

By Contribution

Urban Informal Sector: The Work Culture of Silversmiths in Odisha

Rabindra K. Mohanty

This paper distinguishes the traditional segment of urban informal sector from its non-traditional counterparts analytically as well as empirically. Drawing example from a traditional occupation of silversmithy in Cuttack city in Odisha in Eastern India it looks at the socio-structural characteristics of silversmithy in the urban informal sector. It delves into the exploitative relations of production and analyses work culture, occupational dynamics and human relations at work. The study shows that lack of adequate resources, working capital, raw materials, and space for storage and display of finished products and market network make the artisans depend on the middlemen.

Rabindra K. Mohanty is Reader in Sociology, Biju Patnaik State Police Academy, Bhubaneswar 751019. E- Mail:rk mohanty_socio@yahoo.com

The Problem & Objectives

The urban informal sector (UIS) refers to certain economic activities and/or enterprises characterized by ease of entry, smallness of investment and operations, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises or household business, manual operations and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system, unregulated, unorganized, unremunerated and unprotected labor and a competitive market system. The basic reason for introducing the concept of the UIS in Ghana and Kenya (Hart, 1973) and subsequently in other parts Africa, Latin America and Asia was the need felt by ILO to develop a conceptual scheme by which it would identify the whole variety of income generating activities and target groups thereof, many of which were of novel kinds. The scheme of classification and nature of analysis has varied across countries as well across subject disciplines (Gershuny, 1979; Bromley, 1978; Gerry, 1979; House, 1984; Sethuraman, 1985; McGee, 1996). Conceptual controversies (Sethuraman, 1974; Breman, 1980) theoretical issues (Bromley & Gerry, 1979; Moser, 1978; Lewis, 1979; Lozano, 1983)

and measurement of informal sector employment (Sethuraman, 1976; 1977; Joshi, 1980) are still being taken up on a large scale by academia, planners and researchers in the field.

In the early eighties there was a move from a macro-economic approach to a more structural-sociological and empirical understanding in order to demonstrate the contextual relevance of the UIS (Portes, 1987; Wilkinson & Webster, 1982, Douglas, 1998). Several country studies have been conducted (Denton, 1985; Amin, 1996; Hill, 1985; Hoffman, 1986; Scott, 1986). A careful look at the literature has revealed that the task of understanding the concept of the UIS in all its dimensions and manifestations is not yet accomplished. There is a need to identify the traditional segment of the UIS, which may present certain characteristics radically different from those found in its non-traditional counterparts. Similarly the current interest of people in the subject is to look at the household as a multi-functional unit (Onyebueke, 2001:419), treating it as a place of 'work' (Tipple, 1993:521-39) and employment generation (Williams & Windebank, 2002:231).

The present paper deals with an empirical account of silversmiths in Cuttack city, one of the oldest major business centres in the state of Odisha in eastern India. The silversmiths, who are locally called '*Ropyakaras*', produce silver filigree items, made of silver drawn into fine wires and foils, which are artistically joined together in a framework of delicate designs. The silver filigree is distin-

guished from other ornaments and jewellery by its exquisite finish, dexterous foils, fine texture and snow gloss. The typical socio-structural characteristics, the work culture and the very nature of human relations at work vis-a vis the general assumptions of the UIS have been analysed. Taking the under-explored dimensions and issues into account, this paper presents the results of an empirical investigation and analysis of:

- a) How the traditional segment of the UIS can be distinguished from its non-traditional counterparts?
- b) How the socio-structural characteristics of a traditional occupation in the UIS can account for the very nature of resilience or dynamics of the household as a place of work?
- c) In what ways are they exploitative relations of production?
- d) How the empirical materials on the work culture, occupational dynamics and human relations at work relate themselves to the general characteristics of the UIS?

The Nature & Sources of Data

The database of the study comprises primary data collected through an interview schedule of structured and quite a few unstructured questions and focus group discussions and secondary data drawn from a variety of sources. The study covers all the silver filigree artisans of Cuttack city. Care has been taken to cover as many artisans as was possible. Before finalizing our universe we proceeded in the following manner.

