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**Social Protection for Informal Workers:
Insecurities, Instruments and
Institutional Mechanisms**

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Abstract

In this paper we present a broad definition of social protection to include basic securities, such as income, food, health and shelter, and economic securities including having income generating productive work. A conceptual framework is developed to analyse the causes of insecurities of informal workers, identify the core needs of social protection, develop instruments and visualize the institutional mechanisms to address the needs. Using evidence from the micro study, we show that the insecurities faced by the workers are due to the structural features of the household and the nature of work. The evidence shows that casual labourers and self-employed workers are the most insecure. Further, we discuss the institutional mechanisms for delivering social protection for these workers.

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Social Protection for Informal Workers: Insecurities, Instruments and Institutional Mechanisms

Jeemol Unni and Uma Rani

1. INTRODUCTION

There is an increasing awareness that the goal of development has to be social justice and not economic growth alone. To put it differently, economic growth is worthwhile only if it leads to social justice in the form of equitable distribution, reduction in poverty, reasonable incomes, meets basic securities such as health and education and promotes political, cultural and economic freedom.

Elson and Catagay (2000) pointed out the need to judge the soundness of macro economic policy not by market based criteria, but by desired social outcomes such as distributive justice, equity, freedom from poverty and discrimination, social exclusion and development of human capabilities. Standing (1999) articulated it as “a good society is a just society”. “A just society, and by implication a good labour market, requires policies and institutions that enhance self-control and basic security”. Distributive justice requires that everyone in society should have basic security and self-control (Standing, 2000). What differentiates types of work activity is the pattern of control involved. Basic security and control together is empowerment or the feeling of control. In his view, basic security for all includes freedom from mortality, freedom from fear, being in control of one’s development, sustainable self-respect, minimal income security - a ‘floor’ to downside risk, and voice representation security. Self-control includes equal good opportunity for occupational security.

In developing economies with a large informal segment in the labour force the notion of social justice would require social protection measures to cover both basic needs and economic security. That is, poor quality of employment on a large scale would mean that economic growth would not cater to the needs of a large segment of the workers. The original concept of social security that covered only contingencies is not sufficient.

In this paper we present a broad definition of social protection to include basic and economic securities. A conceptual framework is discussed to analyse the causes of insecurities of informal workers, identify the core needs of social protection, develop instruments and visualize the institutional mechanisms that can address the core needs. We then discuss the possible measurement of each type of security, the existing instruments and possible institutional mechanisms to deliver them. The measurement of insecurity at the macro level is based on secondary data while at the micro level it is mainly based on a survey conducted by us in Gujarat¹

2. CONCEPT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

The growth of the informal economy, particularly in developing countries, implies increasing income insecurity and vulnerability of the workers. It is our contention that the concept of social protection needs to be broadened to include economic security and not just social security for contingencies, or what we term basic security. Dreze and Sen (1991) had developed a broader concept of social security or social protection. They distinguish between two different aspects of social security called 'protection' and 'promotion'. Protection is concerned with preventing a decline in living standards in general and in the basic conditions of living. It is important in dealing with sudden economic crisis, famines and sharp recessions. The promotional aspect of social security is broader and includes eradication of problems that have survived for decades, such as poverty. The objective of promotional social security is "enhancing the normal living conditions and dealing with regular often persistent deprivation".

Many terms are currently in use in different parts of the world and by different international agencies concerned with social protection for the poor. Some of the commonly used terms are social security, social insurance, social assistance,

¹ We conducted a People's Security Survey in rural and urban areas in Gujarat during the year 2000 for the International Labour Organization's Infocus Programme on Socio-Economic Security. In an effort to capture poor workers in the informal economy the samples were chosen from the slums and chawls of the city and the lower caste hamlets in the villages. The measurement of the various securities at the micro level presented in the paper is mainly based on this survey unless stated otherwise. A detailed description of the survey design etc. is presented in Unni and Rani (2001).

safety-nets, social funds and social protection. These terms are broadly defined here before setting out the notion of social protection we shall use in this paper.

The International Labour Organisation, ILO, consolidated the notion of social security in 1952 with an International Convention, No. 102, in the International Labour Conference. A comprehensive definition was proposed which included nine core contingencies, leading to the stoppage or substantial reduction of earnings, to be covered under social security. It included sickness, maternity, employment injury, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death: the provision of medical care and subsidies for families with children.

This ILO definition actually covers two types of social security, social insurance and social assistance. Social assistance broadly covers persons with various types of disability such as old age, illness, disability etc. It is more likely to be non-contributory. Social insurance covers workers of different categories and refers to a system through which they contribute to their future security, e.g., injury at the workplace. The word social implies that the market alone cannot take care of these contingencies.

Social safety net is a more recent term used for compensatory measures advanced to mitigate the negative impact of structural adjustment programmes in developing and transitory economies in the 1980s and 1990s. Social funds, propagated by the World Bank, were a means of financing the social safety net programmes.

Social protection is a new term and is used to encompass all these concepts and used as an umbrella term to depict social security. It is related to poverty reduction or alleviation, unlike social insurance and assistance (Lund and Srinivas, 2000).

In the developing countries large proportion of the population are engaged in self-employment and in informal activities and it is difficult to cover them under formal schemes of unemployment benefits, insurance and other benefits. The approach followed in the developed world, therefore, may not be suitable to, or effective in, the developing countries. Rampant poverty among spatially dispersed rural populations also makes such schemes difficult to administer.

Given the dimension of the informal economy, massive and persistent poverty in the developing countries, the concept of social protection has to include the idea of productive employment and poverty reduction.

The goal of assuring sustainable livelihoods to the population should be part of the social protection policy of the state. A comprehensive social protection policy should include three broad categories: promotional measures that aim at improving endowments, exchange entitlements, real incomes and social consumption; preventive measures that seek to avert deprivation; and protective measures to provide relief from deprivation (Guhan, 1994). The ILO's new goal and concept of 'decent work' match with this broad concept of social security. One of the essential features of the decent work approach (ILO, 1999) is that everybody is entitled to basic social protection. However, it has been pointed out that the problem with so broadening the scope of social protection is that the concentration remains on programmes of employment, income and poverty alleviation (Jhabvala and Subrahmanya, 2000). We propose the following definition.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

While discussing the concept of security we have to keep in mind that there is both a macro and micro dimension to it. The macro dimension implies security at the level of the country or region as a whole, while the micro dimension refers to the problem of security for the individual or household. To take the example of one of the basic securities say food security, at the macro level food security implies the adequacy of food grains and other food items for the country as a whole or self-sufficiency in food. This is totally different from the micro implication of food security for the individual or household, that is, capacity to obtain at least two square meals a day through out the year. Assuring food security at the macro level does not imply that all individuals and households are free from hunger. This was best demonstrated by Sen's depiction of failure of entitlements in the The Great Bengal Famine.

To further illustrate the macro and micro dimension with an example of economic security, let us take labour market security. Macroeconomic labour market security refers to the availability of employment opportunities in the economy as a whole for

all those seeking work. This can be measured by the rate of unemployment in the economy. Labour market security has a totally different meaning when looked at from the perspective of an individual worker. Microeconomic labour market security refers to the security of having income generating work. This can be measured by the average number of days of employment available for an individual worker, or the number of days seeking and available for work.

This distinction between macro and micro security does not necessarily arise in the case of all types of securities identified in the definition of social protection. However, while defining security and discussing measures of social protection we need to be clear about whether we are referring to the micro or macro dimension of security. In this paper we shall discuss and try to provide empirical evidence for both within certain selected securities.

Causes of Insecurity

It has been suggested that the orthodox social security schemes fail to address the fundamental causes of income insecurity and vulnerability facing workers in the informal sector because they were not so designed (Sethuraman and Canagarajah, 2000). Risks to income security for workers in the informal sector in developing countries are more often derived from the conditions governing their employment and income generation, viz., informality. Orthodox measures to social protection are more in the nature of coping with risks arising from various contingencies and fail to address the fundamental causes of insecurity and vulnerability. The approach towards social protection for workers in the informal sector should be comprehensive, aimed at not only protecting against contingencies, but also promoting income security through elimination of risks. Broadening the goal of social protection - from risk minimization or alleviation to risk elimination - would however imply a shift in the strategy - from preventing a fall in income or minimizing its fluctuation to raising the level of income. This requires fundamental reforms that attempt to modify the institutional environment in which the informal sector functions.

According to Dreze and Sen (1991), a large proportion of the population lives in conditions of persistent deprivation. That is, the basic insecurities faced by the people are severe and have been so over a long period of time. In addition, there

is the issue of vulnerability or precarious nature of their existence, due to which a certain proportion of them undergo severe and sudden dispossession or are under the threat of doing so. There are therefore two problems to be addressed by any programme of social protection. First, how to counter the effect of random shocks? Second, how to increase security for all so that people do not live in constant fear of a calamity? While the first can be termed protective security, the second is promotional security.

The sources of insecurity faced by the workers in the informal economy are of two types. One source of insecurity is the random shocks that hit the households from time to time or contingencies. Traditional social security was geared to address this form of insecurity for e.g., illness and untimely death. A second source of insecurity is the structural features of the household or individual which remain more or less constant over a period of time. These include age, marital status, gender, ownership of assets and caste. An important structural feature that affects workers is the activity status, that is whether the worker has a salaried job, is a casual employee or a self-employed worker. This is particularly important for workers in the informal economy, who do not constitute a homogeneous group. Certain types of economic activities are more vulnerable than others.

We argue that it is important for social protection to address both types of insecurities (Chart I). While structural factors and random shocks have an impact on both basic and economic insecurities, the structural factors in particular need to be addressed while dealing with economic insecurities. In fact, structural features threaten the economic securities of the workers and any meaningful policy for social protection for the poor, or the informal economy, has to directly confront this reality. Given the basic and economic insecurities faced by the population, there arise certain core needs for social protection, which can also be separated into basic and economic. The basic needs relate to food, shelter, health, education and income. Economic needs are employment, access to capital, markets or demand and legal recognition. Instruments of social protection need to be visualized to meet all these core needs of the people.

