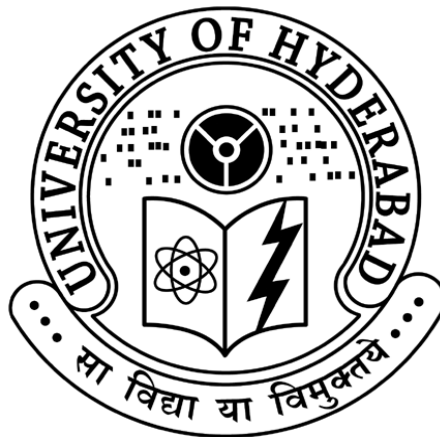


DISABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF EMPLOYEES WITH DISABILITIES IN A PUBLIC SECTOR UNIT IN HYDERABAD

**A THESIS SUBMITTED DURING THE YEAR 2017 TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

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DECLARATION

*I hereby declare that the work embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Disability and Employment: A Study of Employees with Disabilities in a Public Sector Unit in Hyderabad**” is an original research work carried out by me under the supervision of **Professor C. Raghava Reddy**, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology from the University of Hyderabad. I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis is earlier submitted for the award of any research degree in part or full to any other university and that the thesis is plagiarism free.*

Date: 31st March, 2017
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **“Disability and Employment: A Study of Employees with Disabilities in a Public Sector Unit in Hyderabad”** submitted by **S. R. Krishna Pulivarthi**, bearing registration number **10SSPH03** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, School of Social Sciences, is a bonafide work carried out by him under my guidance.

This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma.

Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Published in the following publications

1. Enabling Technologies for Inclusive Development: A Case Study on Software Technologies for Visually Challenged (ISSN 2394-4404)

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1. Empowering the Differently-Abled Through Inclusive Development: A Case Study of Formal Organization (National)
2. Social Inclusion Towards Development: A Case Study of an NGO in Empowering Differently Abled (National)

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfillment of coursework requirements for PhD/was exempted from doing coursework (recommended by Doctoral Committee) on the basis of the following courses passed during his M. Phil program and the M. Phil degree was awarded:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA: Americans with Disabilities Act

ADAPT: Abled Disabled All People Together

APD: Association of Persons with Disability

ASSOCHAM: Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India

BC: Backward Caste

BEL: Bharat Electronics Limited

BPA: Blind Peoples' Association

BPCL: British Petroleum Corporation Limited

BPO: Business Process Outsourcing

CACU: Central Administrative and Coordination Unit

CBR: Community Based Rehabilitation

CCC: Central Coordination Committee

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

CII: Confederation of Indian Industry

CPDL: Center for People with Disability Livelihoods

CPR: Communication and Public Relations

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

DEOC: Diversity and Equal Opportunity Center

DRC: District Rehabilitation Center

DRDA: District Rural Development Authority

DWA: Disability Welfare Association

ESI: Employees State Insurance

EWDs: Employees with Disabilities

FICCI: Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

GGL: Gitanjali Gems

HAL: Hindustan Aeronautics Limited

HR: Human Resource

IBM: International Business Machines

ICF: International Classification of Functioning

IEDC: Integrated Education of Disabled Children

ILC: Ideal Limited Company

ILO: International Labor Organization

ISI: Indian Standard Institute

IT: Information Technology

ITC: Indian Tobacco Corporation

ITI: Industrial Training Institute

LDC: Lower Division Clerk

M. Tech: Master of Technology

MNC: Multi-National Corporation

MSJE: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

MSJE: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

NAB: National Association for Blind

NASSCOM: National Association of Software and Services Companies

NCPEDP: National Center for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NHFDC: National Handicapped and Finance Development Corporation

NSS: National Statistical Services

NTPC: National Thermal Power Corporation

OBC: Other Backward Castes

PF: Provident Fund\

PIED: Project for Integrated Education for the Disabled

PSU: Public Sector Unit

PWD: People with Disabilities

QC: Quality Control

RCI: Rehabilitation Council of India
SC: Scheduled Caste
SEZ: Special Economic Zone
SGRY: Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana
SJSRY: Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSA: Sarva Siksha Abhiyan
ST: Scheduled Tribe
TA: Travelling Allowance
TBSS: Tata Business Support Services
UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK: United Kingdom
UN: United Nations
UNCRPD: United Nations Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
UPIAS: Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation
USA: United States of America
USD: United States Dollar
VRC: Vocational Rehabilitation Center
WHO: World Health Organization
WHODAS: World Health Organization Disability Assessment Schedule

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, normative assumptions on human body placed persons with impairment at the margins of the social spectrum. Cultures across globe are no exception as medieval and pre-modern societies placed great emphasis on valour and vigour of human body thus keeping the inferior bodies out of the popular site. Assumptions on human body are associated with person's ability to take part and contribute to social life. Placing great emphasis on the abilities of the individual the normative understanding considers those individuals worthy who withstand challenges, both natural and social. Pre-modern discourse on body privileges able-bodied and considers persons with impairments with disrespect and disapproval. Built upon these anthropocentric perspectives are the religious scriptures which associate impairment with divine curse.

Since independence, India embarked on measures aimed at tackling the issues of poverty, unemployment, health, etc. in its path of development. Despite its tremendous progress in the sectors of agriculture, industry, rural development, etc. there are severe shortcomings in terms of human development. According to the UNDP Human Development Report 2015, with a population of 1,029,991,145, India is ranked 130 out of 180 countries on the Human Development Index (Jahan, 2015). Poverty remains a significant problem in India.

Poverty and disability are intertwined and the extent of the link is intensive in developing countries. Poverty is recognized as a major cause of impairment in the developing countries. In India, several studies recognized persons with disabilities as being among the poorest of the poor. Persons with disabilities share the profile of the general poor, but they experience poverty more intensely and have fewer opportunities to escape poverty than the non-disabled poor (Thomas, 2005). Thus the disabled largely remain trapped in a vicious circle of poverty and social exclusion. Underestimated and undervalued by others, they doubt their own abilities, and the image of the disabled person as a passive victim becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (ibid).

2011 census points out that about 68 percent of India's population lives in rural areas, out of which 2.24 percent are persons with disabilities (PWDs). Approximately 80 percent of the employment for India's total population is found in rural areas, that too in the informal sector. Similar is the case with the employment opportunities for PWDs.

Employment for PWDs is a major concern in the country, whether in rural or urban areas. For a country still facing the major challenges in universal education, girl child education, employment for all, etc. the issue of education and employment of PWDs takes back seat. Hence, despite several laws related to employment and education opportunities for PWDs the progress made so far is dismal. It may be said that the social and cultural stereotypes on impairment and impaired persons make it difficult for the PWDs to overcome the social and structural barriers of education and employment, and to lead a decent independent life. Unfortunately, these deeply embedded notions transcend the work place, whether in the formal or informal sector. In this context, the present study attempts to understand the social dynamics of workplace with relation to employees with disabilities in a formal organization. It aims to decipher how socio-cultural notions of impairment entrench the formal sphere and influence the workplace environment.

The present chapter discusses two issues, namely, disability and employment, which are of primary importance for the study. There are four sections in this chapter. The first two sections draw up on literature to discuss how disability and employment are conceptualised, and the importance of work for persons with disabilities. The third section discusses the legal framework and human rights framework with regard to employment of persons with disabilities in India. The final section of this chapter provides the background to the study as well as the objectives and methodology of the study. It includes, the research design, sampling techniques used in the selection of the respondents and the data collection methods. Chapterization scheme with regard to the division of the thesis is provided at the end of this chapter.

Disability

It is important to define the concept of disability which helps us to understand about who are the persons with disabilities and their conditions (WHO, 1980). Although several scholars, researchers, attempted to define the concept of disability, they find it very difficult to develop a universal definition of disability (Barnes 1992; Barton 1996).

In academic and policy research, there is a lot of debate and discussion about what constitutes disability.

One of the ways to understand disability is through a study of different approaches on disability, popularly labelled as models of disability. Each of these models may be placed under a particular socio-historical context thus studying these models together offers an understanding of the evolutionary nature of disability scholarship as well.

The Medical Model

The medical model considers disability in a biological sense, as a problem caused to an individual as a result of disease, injury, or health condition that requires medical care, treatment or rehabilitation. According to the medical model an individual is called disabled who faces certain unwanted health problems that place him/her under the condition of sick permanently (Parsons, 1975). It is normative in its approach as people are branded as disabled based on the individual's inability to carry out certain normal day to day functions that are routine in an individual's life. The medical model emphasises on rehabilitation to bring back the disabled individual to normal stage. The problem with this model is that it does not take into account the socio-economic and political aspects that play a major role in deciding the position of the disabled in the society and the model is criticized as unscientific and normative (Amundson, 2000).

