

WOMEN IN URBAN LABOUR MARKET OF INDIA

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CERTIFICATE

It is to certify that the thesis entitled “Women in Urban Labour Market of India” being submitted by Ms. Deeksha Tayal to the Indian Institute of Technology Delhi for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Department of Humanities and Social Sciences is a record of the bonafide research work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance. She has fulfilled the requirements for the submission of this thesis, which to the best of my knowledge has reached the requisite standard.

The material contained in the thesis has not been submitted in part or full to other University or Institute for the award of any other degree or diploma.

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ABSTRACT

In India, female labour force participation rate has always been low, despite high economic growth and rising education levels. Conventional wisdom suggests that in an urbanizing economy, with increase in job opportunities, rise education levels of women, decline in fertility rates, more women are likely to enter the labour market. The Indian experience, however, has been exactly the opposite. The section of urban women with secondary and above education increased from 20.3 percent in 1983-84 to 48.3 percent in 2011-12. However, the female labour force participation has remained low and stagnant at around 25 percent. Thus, rapid urbanization has been unable to pull educated women into the labour force.

The central aim of the thesis is to explore the labour market behaviour of urban women and examine the various dimensions of this problem of low and stagnant labour force participation rate. The unit level National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data from various quinquennial rounds of employment surveys, forms the basis of analysis in the thesis.

The second chapter of the thesis begins with an introduction to the problem of low and stagnant labour force participation rate of women in urban India. The methodology involves a detailed analysis of long-term trends in the female labour force participation rate by personal attributes of women like age, marital status, and education level. We supplement our theoretical findings with the non-parametric technique of classification and regression analysis (CART). The utility of CART analysis in this study arises from the fact that it helps us explore the optimal manner of interaction between the three key variables to identify the women who are more likely to be linked with this problem of urban labour market. Focussing on the sample of non-student urban women in the working age group of 15 to 59 years, we find that between 1987 and 2000, the labour force participation rates declined for all women, irrespective of the age-cohort. However, in 2011-12, the rates increased substantially for the younger cohort women (15 to 29 years), and the older cohort (30 to 59 years) experienced a stagnation. In the older cohort, the stagnation pertains mainly to married women with secondary and above education.

In conclusion, the improvement in the education levels of married women doesn't seem to be translating into a rise in their labour force participation rates. On the other hand, in 2011-12, younger women in the age-group of 15 to 29 years, witnessed an increase in their labour force participation rates along with a rise in their education levels. Given the results from the second chapter, the next chapter of the thesis, focuses on the women in the younger age-cohort.

Thereafter, rest two chapters of the thesis focus on the supply and demand side problems of the married women in urban India.

In the third chapter, we examine the labour market problems of non-student women in the age-cohorts of 15 to 29 years. Education-wise analysis of trends shows that within this age-cohort, the participation rates of the higher qualified graduate women increased substantially by 9 percentage points. Their rates increased from 37.3 percent in 1999-2000 to 46.2 percent in 2011-12. Given such an optimistic situation, the chapter, aims at finding an answer to the second research question of whether the rise in the labour force participation rate of young graduate women is supplemented by an improvement in their access to employment opportunities, particularly in the formal salaried sector.

The chapter found that the increase in the labour force participation rate of young graduate women in 2011-12, is not accompanied by a corresponding improvement in their labour market outcomes, both in terms of unemployment rates and quality of regular jobs. Women with a graduate degree have high unemployment rates exceeding 30 percent, and despite concentration in regular jobs, their relative employment shares in such jobs, witnessed stagnation in 2011-12. No such decline or stagnation was witnessed by young lesser educated women (below secondary education), and men with graduate level education. Also, the labour market conditions of graduate women continue to be worse than that of graduate men, depicting the presence of gender discrimination. Hence, in the absence of improvement in the employment opportunities for these women, the discouragement effect may either keep them in the state of unemployment or may result in their withdrawal from the labour force. This may also disincentivise the future entry of educated women into the labour market.

Explanations for the lack of positive association between education level and labour force participation rate of urban married women lie in a complex set of inter-related supply and demand side factors of the labour market. On the supply side, patriarchal constraints and socio-cultural institutions impede the use of educational skills of women by limiting the availability of labour market time. They also influence the perception about the nature of women's work outside the household. On the demand side, poor labour market conditions, inadequate employment opportunities, lack of quality jobs, and gender discrimination may discourage their entry into the labour force. In order to explore these dimensions, the remaining two chapters of the thesis focus on the supply and demand side of the labour market.