As attempts to seek records about the filigree workers' population from the Directorate of the Census Operation, the Directorate of the Bureau of Statistics and Economics (Bhubaneswar), and the Deputy Registrar of Industrial Cooperatives (Cuttack) and his section office failed to yield any worthwhile information, the researcher went to the field to locate respondents from the main Bazaars where artisans are located. In the process, we identified 16 Bazaars where there was a greater concentration of artisans such as (1) Alisha bazaar (2) Bangali sahi¹ (3) Bania sahi (4) Bholamian bazaar (5) Buxi bazaar (6) Chandni chhowk (7) Chauliaganj (8) Chowdhury bazaar (9) Dagarpada (10) Durgha bazaar (II) Firing bazaar (12) Kaji bazaar (13) Mahamadia bazaar (14) Mansingh patna (15) Shaikh bazaar (16) Tulasipur. Some other 'Sahis' and 'Gali' (Localities and lanes) such as Ramgarh or Makarwa sahi, Machhua bazaar where no more than one or two artisan units were located, have not been taken into account. They have been left out for the sake of convenience and with the assumption that it will not have significant effect on the representative character of the cases taken into consideration. The sample was purposively random and in all 172 respondents was interviewed, drawn from above said 16 main bazaars.

The artisans have been categorized under three groups on the basis of their job involvement and engagement of family labour (household as a place of work) i.e. self-employed-85 (49percent), family businessmen-22 (13 percent) and ca-

sual workers-65 (38 percent). For the purpose of the present work, self-employed artisan refers to those single and only entrepreneurs from a given family, owning the capital, having their own organization, running the risk of incurring losses and employing paid-workers from outside the family on necessity. Family businessmen on the other hand run the business as a family co-operative employing workers largely from inside and occasionally from outside the family and drawing the capital resources from the joint family. The head of the family has more of supervisory work to perform. Casual laborers are those who sell their labor (without having capital of their own) to a wage-paying employer, who may be a self-employed or a family businessman. Thus self-employed and family businessmen can be called entrepreneurs while casual laborers can ordinarily be called 'workers'. The degree of manual work increases as one moves from family businessmen to the self-employed ones and finally to the casual workers.

Self-employed and family businessmen can be called entrepreneurs while casual laborers can ordinarily be called 'workers'.

The Structural Characteristics

Although the business is conducted in the household itself, involvement of family labor has come down to the barest minimum. Engagement of family labor is confined to the family businessmen only. 18 percent of the family businessmen engage one additional

member from the family, 36 percent engage 2 members while the remaining 46 percent engage 3-4 additional members from the family. The relative increase in the size of the self-employed is a consequence of decline in the number of family businessmen. Casual laborers are largely employed by the self-employed and occasionally by the family businessmen, as the former do not have a workshop or capital of their own. Thus the obvious employment status in the filigree industry suggests that while the self-employed can be called entrepreneurs, casual labor can ordinarily be called workers. Again although the self-employed and family businessmen occupy the position of owners, small-scale operations and the meager resources mean their ownership limited by their dependence on the petty traders ('*Bhatias*', merchants or middlemen). Thus the owner artisans represent a nebulous category. They are neither employed nor do these traders strictly occupy the position of employers, but the major part of their income partakes the nature of wages.

Although female participation is a significant characteristic of the home-based production, the respondents in the filigree craftsmanship were exclusively males. One of the family businessmen revealed: "Things have changed. There is no need after all. They are to take care of the work for which they are meant. Even whatever little orders we receive are not even sufficient for us. In the days of festivities and the occasions of rising demand, we hire people and employ to get the work through".

Although the system of family business among filigree artisans is in decline, joint family continues to maintain its hold. Timberg (1978: 3-5) shows how the joint family system facilitated the growth of the Marwari community in India. An analogous conclusion has been drawn by Guha (1970), who suggests that among the Parsis business is organized on family lines. Singer (1968: 440-54) provided the same evidence much earlier. A joint family functions as a corporate group in order to: a) ensure involvement of members in the enterprise b) promote teamwork in activities c) control the enterprise and d) socialize the young members into aspects of business culture. About 51 percent of the respondents live under the joint family system, which can be said to have nurtured the epic rise of such craft in the state of Odisha while the remaining 49 percent of the sample respondents had opted for nuclear family.

With regard to the religious composition, the fact regarding the singular presence of the Hindus is no less striking. This bears out the fact that this artisan pursuit has been upheld and transmitted down through generations as Hindu exclusive tradition, more often than not remaining in one family. The artisans have been trying hard to maintain their craft fidelity, notwithstanding, the necessity of drawing auxiliary work force from other sources. The trade secrets of the artisans have remained with them.