The measurement of prevalence of disability is based on the medical model which counts the persons with impairments. Impairment is considered to be a limitation on the functional aspect of the body. Under this model, persons with impairments fall into a few categories with clearly defined boundaries like blind, deaf, hearing impaired, mentally ill, etc. Hence, only a small percentage of people fall under the category of disabled as the definition excludes surrounding environment, social construct that dictates disability, human experiences, etc. (Parsons, 1975). It may be said that it helps in knowing the number of persons with impairments but not the extent of disability. Extremely low rates of prevalence of disability are found in surveys because the questions asked focus only on body and health conditions of the people. By not taking into account the environment that includes the access to equipment and medical facilities, the cultural aspects and the belief systems about disabled people into consideration the prevalence rate of disability drops down (Pfeiffer, 2001). The issue with medical model is its negative implication in the

way it sees disability by focusing on body and impairment rather than the wider social context. This model has limitations because it mainly focuses only on the individual's physical impairment.

The Social Model

The social model understands disability as a socially constructed situation where an individual is left to feel disabled due to the uneven and unjust socio-economic and political set up. Inversing the approach of the medical model, the social model does not consider impairment as a problem, rather it highlights the disabling social environment which creates problems for the impaired persons. The model was developed by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in the U.K. According to the UPIAS, as quoted by Oliver (1996), 'disability is imposed on the impaired people by the society in which they live thus unnecessarily isolating and excluding them from participating in the societal process'. According to this model, persons with impairments are suppressed minority who face segregation and economic barriers at every stage of life. Thus they may be called as similar to an oppressed minority of permanent nature.

The social model is different from the medical model. It does not solely focus on the health condition of the impaired and rejects being impaired as a deviation from human functions which are considered as normal (Oliver, 1983). It rather takes into consideration the impaired person as being disabled because of a given socio-economic and cultural environment. The social model had been put forward by academics and activists. It looks at the barriers, hindrances or un-freedoms that is prevalent within a social context that prevents a person with impairment from achieving the same level of functioning that a non-disabled person is able to achieve. It argues that society itself has to be redesigned in order to take into account the needs of the persons with disabilities (ibid, 1996).

Disabled could become progressive and sustainable by redesigning the society accordingly to include persons with disabilities (Hahn, 2002). Advocates of this model put forth the point that physical limitation turns into disability because society is not willing to accommodate the differences experienced by persons with physical limitations. Advocates of social model consider that it is the society which is not adequately structured to accommodate the difference. Hence, the social model, which has human rights dimension, may be called as an attempt to empower disabled people by abolishing

barriers in the society through proper social inclusion. While application of this model, in a stricter sense, promotes equal participation in the society, however, ignores impairment, pain, suffering and the need for medical interventions.

The Nagi Model

The Nagi Model was conceived and developed by the sociologist Saud Nagi. It has four central concepts, namely active pathology, impairment, functional limitation and disability (1965). It relies heavily on pathology and calls disability as a functional limitation on the part of the individual facing impairment. According to this model, disability is the outcome of limitations or functional restrictions resulting from impairments that restrict the individual's capacity to perform day to day tasks or activities. The roles could be family related like taking care of a child, or work related, or an individual's role in community related activities or activities related to self-care. Nagi (1991) defines limitations on functions as inability or restriction in performing roles that are socially defined and tasks that are expected from an individual in a given socio-economic, cultural and political context.

Impairment is considered as the central cause that leads to disability, subsequently leading to an antagonistic social construct where the survival of the individual with impairment becomes difficult. For example, a six year old girl with hearing impairment does not attend school as a result of impairment but stays at home. It is not because of the impairment the child has to stay at home but because of the fact that the school pedagogy, curriculum, etc. are structured in a way that a hearing impaired cannot learn. Then the child will be called as disabled as her future capability to grow as an independent person is being restricted not due to the hearing impairment but due to the normative practices adopted in the school. The future of that girl becomes bleak as she cannot acquire interactive skills which are necessary to lead a socially independent and respectful life. The girl cannot fulfil the socially expected functions like getting educated, finding an employment, taking part in economic activity, etc. thus resulting in disability for her whole life. This is known as disablement process. Thus disability is not inherent in a person. It denotes a relationship between a person and her/his environment. Disability can be alleviated at by increasing capability of the individual or by reducing demands placed on the individual. In this example, the hearing capacity of the child can be increased or

disability of the child can be reduced by changing the pedagogy and curriculum of the school.

The International Classification of Functioning (ICF)

The disability model presented by ICF may be called as an integration of medical, social and Nagi models. It attempts to conceptualize disability by integrating biological, socio-economic and cultural aspects (WHO, 2001). This model takes into consideration the health condition as a continuum and considers that every individual has some deficiency. It considers disability as a part of the general human experience. Based on this view, the WHO evolved the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) model in 2001. The ICF model locates disability to genetics related health condition that results in impairments which subsequently leads to restrictions on activities of the individual thus hindering his/her participation in the socially expected roles.

The ICF model considers disability as a combination of individual and societal factors that define the environment of a person with impairment. The ICF model includes the relevant domains of activity and the participation levels of the disabled, taking into account the body, the individual him/herself, and what the individual can do in the society. In the ICF model the term functioning refers to all the bodily functions, bodily activities and participation of the individual, and disability acts as an umbrella term for physical impairments, limitations in activity participation (WHO, 2001). This definition includes two basic characters: the bodily functions and physical structure on one hand, and activities or participation by individual on the other. Factors like environment of the individual, the environment in physical sense, the surrounding social environment and social attitudes of the people with whom the impaired interact, and personal factors of the individual (Mitra, 2006).

The ICF model follows a different method in measuring disability for data collection. This method of disability measurement is based on a set of domain codes for various activities a person can do. An assessment scale, consisting of five levels of difficulty, is used to measure disability. It measures the individual's capability on a 10 point scale starting from 0 to 9. A capacity qualifier is used to measure the individual's capacity to conduct the standardized tasks that are given to them. Based on the results, the magnitude of the disability of a person is decided. To fully utilize the coding process, a

large amount of detailed information like, various activities of the individual, the individual's capacity to participate, and any personal or technological assistance taken etc. is collected. The ICF model is considered by many scholars and policy makers as the only model that comes close to defining disability in a thorough manner till date. Thus the ICF model may be called as a closest method to define disability under the capabilities approach (Mitra, 2006).

The World Health Organization had developed a detailed survey instrument based on the ICF model and is referred to as the World Health Organization Disability Assessment Schedule II (WHODAS II) which covers all types of disabilities; physical, mental, sensory, for various countries, languages and contexts. WHODAS II includes four alternative versions covering different ranges of impairment. The 89 items version is the more complex one, but simpler versions exist with 36 items, 12 items and 6 items. The most frequently used, i.e. the 36-items version, is composed of various modules, each module covering a series of questions about specific activities in different domains (WHO 2001).

Disability Studies

Disability studies is an interdisciplinary field. It deals with the study of disability policies, theories, concepts, and practices (Goodley and Van, 2005). In this emerging and growing new discipline, disability is understood as a fundamentally social, cultural, political, historical and relational phenomenon (Oliver 1992, Shakespeare, 1998). In this section, the emergence of disability studies is elaborated to understand how different perspectives view persons with disabilities.

Till the middle of twentieth century disability issues were studied and understood in terms of medical, rehabilitation and psychological disciplines. But the emergence of disability rights movement that began in the United States and United Kingdom succeeded in radically changing public policies with respect to persons with impairments. This resulted in disability scholarship showing interest in the lived experiences and problems of persons with disabilities (Shakespeare, 1998). The social model of disability was developed as a critique of the medicalised model and marginalisation associated with disability.

The social model of disability assumes that the perception in society towards the impaired should be changed and it presents a positive disability identity. This is part of the process of political empowerment of disabled people. The advocates of this model fight against social exclusion and demand for inclusive approaches for the persons with disabilities. This model gained wider recognition among academicians, researchers and activists. Further, it also serves as a successful theoretical basis for emancipatory politics that emphasize on redistributing power and fighting exclusion (Terzi, 2004).

However, the social model has been criticized for looking at only impairment as the major problem from the point of view of physically impaired persons and excluding persons who suffer from problems associated with mental retardation, learning difficulties and also others who experience severe problems in dealing with their impairments (Reddy, 2011). Further, it is harder to deny the negative consequences of impairment. Similarly, Shakespeare (2000) argues that all barriers and limitations in an individual's ability to actively participate in society are caused by social organizations and their attitudes. It does not recognize any disability which might not be removed by some appropriate changes in social arrangements. The critics of this model argue that impairment is still to be negotiated as it manifests its lack of function and other limitations, which are real problems difficult to ignore (Chand 2014).

