing decades of colonial rule was domestic service. Young women moved from the rural areas to work in middle class homes. This was accompanied by the increase in the demand for domestic services among the middle and rich classes in colonial Bengal that facilitated there increasing participation in such services. The trend continued even after Independence, as the data shows that even in the 1960s and 1970s, 60 per cent of women workers in Calcutta Metropolitan District were employed in the unorganized sector, with a substantial number in domestic service.

2.2 Demographic Characteristics of Working Women in the Service Sector and its Different Services in Delhi and Kolkata

In the following section a general picture of the demographic characteristics of working women in the service sector and its different activities in Delhi and Kolkata is presented.

2.2.1 Age

The data in the Table 4.9 shows the age-wise distribution of women and men workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata. Most of the workers in the service sector be it women or men were between the ages 20 to 50 years. This clearly means that the active or the working population of these cities are either employed or engaged in these services. When we see the segregation within this group we find that nearly 60 per cent of women in the service sector of Delhi were between 20 to 40 years in 2004-05 and this share has increased to over 75 per cent in 2009-10.

In Kolkata too, the share of women in this age-group has increased although at a slower rate. In 2009-10, 65 per cent of women in Kolkata’s service sector were in this group, with as many as 10 per cent of women above 50 years and 1 per cent above 60 years. Their share has increased from about 2 per cent in 2004-05. When compared to Delhi, only 5 per cent of its women workers were above the age of 50 years and none above 60 years. In the case of men similar situation prevailed with men between 20-50 years dominating these services.

Table 9: Age of women and men workers in the service sector in delhi and kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> |
| DELHI | | | | |
| Less than 20 | 3.96 | 7.82 | 1.78 | 3.21 |
| 20-30 | 28.42 | 26.81 | 51.17 | 26.94 |
| 30-40 | 40.84 | 30.65 | 26.59 | 34.16 |
| 40-50 | 22.07 | 22.53 | 15.57 | 22.64 |
| 50-60 | 4.62 | 10.32 | 4.89 | 9.99 |
| 60 and above | 0.09 | 1.87 | 0.00 | 3.06 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| Less than 20 | 12.67 | 17.71 | 1.18 | 3.05 |
| 20-30 | 34.65 | 27.14 | 39.08 | 12.95 |
| 30-40 | 23.92 | 10.26 | 25.69 | 29.01 |
| 40-50 | 21.51 | 25.83 | 16.25 | 32.64 |
| 50-60 | 1.81 | 15.35 | 16.76 | 13.97 |
| 60 and above | 5.44 | 3.71 | 1.03 | 8.38 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

When analyzed at the level of different activities, it is observed that in the case of all the four types of services nearly 65 per cent of women were in the age group of 24 to 40 years in 2004-05. Only minor changes in their share occur in each of the categories in 2009-10. Women above the age of 60 were present only (0.22 per cent) in sales and other services in 2004-05.

Men were also concentrated in the age-group of 20 to 50 years, but there were differences within the sector. In administrative, executive and managerial services they were mainly found in the age group of 20 to 30 years (about 45 per cent). The share was higher for 30 to 40 years age group for professionals and technical services and clerical services. In 2004-05 some proportion of men above 60 years were also found in these services but their share decreased in 2009-10 as they were only found in administrative, executive and managerial services.

A very different picture is seen when the age-wise distribution of women and men workers in different service activities of Kolkata is analyzed. As in most of the services, except sales and other services; nearly 50 per cent of women were between 20 to 30 years in 2004-05. In sales and services 60 per cent of women were between 50 to 60 years. In 2009-10, however there are signs of dispersion as now women in the age groups of 40-50 and 50-60 were also visible except for clerical services where they were concentrated between 20-30 years (about 80 per cent). This indicates that in recent times there has been influx of women workers in these services.

In the case of men the distribution was more even as in none of the age groups mentioned here has more than 50 per cent of men workers; there are evidences of such concentration among women workers. Moreover, in some services nearly 25 per cent of men workers were above 60 years –

administrative and related services and clerical services in 2004-05. Their share has decreased in 2009-10 but still 10 per cent of them were found in administrative and related services or in sales and other services.