**The trade secrets of the artisans
have remained with them.**

Although non-Hindus (religion) have not been able to enter the filigree craftsmanship, non-vaishyas (Varna) even from neighboring states are seen to have crept into it. The sample respondents of this study represent seven categories of 'jatis' (caste) Brahmana (Brahmin) 5 percent, Khandayat (Landholders) 10 percent, Bania (Silver/goldsmiths) 48 percent, Gudia (Sweetmakers) 10 percent, Teli (oilmen) 10 percent, Tanti (Weavers) 9 percent and Keuta (Producers of threatened rice) 8 percent. Filigree work is the inherited traditional art, created by the genius of silversmiths, for which they are locally called "RoupyaKaras" or "Rupabaniyas". The data above bears out the obvious fact that banias are dominant over other individual castes both in terms of absolute and relative figures. Interestingly, if the percentage is added up, non-Banias are found numerically predominant over the Banias (48 percent) and further none of them was a first generation artisan. The traditional caste occupation is somewhat fluid in itself and not an occupational straight jacket. Once the castes are fitted into four procrustean categories of Varna, the result is even more striking. Although the people of other castes have crept into it including the high castes of Brahmins and Khandayats, the tradition is still preserved by the Vaishyas consisting of Banias, Gudias, and Telis (68 percent).

Migration is a major cause of surplus labor in towns (Papola, 1981; Samal, 1990), that it contributes to the rise of unemployment and under-employment, that it causes the growth of low-productivity in the informal sector and that it

leads to the overall decline in the quality of urban life. Such a point seems to be unconvincing in regard to people pursuing traditional occupations in urban informal sector. Although people engaged in UIS are largely migrants, a very significant trend has been found with regard to the nature of migration of silver filigree artisans. Very few i.e. 13 out of the total respondents are first generation migrants, out of which 8 are working as casual labor and 5 are independently self-employed. From among the family businessmen, none happens to be a first generation migrant. All the 13 cases of first generation migrants are from around the Cuttack city, their respective native places not being more than 100 kms. 5 respondents never visit their native place at all and 6 visit rarely only to attend ceremonies and functions while 2 of them visit frequently to meet the relations.

Remaining respondents are the natives of Cuttack city, some are Gujurati businessmen and some are Bengali goldsmiths. One of the respondents, when asked: "Where do you come from" answered: "I am a native of Cuttack. I am doing this as a part of traditional hereditary occupation. I know how to do this because my father knew how to do this. My father was doing it because his father was doing it. Rest I do not know....."

Workshop, Work Process & Work Culture

In 85 percent cases, the workshops are located at the main entry room of the artisan's houses. These were only production and repairing units. The rest of

the units (15 percent) that have combined sales with production-cum-repairing, were located in the adjacent room (side extension) of their houses. Thus all the units studied are production-cum-repairing centers.

The establishments of the owner craftsmen are located in the main bazaar (46 percent) or in the adjoining lanes of the main bazaar (54 percent). While only 3 cases are working in registered units, remaining 169 cases are found in unregistered establishments. It is noteworthy that being registered does not qualify them to be in the formal sector. It is only a sort of license from the state government to grant authority to store the acid and sell the ornaments in the showroom. The establishments were small sized units. There are very few single worker establishments, as independently self-employed also employ casual labor. Almost more than two thirds of the establishments were found to be engaging more than one but not more than four casual labors. Small size itself makes it necessary and possible to run an organization without a structured division of labor and management hierarchy; even the organizations with wider ownership and using paid casual labor, may reveal these characteristics if their size of operations is not large, the owner artisans and non-owning casual labor invariably engage themselves in production activities.

There are very few single worker establishments, as independently self-employed also employ casual labor.

It is seen that 86 percent of the family businessmen and 72 percent of the casual labor and 69 percent of the self-employed do not have any fixed hours of work. Again “no fixity” in regard to hours of work is related to the quantity of work available and time granted by the person placing the orders. Only three trusted artisans (of the family businessmen) get enough orders from the customers and middlemen. A fully engaged and trusted artisan gets nearly 24-25 days of work in a month and thus for ten months in a year. During the months of festivity and marriage, the artisans get heavier orders and are found working up to midnight.