Oliver (1990) argues that disability as a category can only be understood within the framework which suggests that it is culturally produced and socially structured. He questions the concept of disability from the medical model of disability and also treatment of persons with disabilities in different historical periods. Oliver, quoting Safilios-Rothschild (1970), states that

...throughout history, discriminatory practices against the sick and disabled have varied greatly from country to country and from century to century; they have ranged from complete rejection and ostracism to semi-deification and the according of special privileges and humours.

Also scholars use Marxist perspective to explain the structural disadvantages and limitations that exist for persons with disabilities in a capitalist society. Scholars like Barnes, Oliver and Barton (2002) observe that industrial capitalism is at the root of the social exclusion of persons with disabilities from main stream society. Marxist scholars

believe that change can only come from people with impairments and not from policy makers or medical professionals. They argue for the policies that focus on structural disadvantages and alleviating oppression instead of looking at helping the individual and showing sympathy. Thus, it indicates that ‘society has to change and it is the individual with disabilities who should enforce such change and not policy makers, politicians or the medical and rehabilitation professionals’ (Oliver, 1990).

Feminist scholarship on disability recognises the importance of personal experiences of disability. Scholars like Jenny Morris (1991) developed the feminist perspective to disability in the early 1990s. This perspective mainly focuses on women with disabilities and their experiences associated with the inferior status of their gender and social roles. From the last few decades scholars like Anita Ghai (2001, 2002, 2009) and Nilika Mehrotra (2006, 2013), Renu Addlakha (2013) have further enriched this perspective in India highlighting the Indian and South Asian specificities on the issues related to women with disabilities. Thus, feminist scholars address the failure of the social model of disability to accept the importance of the personal experience of both disability and impairment.

Another prominent approach to disability is the functionalist theory which lays emphasis on the medical condition of persons with disabilities and the normal functioning of individual and society. According to this perspective, the ‘sick role’ refers to an individual who wants to get well (Parsons, 1975). This can make people with incurable conditions, including persons with impairments who are classified as sick, seem to be deviant. Thus this theory indicates that welfare services for persons with disabilities of the government have been under the dominance of health professionals for a long time focusing on impairment.

Further, the functionalist theory of disability confuses impairment and disability with the concept of sick role. As a result of failing to understand that disabled people do not necessarily have ‘something wrong with them’, it simply reproduces discriminatory norms and values—instead of addressing the social, economic and cultural forces that disables them (Oliver, 1998). It is very important to recognize that persons with disabilities differ in terms of abilities, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, access to work, education and so on as compared with the whole population. Therefore, their condition

cannot be recognized or understood or, indeed, transformed by any policy based on narrow theories of conventional normality or uniformity (Morris 1991).

Scholars from the fields of Sociology, Anthropology and History explained how different societies construct notions on disease, impairment, and disability. From the Sociological perspective, in industrialization of American society, the disabled people's movement has transformed 'disability' and 'rehabilitation' into a multimillion dollar enterprise (Albrecht, 1992). Hence, disability becomes a commodity and a source of income for various professions such as rehabilitation professionals, doctors, lawyers, researchers and academicians and disability activists.

Post-modernist theorists view disability as constructed 'within linguistic, discursive, and cultural practices' rather than based on a fixed or objective 'true' characteristic or status of a person with disability. According to this perspective, 'disability is no longer considered as a definitive physical condition but a condition developed and defined by social norms and perceptions of the able-bodied' (Devlieger, 1995). Thus, it recognises the importance of understanding able-bodied perceptions and social norms with regard to both disability and persons with disabilities. It opposes the homogenous view of grouping persons with disabilities (Kuno, 2008). This allows the analysis of power relations and inequality within groups of persons with impairments, such as, inequality of power between individuals with mild and severe disabilities; men and women with impairments; rich and poor people with disabilities.

Critical theory sees problems of persons with disabilities explicitly as the product of inequality that exists in the society. According to this theory, prejudice and discrimination towards disabled people has greater impact than their physical impairments do. For instance, the problem with public transport is not the inability of some people to take the bus, but, that buses are not designed to take wheelchairs which create barriers to these people to actively take part. Such a problem can be 'cured' by removing structural barriers but not by surgical intervention or rehabilitation. Thus, this theory criticizes the medical control exerted over persons with disabilities (Barnes, 1991). Finally, it suggests for a more appropriate societal framework for providing health services for persons with disabilities.

Employment for Persons with Disabilities

The term employment may be defined as what a person does to earn a living, whereas the term unemployment refers to a stage when a person who is capable of being engaged in an income generating activity, is actively searching for employment and is unable to find work. Generally, unemployment is often considered as a measure of the health of the economy. Employment, in the lives of individuals, especially for the persons with disabilities provides economic and social security and helps them to lead a life with dignity. In a country like India where a majority of the PWDs are below poverty line, economic dependency on the members of the family is high. If PWDs get an opportunity to participate in the economic activity of the family or outside and can contribute their best to the family income their position in the family increases significantly. Thus employment not only provides economic security but also gives them a sense of dignity and social status in the family and community.

The pattern of social participation or lack of it in paid employment by persons with disabilities demonstrates the exclusionary barriers that remain deeply embedded in the structures and processes of the contemporary societies. The under-participation in paid employment has obvious material consequences, but is further reinforced by lower levels of educational attainment and lack of accessibility in the built environment. It may be argued that persons with disabilities, when compared with their non-disabled counterparts, show clear patterns of restricted life chances, choices and opportunities for social participation.

Vic Finkelstein, in *Attitudes and Disabled People* (1980) outlines a historical materialist account. This relates qualitative changes in social responses to impairment to three main economic-technological phases. They are pre-industrial (feudal society), industrial capitalism and post-industrial society. According to Finkelstein (1980), in the pre-industrial phase, during which activity was predominantly agrarian or cottage, although people with impairments occupied lower ranks of the social hierarchy were expected to participate in the economic activity, even to a limited extent. Hence it is argued that impairment was a feature but not disability. Since feudal social and economic relations were based on subsistence rather than accumulation and wealth generation the

people with impairments were regarded as unfortunate but not segregated from the rest of the society (Oliver, 1996).

Finkelstein (1980) suggests that the industrial phase which witnessed free market economy, wage labour and mechanized production, ‘the speed of factory work, the enforced discipline, the time-keeping and production norms’ was unfavourable to the persons with impairments. This build up of constraints on the employment of persons with impairments led to the increased displacement of unproductive disabled workers from the work-place. Moreover, as production moved out of family and land, exclusion of persons with impairments from participation in the production increased.

Finkelstein’s primary aim was to explain the development of an ideology of disability which was extended by Mike Oliver in *The Politics of Disablement* (1992), where he draws on the neo-Marxist literature to highlight the crucial role of a reinforcing ideology or ‘mode of thought’ – that is, a set of values and beliefs underpinning social practice, in sustaining social oppression. ‘The disabled individual is an ideological construction related to the core ideology of individualism and peripheral ideologies related to medicalization and normality’ (Oliver and Bochel, 1991).

Near homogenization of tasks in the modern organizations that follow complex division of labour made no room for persons with different abilities. With the rise of industrial capitalism, the hegemony of ‘able-bodied’ normality became the yard-stick for judging persons with impairments as ‘less than human’ (Oliver 1992). This view pervaded education, religion, and the law. A further crucial aspect of cultural imperialism is the importance of charity in the lives of the disabled. The state (Europe and North America) played a key role in establishing administrative categories that expressed a culturally legitimate rationale for non-participation (of persons with disabilities) in the labour system (Stone 1985). Finkelstein suggests that as the industrial revolution progressed ‘cripples were transformed into disabled people’. He further states that

“...by the end of the 1800’s and into the twentieth century it had come to be accepted that disabled people ought to be ‘protected’ by being placed in large institutions or, when families refused to abandon their members, to be hidden out of sight. The only source of income for the disabled population was charity” (Finkelstein, 1981).

Phase three in Finkelstein's (1980) account corresponds to the emergence of a post-industrial society in the second half of the 20th century witnessing computerized, information technology-led social and economic changes. For Finkelstein this period brought positive opportunities for the inclusion of persons with impairments in paid employment allowing 'the most severely physically impaired people to live relatively independently in the community' (1980).

Persons with disabilities in India face many challenges in their efforts to develop employable skills and in gaining meaningful employment (Shenoy 2011). In India even though persons with disabilities constitute a significant 5 to 6 percentage of the total population of the country their need for meaningful employment largely remains unmet. The survey conducted by the National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People (NCPEDP) in the top 100 private companies in India in 1999, finds that the rate of employment of persons with disabilities in the Indian private companies was a dismal 0.28 percent and in the multinational companies, it was just 0.05 percent (Shenoy 2011).