All the sources of the data, therefore, clearly show that the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata is mainly constituted of a younger population (20 – 40 years) as is clear from the summary given below.

- Delhi: 69.26 per cent in 2004-05 (NSSO 61st Round) 77.76 per cent in 2009-10 (NSSO 65th Round)
- Kolkata: 58.57 per cent in 2004-05 (NSSO 61st Round) 54.77 per cent in 2009-10(NSSO 65th Round)

This indicates that both in Delhi and Kolkata, younger women are preferred in the service sector irrespective of the nature of the activity they are engaged in. Studies show that younger women are preferred as they are more reliable and obedient. In Delhi the share of women in the age group of 50 -60 years was less than 20 per cent in all the service activities. The share of working women in this age group increased to 23.1 per cent in 2009-10 from 1.82 per cent in 2004-05.

2.2.2 Level of Education

Education is directly related to the nature of job one performs, be it women or men. The data in Table 10 shows the levels of education among the women and men workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata. In Delhi about 25 per cent of women workers in 2004-05 were illiterate or not literate. In comparison the share of illiterate men was less than 5 per cent. In 2009-10, the share of illiterate women decreased to 14.44 per cent, while that of men did not show much change. At both times, the share of illiterate women was more than that of men.

Table 10: level of education of women and men workers in the service sector in delhi and Kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> |
| DELHI | | | | |
| Not literate | 25.59 | 4.98 | 14.44 | 4.37 |
| Less than primary | 3.81 | 4.87 | 5.80 | 7.59 |
| Primary | 5.90 | 9.20 | 1.77 | 11.00 |
| Middle | 2.63 | 13.62 | 3.29 | 17.82 |
| Secondary | 4.70 | 12.34 | 8.65 | 22.34 |
| Higher secondary | 15.49 | 15.51 | 58.85 | 2.46 |
| Graduate and above | 41.88 | 34.61 | 7.21 | 34.41 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| Not literate | 28.86 | 5.89 | 2.06 | 5.01 |
| Up to primary | 12.41 | 8.37 | 14.32 | 12.80 |
| Primary | 5.91 | 11.73 | 13.61 | 13.84 |
| Middle | 3.40 | 14.21 | 6.09 | 12.94 |
| Secondary | 12.13 | 14.08 | 5.35 | 13.06 |
| Higher secondary | 5.43 | 7.65 | 41.59 | 8.30 |
| Graduate and above | 31.87 | 38.06 | 16.98 | 34.05 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

The share of women with graduation or education above graduation also increased from 41.88 per cent in 2004-05 to 57.21 per cent in 2009-10. This indicates that more educated women have entered in the service sector of Delhi. The situation is quite similar in Kolkata, where the share of women with graduation or more than graduation has increased from 31.87 per cent in 2004-05 to 46.98 per cent in 2009-10. Here, the share of illiterate women decreased significantly from 28.86 per cent in 2004-05 to 2.06 per cent in 2009-10. This indicates that service sector is providing opportunities to educated women in Delhi and Kolkata. For men, the situation does not show much change between 2004-05 and 2009-10. The share of graduate men was above 30 per cent and that of illiterate men was less than six per cent for both the years in Delhi as well as Kolkata.

In most of the services within the service sector, both women and men are graduates or have attained higher levels of education, except for those engaged or employed in sales or other services. The reason is that in most of these services, a large section of workers are employed in informal activities with no or very little training and skills. In professional, technical, administrative, executive and managerial services proper education with skills and training is essential.

2.2.3 Marital Status

The data in Table 11 shows the marital status of women and men workers in the service sector in Delhi and Kolkata for 2004-05 and 2009-10. Most of the women employed or engaged in the services sector of Delhi and Kolkata were either never married or currently married. The share of separated and divorced women was less than 3 per cent. Similar situation existed among men, with most of them currently married and very small share (less than one per cent) divorced or separated.