The fourth chapter focusses on the supply side factors. We utilise a direct question in the National Sample Survey (NSS) questionnaire to isolate the supply side factors from the demand side factors. Women in full-time domesticity were asked whether they were willing to join the labour market if a job is made available at their household. Answer to this question somehow disassociates their willingness from the constraints coming from the demand side of the labour market. All such willing women constitute potential or latent labour supply and their entry into the labour market may enhance the female labour force participation rate of India. The chapter empirically estimates the importance of intra-household bargaining power of married women, proxied by the couple years of education gap, in determining the probability of their integration into the labour force. The key finding of the chapter is that it is the increase in the relative education level of married women, and not the absolute level, which has a significantly positive impact on the probability of their entry into the labour market. The results emphasise the fact that the reduction in the gender gap in education, particularly at higher education level (secondary and above), may gradually pave the way for a reduction in the gender gap in labour force participation rates.

Focussing on married women, chapter five examines the demand side of the labour market. Poor labour market conditions may impose a discouraging effect on married women's labour supply decision. We empirically test for the importance of discouraged worker effect in explaining the labour market behaviour of married women in urban India. The discouraged worker effect may arise from gender-based wage discrimination and underemployment. A three-stage district-level analysis of female labour market behaviour is undertaken, and selectivity bias is controlled for by using censored probit in the second stage and trivariate probit in the third stage of this multi-level framework. We find that the gender wage discrimination discourages women from participating in the labour market, and the prevalence of underemployment in the form of overqualified employees, discourages them from exploring better employment opportunities by making on-job search efforts.

The conclusions from the detailed analysis of the labour market behaviour of urban women, spread across four chapters of the thesis, provide an answer to the central aim of the thesis. In urban India, the problem of low and stagnant labour force participation rate relates primarily to married women in the age-cohorts of 30 to 59 years. Even a rise in education levels to secondary and above doesn't seem to improve their participation rates.

In case of young urban graduate women in the age-cohort of 15 to 29 years, the high and rising trend in the labour force participation rates (between 2000 and 2012) is not accompanied by a corresponding improvement in their labour market conditions. Women with a graduate degree have high unemployment rates exceeding 30 percent. Graduate women are mainly concentrated in regular jobs, but their relative employment shares in such jobs witnessed stagnation. Moreover, among 80 percent of the graduate women employed in salaried jobs, a very small section has access to decent working conditions. It is found that the employment opportunities and quality of jobs are unequally distributed between graduate women and men, depicting the presence of gender discrimination in the labour market.

On the other hand, married women in urban India are trapped in a vicious cycle of low labour force participation rate. On the supply side, domestic work burden, patriarchal norms, and socio-cultural institutions restrict their labour force entry. We found that a rise in the education level of married women and a corresponding improvement in the couple years of education gap may enhance their relative intra-household bargaining power. This rise in bargaining power is the key determinant having a positive association with the probability of integrating married women into the labour market. Nevertheless, on the demand side, even if the married women manage to gain access to the labour market, stereotypes against them tend to govern their labour market outcomes. Marital status of women, their childbearing and domestic responsibilities, and secondary earner status within the family, generates perceptions about their commitment and ability to perform jobs. The result is high unemployment rates for educated women, poor quality jobs lacking formal working conditions, and gender wage discrimination. All this may again discourage entry of educated, married women into the labour market.

सार

भारत में, उच्च आर्थिक विकास और बढ़ते शिक्षा स्तरों के बावजूद, महिला श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर हमेशा कम रही है। पारंपरिक ज्ञान बताता है कि एक शहरीकरण अर्थव्यवस्था में, नौकरी के अवसरों में वृद्धि, महिलाओं के शिक्षा स्तर में वृद्धि, प्रजनन दर में गिरावट के साथ, अधिक महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार में प्रवेश करने की संभावना है। हालाँकि, भारतीय अनुभव इसके ठीक विपरीत रहा है। माध्यमिक और उच्च शिक्षा वाली शहरी महिलाओं का वर्ग 1983-84 में 20.3 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 2011-12 में 48.3 प्रतिशत हो गया। हालांकि, महिला श्रम बल की भागीदारी कम बनी हुई है और लगभग 25 प्रतिशत पर स्थिर है। इस प्रकार, तेजी से शहरीकरण शिक्षित महिलाओं को श्रम बल में खींचने में असमर्थ रहा है।

थीसिस का केंद्रीय उद्देश्य शहरी महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार व्यवहार का पता लगाना और निम्न और स्थिर श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर की इस समस्या के विभिन्न आयामों की जांच करना है। रोजगार सर्वेक्षण के विभिन्न पंचवर्षीय दौरों से इकाई स्तरीय राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण संगठन (एनएसएसओ) के आंकड़े थीसिस में विश्लेषण का आधार बनते हैं।