Role of Institutions

The theoretical debate on the role of the state and that of markets has veered from one extreme to the other over the centuries. After the Second World War there was a worldwide rejection of the *laissez faire* doctrine, which had failed during the inter-war period. A variety of theories, the most important being Keynesianism, Welfare Economics and early 'development economics', gave importance to the role of the state. These theories identified a number of 'market failures' and argued that active state involvement was necessary to correct them. However, from the 1970s a group of Neo Liberals, such as Milton Friedman, Ian Little, Anne Kruger, argued against state intervention on the ground that one cannot assume that the state was impartial. In fact the state was run by a set of self-seeking politicians and bureaucrats who are also under pressure from certain interest groups. This imperfect nature of the state results in 'government failures'. They argued that the cost of government failure was greater than that of market failures (Chang, 2000).

This debate is clearly relevant in the area of social protection. The need for social protection and the institutional mechanisms that can create instruments and deliver them are a source of major controversy. In the sixties and seventies the global view of economic growth was that increasingly larger proportions of the labour force would be absorbed in the formal sectors of the economy with clearly established employer-employee relationships. These jobs would ensure minimum levels of income so that social security would only be required to meet contingencies that lead to loss of income such as illness, maternity or death of an earning member. The role of the state in assuring these contingencies was recognised.

Both these basic expectations, of absorption of the labour force in the formal economy and the state's role in the event of contingencies, have slowly been belied in the nineties. It is now recognised that a growing proportion of the labour force even in the developed economies, is being absorbed in the informal economy. The characteristics of these activities are lack of clear-cut employer-employee relationship and income levels that are in general lower than that obtained in formal jobs. The lack of an employer-employee relationship makes it difficult to decide at whose door the burden of provision of contingency benefits should be placed. The contours of the debate on the role of state have also changed and have had its impact on the need for social protection and who should provision it.

The broad contours of the debate and actual implementation of social protection measures have been laid by the three major international agencies. While the ILO was instrumental in originally defining the concept of social security, the World Bank was a proponent, till recently, of the concept of social safety nets. The United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) made a pioneering contribution in the early 1990s of the concept of human development, which broadened the idea of basic human rights.

The state's role in provision of social security is also under attack. The World Bank's more recent Social Risk Management framework is clearly an argument or method of justifying the privatisation of instruments, particularly in the form of insurance, for all forms of risks. The role of the state in provision of certain basic securities, such as education and health, is partly on the agenda in the human development framework of the UNDP, though not so clearly articulated.

The role of the state in the provision of social security has been diminishing. However, it remains an important, in fact we will argue the most important, institutional mechanism to deliver social protection. It is possible that the role of the state has changed, but its basic responsibility towards provision of certain minimum needs cannot be brushed aside. The growing role of markets in provision of social protection is clearly recognised. However, besides the state and markets there is a third form of institutional mechanism, the civil society that also plays a role in delivering social protection. This appears in the form of the individuals, social networks and non-governmental and member-based organizations.

The institutional mechanisms to deliver these instruments are found in the institutions of private (market), public (government), and civil society. There could be many methods to solve even a single problem. That is, each need could be met by more than one instrument and delivered by more than one institution (Chart I).

As noted by Dreze and Sen (1991), the notion of 'promotional' and 'protective' social security has a somewhat paternalistic ring. However, the terms refer to the objective and not the agency that would help to deliver it. They argue for public action for social security that includes the state, the public and the participation of all

those involved. Similarly, while we emphasize the importance of the state, no paternalistic role of the state is envisaged. The role of markets, Non Government Organisations (NGOs), Member Based Organisations (MBOs) and civil society are equally important.

A two-fold approach to security, basic and economic, is analytically (theoretically) useful to demarcate insecurities faced by different sections of the population. It helps visualize the different kinds of core needs of social protection. It is also useful to highlight the fact that the root cause of the insecurity lies in the nature of work, informal, low quality employment. Insecurities do not arise merely through random shocks. Instruments of social protection need to be devised taking into account the nature and the cause of the insecurities. Given the nature of the informal economy, both the instruments and the institutional mechanisms to deliver social protection have to be innovative.

Definition of Social Protection

We distinguish between basic and economic securities as a concept or framework for social protection. We define social protection to include basic social securities such as income, health, education, old age, etc. following from a human rights approach and economic securities to include having income generating productive work and application of the core labour standards to all forms of work. While basic securities are citizen based and universal, economic securities are work based. In this approach to social protection, the link between basic and economic securities is recognised.

4. BASIC SECURITY

The main concern of the nineties has been globalisation and an increasing informalisation of the labour force, which is likely to affect men and women especially in the lower rungs of the society negatively. This has led to the general withdrawal of the state from various aspects of provisioning of goods and services and greater reliance on market mechanism. This affects access to basic needs, such as food, shelter, education and skill formation, which has implications for total household incomes and the gender-based distribution within households.

Food Security

Food security has been defined as the ability to assure, on a long term basis, that the food system provides the total population access to a timely, reliable and nutritionally adequate supply of food (Dutt, 1999). This general definition includes availability of food grains in the country and measures food security at the macro level. The micro concept of food security implies that a household has the necessary purchasing power to buy food grains and access to the required amount of it. Improving food security at the household level is an issue of great importance for a developing country like India where millions of poor suffer from persistent hunger and malnutrition and some others are at the risk of doing so in the future.

The National Sample Survey (NSS) provides data on the distribution of households at the national level by the availability of two square meals a day. In 1983, 81 percent of the households in rural India reported having adequate food throughout the year. By the end of 1993, the proportion rose to 93 percent. In other words only 7 percent of the households reported that they did not have enough to eat. Of course, there were considerable regional disparities in the proportion of households going hungry (Dev, 1999).

In the household survey² in Gujarat we asked whether the household went hungry during the last twelve months. Women worker households faced more food vulnerability compared to the others. About 10 percent of the household members of the women respondents went hungry over the last twelve months, compared to

² The household survey was conducted in urban Ahmedabad and in rural areas in five districts around Ahmedabad in Gujarat State. The sample consisted of a total of 1236 workers, including 1030 women and 206 men. The sample of women included a sample of 119 women from the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), a member-based organization. The sample, stratified by four activity status groups, consisted of casual labourers, salaried, self-employed and piece-rated home-based workers (home workers) in rural (625) and urban (611) areas. The questionnaire was canvassed to workers in the age group of 18 to 60 years. All the results presented in the paper are weighted to adjust for this stratification by activity status. All SEWA members in the selected villages or urban blocks were surveyed and they were not stratified by status category. Comparisons by gender and status are reported only if the differences are significant using a Chi-square test. This survey was conducted in 2000 and the reference period for the study was 1999-2000

7.6 percent among the male respondents. Food deprivation was again very high in the urban areas (14 percent), especially among the women workers (18 percent). Deprivation of food among the poor households is a common feature in developing countries. Women in these poor households are often burdened with a significant responsibility for family subsistence and are important economic providers of the households. The high vulnerability or food deprivation of the households of women workers to the other categories, would mean that they not only force themselves to work or sell their labour more to earn their minimum subsistence, but this also indirectly affects their productivity. The inadequacy of food would lead to unhealthy life and a precarious existence.

We developed a model to assess the extent to which the structural features and random shocks affect the various types of insecurities of the sample population. Appropriate indices of insecurities were used as dependent variables. The indices of insecurity were defined as dichotomous variables, with the vulnerability situation being equal to 1 and the non-vulnerability situation equal to 0. This enables us to use the logistic regression model³.

The independent variables in each model included structural features such as characteristics of the individual, such as age, sex, years of education⁴, marital status of widow or divorcee, activity status dummy; characteristics of the household, household size, number of sources of household income, size of land owned and a dummy for rural areas. In this study we also explored the alternative institutional

³ In the logistic regression model we estimate the odds ratio (exponential of coefficients) because the logistic coefficient lacks substantive interpretation. For dichotomous variables the odds ratio measures the effect of being in one category, eg, food insecurity compared to another. Odds ratio of one indicates no effect, whereas odds ratio less than one represents a multiplicative decrease in the odds of being insecure. An odds ratio of greater than one represents a multiplicative increase in the odds of being insecure.

⁴ The mean years of education are computed as follows:
Illiterate and persons who can read and write have 0 years of education; persons who have completed standards 1-12 have 1-12 years of education; first year college and ITI, PTI and diploma holders have 13 years of education, those who completed second and final years of graduation have 14 and years; persons with B.Ed, post graduation have 16 years and medical and engineering degrees have 17 years of education.

mechanisms that could devise and deliver social protection instruments. The Self Employed Women's Association is one such member-based organization, which provides various social protection instruments to its members. In order to see the impact of this organisation's efforts on its members we also included a sample of SEWA members. Membership in SEWA is included as a dummy variable in the model. The independent variable capturing random shocks is defined as the number of crisis reported by the households.

The determinants of household going hungry over the last 12 months was analysed using the logistic regression model (Table 1). Households in rural areas and SEWA workers had more food security compared to the others. The reason for high food security in rural areas could be due to their having stocks of food grains for the whole year, as the agricultural households in the rural areas of Gujarat have a system of buying after the harvest season when the prices are low. Higher levels of education of the respondent reduced food vulnerability. The random shocks increased their food vulnerability.

In the early years of planning, the Indian planners realized the need to attain self-sufficiency in food grains. Since independence to attain this goal the most important programme was the Green Revolution. India had achieved self-sufficiency in food grains by the year 1976 and since then, Indian imports of cereals have remained negligible. Ninth five-year plan (1997-2002) states: "One of the first efforts of the country was to build up a food security system to ensure that the threat of famine no longer stalks the country." The per capita availability of cereals and pulses per day has improved over the last three decades, but has come down in the nineties compared to the eighties. The growth rate in per capita availability was 1.2 percent in the eighties and -0.28 percent per annum in the nineties (Planning Commission, 2000).