Except for wire drawing and plate making which may be done mechanically, filigree craft is purely handmade. The tools used are simple and the equipment of workshop is equally primitive. The tools show ranges and varieties in shape and size, weight and applications at various stages.

The range of filigree products take three forms viz. rose work (superfine quality), jally work (fine design), and siko work (non-fine category). Not only the process of manufacturing in each case is different but also the rates of each vary. The products are mainly ornaments and presentation articles now. Several household decorative are produced by these artisans. Women use the filigree ornaments for decorating themselves such as for head, forehead, ear, nose, teeth, neck, wrist, fingers, waist, and ankles etc. The price of the finished products varies according to the quan-

tity of metal used and the quality of work involved.

In regard to the place of sale, the choice of the artisans is very limited. Since these artisans are petty producers, except a few, many do not deal with the customers directly. Although co-operative society in the name of Odisha Filigree Workers Co-operative Society exists, because of its hard terms and conditions, the artisans have preferred middlemen to the co-operative society. Even Central Co-operative Bank located adjacent to this society at Nimichouri does not advance loan to it because of its uncertain future. At present there are four parallel workers filigree cooperative societies in Cuttack city: 1) Odisha Filigree Workers Co-operative Society, 2) Jaganath Workers Filigree Co-operative Society, 3) Sriram Filigree Workers Society and 4) Maa Chandi Filigree Workers Co-operative Society. There was a move to merge all the four filigree workers co-operative societies into one. i.e. Central Filigree Workers Co-operative Society, but that was not possible because of lack of unanimity and infighting among them. Therefore marketing through the State Co-operative Handicraft Corporation becomes difficult.

None of the family businessmen have sales outlets of their own and as such 23 percent of them hand over their products to organized show rooms or to the co-operative society while the remaining 77 percent of them work on middlemen's order. The export of silver filigree products has been halted after government's ban on silver export since

1974. After that neither the artisans have taken any interest nor has there been any initiative on the part of the Directorate of Export Promotion Marketing to streamline the exports.

Exploitation at Work Place

There is unanimity of opinion amongst the artisans that they are getting a very poor return indeed for their work. The low income of the artisans is attributed to their dependence on the middlemen, as they themselves do not have enough of capital and raw materials to invest. A highly proficient artisan can use 7 to 8 grams of silver and can work on it in a day and gets work for around 25 days in a month. The income of family businessmen is a little more, the highest level of income does not exceed Rs.7000/- per month, while amongst the self-employed it does not go beyond Rs.4500. Except 6 percent of the total respondents all (i.e. 94 percent) depend on artisanship as the only source of livelihood. Those artisans who have other sources of income are only 12 percent from the self-employed category.

The low income of the artisans is attributed to their dependence on the middlemen, as they themselves do not have enough of capital and raw materials to invest.

The employers pay wages to the casual laborers who are the non-kin paid workers. While labor productivity is significantly high, the wages paid to them are substantially low. A few of the expe-

rienced workers (only 6 out of 65 casual laborers) who insist on working on piece rate receive better wages, but a majority of them are not paid their due. Their income oscillates around the subsistence level. Some of the workers were found sympathizing with the owner artisans saying that payment to them depends on the type of payment they receive from "Bhatias" (middlemen). Casual workers who work for wages under employers do not receive more than Rupees 2500 a month. That is possible if they get work for 25-26 days a month. It is found that out of 65 casual workers, 9 percent earn up to Rs.1500 a month only, 83 percent earn up to Rs.2000 and 8 percent of them earn Rs 2000- 2500 per month. Only cash payment is made to the workers. 23 percent of the total casual laborers receive their wages daily, 9 percent of them on completion of work (piece rate) and only 8 percent feel that there is no fixity in regard to the timings of payment. The remaining 60 percent receive their salary on a monthly basis. These are the people (39 cases) who are seen to have been employed on a long-term basis although there is no such written job contract. This is advantageous both to the employee, who is thus assured of his daily bread, and to the employer who is also saved of uncertainties in getting labor.

93 percent of the respondents do not have any savings at all. Insufficiency of income and growing indebtedness are not only found among the casual laborers but also among the petty producers such as the self-employed and family businessmen. While borrowing money for the raw materials, they divert a part of their loan

to meet the day-to-day household expenses.