It may be said that the social welfare policies of the government and their implementation have contributed to the marginalization of persons with disabilities and kept them outside of mainstream society. Kannabiran (2009), in her work *Who is a 'Worker'? Problematizing 'Ability' in the Conceptualization of Labour* argues that the presumptions of the concept of 'ability', and imagination of ideal body or work performance, resulted in devaluation, exclusion of and finally misrecognition of persons with disabilities in the work place. Kannabiran observes that disability's foundational position in the labour space arises from its inarticulate presence in imagining work performance, physicality and embodiment of certain kinds, where capacity and capability are measured on a ladder that drops from the normative.

Employment or work influences a person's social and economic status, standard of living, prestige and self-image. Schneider and Ferritor (1982) suggest that employment empowers individuals to achieve their life goals and helps them to become independent. It also plays an important role with regard to an individual's self-respect. Thus, employment has personal, social and economic value. Hamilton, Theron and Oliver (1989) suggest that the meaningfulness of any individual's life is mainly influenced or determined by the way a person displays his/her skills or talents in society, particularly in a work situation.

This is especially true with regard to persons with disabilities. They also suggest that employment also improves the individual's sense of human dignity and contributes to the establishment of a positive self-image. Similarly, it may be argued that employment is not only important for able-bodied people, it is more important for persons with disabilities (Schneider and Ferritor, 1982).

Legislations pertaining to the Employment of Persons with Disabilities

Legislation plays a very important role with regard to the enforcement of human rights in general and the human rights of persons with disabilities in particular. Since 1970s the discrimination and social exclusion against persons with disabilities has been recognised as a human rights issue. International Labor Office (ILO, 2006) states that the shift in approach to human rights is reflected in the legislation of quite a number of countries in the world, as well as in the International and National Human Rights instruments. It also states that if all countries implement human rights approach then persons with disabilities have a much better chance to improve their living conditions including access to employment.

There are conventions dealing with disability, like Convention and Recommendation on non-discrimination in employment and occupation of 1958, the United Nations (UN) Standards Rules of 1993, the UN Covenants of 1996 and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2006 and many others. All these initiatives aim to promote the full participation of persons with disabilities in all spheres of society and view disability related issues as right issue.

Among many documents and declarations pertaining to persons with disabilities the most important document is the UN Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, which was adopted in 1993. According to this document, persons with disabilities should be treated equally and opportunities should be created to enable them to participate equally in all spheres of society.

Similarly, the 'UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities' is particularly concerned with the work and employment issues of persons with disabilities. Article 27 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities states that parties shall safeguard and promote the realization of the right to work, including for

those who acquire a disability during the course of employment, by taking appropriate steps, including through legislation. It also recognizes the right of persons with disability to work, on an equal basis with others; this includes the opportunity to gain a living by work freely chosen or accepted in the labour market and work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible to persons with disability (Shenoy, 2011). Further, UNCRPD prohibits all forms of employment discrimination, promotes access to vocational training, promotes opportunities for self-employment, and calls for reasonable accommodation in the workplace (ibid). The convention includes measures to:

- Prohibit discrimination on the basis of disability with regard to all matters concerning all forms of employment, including conditions of recruitment, hiring and employment, continuance of employment, career advancement and safe and healthy working conditions;
- Protect the rights of persons with disabilities, on an equal basis with others, to just and favourable conditions of work, including equal opportunities and equal remuneration for work of equal value, safe and healthy working conditions, including protection from harassment, and the redressal of grievances;
- Ensure that persons with disabilities are able to exercise their labour and trade welfare association rights on an equal basis with others;
- Enable persons with disabilities to have effective access to general technical and vocational guidance programmes, placement services and vocational and continuing training;
- Promote employment opportunities and career advancement for persons with disabilities in the labour market, as well as assistance in finding, obtaining, maintaining and returning to employment;
- Promote opportunities for self-employment, entrepreneurship, the development of cooperatives and starting one's own business;
- Employ persons with disabilities in the public sector (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

However, the rules under this international instrument are not binding on countries but can be seen as guidelines (United Nations 2006).

India ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) in 2007. However, India has not ratified ILO Convention 159 - 'Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention'. This convention has been ratified by more than 80 countries. The Convention requests ratifying states to set out a policy on vocational rehabilitation and employment of persons with disabilities in the open labour market (integration of disabled in regular working environment). The Convention further promotes equality of treatment between disabled and non-disabled workers, specifying the need for positive action, which would enable workers with disability to be as productive as any other worker. This may require specific services for disabled workers, like adaptations in the work environment (access to workplace) or at the workplace of the individual worker. The Convention makes it mandatory to provide vocational rehabilitation and employment services for disabled workers in rural and remote areas, which is very relevant to the situation in India (Shenoy, 2011).

India passed several legislations since 1980 with relation to the issues of persons with disabilities. They include (i) the Mental Health Act, 1987; (ii) the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 (PWD Act); (iii) the Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992 and amended in 2000 (RCI Act); and (iv) the National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act, 1999 (National Trust Act). The cornerstone of these is the PWD Act 1995 which heralded a new dawn in the lives of persons with disabilities in India. 'For the first time in India, a separate law was formulated which talked about the multiple needs of disabled people. This Act helped disabled people to come together, forming advocacy groups to implement this law (Shenoy, 2011).

Despite these international conventions, rules and regulations, persons with disabilities are still prevented from enjoying the rights and liberties that so many countries, as signatories of conventions have pledged themselves to respect. Negative attitudes towards employees with disabilities can result in discrimination. These negative attitudes stem from ignorance, misunderstanding, stereotyping, backlash and fear. Many employers also assume that co-workers may react negatively if persons with disabilities are hired into the organization (Shenoy, 2011).

Persons with disabilities often shy away from applying for certain jobs, fearing social stigma and adverse reaction from potential co-workers. This is more likely when persons with disabilities are treated differently after their entry into the organization. In the absence of an effective integration process, persons with disabilities often feel shunned by their co-workers. This is because co-workers come with their own prejudices and the actual attributes of persons with disabilities are often overshadowed by their perceived shortcomings. Further, persons with disabilities frequently reach a development plateau where they are no longer able to undertake more complex assignments and responsibilities due to their disabilities. They suffer what is known as the 'lost opportunities effect', whereby improvement opportunities are lost due to the absence of critical feedback for performance improvement (Shenoy, 2011)

Legal Framework pertaining to Employees with Disabilities in India

According to Articles 39 and 41 of the Constitution of India, states shall ensure equality, freedom, justice and dignity to all its citizens with a view to promoting the establishment of an egalitarian and inclusive society. The articles suggest that state should ensure

- a. That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to adequate means of livelihood, right to shelter, food, education, work and so on;
- b. That the health and strength of workers, men and women and children are not abused and that children are not forced by economic necessity to avocations unsuited to their age or strength; and
- c. That the children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.
- d. Make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

On the other hand the PWDs (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995, and the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution are aimed at addressing the issue of employment of the persons with disabilities; which requires that the appropriate governments to identify posts in the

establishments which can be reserved for persons with disabilities. It also prescribes the quota reservation, not less than 3% for persons or class of persons with disabilities of which 1% each shall be reserved for persons suffering from certain vision impairment of 40% certified by Medical authority. The reservation of not less than 3% for poverty alleviation for the benefits of persons with disabilities has also been provided in the schemes. The source of employment is through special employment exchange (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

Employment situation of PWDs in India

According to the 2011 Census, the workforce participation rate of persons with disabilities is as low as 36.34% (constituting 26.04% of main workers and 10.30% of marginal workers). This corresponds to 97,44,386 persons with disabilities who are employed out of a total of 2,68,10,557 disabled persons. This figure, although is little higher when compared with the rate of participation in the workforce among the general population which is about 29.94%, shows that more than 60 percent of the PWDs are out of employment. A low workforce rate of participation reflects higher levels of unemployment among disabled persons. A well-known survey conducted in 1999 by NCPEDP (National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People) exposes an even grimmer reality. It finds that the rate of workforce participation of disabled persons in the public sector is 0.54%, 0.28% in the private sector and 0.05% in the multinational corporations. The Government of India, through an expert committee, identified 120 executive/management/supervisor level jobs and 945 skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled level jobs in the private sector.

A cursory glance at the percentage of India's total workforce vis-a-vis persons with disabilities reveals that only 0.83% disabled persons (out of the total working population of India) are employed at Group I, 0.04% at Group II, and 0.99% at Group III. Thus, it may be said that the percentage of disabled workers at all levels is very low. Within the disabled working population the figure at the top level (about 44.62%) may be high but majority of the disabled workers are employed at the lowest level, namely in the Group III positions (Bhattacharya, 2016).