थीसिस का दूसरा अध्याय शहरी भारत में महिलाओं की कम और स्थिर श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर की समस्या के परिचय के साथ शुरू होता है। इस पद्धति में महिलाओं की व्यक्तिगत विशेषताओं जैसे उम्र, वैवाहिक स्थिति और शिक्षा स्तर द्वारा महिला श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर में दीर्घकालिक रुझानों का विस्तृत विश्लेषण शामिल है। हम अपने सैद्धांतिक निष्कर्षों को वर्गीकरण और प्रतिगमन विश्लेषण (कार्ट) की गैर-पैरामीट्रिक तकनीक के साथ पूरक करते हैं। इस अध्ययन में कार्ट विश्लेषण की उपयोगिता इस तथ्य से उत्पन्न होती है कि यह शहरी श्रम बाजार की इस समस्या से जुड़ी महिलाओं की पहचान करने के लिए तीन प्रमुख चर के बीच बातचीत के इष्टतम तरीके का पता लगाने में हमारी सहायता करता है। 15 से 59 वर्ष के कामकाजी आयु वर्ग में गैर-छात्र शहरी महिलाओं के नमूने पर ध्यान केंद्रित करते हुए, हम पाते हैं कि 1987 और 2000 के बीच, सभी महिलाओं के लिए श्रम बल की भागीदारी दर में गिरावट आई, चाहे उनकी आयु-समूह कुछ भी हो। हालांकि, 2011-12 में, युवा समूह की महिलाओं (15 से 29 वर्ष) के लिए दरों में काफी वृद्धि हुई, और पुराने समूह (30 से 59 वर्ष) ने ठहराव का अनुभव किया। पुराने समूह में, ठहराव मुख्य रूप से माध्यमिक और उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त विवाहित महिलाओं से संबंधित है।

निष्कर्ष रूप में, विवाहित महिलाओं की शिक्षा के स्तर में सुधार उनकी श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दरों में वृद्धि में तब्दील होता नहीं दिख रहा है। दूसरी ओर, 2011-12 में, 15 से 29 वर्ष की आयु वर्ग की युवा महिलाओं ने अपनी श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दरों में वृद्धि के साथ-साथ उनके शिक्षा स्तर में वृद्धि देखी। दूसरे अध्याय के परिणामों को देखते हुए थीसिस का अगला अध्याय कम उम्र की महिलाओं पर केंद्रित है।

इसके बाद, थीसिस के बाकी दो अध्याय शहरी भारत में विवाहित महिलाओं की आपूर्ति और मांग पक्ष की समस्याओं पर केंद्रित हैं।

तीसरे अध्याय में, हम 15 से 29 वर्ष के आयु वर्ग में गैर-छात्र महिलाओं की श्रम बाजार की समस्याओं की जांच करते हैं। प्रवृत्तियों के शिक्षा-वार विश्लेषण से पता चलता है कि इस आयु-समूह के भीतर, उच्च योग्य स्नातक महिलाओं की भागीदारी दर में 9 प्रतिशत अंकों की वृद्धि हुई है। उनकी दरें 1999-2000 में 37.3 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 2011-12 में 46.2 प्रतिशत हो गईं। ऐसी आशावादी स्थिति को देखते हुए, अध्याय का उद्देश्य दूसरे शोध प्रश्न का उत्तर खोजना है कि क्या युवा स्नातक महिलाओं की श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर में वृद्धि रोजगार के अवसरों तक उनकी पहुंच में सुधार से पूरक है, विशेष रूप से औपचारिक वेतनभोगी में क्षेत्र।

अध्याय में पाया गया कि 2011-12 में युवा स्नातक महिलाओं की श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर में वृद्धि, बेरोजगारी दर और नियमित नौकरियों की गुणवत्ता दोनों के संदर्भ में उनके श्रम बाजार परिणामों में एक समान सुधार के साथ नहीं है। स्नातक डिग्री वाली महिलाओं में बेरोजगारी की दर 30 प्रतिशत से अधिक है, और नियमित नौकरियों में एकाग्रता के बावजूद, ऐसी नौकरियों में उनके सापेक्ष रोजगार हिस्सेदारी में 2011-12 में ठहराव देखा गया। युवा कम शिक्षित महिलाओं (माध्यमिक शिक्षा से नीचे), और स्नातक स्तर की शिक्षा वाले पुरुषों द्वारा ऐसी कोई गिरावट या ठहराव नहीं देखा गया। इसके अलावा, स्नातक महिलाओं की श्रम बाजार की स्थिति स्नातक पुरुषों की तुलना में बदतर बनी हुई है, जो लैंगिक भेदभाव की उपस्थिति को दर्शाती है। इसलिए, इन महिलाओं के लिए रोजगार के अवसरों में सुधार के अभाव में, हतोत्साहन प्रभाव या तो उन्हें बेरोजगारी की स्थिति में रख सकता है या श्रम बल से उनकी वापसी का परिणाम हो सकता है। यह शिक्षित महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार में भविष्य के प्रवेश को भी हतोत्साहित कर सकता है।