The Public Distribution System (PDS) in India is an effective strategy in reaching the core need of food to the poor. The PDS is a rationing mechanism that entitles households to specified quantities of selected commodities at subsidised prices. In most parts of the country, the PDS is universal and all households, rural and urban, with a registered residential address are entitled to rations. The six essential commodities supplied through the PDS nationally are rice, wheat, sugar, edible oils, kerosene and coal. The commodities are made available

through a network of fair price shops. In 1994, there were around 0.42 million fair price or ration shops in the country. The food subsidy by the Central Government in the PDS was Rs.92000 million in 1999-00, 3.03 percent of the total government expenditure (Planning Commission, 2000).

A matter of discussion is whether the PDS should be universal or targeted. The programme was criticized for the large subsidy involved, considerable leakage, persistence of malnutrition and irregular distribution. In order to take care of some of these criticisms, the targeted PDS system was launched in 1996⁵. A number of shortfalls still remain in the programme (Mooji, 1999). Under the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) each poor family is entitled to 10 kilograms of food grains per month (20 kg from April 2000) at specially subsidized prices. This is likely to benefit about 60 million poor families, to whom a quantity of about 7.2 million tonnes of food grain is earmarked each year (Planning Commission, 2000).

In the People's Security Survey in Gujarat we found that about 94 percent of the households surveyed were purchasing from the PDS system. Obviously it contributes to the food security of the poor in spite of the limitations of the system pointed out above. Overall, food security in India is quite high, in spite of rampant poverty. This is true whether one views food security from the macro country level or micro household level perspective. The state's role in assuring such security cannot be ignored.

Shelter Security

Housing is considered to be one of the basic needs along with food and clothing. Despite the universal acceptability of housing as one of the basic needs, the necessary political will and institutional support towards meeting this need of the poor has been inadequate in most developing countries. In India though a number of housing schemes have been introduced over the past two decades, they seem to have been plagued by both shortages and distributional problems.

⁵ Under the targeted PDS, the beneficiaries are the families below the poverty line. Such families are identified at the local level and include landless labourers, marginal farmers and artisans in rural areas, slum dwellers, casual labourers, rickshaw and handcart pullers and street vendors in vegetables and flowers in urban areas (Planning Commission, 2000).

Shelter security is particularly important when we are concerned with informal workers because a large proportion of them use their homes also as a place of work. The lack of a separate designated place of work makes the workers vulnerable in a number of ways. They become less visible and are not legally recognized as workers. This also reduces their capacity to claim any social protection measures for which they may be eligible. In the case of women this also leads to lower productivity since they are frequently interrupted to take care of domestic chores. In the recently conducted national level Informal Sector Survey of the NSS, 1999-2000, 36 percent of the informal enterprises were found to be operating from their homes (NSSO, 2001).

According to the condition of housing survey of the National Sample Survey in 1993, about 25 percent of the households in the country live in dilapidated or kutcha houses (made of non-permanent material). This proportion was larger in rural (32 percent) compared to urban areas (8 percent). The proportion of households living in pucca structures, made of brick and concrete, was 43 percent in the country as a whole, the proportion being much higher, 74 percent, in urban areas.

At the macro level another indicator of the shelter security of the population is the proportion of homeless populations. While it is not possible to directly assess the homeless population, housing shortage in the country is estimated as the difference between the number of households and the usable housing stock. While shortage of housing was to the tune of 31 million houses in 1991, it was projected to be 41 million in 2001 (Rao, 1998).

The Government of India adopted a National Housing Policy in 1994 and set a goal of eradication of homelessness in the country by 2001. Obviously, we have fallen short of this goal. To promote rural housing the government was to provide house-sites and financial assistance for house construction to the scheduled castes, tribes, freed bonded labourers and artisans on suitable loan-cum-subsidy scheme. Housing finance was promoted for construction, up gradation and renewal, developing designs and building material through local resources, providing potable water supply, latrines, smokeless stoves etc. This policy shifted the government's role as provider to that of a facilitator, involving various agencies and covering technological, financial and institutional aspects in the policy framework (Rao, 1998).

The Central Government introduced the Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) in 1985-86 to provide housing to the scheduled castes, tribes and freed bonded labourers in rural areas. From 1993-94 this scheme was extended to non-SC/ST families, with the basis of identification being the poverty criteria. This scheme envisaged provision of house-sites and developing common facilities like approach road, drainage, water and sanitation. The responsibility of construction was to be with the beneficiaries.

A recent survey of this scheme in Gujarat found that while nearly 48 percent of the beneficiaries were scheduled castes, 36 percent were scheduled tribes. That is, while the proportion of scheduled tribes in the population was 15 percent, double that of scheduled castes in Gujarat, the IAY housing benefits seemed to go disproportionately to the scheduled castes (Nair, 2000). This was, however, not true at the all India level, where scheduled castes constituted 16.5 compared to 8.1 of the scheduled tribe. Nearly 57 percent of the beneficiaries of IAY were scheduled castes and 22 percent were scheduled tribes in the country as a whole. Another area of concern was that 50 percent of the IAY houses was constructed by contractors in Gujarat. In spite of using brick and cement, instead of local material, the quality of houses was found to be very poor. Non-involvement of beneficiaries was also high among the beneficiaries of these houses. The beneficiaries were also not concerned with the maintenance of these houses and felt that it was the job of the government to do so.

Besides provision of housing, a number of government institutions are active in providing housing finance. These include financial institutions such as banks, insurance companies, and the Unit Trust of India. Specialized financial institutions for housing finance have been formed such as national Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), Housing Development Finance Corporation and co-operative housing finance companies. Most of these institutions, however, provide finance to the middle and upper income groups. This sector has recently been given a further boost through various income tax concessions, such as tax exemption on interest on housing loans. Relatively fewer institutions cater to the housing needs of the poor. The State Housing Board and the State Slum Development Boards provide both funding and other support for both new housing and upgradation of the old housing stock among the poor (Schenk, 2001).

Many NGOs and MBOs are also active in the housing sector to cater to the needs of the poor. A relatively successful programme is the World Bank funded Slum Networking Project in Ahmedabad. This is a collaborative effort between SEWA, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and the slum dwellers towards the upgradation of the housing and the related infrastructure. This programme has been called “Parivartan” or Change. The Government of Gujarat is also working towards a state Slum Policy with inputs from the local NGOs, slum dwellers and concerned citizens.

In the micro study we tried to capture the actual situation of housing among the respondents by enquiring whether they owned the house in which they lived, the material used for the construction of the house and whether any expenses were incurred in renovating the house. These questions would help us to understand not only their living conditions, but also how vulnerable they would be at times of calamity.

The proportion of households living in Kutcha (built of non-permanent materials) houses (17 percent), were most insecure (Table 2). The proportion of such Kutcha dwellings was higher in the rural areas (24 percent) compared to urban areas. Residence in kutcha structures was rather low in our survey compared to the all-India average. This may be due to the urban bias and rural areas were also in proximity to urban centers of our sample.

In our survey in Gujarat we found that a larger proportion of SEWA respondents' owned their own house in the urban areas, though not so in rural. The possible reason for this was the initiative towards providing shelter security for its members, in the form of housing loans provided by SEWA. This also showed the effectiveness with which the scheme was being utilized. However, we also observed that the SEWA workers were the most vulnerable (particularly in rural areas), a large proportion living in Kutcha houses.

An indicator of shelter vulnerability was constructed taking into consideration the status of the house, semi-pucca (with no proper roof or wall) or kutcha (with no proper roof and wall) and with no renovation ever done on the house. The shelter vulnerability so defined was about 30 percent for women and men workers in rural and urban areas. SEWA workers with poor housing in rural areas were able to

access housing scheme to undertake renovation of their houses. The poor status of their homes showed that SEWA is catering to the very poor and lower rungs of the society. Thus, in spite of the fact that SEWA catered to the poorest they were able to make a dent into shelter security for its members.

Education Security

Education security refers to the right to have basic level of education. The concept of providing education security is imperative for children, as it empowers them to be more productive. This right is however not yet the privilege of the children of India. In the survey, the literacy rate among the sample respondents was 59 percent and there was a wide disparity between male and female literacy. The level of literacy has an important influence on the kind of activity and employment that a worker can get engaged in. In the household survey, we found that casual workers were more illiterate (51 percent) and they also had more irregular work (44 percent), while 86 percent of the salaried workers were literate and hardly one percent had irregular work. We found that a higher proportion of salaried workers (22 percent) had professional or other education after completing their school, which would also have helped them to get a comparatively better job.

To assess the level of education security we canvassed certain factual questions related to whether there was a primary school in the neighborhood and proportion of children of school going age who went to school. The survey results showed that though the majority of the households had a school in the neighborhood, a significant proportion of the children did not go to school. The proportion of children of school going age who were not going to school was comparatively high among the women (27 percent) compared to the male (19 percent). In developing economies, one of the reasons often cited for low proportion of children going to school is due to their involvement in various income-generating activities to supplement the household income. This phenomenon was observed even in our survey. About 10 percent of the households having children in the age group 6 to 14 years assist them at work, 11 percent in women households and 8 percent in male households. Children engaged in income-generating activities are comparatively high among the women respondents. It is possible that these children come home from school and assist the household in piece-rate work.

As education is one of the basic securities essential for the future of their child, we asked certain subjective questions about the children's education. Whether the respondent perceived their children's education as a form of security in the future and to what level they intended to educate their male and female children. The proportions of households perceiving that children's education is not a form of security for the future was only 3 percent among all the workers. It is interesting that though most of the households did perceive children's education as a form of security in the future, a high proportion (24 percent) in fact did not send their children to school. This is very clear among the women respondents where 27 percent of the children did not go to school, while only 3 percent of them perceived that their child's education is not a future security. We analysed the possible determinants for not sending children to school, using the logistic regression model (Table 3). Lower levels of education among the parents and larger size of the household resulted in children not going to school. The larger household size implied more children in the household. The older children were perhaps retained at home to attend to household chores, help with the economic activities and look after their younger siblings.