Statement of the problem

For a long time disability has been viewed as medical or a social welfare issue. Thus society and medical professionals believed that persons with disabilities, being unable and incapable of living on their own, need care and assistance. Further, they were seen as objects of social welfare and not as citizens with equal rights, including right to work. Similarly, they were not considered as equal citizens who were able to participate within the community.

In contrast, as emphasized in the International Labor Organization report on The Right to Decent Work of Persons with Disabilities (ILO 2015), all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. It also states that the duty of the states is to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedom.

The Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995 mandated 3% reservation for persons with disabilities in formal organizations – government and public sector. However, jobs offered in the government and public sector organizations to the persons with disabilities have often been confined to lower level positions in the organizational hierarchy. Today, the biggest employment sector, apart from the informal sectors like agriculture and cottage industries, is the private sector. Approximately 80 percent of the employment for persons with disabilities in India is found in rural areas and in the informal sector. It is important to note that all impairments do not make people disabled. It is the social stigma which makes the physically impaired a disabled. It appears that the social stereotypes about the ability of the differently-abled transcend the boundaries of the formal organizations as well. As a result, though the Persons with Disabilities Act 1995 mandated a three per cent reservations in government and public sector organizations; either most of the jobs offered are at the lower level of the organization hierarchy or lie vacant.

On the other hand, a different situation exists in the formal sector like the Government of India Public Sector Undertakings, where recruitment of PWDs takes place as per the provisions of the Persons PWD Act, 1995, which stipulates three percent reservation. The present study was carried out in Ideal Limited Company (ILC), Hyderabad (Name of the organization has been changed for the sake of confidentiality), a

public sector unit – on issues such as accessibility, inclusive work environment, identity, discrimination, etc. concerning employees with disabilities in formal organizations.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are i) to understand the socio-economic background of the employees with disabilities (EWDs) employed in the ILC (through a sample study), ii) to explore how employees with disabilities (EWDs) perceive the issues of access, inclusion, identity, discrimination at the work place, iii) to understand the social organization of employees with disabilities in the formal organization to overcome the social, cultural stereotypes that operate at the work place and iv) to analyse how the social and cultural stereotypes of disability transcend the formal organizations and their influence on the employers' attitudes and perceptions towards employees with disabilities.

Research Methodology

Research design is a blue print, an outline and a systematic plan prepared for directing a research study. The present study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Universe and Population

All persons with disabilities living in the geographical area of Hyderabad, constitute the Universe. All persons with disabilities who are working in Ideal Limited Company (ILC), in 2013 will constitute the population of the research.

Research setting

Ideal Limited Company (ILC), located in Hyderabad is chosen for the study. This organization exports power and industry segment products and has been existing for over 40 years. It has a workforce of about 5,000 employees.

Sources of data collection

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were collected from the employees with disabilities and their employers/superiors. The secondary sources of data include reports and web sources pertaining to the organization.

Primary data were collected using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The researcher used an interview schedule to collect data from the employees with disabilities to gain an overview of the socio-economic background of the employees with disabilities, their working conditions, and issues of access and discrimination. Data were also collected from the employers or superiors under whom EWDs are working using an interview schedule to understand their perceptions and attitudes towards persons with disabilities in general and EWDs in particular (For interview schedule see annexure A & B). Apart from the interview schedules researcher also used qualitative research methods like observation and informal interview method to collect data from the EWDs and their employers. The researcher approached all the employees with disabilities working in the Ideal Limited Company (ILC). The criterion for selecting the EWDs respondents was that, those employees with disabilities who have been working in the organisation for the last two years. In the case of data from the employers/superiors of the EWDs, the immediate superiors of the EWDs were contacted.

Ethical considerations

They are as follows:

Non-harmful procedures

Data were collected through interview schedules, observation and informal interview methods. Utmost care was taken to make the entire process as comfortable as possible for the respondents of the study. The identity of the respondents is protected.

Informed consent

The employees with disabilities, managers and the members of the disabled employees welfare association were informed of the features (purpose, procedures and need) of the research that may affect his/her willingness to participate in the research. They were given complete freedom to choose to participate or not, as well as to choose to discontinue their participation at any time.

Confidentiality

The respondents' identity is concealed in the thesis and the data gathered is not used for any other purpose beyond that of the research's scope.

Data analysis

For this study both quantitative and qualitative analysis is used. For quantitative data the researcher used SPSS (Statistical package for social sciences) to analyse the data. Qualitative data analysis is done along the select themes and categories of sociological significance.

Chapter 2

Policies on Employment for Persons with Disabilities

Introduction

For a long time persons with disabilities were completely neglected and their development mostly seen from charity and welfare perspective. Persons with disabilities were often ill-treated, discriminated and excluded from society. Later, impairment was begun to be seen from medical perspective which laid emphasis on the individual to overcome deficiency through one's own efforts or adjustments. Quinn and Theresia (2002) portray medical model as the one that focuses on person's impairments. According to the medical model, the problem of disability is located within the impaired individual. Thus, medical model has a tendency to problematize the person and view him/her as an object for clinical intervention.

The disability rights movement that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in the West, altered the notions on disability and since then disability began to be seen as a social construct. According the social model the unemployment among PWDs is seen as form of exclusion perpetuated by society. It doesn't view that the problem of unemployment is due to the lack of skills or techniques or knowledge among PWDs. Rather it views that PWDs are excluded from learning or acquiring those skills or knowledge by society thus they become unemployable. Thus unemployment among PWDs cannot be seen in isolation from other social issues like education, access, ideology and culture (Barnes, 1991). As a result of the disability rights movement, disability strategies in the West began to evolve inclusive approaches towards PWDs. Thus state legislations on disability shifted focus from welfare mode to inclusive, barrier free and rights mode. For example, Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990, Disability Act of 1993 in Australia, Disability Discrimination Act of England, etc.

The issues raised by the disability rights movement were discussed and deliberated at length in the international forums like the UN, ILO, etc. A constant pressure from the activists led to promulgation of declarations by the International bodies towards providing inclusive and barrier free policies for PWDs. The strategies proposed

by the UN and ILO have gone a long way in influencing the policies of several countries, including India to remove and prevent environmental barriers and increase access to persons with disabilities. A cursory glance at the historical developments of certain legislative frameworks on employment of persons with disabilities helps us in understanding the efforts made by the international and national bodies over a period. These legislative frameworks created a moral, ethical and legal basis for implementing national and international policy on employment of persons with disabilities (Bringa, 2001). Some of the key international legislations are:

1. Policies of United Nations on employment of persons with disabilities
2. Policies of ILO on employment of persons with disabilities
3. Policies of Council of Europe on employment of persons with disabilities

Policies of United Nations on Employment of Persons with Disabilities

United Nations organization views disability as a human right issue. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of United Nations, 1948 acknowledges the rights of the disabled in the Article 25 which reads as everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself/herself and of his/her family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his/her control (UN, 1948)

The significance and necessity of participation of persons with disabilities into the social life is stressed by the UN documents like;

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights of United Nations (UN, 1948)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 1966)
- Declaration of the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons (UN, 1971)
- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (UN, 1975)
- Resolution on the International Year for Disabled Persons (UN, 1976)
- World Program of Action Concerning Disabled Persons (UN, 1982)
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989)
- Principles for the Protection of Persons with Mental Illness and the Improvement of Mental Health Care (UN, 1991)

- A Continuing World Programme of Action (UN, 1992),
- Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (UN, 1993a),
- Resolution on the International Day of Disabled Persons (UN, 1993b),
- Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (UN, 1993c),
- Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development (UN, 1995a),
- World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond (UN, 1995b),
- Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (UN, 2001), etc

Among several legislations of the UN the 23rd article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) covers the employment as a right for everybody. It suggests that

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself/herself and his/her family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade welfare associations for the protection of his/her interests (UN, 1948).

The human rights perspective envisages the participation of PWDs equally in social and economic activities which is very essential for accommodating their difference. It calls for inclusive measures and approaches from the rights mode rather than charity mode. The UN World Program of Action concerning Disabled Persons, 1982, defines equalization of opportunities as;

“...equalization of opportunities means the process through which the general system of society, such as the physical and cultural environment, housing and transportation, social and health services, educational and work opportunities, cultural and social life, including sports and recreational facilities, are made accessible to all” (UN, 1982).

According to Quinn and Theresia (2002) equalization of opportunities in the context of PWDs means several forms of governmental action and intervention, which include,

- Tackling structural exclusion in the areas of transportation, social amenities, public services and communications. It means structuring social and economic processes more inclusively and opened up to persons with disabilities on a genuinely equal basis.
- Training persons with disabilities to the very best of their abilities to take up socially responsible and productive roles in civil society. It means putting the education system on a genuinely equal basis.
- Governing clear and easily enforceable anti-discrimination laws that cover the economy, the social sphere, public services and civic obligations; that acknowledge the need for positive accommodation of the difference of disability.
- Tackling deep seated social attitudes to disability, by preparing the ground and educating the public at large (Quinn and Theresia, 2002).