शहरी विवाहित महिलाओं की शिक्षा स्तर और श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर के बीच सकारात्मक संबंध की कमी के लिए स्पष्टीकरण श्रम बाजार के परस्पर संबंधित आपूर्ति और मांग पक्ष कारकों के एक जटिल सेट में निहित है। आपूर्ति पक्ष पर, पितृसत्तात्मक बाधाएं और सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक संस्थान श्रम बाजार समय की उपलब्धता को सीमित करके महिलाओं के शैक्षिक कौशल के उपयोग में बाधा डालते हैं। वे घर के बाहर महिलाओं के काम की प्रकृति के बारे में धारणा को भी प्रभावित करते हैं। मांग पक्ष पर, खराब श्रम बाजार की स्थिति, अपर्याप्त रोजगार के अवसर, गुणवत्ता वाली नौकरियों की कमी और लैंगिक भेदभाव श्रम बल में उनके प्रवेश को हतोत्साहित कर सकते हैं। इन आयामों का पता लगाने के लिए, थीसिस के शेष दो अध्याय श्रम बाजार की आपूर्ति और मांग पक्ष पर केंद्रित हैं।

चौथा अध्याय आपूर्ति पक्ष के कारकों पर केंद्रित है। हम आपूर्ति पक्ष कारकों को मांग पक्ष कारकों से अलग करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण (एनएसएस) प्रश्नावली में एक सीधा प्रश्न का उपयोग करते हैं। पूर्णकालिक घरेलू महिलाओं से पूछा गया कि क्या वे श्रम बाजार में शामिल होने के लिए तैयार हैं यदि उनके घर में नौकरी उपलब्ध है। इस प्रश्न का उत्तर किसी तरह श्रम बाजार के मांग पक्ष से आने वाली बाधाओं से उनकी इच्छा को अलग करता है। ऐसी सभी इच्छुक महिलाएं संभावित या अव्यक्त श्रम आपूर्ति का गठन करती हैं और श्रम बाजार में उनके प्रवेश से भारत की महिला श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर में वृद्धि हो सकती है। यह अध्याय अनुभवजन्य रूप से विवाहित महिलाओं की अंतर-घरेलू सौदेबाजी की शक्ति के महत्व का अनुमान लगाता है, जो श्रम बल में उनके एकीकरण की संभावना को निर्धारित करने में शिक्षा के अंतराल के कुछ वर्षों से अनुमानित है। अध्याय की मुख्य खोज यह है कि यह विवाहित महिलाओं के सापेक्ष शिक्षा स्तर में वृद्धि है, न कि पूर्ण स्तर, जिसका श्रम बाजार में उनके प्रवेश की संभावना पर काफी सकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ता है। परिणाम इस तथ्य पर जोर देते हैं कि शिक्षा में लिंग अंतर में कमी, विशेष रूप से उच्च शिक्षा स्तर (माध्यमिक और ऊपर) में धीरे-धीरे श्रम बल भागीदारी दरों में लिंग अंतर में कमी का मार्ग प्रशस्त हो सकता है।

विवाहित महिलाओं पर ध्यान केंद्रित करते हुए, अध्याय पांच श्रम बाजार के मांग पक्ष की जांच करता है। खराब श्रम बाजार की स्थिति विवाहित महिलाओं के श्रम आपूर्ति निर्णय पर हतोत्साहित करने वाला प्रभाव डाल सकती है। हम शहरी भारत में विवाहित महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार व्यवहार की व्याख्या करने में हतोत्साहित कार्यकर्ता प्रभाव के महत्व के लिए अनुभवजन्य रूप से परीक्षण करते हैं। हतोत्साहित कार्यकर्ता प्रभाव लिंग आधारित मजदूरी भेदभाव और अल्परोजगार से उत्पन्न हो सकता है। महिला श्रम बाजार व्यवहार का तीन-चरण जिला-स्तरीय विश्लेषण किया जाता है, और इस बहु-स्तरीय ढांचे के तीसरे चरण में दूसरे चरण में सेंसर किए गए प्रोबिट और त्रिवेरिएट प्रोबिट का उपयोग करके चयनात्मकता पूर्वाग्रह को नियंत्रित किया जाता है। हम पाते हैं कि लैंगिक मजदूरी भेदभाव महिलाओं को श्रम बाजार में भाग लेने से हतोत्साहित करता है, और अधिक योग्यता वाले कर्मचारियों के रूप में बेरोजगारी की व्यापकता, उन्हें नौकरी पर खोज के प्रयास करके बेहतर रोजगार के अवसर तलाशने से हतोत्साहित करती है।

थीसिस के चार अध्यायों में फैले शहरी महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार व्यवहार के विस्तृत विश्लेषण से निष्कर्ष, थीसिस के केंद्रीय उद्देश्य का उत्तर प्रदान करते हैं। शहरी भारत में, कम और स्थिर श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर की समस्या मुख्य रूप से 30 से 59 वर्ष की आयु-वर्ग में विवाहित महिलाओं से संबंधित है। यहां तक