When asked about the level to which they intended to educate their children, the gender disparity came out very clearly. In general, the male child was more likely to be educated to higher levels compared to the girl child. The respondents mainly perceived educating the girl child till secondary school (66 percent), while smaller proportion of them intended to educate their girl child to higher secondary (15 percent) and college education (18 percent). In contrast for the male child a higher proportion of the respondents intended to educate them to the college level (35 percent) compared to secondary and higher secondary schooling. This perception captures the psyche of the society, where education of the male child is considered more important than that of the female child.

The importance of education is recognized by the Constitution of India, which has directed that children should be given free and compulsory education till the age of 14. It has advised the state to remove the cost constraint from the education system, 'compelling' parents to send children to school and specifying the number of years for which the state, in tandem with the parent, was to be responsible for the education of each child in the country. Education was seen as a prime instrument for moving towards a more democratic and just society,

important for preventing the exploitation of the vulnerable years of childhood in child labour (De, *et al*, 1999). Providing education security is imperative for children, as it empowers them to be more productive and responsible members of the society. Therefore, the proposed 83rd amendment to the Constitution to make education a fundamental right should be passed by the Parliament soon.

Unfortunately, we are still far away from this basic level of education security. As per the Population Census of 2001, about 65 percent of the population above the age of six were literate. The gender gap in rate of literacy is significantly high in India. About 75 percent of male population and 54 percent of female population was literate. Rate of literacy also varies across states. Kerala and Mizoram had an impressive literacy rate as more than 88 percent of the people above six years were literate in 2001. Gujarat had a literacy rate of 70 percent, with a male literacy of 80 and female literacy of 59 percent. However, states like Bihar have a literacy rate of less than 50 percent of the population.

“The neglect of primary education is one of the biggest failures of Indian development policies” (Dev, 1999). Since Independence, the evolution of government policy towards education shows the following characteristic: First, a gradual recognition that regular schooling is not easy to extend to all groups, and thus special measures like non-formal education and adult literacy programmes have been initiated to extend literacy to all. Second, a large number of innovative programmes, many requiring NGO collaboration, have been started since the mid-1980s. Most of these have been made possible through foreign assistance. Finally, there is an increasing sense of urgency about universalizing basic education (Wazir, 2000). Thus, the Government has made a number of attempts to reduce the costs of schooling to promote education by offering variety of incentives: non-formal education system, scholarships, free or subsidised education for girls, free textbooks and uniforms, midday meals and dry rations. Some of these are directly targeted at girls and disadvantaged castes. High rate of poverty and poor schooling system has resulted in low-literacy rate among child labourers, therefore, to promote education among them, government has started evening classes for illiterate children from 9 to 14 years of age. In terms of education, literacy rate in rural areas is much lower than urban areas. In 1986, the government started the “Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya” for the meritorious students in about 400 rural districts of various states. Government has also

emphasized literacy among adults by starting night schools for them. Beside these schemes, the state governments have also come forward with new schemes to promote education, such as Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project in early 1980s, Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi Project in 1987, Mahila Samakhya in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat in 1989, Bihar Education project in 1991, Rajasthan Lok Jumbish in 1992, UP Basic Education Project, 1992 and Madhya Pradesh Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in 1997 (Wazir, 2000).

The coverage of government incentive schemes, however, remains extremely limited. There has been considerable expansion in the number of schools and other educational institutions between 1951 and 1997, but much of this has been rendered ineffective by the increase in population size. In addition, there is still a high percentage of habitation without access to schools. In 1993, 50 percent of habitations had a school at the primary stage; 14 percent at the upper primary stage; 5 percent at the secondary stage and one percent at the higher secondary stage (Wazir, 2000). In our sample in Gujarat we observed that only one percent of the villages did not have a primary school. Obviously, the urban as well as developed region bias is clearly demonstrated.

In 1999 a Public Report on Basic Education (PROBE, 1999) was published that analysed in detail the education system in the four backward north Indian states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. It has been observed that of all the Scheduled caste and tribe children enrolled in government schools, only one-fifth received scholarships, two-fifth received free textbooks and about half received dry rations. Except for scholarships, the coverage is very similar to that received by all government school children as a whole. Moreover, the erratic and whimsical implementations of these schemes meant that a lot of the potential gains are frittered away. Late arrival of textbooks and scholarship funds, inadequate supply of textbooks and dry rations, leakage of rations, poor teacher qualities, inadequate facilities in schools, and added responsibilities for the teacher have adverse affects on education schemes (De, *et al*, 1999).

In our survey we observed that 32 percent of the children going to school received scholarships and 33 percent received support for the purchase of clothes and schoolbooks. In Gujarat there is an additional scheme of free

education for girl children who attend the secondary school. 111 households had girl children going to secondary school. About 66 households, or almost 60 percent of them reported receiving such free education.

The government has made considerable effort at delivering education. The provision of schools and efforts at cost reduction has met with partial success in retaining children in school. The private sector has been active in the provision of education. There is increasing evidence that the majority of children access private schools as opposed to government schools (Shariff, 1999). The quality of education is a major reason for this. The market for education is well developed and it is quite a remunerative enterprise especially in the urban centers. However, these do not necessarily cater to the disadvantaged sections. The role of NGOs and other private initiatives in providing access to education remain limited. There are of course a number of successful cases of non-formal education provided by NGOs (Kumar, *et al*, 1999). The scale of the effort required to reach the large and scattered population in India remains the challenge.

Health Security

Health security can be thought of having low exposure to risk, plus having access to health care services with the ability to pay for medical care and medicine. Such health security should be equally available and accessible to all citizens. Despite the expansion in the physical provisioning of health facilities, and the high levels of spending, ill health remains one of the most prevalent causes of human deprivations in India (Kumar, 1999). The failure to provide adequate health security seems to be one of the major development failures.

Defining good health is by itself difficult and measurement of health status is beset with problems of subjectivity and self-perception. Further, one must not ignore that, health outcomes are also influenced by investments in education, water and sanitation, food security, housing, employment and rural development sector. Some of the indicators of health security of the population are mortality, infant mortality rates, incidence of morbidity and nutritional intake. Mortality rates cannot be computed at a very regional or local level and estimates can at best be obtained at the state level using very large sample data. Data on morbidity and

nutritional intake can be obtained at the local level, but are difficult to obtain and are subject to errors of recall and reporting. At the individual level the perception of health can be used as an indicator of health status. However, the measurement of health status based on questions of perception is fraught with problems of subjectivity.

The household survey tried to capture the actual situation concerning health facilities, before asking perceptions of the workers towards their health status. At the outset, we would like to mention that we did not attempt to construct indicators directly assessing health like morbidity, etc. However, factual information regarding status of individuals, whether a Government hospital or Primary Health Center (PHC) existed in the neighborhood of 5 kilometers and if it existed whether the household was availing the facility were collected. Access to health facilities is different in rural and urban areas. About 17 percent of the households did not have access to public health care facilities, 26 percent in the rural and 7 percent in urban areas. About 19 percent of the households did not avail of the public health facility as either the treatment was not available or the facility was too far. The proportion of households not availing the facility was higher in urban (23 percent) areas compared to rural (10 percent) areas.

People's perception of their health, illness and causal factors is to a large extent based on socio-economic, cultural and environmental factors. Any investigation into their health necessarily encounters the problem of understanding how health and illness are perceived and understood by people. This was very evident when we enquired about the general health, eyesight, hearing and breathing of the workers, with nearly all of them perceiving their health to be satisfactory or good. However, 19 percent of the workers reported that on a regular basis they suffered from body ache, headache or fever (Table 4). A higher proportion of women workers, 25 percent, compared to men (11 percent) reported such ailments. As aches and pains on a regular basis are higher for people of older age, we computed this variable, controlling for workers above the age of 40 years. The health vulnerability rose to 30 percent for the older women.

In response to whether their general health had improved, deteriorated or remained the same over the last year, about 12 and 15 percent of men and women respectively reported their health had deteriorated. The deterioration of health was

much greater for older women compared to men, controlling for workers above the age of 40 years. It is interesting to observe the contrasting perception that the workers have about their health status. They presume their health status to be satisfactory or good, despite having regular body ache, headache or fever or their general health having deteriorated.

About 48 percent of the workers said that work had an adverse effect on their health. Besides, about 25 percent of the respondents said at least one family member suffered from some chronic illness. About 79 percent of the workers did not receive any medical benefits and had to pay fully for the use of medical services. There was no significant difference by gender. The precarious existence of these workers seemed quite evident. There was not only a loss of income among the workers due to sickness or ill health, but they also had to bear the entire cost burden. In general, health of the male workers seemed to be comparatively better than the women worker, not suffering from regular aches and pains. Further, men at least did not perceive that their work had any adverse effect on their health.

Health care systems affect income security in two ways. The availability of adequate, preventive and curative care is vital to ensure that workers are fit to earn a living for themselves and their dependents. And it is the function of the health care financing system to ensure that large and unpredictable costs of health care do not fall directly on individual households, with the catastrophic effects (ILO, 2000). Health care is equally important for everyone regardless of labour force participation or employment status. However, many workers, particularly those who are outside regular wage employment, do not have any satisfactory health coverage, at any rate in many developing countries. This situation has become particularly difficult since many Governments in the developing countries have been obliged to implement structural adjustment programmes, which have led to sharply reduced expenditure on public health services. Higher user charges have significantly raised the barriers for many people with low health status and low income.

While discussing the instruments and institutional mechanisms to deliver health security we need to distinguish between curative care and preventive care. Health outcomes are also influenced by investments in education, water and sanitation, control of infectious diseases, mass immunization programmes etc. These instruments constitute efforts at preventive care. While the instrument of

health insurance for curative care of individuals can be delivered by both public and private institutions, investment such as noted above for preventive care are unlikely to be of interest to the private institutions. The state will be required to play a major role in providing health security through preventive care.

A study covering 1200 households in the same region as our survey and covering SEWA households attempted to arrive at an indicator of health security (Gumber, 2000). Information was collected on three types of morbidity: acute morbidity (using 30 day recall), chronic morbidity and hospitalization (365 day recall). Incidence of morbidity was observed to be the highest among the SEWA households. These three forms of morbidity were converted into an annual illness rate. On an average, the population was found to experience about two episodes of illness per year, the rate, however, was higher for SEWA households.