The artisans are fully trapped in the exploitative relations of production.

The artisans are fully trapped in the exploitative relations of production. Artistic skill and proficient craftsmanship do not count as the most important element in the silversmithy of Cuttack as it might be expected in a craft like this. The artisans have never had predominance in the craft as the major initiative lies with the middlemen. The artisans provide only the skill and some amount of capital towards establishment of workshops and purchase of tools and equipment. It however requires a large quantum of working capital for all sorts of raw materials, to have the marketing organization and for storing. Necessary capital for this and the requisite management enterprise for running the whole show rest with the 'Bhatias'. These middlemen procure silver, copper, and zinc from the wholesale market in large quantities and in suitable shapes. Almost all of them affect the admixture at some place with the help of a few trusted artisans and deliver the alloy to the artisans for manufacturing. The artisans deliver the products in return for making charges. The artisans sell their ornaments mostly to the middlemen. The delivery of the products to the middlemen is concomitant with supply of the raw materials and the artisans say that they depend on the middlemen for finance. The artisans do not name the middlemen for fear of being exploited and being looked down upon by others. 66 percent of the casual

labor stated that the source of finance is their owners' lookout and not theirs. The escalation of the price of raw materials and the artificial dearth of raw materials are generally the reasons shown by these middlemen to deprive the artisans of getting the work in time or on the other hand to compel them to pay higher rates for raw materials.

The exploitation of the casual workers by the producers is attributed to the type of exploitative situation to which producers are drawn by the middlemen. One of the entrepreneurs said:

"The Bhatias (middlemen) have sucked our blood. Our payment of wages to the workers depends on the type of payment we receive from Bhatias". When asked, "Why do you not deal with organized show rooms directly?" One of the entrepreneurs said: "We do not have that much of capital to cater to the large scale contracts of the organized show rooms. Where from shall we get those raw materials and money?"

Exploitation by middlemen has not only changed the very character of filigree industry but also has seriously affected the conditions of the workmen.

Exploitation by middlemen has not only changed the very character of filigree industry but also has seriously affected the conditions of the workmen. The middlemen exploit the petty producers and the casual workers are doubly exploited directly by the entrepreneurs

and indirectly by the middlemen. Not only in this industry the workers are doubly exploited but also the middlemen are doubly profited. The source of double profit lies in the fact that the middlemen supply the raw materials at a high price, thus taking the finished products at a low price from the petty producers and selling them at a higher rate than the standard price in organized show rooms.

There is another side of the story also. The middlemen undertake certain risks. While they deliver silver and other raw materials to the artisans, mostly on good faith, there is the underlying possibility of the artisan not turning up at all and committing fraud. The artisans may also, stop dealing with the particular middleman and may start dealing with another. This risk however is minimized by the existence of a kind of unwritten agreement among the middlemen by which one trader does not accommodate an artisan, who might have defrauded another middleman. Thus rarely can an artisan afford to commit such a fraud except at the risk of going without work. Thus risk taking by the artisans and the middlemen is a fact of the economy of the silversmithy at Cuttack.

Employer-employee relationships in the silver filigree industry are not only contractual but also superficially cordial (Mohanty, 2009). Only an oral contract exists between employer and employees. Those 6 cases of casual laborers (9 percent of them) who work on piece rate basis claim that they enter into written contract with the employers while issuing the materials for piece

work. The employers seem to be interested in getting their work done and the workers are supposed to have no other interest than to work for them.

Out of a total 65 casual workers, around 47 (i.e. 72 percent) feel that they do not get their due. In regard to the employers' behavior, 55 percent of the casual laborers are satisfied with the 'good' behavior of the employers and 5 percent of the employees (3 workers) like their owners for special benefits provided to them. One of them has been provided with a bicycle by the owner and the other 2 avail credit facilities at the time of need. While 9 percent of the casual laborers feel that their employers are sympathetic and positive by nature. 30 percent say that there is nothing good about the behavior of employers; their only interest is to get the work done.

The artisans who claim to have been satisfied with the present job are interested in changing the same. Still quite a substantial number of them who are dissatisfied with their present job do not want to change it and only 23 percent of the total respondents seem to be fully satisfied with their present job. While 37 percent of the total respondents claim to be dissatisfied, 49 percent are inclined to change the job. More of those dissatisfied and inclined to change the job are found from among the family businessmen category. Less inclined to change are found from among the helpless casual laborers who possibly think that they cannot fit into any other occupation even if they try. 55 percent of the self-employed and 77 percent of the family busi-

nessmen are inclined to change the job seemingly due to loss in the present business.