कि शिक्षा के स्तर को माध्यमिक और उससे ऊपर तक बढ़ाने से भी उनकी भागीदारी दर में सुधार नहीं होता है।

15 से 29 वर्ष की आयु वर्ग में युवा शहरी स्नातक महिलाओं के मामले में, श्रम बल भागीदारी दर (2000 और 2012 के बीच) में उच्च और बढ़ती प्रवृत्ति उनके श्रम बाजार की स्थितियों में इसी सुधार के साथ नहीं है। स्नातक डिग्री वाली महिलाओं में उच्च बेरोजगारी दर 30 प्रतिशत से अधिक है। स्नातक महिलाएं मुख्य रूप से नियमित नौकरियों में केंद्रित हैं, लेकिन ऐसी नौकरियों में उनके सापेक्ष रोजगार में ठहराव देखा गया। इसके अलावा, वेतनभोगी नौकरियों में कार्यरत ८० प्रतिशत स्नातक महिलाओं में से एक बहुत छोटे वर्ग के पास काम करने की अच्छी स्थिति है। यह पाया गया है कि रोजगार के अवसर और नौकरियों की गुणवत्ता स्नातक महिलाओं और पुरुषों के बीच असमान रूप से वितरित की जाती है, जो श्रम बाजार में लिंग भेदभाव की उपस्थिति को दर्शाती है।

दूसरी ओर, शहरी भारत में विवाहित महिलाएं कम श्रम शक्ति भागीदारी दर के दुष्चक्र में फंसी हुई हैं। आपूर्ति पक्ष पर, घरेलू काम का बोझ, पितृसत्तात्मक मानदंड और सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक संस्थान उनके श्रम बल के प्रवेश को प्रतिबंधित करते हैं। हमने पाया कि विवाहित महिलाओं की शिक्षा के स्तर में वृद्धि और शिक्षा के कुछ वर्षों के अंतराल में एक समान सुधार उनकी सापेक्ष घरेलू सौदेबाजी की शक्ति को बढ़ा सकता है। सौदेबाजी की शक्ति में यह वृद्धि विवाहित महिलाओं को श्रम बाजार में एकीकृत करने की संभावना के साथ सकारात्मक संबंध रखने वाला प्रमुख निर्धारक है। फिर भी, मांग पक्ष पर, भले ही विवाहित महिलाएं श्रम बाजार तक पहुंच प्राप्त करने का प्रबंधन करती हैं, उनके खिलाफ रूढ़िवादिता उनके श्रम बाजार के परिणामों को नियंत्रित करती है। महिलाओं की वैवाहिक स्थिति, उनके बच्चे पैदा करने और घरेलू जिम्मेदारियां, और परिवार के भीतर माध्यमिक कमाई की स्थिति, उनकी प्रतिबद्धता और नौकरी करने की क्षमता के बारे में धारणाएं उत्पन्न करती है। इसका परिणाम शिक्षित महिलाओं के लिए उच्च बेरोजगारी दर, औपचारिक कामकाजी परिस्थितियों की कमी वाली खराब गुणवत्ता वाली नौकरियों और लैंगिक मजदूरी भेदभाव है। यह सब फिर से शिक्षित, विवाहित महिलाओं के श्रम बाजार में प्रवेश को हतोत्साहित कर सकता है।

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATE.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ABSTRACT IN HINDI	vii
TABLES OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xxii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE OF WOMEN IN URBAN INDIA – AN AGE COHORT WISE ANALYSIS.....	10
1. Introduction	10
2. Trends in Female Labour Force Participation Rate.....	12
3. Cross-Sectional Analysis of Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate.....	13
3.1 Age-cohort	13
3.2 Marital Status	16
3.3 Education Level	18
4. Classification and Regression Tree (CART) Algorithm for Examining the Trends in Female Labour Force Participation Rate	22
5. Does any section of urban men depict low and stagnant labour force participation rate?	24
6. Is the problem replicated in the labour market outcomes of the limited section of urban women in the labour force?.....	29
6.1 Rate of Employment.....	29
6.2 Employment Status.....	31
7. Is the problem replicated in the supply side concentration of married women in domestic duties?.....	35
8. Conclusion.....	37