The traditional form of social security benefits should cover employees working for enterprises for contingencies such as illness. In our household survey, among the salaried and casual workers (about 45 percent of the respondents), only about 15 percent received any medical benefits from their employer and 19 percent were entitled to medical leave. Women workers were clearly worse off in these respects. Casual workers were more insecure among this group of workers as well.

Clearly the poor population in Gujarat faced extreme health insecurity as observed by us as well as by the independent study (Gumber, 2000). It was also observed that the SEWA respondent's were relatively worse off in terms of health. A possible explanation for this is that the members of SEWA belong to extremely poor households. Further, in our household survey only 3 percent of all the respondents reported having medical insurance. Obviously, medical insurance has not made any inroads into the health consciousness of the people. So far medical insurance is in the hands of state institutions. There is still no clear policy of privatisation of the health insurance sector.

A third type of institutional mechanism increasingly involved in the delivery of certain social protection instruments is the non-government organizations or member-based organizations. We have explicitly studied one member-based organization SEWA by including a sample of its members. Since 1992, SEWA

has introduced a unique integrated insurance plan for their members. By just paying Rs.65 as annual premium, the poor women member gets coverage for health and maternity benefits, asset including house insurance, and life coverage (inclusive of the spouse). Currently 30000 women are enrolled in the plan, of which 50 percent coverage is from the rural areas (Gumber, 2000). This study observed a strongly expressed need for health insurance among low-income households in both rural and urban households.

While only 3 percent of the general sample in our survey was observed to have any form of medical insurance, about 26 percent of the SEWA respondents had medical insurance. This is particularly important for this group of women who we observed suffered from extreme health insecurity. Thus, this member-based organization was playing an important role in providing health security to its members. Other such efforts are being made by some hospitals such as the Kasturba Hospital, Sewagram (Jajoo, 2000) and the Christian Medical College, Vellore under its rural programme. A number of NGOs are also active in delivering health inputs in specific areas (Jhabvala and Subrahmanya, 2000).

In recent years the Government of India has also been concerned with preventive care. After a rather negative experience of the Family Planning Programme during the years of the emergency, the government has changed its policy towards Family Welfare. There is an increasing concentration on reproductive health and the status of pregnant women and children. The government has been successfully implementing the basic immunization programme for children and Pulse Polio system. The idea behind the programme is that if the majority of the children are immunized against the illness the diseases can be eradicated.

One programme that has been considered relatively successful is the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS). The ICDS was initiated in 1975 and is perhaps one of the largest food supplementation programmes in the world. The objective was to improve the health and nutrition status of children 0-6 years by providing supplementary food and required health inputs and to provide pregnant and lactating mothers with food supplements. It involved tetanus injection, iron supplements, compulsory check ups of the pregnant women, and later immunization and basic food and nutrition of the children. The programme was

implemented through the Primary Health Centers, village health workers, auxiliary nurses (ANMs) and the anganwadis or nursery schools in the village. In 1996 the programme covered 4200 blocks with 592571 anganwadis, 18.5 million children and 3.7 million mothers (Planning Commission, 2000). Besides this a mid-day meal scheme is being implemented in some states of India. In the PSS we asked the question whether the household had been a beneficiary of the ICDS programme or Balwadis. We found that only 4 percent of the households with children below the age of 6 had benefited from the programme.

5. ECONOMIC SECURITY

The globalisation and flexibalisation process world over has changed the structure of employment, which is by no means uniform across countries. In the developing countries the past two decades has seen a continuation of an increase in the proportion of labour force, which is self-employed. The increase has been in response to a variety of factors, including reduced opportunities for regular salaried employment and greater demand from enterprises and public sector institutions wishing to purchase services rather than to employ labour.

Most of the new employment is created in small enterprises. These may involve anything from a single self-employed person in the informal sector to complex production units employing number of wageworkers. Some of these jobs provide secure incomes and a decent working environment. But there are many low paid jobs as well, low in productivity, dangerous or lacking in basic social protection. Certain other forms of employment are also on the increase, such as part-time employment, temporary employment, casual employment, homework and teleworking. These employments provide less income security and social security benefits than permanent, full-time employment on the premises of the employer.

In the developing countries the proportion of the labour force in formal sector employment is small and recently, has even fallen, partly as a result of structural adjustment programmes. Informal employment becomes a resort for the marginalized population groups as a survival strategy. Informal employment is not a homogenous category and ranges across self-employed activities, wage labourers, piece-rate home based workers and 'organised' informal employment activities undertaken by employees. Labour legislation has been amended to

provide greater flexibility for employers who wish to hire workers only for a fixed period of time. Flexibility for the former translates into insecurity for the latter.

In the globalising economy where work is becoming flexible, there is more diversity of work statuses, variable periods and intensity of employment, and variable levels and forms of income. From time to time economic insecurities arise due to random shocks. However, greater all-pervading influence on economic security is due to structural factors. One such important structural factor affecting poor workers in the informal economy is the status of work that is whether the worker is a casual, salaried, self-employed or piece rate worker. The insecurities faced by the different types of workers and the instruments to deal with them are likely to be different.

In 1999-2000 at the all-India level 42 percent of male and 33 percent of female workers in urban areas were engaged in regular salaried jobs according to the National Sample Survey data. The percentage of casual workers was about 17 and 21 among male and female workers in urban areas respectively. The casualisation of the workforce was an important phenomenon in the rural areas of India, with 36 percent of the male and 40 percent of the female workers being so engaged in 1999-2000. Self-employed workers constituted 55 and 57 percent of the male and female workforce in rural areas and 41 and 45 percent of the male and female workforce in urban areas.

While open unemployment has been growing, the greater problem faced by the worker is that of under employment, or employment at low levels of income. This is because most of the population is too poor to remain unemployed and is forced to undertake some economic activity in order to survive. It has been noted that the proportion of persons seeking additional work has grown over the period 1993-94 to 1999-2000 (Sundaram, 2001). That is, underemployment has been growing. This is a macro measure of labour market and employment security.

At the micro level, on average we observed that 301 days of work was available to the workers. The most vulnerable were the casual and piece rate workers in terms of number of days of work, obtaining only about 255 days of work in the year. These average days refer to the number of days on which the worker found work and it is not standardized for eight-hour days. It also includes multiple economic activities engaged in by the worker.

These numbers hide the underemployment faced by the workers. However, open unemployment was reported by 19 percent of the workers. The insecurity of work among the casual and piece rate workers is further reflected in the high proportion of them facing unemployment at some time during the year, 36 and 25 percent respectively. On an average these workers reported 129 days of unemployment. While casual workers reported 137 days of unemployment, the seasonal nature of agricultural activity is brought out here by the large number of days of unemployment, 134.

Another major insecurity faced by workers in the labour market is that of irregularity of work. Here again casual (44 percent) and piece rate (27 percent) workers were more insecure compared to all workers (24 percent) (Table 7). Thus the burden of flexibility in the labour market is borne by the casual and piece rate workers. Greater flexibility in social protection measures may be required to cover such workers.

Irregularity of work⁶ was taken as an indicator to analyse the determinants of insecurity faced by workers in the labour market using the logistic regression model (Table 6). As observed earlier, the status of the worker being piece rate or casual and living in a rural area increases the probability of irregularity of work. Interestingly across the different castes, the Muslim workers were more vulnerable having more irregular work. Our earlier argument of insecurities being inherent in the structural features such as the status of work, location and caste, is substantiated by these results.

We also directly canvassed some perceptive questions regarding the labour market condition facing the workers. When queried about whether they felt secure about remaining in the current job or self employed activity, only 11 percent indicated any insecurity. Casual workers and piece rate workers were obviously much more insecure about their current employment (Table 7). Further in a question regarding whether they thought it would be difficult to find an alternate activity in case of loss of the current occupation, 34 percent felt it would be difficult. It is interesting that the salaried workers felt the most challenged by this form of labour market insecurity.

⁶ Persons were asked directly whether they were able to get work on a regular basis, that is, on most days on which they wished to work. Workers reporting no to the question were treated as persons with irregularity of work and given the value 1.

This was because they were aware that alternative salaried employment would be near impossible to obtain given the current job scenario and lack of education and skill made them less employable. The salaried workers in this sample were very low-level employees, such as peons and sweepers (Table 7). Further the casual workers were even more vulnerable in their jobs given the fact that nearly 60 percent of them felt they could be terminated with a short notice or no notice at all and nearly 50 percent if they were ill and unable to attend to their duties.

Due to the insecurity arising from not having permanent jobs the workers often engage in multiple activities, changing status of work over the course of the year and even during a single day. Hence, the micro perspective of employment security has been measured in terms of being involved in multiple activities. Being involved or engaged in multiple activities for the poor workers is a form of security, both work and income. The assumption is that the informal workers with low levels of income engage in multiple activities to make up either for lack of work or for the low productivity of their existing work. About 27 percent of the workers were engaged in multiple activities during the course of the day, while about nearly 40 percent were undertaking multiple activities during the year (Table 7). The higher proportion of multiple activities during the year was because of the seasonal nature of many of the activities, particularly agriculture, that the informal workers engaged in. However, piece rate workers were found to be most vulnerable with only 6 percent of them being involved in multiple activities in a day and 18 percent being involved in multiple activities during the year compared to the other workers.

Employment security at the micro level was defined as security from arbitrary loss of employment. In the developing countries, however, a large proportion of workers do not have stable full time employment, and in fact a large proportion are engaged in self-employed activities. The sources of insecurity for these workers were lack of credit and limited markets. The majority of the self employed workers in the sample operated with fixed capital of less than Rs.500 (Table 8). In direct questions to the self employed workers we found that 57 percent reported lack of access to capital to expand their business, the problem being more acute for women, and 65 percent reported stagnant demand for their products or services. In fact, the majority of them felt there was no scope to expand their business to new markets. Another form of insecurity faced by urban self-employed workers operating on the street was harassment from the police and local hoodlums ('dadas'). This arose mainly due to

a lack of official recognition of these persons as workers and legitimacy for their economic activity.