Table 11: marital status of women and men workers in the Service sector in delhi and kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> | <i>Women</i> | <i>Men</i> |
| DELHI | | | | |
| Never married | 12.26 | 20.06 | 26.23 | 14.15 |
| Currently married | 65.15 | 78.83 | 65.02 | 84.26 |
| Widowed | 20.34 | 1.01 | 9.25 | 1.52 |
| Divorced/separated | 2.25 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.06 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| Never married | 36.70 | 27.72 | 35.03 | 19.52 |
| Currently married | 46.08 | 70.76 | 46.45 | 79.01 |
| Widowed | 16.13 | 1.50 | 16.76 | 1.43 |
| Divorced/separated | 1.09 | 0.02 | 1.76 | 0.04 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

The data on marital status for women and men workers in different services reveal that in most of the cases the workers be it women and men are either currently married or never married. The proportion of separated and divorced workers is very few in both the cities. Although a significant proportion of women workers in professional services of Delhi and administrative services in Kolkata are widows.

2.2.4 Head of Household

The data in the Table 12 shows that in 2004-05 both in Delhi and Kolkata nearly 22 -23 per cent of women in this sector were heading their own households; the share decreased in 2009-10. This can be related to the marital status of these women.

Table 12: head of households in the service sector in Delhi and kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| | Women | Men | Women | Men |
| DELHI | | | | |
| Self | 23.48 | 68.32 | 13.71 | 68.67 |
| Spouse of Head | 37.74 | 0.08 | 27.95 | 0.57 |
| Others | 38.79 | 31.60 | 58.35 | 30.76 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| Self | 22.37 | 55.74 | 13.58 | 67.43 |
| Spouse of Head | 22.67 | 1.19 | 20.09 | 0.04 |
| Others | 54.97 | 43.07 | 66.33 | 32.53 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

Among different services within the service sector in most of the household's husbands or other members of the family were the head. Women headed households were lesser in number both in Delhi and Kolkata. In Delhi these households were mainly found among clerical and sales and other services in 2004-05. The picture changed in 2009-10 as now most of such households were found among the professional and technical related workers.

In Kolkata also women headed households were common among clerical workers in 2004-05, although their proportion has decreased over time. The major difference between the two cities is that in Kolkata in most of the households it is the other member of the household who is the head, showing signs of prevalence of joint families. On the contrary in Delhi, most of the households are headed by the husband or the women worker; clearly indicating that majority of households in Delhi are nuclear in nature.

2.2.5 Religion (Data from NSSO)

The data in the Table 13 provides the distribution of women and men workers of the service sector with reference to their religion. The data shows that in both the cities, this sector was composed of Hindu women (above 90 per cent), with very few women from other religions. Among men, Muslim men were entering into these jobs and had a share of nearly 10 per cent in Delhi as well as in Kolkata.

Table 13: Religion of women and men workers in the service sector in delhi and kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| | Women | Men | Women | Men |
| DELHI | | | | |
| Hindu | 90.44 | 88.65 | 93.46 | 85.84 |
| Muslim | 1.18 | 5.70 | 1.74 | 11.43 |
| Christian | 2.92 | 1.34 | 0.30 | 0.00 |
| Sikh | 3.62 | 2.90 | 2.29 | 1.27 |
| Others | 1.85 | 1.41 | 2.22 | 1.46 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| Hindu | 93.68 | 86.33 | 98.36 | 88.59 |
| Muslim | 5.37 | 10.58 | 1.64 | 11.19 |
| Christian | 0.95 | 0.47 | 0.00 | 0.23 |
| Others | 0.00 | 2.62 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

The analysis of distribution of women and men workers in different categories of the service sector on the basis of their religion clearly shows that the majority of workers in this sector, be it women or men, were Hindus (more than 8 per cent in all the categories) both in Delhi and Kolkata in 2004-05 as well as in 2009-10.