Appendices	38
Appendix A: Tables	38
Appendix B: Figures.....	39
CHAPTER 3: HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG URBAN FEMALE GRADUATES IN INDIA	42
1. Introduction	42
2. South Asia and Social Norms	44
3. Educational Attendance and Labour Force Participation of Young Women	46
4. How does adjusted labour force participation rate vary with the education level of young women?	48
5. What is the labour market status of young female graduates?	51
6. Where are the young female graduates employed?	54
7. What is the quality of regular jobs for female graduates?	57
7.1 Job Permanency.....	59
7.2 Social Security Benefit.....	60
7.3 Written Job Contract and Paid Leave.....	61
8. Discussion.....	63
9. Conclusion.....	64
Appendix	65
Appendix A: Tables	65
CHAPTER 4: URBAN MARRIED WOMEN IN DOMESTIC DUTIES AND THEIR BARGAINING POWER TO ENTER THE LABOUR FORCE.....	67
1.Introduction	67
2. Data and Variables.....	69
2.1 Potential Entrants.....	70
2.2 Couple Years of Education Gap.....	71
2.3 Summary Statistics.....	73
3.Empirical Strategy	75

4.Results	77
4.1 Average Marginal Effect.....	77
4.2 Predicted Probability	80
4.3 Pooled Cross-Section	82
5.Potential Endogeneity	82
6.Instrumental Variable Estimation.....	84
7.Discussion.....	87
8.Conclusion.....	88
Appendices	90
Appendix A: Operationalisation of Variables	90
Appendix B: Figures.....	92
CHAPTER 5: DISCOURAGED WORKER EFFECT AND LABOUR MARKET BEHAVIOUR OF URBAN MARRIED WOMEN	93
1. Introduction.....	93
2. Female Labour Market in India	96
3. Data and Variables	99
4. Methodology	106
4.1 Labour force participation decision	107
4.2 Unemployed in the labour market.....	108
4.3 Job search efforts	110
5. Results	113
5.1 Probability of participating in the labour market	113
5.2 Probability of being unemployed.....	117
5.3 Probability of Job Search	121
5.3.1 On-Job Search.....	121
5.3.2. Off-Job Search	125
6. Discussion.....	127

7. Conclusion	129
Appendices.....	131
Appendix A: Tables.....	131
Appendix B: Figure	153
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS	154
REFERENCES.....	157
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	171

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 2

Table 1: Results of Significance Testing of Age-Cohort Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%).....	14
Table 2: Results of Significance Testing of Trends in Adjusted Female Labour Force Participation Rate across Three Broad Age-Cohorts of Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%).....	16
Table 3: Results of Significance Testing of Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Women (30 to 44 years) (%)	17
Table 4: Results of Significance Testing of Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Women (45 to 59 years) (%)	18
Table 5: Trends in the Educational Composition of the Urban Married Women (30 to 59 years) (%)	19
Table 6: Significance Testing for Education-wise Differences in the Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 30 to 44 Years Old Urban Married Women.....	20
Table 7: Significance Testing for Education-wise Differences in the Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 45 to 59 Years Old Urban Married Women.....	21
Table 8: Result of Significance Testing for Age-Cohort Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Urban Men (15 to 59 years) (%)	25
Table 9: Result of Significance Testing for Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Men (30 to 44 years) (%)	25
Table 10: Result of Significance Testing for Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Men (45 to 59 years) (%)	26
Table 11: Trends in the Educational Composition of Urban Married Men (30 to 59 years) (%).....	27

Table 12: Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 30 to 59 Years Old Urban Married Men by their Education Level (%)	27
Table 13: Significance Testing for Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 30 to 44 Years Old Urban Married Men by their Education Level (%).....	28
Table 14: Significance Testing for Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 45 to 59 Years Old Urban Married Men by their Education Level (%).....	28
Table 15: Trends in Education-wise Employment Rates of Urban Married Women (30 to 59 years) (%)	29
Table 16: Results of Significance Testing of Education-Wise Trends in Employment Rates of Urban Married Women (30 to 44 years)	29
Table 17: Results of Significance Testing of Education-Wise Trends in Employment Rates of Urban Married Women (45 to 59 years)	30
Table 18: Trends in Gender Gap* in Education-wise Employment Rates of Married Women and Men (30 to 59 Years) (%)	31
Table 19: Trends in Employment Status of Urban Married Women and Men (30 to 59 Years) (%).....	32
Table 20: Age-Cohort and Education-Wise Trends in Employment Status of Urban Married Women (30 to 59 Years) (%)	33
Table 21: Results of Significance Testing of Education-wise Shares in Regular Salaried Jobs for Urban Married Women (30 to 44 Years) (%)	33
Table 22: Results of Significance Testing of Education-wise Shares in Regular Salaried Jobs for Urban Married Women (45 to 59 Years) (%)	34
Table 23: Results of Significance Testing of Education-Wise Trends in the Percentage of Married Women Engaged in Domestic Duties (30 to 59 years).....	36
Appendix A: Tables	

Table A 1: Trends in Education-Wise Percentage of Married Women (30 to 59 years) Engaged in Domestic Duties.....	38
---	-----------

CHAPTER 3

Table 24: Results of Significance Testing for Changes in the Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%)	48
--	-----------