In our household survey, the casual workers, including piece rate workers constituted the most insecure and vulnerable sections of the workforce. They were faced with irregularity of work, easily transferable skills and low levels of income that they tried to compensate for by undertaking a multiplicity of activities. It is our argument that the structural causes of vulnerability of these groups of workers must be addressed directly in any programme of social protection.

Casual Workers

The State has made some effort to address the problem of employment security of the casual workers.

Public Works: One of the major government sponsored programmes for the casual workers is the provision of manual employment through public works under the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) and the Employment Guarantee Schemes. The JRY was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme on April 1, 1989 merging a number of programmes. Its main objective has been to provide employment for the unemployed and underemployed people in rural areas through creation of economic infrastructure, community and social assets with the aim of improving the quality of life of the rural poor. This was to be done in a decentralized way by devolving funds to the village government or Panchayats, intermediate panchayats and district panchayats in the ratio of 70:15:15. The Panchayats were responsible for the planning and execution of the projects under the JRY.

Evaluation studies have shown that the employment generated per person by this scheme has been too inadequate to bring about any meaningful increase in the earnings of the beneficiaries. The resources were spread too thinly to generate any meaningful levels of employment (Planning Commission, 2000). These programmes were expected to exert an upward pressure on the wage rates, but this did not happen.

Gujarat is a region faced with frequent drought, which is a form of natural calamity that appears as a random shock to the household. Almost seven out of ten years are years of drought. The agricultural sector that is a major employer of the rural population is unable to provide sufficient employment during these years. The government has a scheme of declaring the villages as drought hit as soon as information on the possibility of drought in the state is obtained. Public works programmes are then started to avert large-scale hunger and possibility of starvation death. The programme consists of provision of manual employment, construction of roads and earthwork, at a fixed wage rate. These public works are run under the Jawahar Rozgar Programme, which is a central government funded programme.

The year 1999-2000, the reference year of our study, was a year of drought. In the household survey in Gujarat we asked the question if there was a relief works programme in the village or nearby, and did the respondent undertake relief work. About 64 percent of the respondent's claimed that they would have gone to work on the relief sites if they were available nearby. However only 46 respondents (out of 625) reported the existence of relief works nearby and only 14 respondents said that they worked on such a site in the last year. Thus the government does not seem to have provided sufficient security of income through relief work in the year of a natural calamity. In contrast, in the last major drought of 1987-88 the state government in Gujarat had put up a very effective drought relief programme (Unni, 2000).

Minimum Wages: Another state policy geared towards ensuring employment and income security to the poor is the declaration of certain employments under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. The Act requires the appropriate government to fix the minimum rates of wages in respect to employment specified in the schedule and review and revise it at intervals of not exceeding five years. In a review of this Act with reference to Gujarat we observed that only 44 percent of the employees and 26 percent of the women were engaged in industries covered under this Act. Further, the majority of the workers even in these industries did not receive the minimum wages (Unni, 1998).

Skill Upgradation: One of the major insecurities faced by the informal workers is lack of marketable skills. The inability to invest in skills and knowledge seems to be

a major factor leading to their insecurity. There is a need to focus particularly on vulnerable groups, largely women, such as home workers and hidden workers in the informal economy, and promote strategies for increasing the quality of their employment.

At the micro level, easy transferability of skill was identified as an indicator of skill vulnerability. This implied that anybody could acquire these skills and the market would be flooded with such low skill workers. About 63 percent of the workers in our household survey perceived that their skill could be easily transferred, and this vulnerability was particularly high among the women workers (Table 9). However, 27 percent of the salaried employees reported to have received formal training in their current occupation. It was also noted that only 36 percent of the workers perceived that their formal education helped them in their work. Obviously, the skill involved in their work was not very technical but simple with the use of less advanced production technologies. A large proportion of workers also felt that due to lack of education and skill it was difficult to move into other alternative jobs.

Most of the workers in the informal economy did not seem to have acquired **skill security** from any formal source such as an NGO or government extension programme (only 6.9 percent did so) and there was a large dependence on informal sources either for upgrading their skills or learning new skills. The informal methods of acquiring skills was mainly the traditional way of learning. The family members, neighbours and friends helped the younger workers to acquire skills at home. This way of training themselves through apprenticeship, helped them to combine the learning skills with the earning of income. This opportunity also ensured that people who do not have the resources to go for several years without an income in order to do full-time formal education courses still have the chance of acquiring marketable skills. This becomes all the more important for young people who need or want to make some contribution to the income of the family. This is in fact an example of how the civil society and social networks invest in people and help build up economic security.

The state efforts at upgradation of skills have been limited. It is noted that about 2.1 million students are not able to pursue education beyond matriculation (Standard X). The Ninth Plan envisaged a vocational training set-up to prepare youths in the age group of 15-25 years for employment. Two major government

resources for such training are the 4000 Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) and the 25000 industrial establishments that accept Apprentice Training. The share of ITI is rather uneven across the country with the Northern states have fewer such institutions. About 1.7 lakh apprentices are trained in establishments. Obviously this does not contribute much to the massive problem of low skills of the informal workers. An exclusive government programme Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) was launched in 1979 as part of the IRDP. This was a well conceived programme but with limited success. However, attempts should be made to make such programmes more effective.

In India, the curriculum of the secondary and higher secondary education mainly emphasizes cramming a lot of information. Subjects such as History and Geography are given tremendous importance. The result is that children of the informal poor workers prefer not to send their children to school because they do not see any use for such training. More vocational oriented training from the secondary school level itself will help to produce more employable youth when they emerge from school. This might even help to raise the enrollment rates, particularly of the poorer sections of the population.

Organization: Organisation of labour has been understood to benefit in the early years, mainly factory-based workers in the organized sector. Such organisations tended to exclude workers in the unorganized or informal sector. In the globalizing world, the increasing informalisation of the economy calls for a new agenda for organization. The labour movement will undergo a transformation into a movement of all working people as against organization of workers in particular industries where workers enjoy institutionalized protection (Kannan, 1999). Besides individual employers, some bargaining will be with the capital as a class and economy-wide. Some will also have to be with the state to ensure minimum requirements of consumption along with basic needs of housing, health and education (Kannan, 1999).

The formal and informal sectors or the degree of informality of a worker can be visualized as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. Organisation or representation provides a 'voice' to the workers and can help to move the degree of formality, in terms of social security benefits to the workers lower down the continuum. That is 'voice' is a means to help the workers to reduce their degree

of informality in the work status (Sudarshan and Unni, 2001). Organization of the informal sector workers has also been viewed as a means to improve their staying power (Kannan, 1999), this being one of the main causes of vulnerability of these workers

The contemporary Indian experience in organizing the unorganized labouring poor has already demonstrated that it is possible to organize the workers in this sector. The experience of organization in the unorganised sector has been classified in terms of three processes. The radical political movements engaged in sporadic agrarian class struggles. These are mainly the extreme left groups, going under the name of the Naxalite movement. They have had some success in attaining some economic advantages for the poor labouring class. The second type of organization is the trade unions of political parties. Their approach is similar to that of the trade union in the organized sector. They tend to organize according to occupations. Trade unions of agricultural labourers are the most common. The third group may be called 'empowerment groups' and mostly consist of NGOs, including anything other than the government and excluding the above two. A large number of religious and charitable organizations and development organizations contribute to increasing the staying power of the poor. They often organize around micro-credit programmes for women, adult literacy work, health care services, relief assistance in times of crisis, watershed management etc (Kannan, 1999). One study counted about two thousand NGOs working on labour related issues (Chandra and Reddy, 1998).

Some of these 'empowerment groups' have felt the need for alliances. The National Center for Labour (NCL) is a federation of organizations working among the unorganised sector workers and is a major event in the emergence of the collective voice of the labouring poor. The prominent organizations in the NCL are SEWA, National Federation of Fish Workers Forum, National Federation of Construction Labour, Domestic Maids Union, Forest Workers and Agricultural Labourers.

With the growth of the informal economy, it has been observed that a sizable number of these workers are home-based and women. This realization and organization of mainly NGOs working with informal workers led to an international focus on certain groups of workers within the informal sector who are considered

more invisible (Chen, et.al., 1999). Some such groups of workers are the home-based workers, within them are the home workers or out-workers, and the street vendors. Part of their invisibility stems from the fact that they are often women and work in not very clearly designated "business places", e.g., within their homes or in the streets.

With considerable background work on the part of these NGOs, the ILO adopted a Convention on Home Work in 1996, which refers exclusively to home workers, a category not included in the ICSE-1993. It defined home worker as a person who carried out work for remuneration in premises of his/her own choice, other than the work place of the employer, resulting in a product or service as specified by the employer, irrespective of who provided the equipment, material or inputs used. This is a sub-category of the broader category of home-based workers.

The organized groups of home-based workers attempt to improve the terms of engagement in the market economy, including the global economy. An international alliance of home-based workers called HOMENET operates from UK. It has also established regional networks such as Homenet, Southeast Asia and Homenet South Asia. A global network of Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organising (WIEGO) has been formed comprising of activists, academics and international development institutions (Sudarshan and Unni, 2001).

We asked a question in our survey regarding representation: "Do you belong to any organisation that represents your interests in your work?" Only 17 percent of the sample workers responded positively. When the question was posed as "Do you know about unions", about 40 percent of the men, 19 percent of the women and 30 percent of SEWA members responded positively. Obviously, awareness of trade unionism and organization among the workers was very low.

Welfare Funds: Welfare funds represent one of the models developed in India for providing social security to workers in the informal sector. Under this funds are raised by levying a cess on the production, sale or export of specified goods, or by collecting contributions from various sources including employers, employees and the government. The funds are used for meeting the expenditures of the welfare of the workers (Subrahmanya, 2000). The

government of India has set up welfare funds for workers in six classes of mines, bidi, cine, dock and building and construction workers. Among the states, Kerala has set up 20 welfare funds. Similar funds have been set up in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab and Assam for specific groups of workers. These funds are set up by special acts of parliament and are administered departmentally by the Ministry of Labour through Welfare Commissioners appointed by the government. They tend to be bureaucratic and lacking in initiative and the cost of administration has been high. If many of these funds could be integrated, it would reduce overheads (Subrahmanya, 2000).