Among the major outcomes of the Decade of Disabled Persons was the adoption, by the UN General Assembly, of the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities in 1993. Although not a legally binding instrument, the Standard Rules represent a strong moral and political commitment of Governments to take action to attain equalization of opportunities for persons with disabilities. The rules serve as an instrument for policy-making and as a basis for technical and economic cooperation (www.un.org). The Standard Rules includes 22 rules for action on Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities. The Rule 7 on employment states that

States should recognise the principle that persons with disabilities must be empowered to exercise their human rights, particularly in the field of employment. In both rural and urban areas they must have equal opportunities for productive and gainful employment in the labour market (UN, 1993).

Further the Rule 7 suggests a set of measures towards employment of persons with disabilities. They are:

- Laws and regulations in the employment field must not discriminate against persons with disabilities and must not raise obstacles to their employment.
- States should actively support the integration of persons with disabilities into open employment. This active support could occur through a variety of measures, such as vocational training, incentive-oriented quota schemes, reserved or designated employment, loans or grants for small business, exclusive contracts or priority production rights, tax concessions, contract compliance or other technical or financial assistance to enterprises employing workers with disabilities. States should also encourage employers to make reasonable adjustments to accommodate persons with disabilities.
- States' action programmes should include:
 - Measures to design and adapt workplaces and work premises in such a way that they become accessible to persons with different disabilities;
 - Support for the use of new technologies and the development and production of assistive devices, tools and equipment and measures to facilitate access to such devices and equipment for persons with disabilities to enable them to gain and maintain employment;
 - Provision of appropriate training and placement and ongoing support such as personal assistance and interpreter services.
- States should initiate and support public awareness-raising campaigns designed to overcome negative attitudes and prejudices concerning workers with disabilities.
- In their capacity as employers, states should create favourable conditions for the employment of persons with disabilities in the public sector.
- States, workers' organizations and employers should cooperate to ensure equitable recruitment and promotion policies, employment conditions, rate of pay, measures to improve the work environment in order to prevent injuries and impairments and measures for the rehabilitation of employees who have sustained employment-related injuries.
- The aim should always be for persons with disabilities to obtain employment in the open labour market. For persons with disabilities whose needs cannot be met in open employment, small units of sheltered or supported employment may be an alternative. It is important that the quality of such programmes be assessed in

terms of their relevance and sufficiency in providing opportunities for persons with disabilities to gain employment in the labour market.

- Measures should be taken to include persons with disabilities in training and employment programmes in the private and informal sectors.
- States, workers' organizations and employers should cooperate with organizations of persons with disabilities concerning all measures to create training and employment opportunities, including flexible hours, part-time work, job-sharing, self-employment and attendant care for persons with disabilities (ibid).

The Rule 5 of the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons considers accessibility as an important issue and recommends that

“states should recognize the overall importance of accessibility in the process of the equalization of opportunities in all spheres of society. For persons with disabilities of any kind, States should (a) introduce programmes of action to make the physical environment accessible; and (b) undertake measures to provide access to information and communication” (ibid).

ILO on Employment of Persons with Disabilities

International Labor Organization (ILO) is an important international organization that has initiated several policy guidelines related to the health and employment of persons with disabilities. ILO documents like;

- Employment Service Convention (ILO, 1948)
- Vocational Rehabilitation (Disabled), Recommendation (ILO, 1955)
- Employment Policy Recommendation (ILO, 1964)
- Human Resources Development Convention (ILO, 1975)
- Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons)
- Convention of International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1983)
- Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment Convention (ILO, 1988)
- Code of Practice on Managing Disability in the Workplace (ILO, 2002), etc. are aimed at encouraging participation and employment of persons with disabilities

The Code of Practice on Managing Disability in the Workplace, 2002 considers the definition of a person with disabilities as an individual whose prospects of securing, retaining and advancing in suitable employment are substantially reduced as a result of a duly recognized physical or mental impairment (ibid). It also defines terms related to employment of PWDs. Some of the definitions are;

Discrimination: Any distinction, exclusion or preference based on certain grounds which nullifies or impairs equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation. General standards that establish distinctions based on prohibited grounds constitute discrimination in law. The specific attitude of a public authority or a private individual that treats unequally persons or members of a group on a prohibited ground constitutes discrimination in practice. Indirect discrimination refers to apparently neutral situations, regulations or practices which in fact result in unequal treatment of persons with certain characteristics. Distinction or preferences that may result from application of special measures of protection and assistance taken to meet the particular requirements of disabled persons are not considered discriminatory.

Employer: A person or organization employing workers under a written or verbal contract of employment which establishes the rights and duties of both parties, in accordance with national law and practice. Governments, public authorities and private companies as well as individuals may be employers.

Employers' organization: An organization whose membership consists of individual employers, other associations of employers or both, formed primarily to protect and promote the interests of members and to provide services to its members in employment-related matters.

Equal opportunity: Equal access to and opportunities for all persons in employment, vocational training and particular occupations, without discrimination, consistent with Article 4 of ILO Convention No. 159. (ibid)

Policy measures and State Initiatives towards inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in India

Recognizing the fact that persons with disabilities constitute to more than 2 percent of the total population and in tune with the constitutional obligations of ensuring equality, freedom, justice and dignity of all individuals and evolving an inclusive society for all, including persons with disabilities, the Government of India enacted several legislations. However, the impetus came only in the 1990s when the Government of India enacted three legislations for persons with disabilities. They are (i) Persons with Disability (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995, which provides for education, employment, creation of barrier free environment, social security, etc. (ii) National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disability Act, 1999 which has provisions for legal guardianship of the four categories and creation of enabling environment for independent living. (iii) Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992 which deals with the development of manpower for providing rehabilitation services. In addition to the legal framework, extensive infrastructure has been developed. The following seven National Institutes are working for the development of manpower specialized in dealing with human impairment (Reddy, 2012). They are:

1. Institute for the Physically Handicapped, New Delhi.
2. National Institute of Visually Handicapped, Dehradun
3. National Institute for Orthopedically Handicapped, Kolkata
4. National Institute for Mentally Handicapped, Secunderabad.
5. National Institute for Hearing Handicapped, Mumbai
6. National Institute of Rehabilitation Training & Research, Cuttack.
7. National Institute for Empowerment of Persons with Multiple Disabilities, Chennai.

Apart from these, the Government of India also set up the National Handicapped and Finance Development Corporation (NHFDC) to provide credit on concessional terms for undertaking self-employment activities by persons with disabilities. Panchayat Raj Institutions at Village level, Intermediary level and District level also have been entrusted with the welfare of persons with disabilities (Reddy, 2012).

On the other hand, the state has also been making efforts at preventing the occurrence of disability through mass immunization and medical programmes across the country focusing on pregnant women and lactating mothers, and children. The other important component of state efforts towards persons with disabilities has been in rehabilitation front. The rehabilitation measures, which are grouped into, (i) physical rehabilitation (ii) educational rehabilitation and (iii) economic rehabilitation for a dignified life in society, focus on working with the abilities of the persons with disabilities and mainstreaming the persons with impairments.

The physical rehabilitation strategies derive their mandate from the medical model and thus lay emphasis on the correction of the impairment. The efforts include, early detection of impairment and intervention through drug or non-drug therapies, counselling, strengthening capacities of persons with disabilities and their families, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, psychotherapy, surgical correction and intervention, vision assessment, vision stimulation, speech therapy, audiological rehabilitation and special education, and assisting persons with impairments in procuring durable and scientifically manufactured, modern aids and appliances of ISI standard (Reddy, 2012).

Education for persons with disabilities is seen as critical in their participation in economic and social life. In line with the spirit of the Article 21A of the Constitution that guarantees education as a fundamental right and Section 26 of the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995, free and compulsory education is to be provided to all children with disabilities up to the minimum age of 18 years. Under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) programme launched by the Government, children with disabilities in the age group of 6-14 years are to be provided with eight years of elementary schooling. As part of the SSA, a continuum of educational options, learning aids and tools, mobility assistance, support services etc. are being made available to students with disabilities. This includes education through an open learning system and open schools, alternative schooling, distance education, special schools, wherever necessary home based education, itinerant teacher model, remedial teaching, part time classes, and vocational education. Under the Integrated Education for Disabled Children (IEDC) Scheme children with disabilities in the age group of 15-18 years are provided free education (Reddy, 2012).