Table 25: Average Years of Education of Young Labour force of Women and Men (15 to 29 years)	49
---	-----------

Table 26: Results of Significance Testing of Education-Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%).....	50
---	-----------

Table 27: Results of Significance Testing of Education-Wise Trends in Unemployment Rates of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%)	52
---	-----------

Table 28: Results of Significance Testing of Education-wise Trends in the Gender Gap* in Unemployment Rate of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%).....	54
--	-----------

Table 29: Trends in the Employment Status of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%).....	55
---	-----------

Table 30: Results of Significance Testing of Education-wise Shares in Regular Salaried Jobs for Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%).....	56
--	-----------

Table 31: Results of Significance Testing for Gender Gap in Average Years of Education of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Access to Formal Regular Jobs in 2011-12.....	59
--	-----------

Table 32: Education Wise Percentage of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Permanent Employment in 1999-2000 and 2011-12	60
---	-----------

Table 33: Education Wise Percentage of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Access to Social Security Benefit in 1999-2000 and 2011-12.....	61
---	-----------

Table 34: Results of Significance Testing for Gender Gap in Education Wise Percentage of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Access to Written Job Contract or Paid Leave in 2011-12.....	62
--	-----------

Appendix A: Table

Table A 2: Trends in the Employment Rate of Young Urban Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%)	65
---	-----------

Table A 3: Education-wise trends in the Employment Status of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%).....	65
---	-----------

Table A 4: Education-wise trends in the Employment Status of Young Urban Men (15 to 29 years) (%)	66
--	-----------

CHAPTER 4

Table 35: Trends in Educational Composition of Married Women (18 to 50 Years) in Domestic Duties.....	71
--	-----------

Table 36: Trends in Distribution of Women by Couple Years of Education Gap (%)...72	
--	--

Table 37: Education-wise Contribution to Over-time Changes in Couple Education Gap (%).....	73
--	-----------

Table 38: Trends in Mean Values of Individual, Household, Labour Market and Regional Characteristics.....	74
--	-----------

Table 39: Probit Model and Average Marginal Effect of Various Explanatory Variables on Probability of Labour Market Integration.....	78
---	-----------

Table 40: Two-Stage Probit and Average Marginal Effect of Various Explanatory Variables on Probability of Labour Market Integration	84
--	-----------

CHAPTER 5

Table 41: Matching of NSSO Data with Census and Election Data.....	102
---	------------

Table 42: Summary Statistics	103
---	------------

Table 43: Average Marginal Effect of Explanatory Variables on Probability of Labour Force Participation in Probit Model	113
--	------------

Table 44: Average Marginal Effect of Gender Wage Gap on Probability of Labour Force Participation in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	115
---	------------

Table 45: Average Marginal Effect of Explanatory Variables on Probability of Unemployment in Bivariate Model	119
---	------------

Table 46: Average Marginal Effect of Gender Wage Gap on Probability of Unemployment in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	120
---	------------

Table 47: Probability of On Job Search in Probit and Triprobit Model.....	122
--	------------

Table 48: Probability of Off Job Search in Probit and Triprobit Model	126
--	------------

Appendix A: Tables

Table A 5: Trends and Gender Gap in the Labour Force Participation Rate of Married Women and Married Men (15 to 55 years) (%).....	131
---	------------

Table A 6: Educational Distribution of Married Women (15 to 55 years) (%)	131
--	------------

Table A 7: Trends and Gender Gap in the Unemployment Rate of Married Women and Married Men (15 to 55 years) (%).....	131
---	------------

Table A 8: Trends and Gender Gap in the Percentage of Married Women and Men with Permanent Employment (15 to 55 years) (%).....	131
--	------------

Table A 9: Trends and Gender Gap in the Percentage of Married Women and Men with Access to Social Security Benefit (15 to 55 years) (%)	132
--	------------

Table A 10: Trends in Occupational Distribution of Employed Women (%).....	132
---	------------

Table A 11: Trends in Unexplained Gender Wage Gap (average of district wage gaps) by the Occupational Distribution of the Employed Women	132
---	------------

Table A 12: Probability of Labour Force Participation of Women in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis.....	134
---	------------

Table A 13: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Probit Model of Probability of Labour Force Participation of Women	135
--	------------

Table A 14: Correlation between Female Labour Force Participation and Unexplained Gender Wage Gap Across Major States of India in 1999-2000 and 2004-05	135
--	------------