One of the major problems of administration of the central welfare funds is the identification of the beneficiaries. The welfare funds do not have a system of registration. Instead identity cards are required to be issued by the employers. This obviously leads to non-implementation of this requirement and leads to large number of workers not receiving the benefits due to them. In Kerala, the system of registration exists, but the schemes being optional, the number of workers who have registered varies. Another problem is that the welfare funds exist only for selected categories of workers and the very needy categories like agricultural labourers, forest workers are left out (Subrahmanya, 2000). Thus, while the collection of cess overcomes the problem of identification of the employers, the identification of the workers remains a problem since registration, as in the case of Kerala, and the issue of identity cards by the employers remains voluntary.

Self-Employed Workers

Capital Security: The insecurities faced by the self-employed workers were identified mainly as access to capital and demand for their products or services. The self-employed workers were observed to have very low value of fixed and variable capital. This implied low turnover and incomes generated by these activities. About 57 percent of the urban self-employed workers in our survey felt that they were constrained by lack of access to capital. Hence one of the core needs of the self-employed workers was of capital. This could be obtained from the market. However, it has been observed that the formal banking institutions are very reluctant to lend to small entrepreneurs or self employed people.

IRDP: The government provides subsidized credit through certain well-known programmes. One of the major self-employment programmes instituted by the government in all blocks in the country in 1980-81 was the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). This was a major anti-poverty programme of the government. The programme aimed at providing economic assets and inputs to the households living below the poverty line in rural areas in order to make their economic activities viable.

In 1999 the IRDP was restructured as the Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY). Other allied programmes are Training for Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Million Wells Scheme (MWS) and Supply of Improved Toolkits to Rural Artisans (SITRA). The government, research scholars and international organizations have extensively evaluated the IRDP. The major criticism against it is that there is lack of linkages between different programmes and lack of co-ordination between departments. IRDP and the allied activities are not sufficiently enmeshed in the overall strategy of sustainable agricultural development or rural industrialization or with the resource-base of the area. In fact very few loans have been given for buying land. This absence of integration together with lack of technological and institutional capabilities puts a question mark on the very strategy and design of the programmes (Planning Commission, 2000).

The fifth round concurrent evaluation of IRDP was carried out in Gujarat during August 1995-June 1996. While it was observed that the benefits of the programme did reach the targeted population, it did not necessarily help them to cross the poverty line. It was observed that the beneficiaries of the poorer households obtained a lower share of income from the IRDP asset, and the poorer segment of the weaker sections such as tribal and women received even a smaller contribution to their income from IRDP. The objective of the IRDP to uplift the poorest of the poor first had not succeeded (Iyengar, *et al*, 1997).

Micro Finance: The World Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen in March 1995, underscored the importance of improving access to credit for small producers, landless farmers, and other low income individuals, particularly women and vulnerable groups. The United Nations declared the year 1996 as the International Year for the eradication of Poverty and 1997-2006 as the first

International Decade for the Eradication of Poverty. The World Micro Credit Summit at Washington D.C in February 1997 announced a global target of supporting 100 million of the poorest families, especially women, with micro credit for self-employment by the year 2005 (Nair, 2001). All these international initiatives have given a major fillip to microfinance as an important intervention to alleviate poverty. Micro finance institutions are those that provide thrift, credit and other financial services in very small amounts to poor households in order to raise their income levels. They consist of moneylenders, traders etc. in the informal sector, informal groups, such as savings and credit groups, and formal sector institutions. However, the World Development Report, 2000/2001 describes micro finance as a 'market-based formal mechanism' to mitigate risks faced by poor people as against the 'informal group-based mechanisms' like savings and credit groups.

The success of micro finance interventions have been measured on grounds of outreach and sustainability of the programme, income or poverty impact on the users and development of financial markets at the local level. Most studies have however, concentrated on the first to measure the success on micro finance interventions. The preoccupation has been on regularity of repayment of loans, which has led to a bias towards petty trading that has a regular cash flow (Ditcher, 1999). Currently, micro finance institutions are generously assisted by subsidized funds, and it is not clear whether and how they will stand up to competition once the shield of subsidy vanishes (Nair, 2001).

NGOs as a preferred vehicle to disburse credit to the poor self-employed workers through micro finance approach have been clearly preferred by the international funding agencies. In India the government has encouraged the micro finance programme. The National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) has an NGO-SHG-Bank linkage programme that tries to promote the linkage between the formal and informal financial sectors. According to NABARD by the end of the 1990s about 800 NGOs were participating in its Self Help Group-Bank linkage programme. There is also the government initiated NGO, the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), under the Department of Women and Child Development that extends credit support to NGOs and Women's Economic Development Corporation. The RMK is a national-level mechanism to meet the micro-credit needs of poor and asset-less women. Since its inception in 1993,

RMK has sanctioned credit of Rs.773.6 million; it has benefited 350 thousand women through 688 NGOs spread all over the country (Planning Commission, 2000). Thus in India the formal funds get into the informal channels before they reach the desired clientele. According to a study conducted by the NABARD, there is a 40 percent reduction in transaction costs due to the SHG intermediation. Similarly the borrowers transaction costs have been reduced by 85 percent with the elimination of the complex documentation and procedures (Nair, 2001).

The SEWA Bank has also been following the micro finance strategy of lending through Savings and Credit Groups in the villages and directly through its bank in the urban areas. This has definitely paid dividends by reducing the capital insecurity of its members. We saw that only 48 percent of the women members of SEWA reported having lack of access to capital compared to 58 percent of the general sample of women. The actual fixed capital employed by SEWA members was also relatively higher than that of other women, though lower than that of men. Thus, the institution of micro finance did play a role in reducing capital insecurity of the poor self-employed workers.

A third institutional mechanism that helped to reduce capital insecurity of the poor was the civil society or social networks. This has been termed social capital in the literature. We asked a question regarding whether there was a social network, or households in the community, whom they could approach when in need of financial assistance? About 90 percent of the households reported the existence of such a social network to bail them out in times of financial crisis. Among them 89 percent of the networks were structured within the family, and 10 percent were among friends. Besides social networks, we further enquired about the kind of institutions that the households approached when in need of capital. These institutions were then broadly grouped into four types by degree of vulnerability. The least vulnerable were those who were able to borrow from social networks, constituting about 68 percent. The next least vulnerable were those who were able to borrow from formal institutions and constituted 17 percent. We found that the SEWA women were the least vulnerable by the second criterion. This was mainly because of their knowledge that they could borrow from SEWA Bank in case of need.

Demand Security: The self-employed workers were mainly engaged in the production of goods or services. To scale up production or expand the business, capital is only one of the many constraints. Demand or market for their product or service becomes a second major constraint for the small self-employed worker. In order to expand their economic activity they had to either expand the markets for their current activity or develop or deal in a new product or service. In our survey we found that a very small proportion, about 23 percent, of the self-employed workers had actually contemplated the expansion of their economic activity in the next five years and another 26 percent visualized shifting out of the current and into a new activity. We observed earlier that they were engaged in activities with very low levels of capital. Obviously, these workers are very poor and the activities they engage in perhaps do not provide much scope for upward mobility.

The question of developing markets for the products and services of the poor self-employed workers is much less discussed in the development literature compared to the need for capital. An institution through which this can be solved is by innovative production organization. Since the capital, skill and other needs of the self-employed workers are limited, forms of organisation that encourage the coming together of a number of producers can help pool these scarce resources. One popular means of production that has been tried out in India is the co-operative society. Another is by the formation of producers groups consisting of similar self-producing artisans or small industry. The function of the co-operative and producers groups is to facilitate linkage to markets, to provide management and accounting facilities for the scaled up production activity.

Co-operative Movement: In a study advocating a 'middle-path' between corporate and state bureaucracies, co-operatives with emphasis on local control of resources are seen as an alternative to provide opportunities and protection to the poor (Baviskar, *et al*, 1995). Co-operatives enable small producers to aggregate their skills and resources so that large-scale political, administrative and economic systems are less over-whelming. In India the idea of a middle path through co-operatives is an old one (Gadgil, 1961). However, the history of the co-operative movement in India is not considered very successful and has been like a dream that turned sour. One of the reasons for this was the large number of state sponsored and in fact state controlled co-operatives.

Comparing the relatively successful co-operative movement in Western India to that in Eastern and Northern India, Baviskar *et al* came up with the following hypotheses: Co-operatives are successful in areas where there is a large middle peasantry with relatively homogeneous caste groups with a common identity. Excessive political and bureaucratic interference by the state leads to co-operative failure, that is, autonomy from the state is necessary for the co-operative movement to succeed.

Producer's Groups: Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) is a sub-scheme of IRDP started in 1982-83 on a pilot basis in 50 selected districts. It has now been extended to all districts in the country. Under this scheme, poor women are organized in groups of 10-15 for taking up economic activities suited to their skills, aptitude and local conditions. A revolving fund of Rs.25000, a one-time grant, is provided to these groups for starting up income generating activities. DWCRA is the only government programme aimed at empowering rural women through economic means. It seeks to encourage collective action in the form of group activities, which are expected to work better than individual efforts. In addition, it encourages the habit of thrift and credit and making them more self-reliant. Many evaluation studies of this programme emphasize the limited success of these groups due to various reasons.

SEWA has however, successfully used the DWCRA programme to help form producer's groups. A successful experiment is in the semi-arid district of Banaskantha in Gujarat. The producer's groups are now federated into a district-level federation, the Banaskantha DWCRA Women's Association (BDWA). The BDWA is actively promoting the producer's groups and linking them to markets, banks, government agencies and other institutions at the state, national and even international levels. BDWA office bearers help the producer's groups to solve problems. The producer's groups are involved in eco-regeneration programmes through nurseries and plantations, embroidery work, gum collection from the forests and salt farming. The BDWA relies on SEWA to take up issues that hamper the progress of the federation or the producer's groups, and to play the advocacy role. The women are simultaneously members of SEWA and BDWA. The membership of SEWA grew from 1500 in 1991 to 43500 in 1995 and of BDWA from 1500 to 15300 during the same period in Banaskantha (Bhowmik and Jhabvala, 1996). This can be considered a successful case of empowerment

through producer's groups and also a successful use of the government programme.