Economic Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities

The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act (The PWD Act) of 1995 is the most significant legislation enacted in India on disability. The Act provides for both preventive and promotional aspects of rehabilitation like education, employment and vocational training, research and manpower development while aiding in the creation of barrier-free environments, rehabilitation of disabled, unemployment allowances for the disabled, special insurance schemes for employees with disabilities and the establishment of homes for persons with severe disabilities. The Act is the most comprehensive legislative act enacted to ensure equal opportunities for persons with disabilities allowing them to fully participate in nation building.

The PWD Act, 1995 provides for 3% reservation in employment in the establishments of Government of India and Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) against identified posts. The status of reservation for Government in various Ministries/ Departments against identified posts in Group A, B, C & D is 3.07%, 4.41%, 3.76% and 3.18% respectively. In Public Sector Units, the reservation status in Group A, B, C & D is 2.78%, 8.54%, 5.04% and 6.75%, respectively (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

Along with these, the Government of India also has evolved several legal provisions to safeguard the interests of women and children with disabilities. An array of legislations like The Mental Health Act, 1987, Rehabilitation Council of India Act 1992, The National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act, 1999 are some of the legislations passed by the Government of India till now to protect the rights of persons with disabilities.

Under the PWD Act the Central Coordination Committee (CCC) was established with the Cabinet Minister of the Central Government as its Chairman. This Committee reviews and coordinates the activities of all Departments of the Government and other governmental and non-governmental organizations which are dealing with matters relating to persons with disabilities. It also advises the Central Government on the formulation of policies, programs, legislations and projects with respect to disability. It

also monitors and evaluates the impact of policies and programs designed for achieving equality and full participation of persons with disabilities (Reddy 2012).

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE)

The basic objective of the policies, programs, laws and institutions of the Indian welfare system is to bring persons with disabilities into the mainstream of development by making them self-reliant. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE) is entrusted with the welfare of persons with disabilities. According to the Government sources three percent of all resources allocated to poverty alleviation programs throughout the country, at both the central and state government levels, are set aside for persons with disabilities (Reddy, 2012).

The rehabilitation program for persons with disabilities is carried out by the MSJE through an infrastructure network for persons with disabilities by several national institutes and other departments. These institutes work in the fields of locomotor, visual, hearing and intellectual disabilities. The institutes provide rehabilitation services; undertake vocational training programs and community awareness programs. Through outreach services, communities are made aware on prevention of disability, early identification, appropriate intervention and rehabilitation of persons with disabilities. The institutions are also engaged in functional research activities in related applied areas.

The MSJE also oversees the operation of four Composite Regional Centres for Persons with Disabilities, four Regional Rehabilitation Centres for Persons with Spinal Injuries, approximately 100 District Disability Rehabilitation Centres and The Indian Spinal Injury Centre. The Ministry has also put in place the National Programme for Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities which trains people from the grassroots level upwards in the prevention of disability, recognition of its occurrence and rendering advice on appropriate referrals that can range from minor interventions available at primary and state level institutions that are able to provide sophisticated services (Reddy, 2012).

Community Based Rehabilitation

India's disability-related policies are moving away from medical rehabilitation towards a more Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) approach for the self-sufficiency and improvement of the status of persons with disabilities through vocational training and

education. In early 1995, the Government launched the District Rehabilitation Centre (DRC) Scheme as a model of comprehensive rehabilitation services to persons with disabilities living in rural areas. The scheme operates in 11 centres in 10 States. The services provided by the DRCs include, prevention and early detection, medical intervention and surgical correction, therapeutic services, educational services, training, provision of self-employment opportunities and bank loans. The program was established in collaboration with the National Institute of Disability and Rehabilitation Research, Washington D.C. In conjunction with the DRC, a Central Administrative and Coordination Unit (CACU) was also established for coordinating and administering the activities of DRC (Reddy 2012).

The objectives of the DRC include surveying the disabled population, prevention, early detection and medical intervention and surgical correction, fitting of artificial aids and appliances, therapeutic services - physiotherapy, occupational therapy and speech therapy, provision of educational services in special and integrated schools, provision of vocational training, job placement in local industries and trades, self-employment opportunities, awareness generation for the involvement of community and family to create a cadre of multi-disciplinary professionals to take care of major categories of disabled in the district (Reddy 2012).

Since The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act 1995 includes all the policy thrust areas and embodies a full rehabilitation program for persons with disabilities and also since other two legislations i.e. Rehabilitation Council of India Act 1992 and National Trust for the Welfare of Persons With Autism, Cerebral palsy, Mental retardation and Multiple Disability Act 1999, there is no other policy or plan dealing with rehabilitation of persons with disabilities except the annual plans of concerned ministries (ILO, 2006).

The Rights of Persons with Disabilities Bill 2016 has been passed in the parliament session held December 2016. This is a much awaited bill as it promises to provide greater opportunities for persons with disabilities in the country to gain access to education, employment and a decent independent living. This new bill is expected to create a better environment for persons with disabilities and improve their quality of life

and ensure that they enjoy all rights and liberties like any citizen of the country. The key features of the bill are;

1. All persons with disabilities have the right to work.
2. The right to gain a living by work freely chosen or accepted in a labour market and work in open, inclusive and accessible environment.
3. All persons with disabilities have the right to be free from discrimination on the basis of disability with regard to all matters concerning all forms of employment, including conditions of recruitment, hiring and employment, continuance of employment, career advancement and safe and healthy working conditions.
4. All persons with disabilities, have the right on an equal basis with others, to just and favourable conditions of work, including equal opportunities and equal remuneration for work of equal value, safe working conditions, including protection from harassment, and the redressal of grievances.
5. All persons with disabilities have the right to exercise their labour and trade union rights on an equal basis with others.
6. All persons with disabilities have the right to have effective access to general technical and vocational guidance programmes, placement services and vocational and continuing training.
7. Programmes, policies and laws shall not be discriminatory if they are proportionate to the objects and rights set out in this section and if they are intended to—
 - a. Promote employment opportunities and career advancement for persons with disabilities in the labour market, as well as assistance in finding, obtaining, maintaining and returning to employment;
 - b. Promote opportunities for self-employment, entrepreneurship, the development of cooperatives and starting one's own business;
 - c. Employ persons with disabilities in the public sector;
 - d. Promote the employment of persons with disabilities in the private sector through appropriate policies and measures, which may include affirmative action programmes, incentives and other measures;
 - e. Ensure that reasonable accommodation is provided to persons with disabilities in the workplace;

- f. Promote the acquisition by persons with disabilities of work experience in the open labour market; and
 - g. Promote vocational and professional rehabilitation, job retention and return-to-work programmes for persons with disabilities.
8. Persons with disabilities shall be protected from servitude, and are protected, on an equal basis with others, from forced or compulsory labour [Rights of Persons with Disabilities Bill 2016: (Bill no. 12 of 2016) passed by the Indian parliament in December 2016] (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

Review of policies on employment of PWDs in India

The PWDs Act 1995 provides for 3 percent reservations in employment the Government of India establishments and also in public sector undertakings against identified posts which stand at 1900 after the revision in 2001 (Mitra and Sambamoorthi, 2006). As per the Central Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, 1965, classification of jobs broadly corresponds to rank, status, and degree of responsibilities:

Group A: Administrative and executive responsibilities

Group B: Middle management level

Group C: Supervisory, operative, and clerical work

Group D: Routine duties

They are further differentiated in terms of pay scales, which are as follows:

Group A: Rs. 13,500 and above

Group B between Rs. 9000 and Rs. 13,500

Group C between Rs. 4000 and Rs. 9000

Group D for below Rs. 4000.

The Persons with Disabilities Act 1995 also suggests that the appropriate governments and the local authorities shall, within the limits of their economic capacity and development, provide incentives to employers both in public and private sectors to

ensure that at least five per cent of their work force is composed of persons with disabilities (Article 41 of the PWD Act, 1995, based on Article 41 of the Constitution of India) (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206). The National Policy for Persons with Disabilities (2006) also recommends that proactive measures such as incentives, awards, and tax exemptions will be taken up to encourage the employment of disabled persons in the private sector (Bhattacharya, 2016)

About improving self-employment opportunities of PWDs the National Policy for Persons with Disabilities (2006) suggests for vocational education and management training for PWDs. It also suggests for providing loans from the National Handicapped Finance and Development Corporation. On its part the government of India encourages self-employment by providing incentives, tax concessions, exemptions from duties, preferential treatment for procurement of goods and services by the government from the enterprises of disabled persons, etc. Priority in financial support is given to self-help groups formed by persons with disabilities (ibid).

Mainstream employment services

Rungta (2004) reports that the Director-General of Employment and Training under the Ministry of Labour administers the employment service to the PWDs through employment exchanges within the framework of Compulsory Notification of Vacancies Act, 1959. It has a network of 938 Employment Exchanges. Important functions of these employment exchanges include:

- a. Registration of job seekers;
- b. Collection of data regarding available vacancies both in public and private sector
- c. Placements through its placement services; and
- d. Providing guidance for self-employment ventures, etc.