When the artisans are inclined to change the job, they have permanency of job and better wages in mind. 45 percent of the self-employed and 23 percent of the family businessmen and 74 percent of the casual labor want no changes at all whatsoever may be the option open to them. But 9 percent of the casual labor is interested to change their present job for a permanent one. And 46 percent of the self-employed, 55 percent of the family businessmen and 17 percent of the casual labor aspire to a job, which will have better wages.

Concluding Remarks

First, we asked how it was that traditional segments of the UIS could be separated from the non-traditional. There is ample analytical scope to distinguish between the traditional and non-traditional segment of UIS as evidenced from the case of silversmithy in silver city in eastern India. The case shows that the household in cities is not a mono-functional (dwelling) unit but is presenting the image of the house as a workplace. As against the general characteristic of UIS, the entry into such occupation as silversmithy is quite difficult and the craftsmen are largely the natives of the city and have nothing to do with overcrowding or urban congestion.

Second, we asked how the socio-structural characteristics of a traditional occupation in the UIS might account for

the nature of resilience or dynamics of the household as a place of work. What constitutes the occupation of silversmithy is not the skill/craftsmanship or the caste or the family tradition of the artisans rather the money of the middlemen who mastermind and control the occupation. Neither technology nor modernization seems to have made any impact on structural characteristics, production technique, work culture and income potential of the craftsmen. Resilience is evident in the sense that neither dissatisfaction with the job nor low return, inclines the craftsmen to change job because of the remoteness of any alternative occupation.

Third, we tried to explore the ways through which the work culture of silversmithy constitutes the exploitative relations of production. It is found that lack of adequate resources, working capital, raw materials, space for storage and display of finished products and market network make the artisans depend on the middlemen. Such dependency breeds exploitation. The nature of dependency is very deep rooted percolating down from artisan entrepreneurs who in turn exploit the casual workers. Middleman's exploitation has not only changed the very character of filigree industry but also has seriously affected the condition of workmen.

Fourth, we wondered to what extent this empirical study of the work culture, occupational dynamics and human relations at work threw light upon the general characteristics of the UIS. We found that the household as a place of work remains a living testimony to all the difficulties and problems that the artisans

face. The craft is dwindling at a faster rate due to a lot of problems such as lack of capital and access to raw materials, poor and unhealthy working conditions, low return, unregulated market, lack of governmental support, middlemen's exploitation and alienation. Development strategy and policy interventions in the context of the UIS need also to be directed towards the natives pursuing silversmithy in order to make the dying craft sustainable.

The literature on the UIS is now extensive and exhibits the development and changes expected from empirically informed social science research development. This example adds further to the debate and to the accumulating empirical base from which this debate draws. In doing so it demonstrates also that there is considerably more work to be done on patterns of work in urban settings where traditional occupations survive.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Commonwealth Scholarship Commission, London UK for the funding support and Professor Nick Manning, Department of Sociology & Social Policy, University of Nottingham, United Kingdom for kind mentorship and guidance at various stages in the preparation of this paper

References

- Amin, A. T. M. Nurul (1996), "The Asian Setting of the Informal Sector's Growth Dynamics." *Regional Development Dialogue* 17 (1): 70-93.