Table A 15: Average Marginal Effect of Explanatory Variables on Probability of Unemployment of Women in Probit Model.....	137
Table A 16: Probability of Unemployment of Women in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	138
Table A17: Average Marginal Effect of Gender Wage Gap on Probability of Unemployment of Women in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis.....	139
Table A 18: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Probit Model of Probability of Unemployment.....	140
Table A 19: Probability of Unemployment of Women in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	140
Table A 20: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Bivariate Probit Model of Probability of Unemployment.....	143
Table A 21: Probability of On Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis.....	144
Table A22: Average Marginal Effect of Gender Wage Gap and Proportion of Overqualified Employees on Probability of On Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	145
Table A 23: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Probit Model of Probability of On Job Search	146
Table A 24: Probability of On-Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	146
Table A 25: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Triprobit Model of Probability of On Job Search	148
Table A 26: Probability of Off Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	149
Table A27: Average Marginal Effect of Proportion of Part-time Employees on Probability of Off Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis	150
Table A 28: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled Probit Model of Probability of Off Job.....	150

Table A 29: Probability of Off-Job Search in Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis.....151

**Table A 30: Joint Significance Testing of Year Dummies and Interaction Terms in Pooled
Triprobit Model of Probability of Off Job Search.....152**

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

Figure 1: Trends in Major Indicators for Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%).....	1
--	---

CHAPTER 2

Figure 2: Trends in Labour Force Participation Rate of Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%).....	13
--	----

Figure 3: Age-Cohort Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%)	14
--	----

Figure 4: Trends in Adjusted Female Labour Force Participation Rate across Three Broad Age-Cohorts of Urban Women (15 to 59 years) (%).....	16
---	----

Figure 5: Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Women (30 to 44 years) (%)	17
--	----

Figure 6: Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Women (45 to 59 years) (%)	18
--	----

Figure 7: Trends in Education-wise Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 30 to 44 Years Old Urban Married Women (%).....	20
---	----

Figure 8: Trends in Education-wise Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of 45 to 59 Years Old Urban Married Women (%).....	21
---	----

Figure 9: Age-Cohort Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Urban Men (15 to 59 years) (%)	24
--	----

Figure 10: Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Men (30 to 44 years) (%).....	25
--	----

Figure 11: Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate of Married and Unmarried Urban Men (45 to 59 years) (%).....	26
--	----

Figure 12: Education-Wise Trends in the Percentage of Married Women Engaged in Domestic Duties and Labour Force Participation Rates of Married Women (30 to 59 years)	36
--	-----------

Appendix B: Figures

Figure B 1: Decision Tree for Female Labour Force Participation Rate in 1987-88	39
--	-----------

Figure B 2: Decision Tree for Female Labour Force Participation Rate in 1999-2000 ..	40
---	-----------

Figure B 3: Decision Tree for Female Labour Force Participation Rate in 2011-12	41
--	-----------

CHAPTER 3

Figure 13: Trends in Female Labour Force Participation Rate Across South Asian Countries (%) (15+ years age)	45
---	-----------

Figure 14: Trends in the Percentage of Young Urban Women (15 To 29 Years) Currently Pursuing Education and their Labour Force Participation Rate (%)	47
---	-----------

Figure 15: Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rate and Educational Composition of Labour Force of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%)	48
--	-----------

Figure 16: Education-Wise Trends in Adjusted Labour Force Participation Rates of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%)	50
--	-----------

Figure 17: Education-wise trends in the Unemployment Rates of Young Urban Women (15 to 29 years) (%)	52
---	-----------

Figure 18: Education-wise Trends in the Gender Gap* in Unemployment Rate of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%)	53
---	-----------

Figure 19: Education-wise Shares in Regular Salaried Jobs for Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) (%)	56
---	-----------

Figure 20: Average Years of Education of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Access to Formal Regular Jobs in 2011-12	59
--	-----------

Figure 21: Education Wise Percentage of Young Women and Men (15 to 29 years) with Access to Written Job Contract or Paid Leave in 2011-12	62
--	-----------

CHAPTER 4

Figure 22: Trends in Percentage of Urban Married Women in Domestic Duties and as Potential Entrants into the Labour Market (18 to 50 years)	70
--	-----------

Figure 23: Trends in Averages of Years of Education and Couple Years of Education Gap between 1987-88 and 2011-12	72
--	-----------

Figure 24: Probit Model and Trends in the Predicted Probability of Labour Force Participation of Women by Couple Years of Education Gap (-15 to 0 years)	81
---	-----------

Figure 25: Probit Model and Trends in the Predicted Probability of Labour Force Participation of Women by Couple Years of Education Gap (0 to +15 years)	81
---	-----------

Figure 26: Pooled Cross-Sectional Model and Trends in the Predicted Probability of Labour Force Participation of Secondary Educated Women by Couple Years of Education Gap.....	82
--	-----------

Figure 27: Secondary Educated Urban Married Women and Trends in the Predicted Probability of Labour Force Participation by Couple Years of Education Gap	87
---	-----------

Appendix B: Figures

Figure B 4: Trends in Labour Force Participation Rate and Education Level of Urban Married Women (%)	92
---	-----------

CHAPTER 5

Appendix B: Figures

Figure B 5: Multi-Stage Analysis	153
---	------------