Legal Recognition: Another major insecurity faced by self-employed workers is lack of legal recognition. One of the main features of the self-employed workers in the informal economy is the small scale of operation. Many of these units operate either from their homes or on the streets. The lack of a 'designated business place' is a characteristic feature of these units and this adds to their vulnerability. In the household survey we found that nearly 37 percent of the self-employed persons worked at home and another 42 percent worked on the street. Hence only 20 percent of the self-employed had a designated place of work.

The National Sample Survey Organization recently, 1999-2000, conducted an Informal Sector Survey along with its quinquennial labour force survey. About 36 percent of the informal enterprises were observed to be home-based and 22 percent were without a fixed location. That is, only 42 percent of the informal enterprises in the country had a designated business place. Even out of these 6 percent were located in temporary structures. Street vendors, another vulnerable group, constituted about 11 percent of the informal enterprises (NSSO, 2001).

The constraints faced by self-employed informal enterprises in accessing resources and a hostile policy environment often exacerbates markets. This is especially so because of lack of legal recognition of these enterprises. The lack of a designated business place further exaggerates their insecurity of legal recognition. In a survey of the informal sector in Ahmedabad city we observed that the informal enterprises paid various forms of legal and illegal fees to the state authorities and local 'dons'. Of nearly Rs.285 million collected by the state as fees, only about 38 percent were collected legally. The rest was collected in the form of bribes for violating certain rules and regulations. These fees were mainly collected from the trade, transport and service enterprises operating in 'unauthorized' business places on the ground that they caused traffic congestion, health hazards and make illegal use of public space. These kinds of restrictions without accompanying positive alternative measures, invariably meant reduction in income earning opportunities (Uma Rani and Unni, 2000).

One instrument to take care of the crisis of lack of legal recognition is to provide identity cards to the workers. In the case of certain home-based workers such as bidi-rolling there does exist a system of providing identity cards to the workers. However, this trade is regulated under the Bidi Workers Welfare Fund Act, 1976 and makes the workers entitled to a number of benefits. We have earlier discussed the problem of identification of workers using the identity cards in the case of the Welfare Funds in India.

6. CONCLUSION

The instruments of social protection and the institutional mechanisms to deliver the core needs – basic and economic discussed above - clearly show the important role of the state. However, it needs to be emphasised here that the increasing globalisation over the last decade is modifying the role of the state through various market mechanisms. In this changed scenario while we are stressing that the state should not absolve itself of the responsibility of providing the core needs, both basic and economic, the question of how it is going to mobilize the resources for these activities remains a puzzle. This concern largely arises, as a significant proportion of the population in developing countries like India is in the informal sector and do not directly pay taxes. To provide them social protection would mean huge costs and any policy intervention in this sphere will have to address the issue of mobilizing resources. It is one thing to design attractive policies and quite another to ensure implementation. Indian planners have never been at a loss to fashion attractive policies, it is the will to implement them that has been lacking (Beteille, 2001). Innovative and easily implementable methods of mobilizing resources are likely to be one of the key challenges for the policies in social protection.

We identified a number of private-market and NGO initiatives in the direction of social protection. These initiatives need to be strengthened and many more innovative approaches have to be devised to reach social protection to the poor informal workers. Further, our analysis that the causes of insecurity are both random shocks and structural features focuses on the need to address both the economic and basic security issues.

Table 1: Odds Ratio for Predicting Food Security

Dependent Variable: Whether the household went hungry over the last twelve months?						
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	-.029	.011	6.863	1	.009	.971
Female dummy	.290	.329	.776	1	.378	1.336
Mean years of education	-.109	.026	17.073	1	.000	.897
Widowed or separated dummy	.573	.291	3.888	1	.049	1.774
Size of the household	-.057	.044	1.703	1	.192	.945
Scheduled caste/tribe dummy	.115	.198	.337	1	.562	1.122
Piecerate/casual worker Dummy	.072	.196	.133	1	.715	1.074
Log of individual income	-.281	.103	7.497	1	.006	.755
Rural dummy	-1.369	.216	40.287	1	.000	.254
SEWA dummy	-1.417	.529	7.186	1	.007	.242
Number of crisis	.318	.089	12.735	1	.000	1.374
Social network dummy	-.015	.295	.003	1	.958	.985
Constant	1.632	1.190	1.879	1	.170	5.113
N =1236, -2 Log likelihood = 767.660						
Cox and Snell R Square = 0.097, Nagelkerke R Square = 0.188						

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Table 2: Shelter Insecurity in Rural and Urban Areas

Shelter Status	Rural				Urban			
	Male	Female	SEWA	All	Male	Female	SEWA	All
Do Not Own House	5.1	4.1	6.2	4.5	38.4	39.7	27.8	38.8
Kutcha	24.4	23.3	49.2	23.7	2.4	4.3	7.4	3.3
Shelter Vulnerable	30.6	31.4	18.5	31.1	28.9	29.0	31.9	28.9

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000.

- Note: 1. Female includes SEWA women.
 2. Shelter vulnerability is kutcha and semi-kutcha houses without any renovation undertaken.

Table 3: Odds Ratio for Predicting Education Security

Dependent Variable: Children of school going age not going to school						
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	.016	.012	1.589	1	.207	1.016
Female dummy	-.051	.316	.026	1	.872	.951
Mean years of education	-.161	.029	30.102	1	.000	.852
Widowed or separated dummy	-.325	.365	.795	1	.373	.722
Size of the household	.113	.040	7.917	1	.005	1.119
Scheduled caste/tribe dummy	-.223	.211	1.118	1	.290	.800
Piecerate/casual worker dummy	.148	.201	.538	1	.463	1.159
Log of individual income	.064	.108	.351	1	.553	1.066
Rural dummy	.006	.195	.001	1	.977	1.006
SEWA dummy	-.444	.357	1.550	1	.213	.642
Number of crisis	.115	.088	1.699	1	.192	1.122
Constant	-2.772	1.224	5.127	1	.024	.063
N =727, -2 Log likelihood = 699.767						
Cox and Snell R Square = 0.081, Nagelkerke R Square = 0.125						

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Table 4: Health Insecurity of the Workers

Health Insecurity	Male	Female	All
Suffering from Aches regularly	11.5	25.5	19.3
Deteriorating health	12.1	15.1	13.8
Adverse effect of work on health	37.5	58.5	48.2
Pay fully for medical care	77.7	79.7	78.8

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Table 5: Average Days of Employment and Unemployment by Status

Activity Status	Workers reporting unemployment		Workers not reporting unemployment	All Workers
	Days of Employment	Days of Unemployment	Days of Employment	
Self employed, agriculture	255	134 (7.5)	345	338
Self employed, non-agriculture	263	67 (9.8)	328	321
Salaried	282	37 (1.4)	355	354
Casual labour	200	137 (36.3)	285	254
Piece-rate workers	220	113 (24.7)	272	259
All	214	129 (19.0)	322	301

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Note: Figures in parentheses are the percentage of workers reporting unemployment.

Table 6: Odds Ratio for Predicting Labour Market Security

Dependent Variable: Irregularity of work						
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	-.005	.010	.218	1	.641	.995
Female dummy	-.203	.273	.554	1	.457	.816
Mean years of education	-.037	.024	2.409	1	.121	.964
Widowed or separated Dummy	.115	.286	.163	1	.687	1.122
Size of the household	.056	.036	2.455	1	.117	1.057
Scheduled caste/tribe dummy	.242	.190	1.616	1	.204	1.273
Piecerate/casual worker Dummy	1.908	.189	102.189	1	.000	6.740
Log of individual income	-.908	.102	78.630	1	.000	.403
Rural dummy	.960	.194	24.432	1	.000	2.613
SEWA dummy	-.722	.331	4.753	1	.029	.486
Number of crisis	.009	.077	.014	1	.907	1.009
Muslim dummy	.594	.297	3.996	1	.046	1.811
Constant	5.071	1.081	22.013	1	.000	159.280
N =1236, -2 Log likelihood = 904.795						
Cox and Snell R Square = 0.205, Nagelkerke R Square = 0.331						

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Table 7: Economic Insecurity (Percentage of Households) by Activity Status

Economic Insecurity	Self Employed Agriculture	Self Employed Non-Agriculture	Salaried	Casual Workers	Piece Rate Home-Based	All
Irregularity	11.5	9.4	0.5	44.0	26.6	23.7
Lack of Security of work	3.7	7.2	5.5	18.9	24.0	11.2
Difficult to get alternate work	20.7	41.1	59.2	34.4	55.1	34.2
Notice of less than 7 days for termination	-	-	12.6	58.6	-	39.4
Possible job loss due to illness	-	-	10.9	47.0	-	40.4
Having Multiple Activities in a Day	40.3	15.1	20.1	26.1	5.5	27.3
Having Multiple Activities in a Year	50.8	27.4	21.8	41.9	18.1	39.5

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Table 8: Economic Insecurity Among Self Employed in Urban Areas by Gender

Insecurity	Male	Female	Total
Lack of Access to capital	39.5	77.4	57.1
Stagnant demand for products in future	65.0	65.7	65.3
No scope to expand production in future	52.1	75.8	63.1
Fixed capital less than Rs. 500	74.4	76.2	75.2
No security at the work place for workers operating on the street ¹	35.0	13.8	30.0

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

Note: 1. About 46 percent of the urban self-employed workers operated on the streets.

Table 9: Skill Vulnerability by Activity Status

Insecurity	Self employed Agriculture	Self Employed Non-Agriculture	Salaried	Casual Workers	Piece Rate Home-Based	All
Easy transferability of Skills	54.4	68.4	75.3	64.4	68.4	63.1
Obtained formal training	3.1	5.0	27.8	6.4	2.1	6.9

Source: People's Security Survey, GIDR, 2000

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