- Benefield, M.(1975), "The Informal Sector and Peripheral Capitalism: The Case of Tanzania", *IDS Bulletin* (Sussex), 6:53-73.
- Breman, Jan (1980), *The informal Sector in Research, Theory and Practice* Rotterdam, Erasmus University.
- Bromley, Ray (1978), "The Urban Informal Sector: Why Is It Worth Discussing", *World Development*, 6 (9/10):1033-39.
- & C. Gerry (1979), "Who Are the Casual Poor"? in R. Bromley & Gerry (eds.) *Casual Work and Poverty in the Third World Cities*, Chichester, Wiley.
- Denton John, A. (1985), "The Underground Economy and Social Stratification", *Sociological Spectrum*, 5 : 31-42.
- Douglass, Mike (1998), "Beyond Dualism: Rethinking Theories of Development in a Global-Local Framework", *Regional Development Dialogue* 19 (1): 1-18.
- Gerry, C. (1974), "Petty Producers and the Urban Economy", A Case Study of Dakar ILO. Working Paper Geneva
- & Birkbeck, C. (1975), "The Petty Commodity Producers of Third World Cities Petty Bourgeois or Disguised Proletarian in B. Elliot & F. Bechhoter (ed.), *The Petty Bourgeois : Comparative Studies of the uneasy Stratum : India* MacMillan.
- Gerry,C. (1979), "Small-scale Manufacturing and Repairs in Dakar : A Survey of Market Relations Within the Urban Economy", in R. Bromley and C. Gerry (eds.), op. cit.: 229-50.
- Gershuny, JI (1979), "The Informal Economy: It's Role in Post-Industrial Society", *Futures*, February: 3-14.
- Guha, A. (1970),"Parsi Seths as Entrepreneurs (1750-1850)", *EPW* 5(48): M-107-15.
- Hart, K. (1973), "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana Town", *Modern African Studies*, 11: 61-89.
- Hill, Hall (1985), "Subcontracting, Technological Diffusion and the Development of Small Enterprises in Philippine Manufacturing", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 19 (2): 245-62.
- Hoffman, Michael (1986), "The Informal Sector in an Intermediate City: A Case of Egypt" *Economic Development & Cultural Change*, 34 (2):263-78.
- House, William J. (1984), "Nairobi Informal Sector. Dynamic Entrepreneurship or Surplus Labor", *Economic Development & Cultural Change*,32(2): 277-08.
- Hutson, John (1987) "Fathers, Sons, Family Firms, Family Business & the Firming Industry", *Sociology*, 21(2):215-29.
- Joshi, Heather (1980), "The Informal Urban Economy and Its Boundaries", *EPW*, 15(13):638-44.
- Lewis, W.A. (1979), "The Dual Economy Revisited", *The Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies*, 3 :211-29.
- Lozano, Beverly (1983), "Informal Sector Workers: Walking Out the System Front Door?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 7(3):340-62.
- McGee, Terry G.(1996), "On the Utility of Dualism: The Informal Sector and Mega-Urbanization in Developing Countries." *Regional Development Dialogue* ,17(1): 1-15.
- Mohanty, R.K. (2009), *Craft Artisans in Urban Informal Sector*, Anamlka Publications, New Delhi.
- Moser, C.O.N(1978), "Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development", *World Development*, 6(9-10):1041-64.
- Onyebueke, V U (2001), "Denied Reality, Retarded Perception or Inaction? Official Response to the Home-based Enterprises (HBES) and its Housing Corollary in Nigerian Cities", *Cities*, 18(6):419-23.

- Papola, T.S.(1981), Urban Informal Sector in a Developing Economy, Delhi, Vikas.
- Portes, A & S. Koob,(1987), "Making it Underground : Comparative Material on the Informal Sector", *American Journal of Sociology*, 93(1):35-61.
- Samal, K.(1990), Urban Informal Sector, Manak Publications.
- Scott. Earl P. (1986), "Lusaka's Inforal Sector in National Economic Development", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 20(1):71-100.
- Sethuraman, S.V. (1974), Towards a Definition of Informal Sector, Geneva, ILO, Mimeographed.
- (1977), "The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries", *Social Action*, 27(3):195-205.
- (1985), "Basic Needs and Informal Sector, The Case of Low Income Housing in Developing Countries", *Habitat International*, 9(3-4),:299-316.
- Singer, M. (1968), "The Indian Joint Family in Modern Industry", in Singer and Cohn (eds.), *Structure and Change in Indian Society*, Chicago, Aldine Pub. Co.: 423-54.
- Timberg, T.A.(1978), *The Marwaris: From Traders to Industrialists*, New Delhi Vikash Publishing House.
- Tipple, A G. (1993), "Shelter as Workplace: A Review of Home Based Enterprise in Development countries", *International Labor Review*, 132-134:521-31.
- Wilkinson, Peter & David Webster (1982), "Living in the Interstices of Capitalism: Towards Reformulation of the Informal Sector Concept", *Social Dynamics*, 8(2):1-10.
- Williams C C & Jan Windebank (2002), "The Uneven Geographies of Informal Activities: A Case Study of Two British Cities", *Work, Employment and Society*, 16(2):231-50.