Exceptions were administrative, executive and managerial services in Kolkata for 2004-05 (77.79 per cent). In Delhi, Sikh women were mainly concentrated in clerical jobs but their share has gone down. In Kolkata on the other hand they had practically disappeared from the scenario. In the case of Muslim women, in 2004-05 a small number was found in sales and other services. In 2009-10, they entered in some professional services (11 per cent) in Delhi. In Kolkata in 2004-05 some Muslim women were found in each of these services but in 2009-10, they were confined only to professional and technical services (Appendix 22).

2.2.6 Caste (Data from NSSO)

The caste distribution of the workers in the service sector has been analyzed in the Table 14, which shows the dominance of general population (about 65-75 per cent in Delhi and above 80 per cent in Kolkata both for 2004-05 and 2009-10).

Table 14: caste of women and men workers in the service sector In delhi and kolkata 2004-05 and 2009-10

| | 2004-05 | | 2009-10 | |
|----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| | Women | Men | Women | Men |
| DELHI | | | | |
| ST | 0.63 | 0.90 | 0.00 | 0.15 |
| SC | 24.37 | 20.57 | 19.95 | 8.54 |
| OBC | 6.20 | 10.83 | 7.36 | 16.60 |
| Others | 68.80 | 67.70 | 72.70 | 74.71 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| KOLKATA | | | | |
| ST | 0.00 | 1.66 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| SC | 5.97 | 10.00 | 9.86 | 7.33 |
| OBC | 0.63 | 3.35 | 8.13 | 9.69 |
| Others | 93.40 | 84.98 | 82.01 | 82.98 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: NSSO 61st (2004-05) and 65th Round (2009-10)

The predominance of Hindus in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata is again visible as one analyses the caste structure of the working population. In most of the services except sales and other services, the "general" category had a higher share (more than nearly 70 per cent).

In Delhi, the proportion of scheduled caste population was quite high in the sales and other services both for men and women. This can be attributed to the fact that these services comprise of several such jobs which have been traditionally done by people from the scheduled categories. These jobs are domestic services, sweeping etc.

In the case of Kolkata a similar picture emerges, the only difference being that here "other backward castes" were also a part of these services (Appendix 23). When men were considered, the hierarchy still prevails, with upper castes mainly in all these jobs except sales and other services. They were different from women only in one aspect; men from

both scheduled and other backward castes were part of the labour market. Scheduled tribes were practically absent, with very few in administrative, executive and managerial services.

3. Conclusions

1. In the case of Delhi, the share of women workers in the service sector has increased from 1991 to 2001 while its share has decreased in Kolkata. In both these metropolitan cities working women were mainly concentrated in professional and technical services and over time their share in these services has increased. This can be attributed to the fact that these services mainly comprise of work in education and medicine/health i.e jobs generally associated with women.
2. Another category where women workers were increasing in number consisted of the administrative, executive and managerial services. The share of women in these services has nearly doubled from 1991 to 2001 in Delhi as well as in Kolkata. While, the share of women in clerical, sales and "other" services had decreased from 1991 to 2001. Similar trends were visible for the period 2004-05 and 2009-10.
3. The demographic profile of the women workers in the service sector of Delhi and Kolkata show that most of the women in the selected sample were between the ages of 20 to 40 years. This is perhaps because employers prefer them young. In Kolkata, the proportion of younger women in different service activities was lower in comparison to Delhi. Majority of the women in the service sector were between the ages of 31-50 years. This means that from quite some time women have been engaged in these services here.
4. With regard to marital status majority of the working women in the service sector were married except for those engaged in professional and technical services. Most of them lived in nuclear families (except service workers in Kolkata) with their husband or other member of the family heading the household. In the case of religion, most of the workers in this sector were Hindus.
5. In terms of educational qualifications of working women, the situation was better in Kolkata than in Delhi, here nearly half of the sample was either graduate or post graduate or had some other professional degree. While in Delhi, there were variations among the levels of education attained by the women. These variations were on the basis of their occupations. Most of the women in personal services were either illiterate or had lower levels of educational qualifications, while, professional, technical or administrative service workers had higher levels of educational attainment

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