Special employment exchanges

Although, Employment Exchanges under the National Employment Services are responsible for the placement of persons with disabilities as well, Special Employment Exchanges were also setup over three decades ago for their selective placement. These exchanges attempt to secure for the disabled the most satisfying form of employment suitable to their physical and mental potentialities. At present, 43 Special Exchanges are

functioning under the Ministry of Labour and Employment with large infrastructure. In addition to this, 41 Special Cells for persons with disabilities with a Special Placement Officer attached to the normal Employment Exchanges and funded by the Central Government have so far been set up by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (Shenoy, 2011).

The number of jobseekers placed in employment was 3,200 from the live register of 109,632. Among the total 661,000 persons with disabilities on the live register of all exchanges, 109,929 were registered as part of special exchanges for physically handicapped and 66,612 were registered as part of special cells for physically handicapped of regular exchanges. Only 27% of persons with disabilities registered with special exchanges, or the special cells of regular exchanges. Total funding for special exchanges and cells between 1998 and 2003 was just over Rs. 5 crores. Hence, Shenoy (2011) observes that, employment exchanges, both special and regular, play a negligible role in promoting employment among persons with disabilities. The cost effectiveness of many special exchanges is also open to question. Whilst there is a national network of special employment exchanges for the persons with disabilities, they have failed to play the desired role in promoting employment. Though there are employment exchanges in State capitals, the link between the employment exchanges and the establishments in the private sector is weak (ibid).

Employment in reserved government posts

It may be said that most of the posts in the government sector are reserved for orthopedically handicapped persons. Even these posts do not get filled as the persons with disability are not trained to pass the written tests and interviews. In the case of posts which are reserved for visually impaired and hearing impaired people, most of the posts remain unfilled for many years. One of the major reasons is that the requirements as per the government do not match with the skill set which visually impaired and hearing impaired persons have. For example, job descriptions state that the visually impaired should have typewriter skills, despite the fact that typewriting training courses are no longer available. As a result, many state government positions in the District Collectors offices are not filled (Shenoy, 2011).

NCPEDP data on employment of PWDs in government posts

Ministries and Departments

Total number of posts: 26,98,762

Identified posts for persons with disabilities: 2,81,398

Employed persons with disabilities: 9,975

Percentage of identified posts filled by persons with disabilities: 3.54%

Percentage of all posts filled by persons with disabilities: 0.37%

Public Sector

Total number of posts: 45,27,293

Identified posts for persons with disabilities: 4,60,396

Employed persons with disabilities: 20,053

Percentage of identified posts filled by persons with disabilities: 4.46%

Percentage of all posts filled by persons with disabilities: 0.44%

Shenoy (2011) notes that the reasons for the low representations of persons with disabilities in the government jobs and public sector are a) inadequate job identification process b) limited coverage of disability categories. The system of job identification is arbitrary. For example, the World Bank report gives the example of 'In Group A, the job of an agricultural scientist specialized in econometric analysis is identified as suitable for an individual who is blind or has an orthopaedic disability, but not for someone with a hearing disability'. Only three categories of disabilities are covered in the 3% reservation, locomotor, visual and hearing with 1% reservation for each. Mental disability is excluded (Shenoy, 2011)

It is also pointed out that there are a substantial number of backlog vacancies lying vacant for many years. The Eleventh Plan states that 'the backlog of vacancies for persons with disabilities continues to be large, both at the centre and the states' (ibid). The backlog vacancies in government organizations remain unfilled, despite special

drives. It may also be said that the online procedure of seeking applications by certain banks and public sector units also adding to the problem as many PWDs in rural areas don't have access to computer and internet facilities.

Article 27 of UNCRPD makes provision for Representation of EWDs in Trade Unions. It calls for steps to ensure that persons with disabilities are able to exercise their labour and trade union rights on an equal basis with others'. To date, disabled employees are not represented in trade unions. As a result of which trade unions have not taken up issues of disabled workers. By and large, the government schemes are limited in their approach and accessing the schemes is difficult. On one hand, incentives given by government leads to disabled exiting employment, on the other hand, outdated methods of job identification have resulted in large backlog vacancies (Shenoy, 2011).

Private sector employment for PWDs in India

Meera Shenoy (2011) also finds that employers have certain concerns which prevent them from hiring persons with disabilities. She points out the following concerns of the employers

- What jobs can the disabled do? Can visual impaired use computers?
- Would hearing impaired feel isolated?
- Is it expensive to make work place adjustments?
- Would it affect the existing work flow and processes? Can the disabled cope with work pressures?

Shenoy (2011) presents an in depth understanding of the situation of employment of PWDs in the private sector. This part is heavily drawn upon the work of Meera Shenoy as this is the most recent account available in the form of a report titled 'Persons with disability and the India labour market: challenges and opportunities' submitted to the ILO in December 2011. This report is based on a macroeconomic study on the employment and social protection policies for PWDs in Asia and the Pacific. Some of the key points of the report are:

- Among several private companies, only few hire PWDs. They have insufficient knowledge and preconceived notions of the abilities of the PWDs. As a result in

many companies human resource department has no special policy or clarity as regards hiring PWDs.

- In the absence of systematic studies on the contribution of employees with disabilities (EWDs) to the company many companies either assign a narrow job set or don't hire at all. In fact by this the private companies are losing the tag of equal opportunity employer which has a greater significance in terms of the company value and brand.
- Many companies don't provide accessible workplace. For example the design of the workplace area, washrooms, stairs, etc. make workplace inaccessible to EWDs.
- Lack of sensitization among the supervisors or immediate higher authorities to whom the EWDs report, the freshly joined employees with disabilities face hardships in performance and as a result their work is undervalued leading to dropouts.
- For the fear of high cost of technology many companies don't hire visually challenged candidates.
- Many employers in the private sector believe that EWDs cannot cope with the competitive work environment and desist from hiring them.
- Many companies hire EWDs and train them as part of the corporate social responsibility programme but not as its core policy. This only highlights the charity and welfare mode of companies thinking towards PWDs, and unless the companies develop business or commercial sense EWDs will never get opportunities to compete and excel.
- Accessibility audit of all the buildings of the company is an important first step in providing enabling work environment to EWDs. However, many companies, including the multinational organizations have no clear idea as to how to proceed for the lack of information on this subject of them.
- There are very few organizations which do company sensitization workshops for the CEOs and supervisors.
- Government has launched the scheme offering incentives for hiring persons with disability in 2008 to create 1,00,000 jobs every year. As part of the scheme the central government pays the employers contribution of Provident Fund and ESI contribution for the first three years for each person with disability employed in a

private company with a salary of up to Rs.25,000 per month. But the scheme has been a failure as many companies are neither aware of these incentives nor interested in wasting time and manpower to avail the incentive by cutting across the red-tapism and bureaucracy. (Shenoy, 2011).

Shenoy (2011) suggests that private sector is the major stakeholder in ensuring persons with disabilities getting jobs and entering the labour market. However, the situation is bleak because of many deterrents like attitudes towards the abilities of PWDs, apprehensions of having to make high investments for work place adjustments if persons with disabilities are hired and lack of organizations which help companies to sensitize them and guide them.

Government supported programmes for PWDs in India

National Handicapped Finance and Development Corporation

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment has established National Handicapped Finance and Development Corporation in the year 1997 with an objective of promoting economic rehabilitation of persons with disabilities by giving loans at very low rates of interest to disabled individuals and NGOs for self-employment ventures and skill development. This Corporation works both as special credit facility for self-employment ventures for persons with disabilities and also acts as a catalyst to build confidence among persons with disabilities (Rungta, 2004).

Poverty alleviation programmes

As a part of poverty alleviation programmes both Ministries of Rural Development and Urban Affairs and Employment are running umbrella schemes for promoting wage employment among urban and rural poor respectively, which also help persons with disabilities. These include:

Sampoorna Grammeen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY)

It is also known as rural wage employment scheme. SGRY is administered by the Ministry of Rural Development. This scheme is mainly for the infrastructure development in the village and providing wage employment to rural poor e.g. employing rural poor of the same village for construction of roads (Rungta, 2004).

Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)

It is also known as Rural Self-employment Scheme. SGSY is run by the Ministry of Rural Development. The main objective of this scheme is to improve the family incomes of the rural poor and, at the same time, providing for a flexibility of design at the grassroots level to suit the local needs and resources. Secondly, it also aims at establishing a large number of micro-enterprises in the rural areas. The 'beneficiaries' (known as Swarozgaris or self-employed) maybe individuals or groups (Self-Help Groups). Persons with Disabilities are eligible to get a subsidy of 30 percent on the loan disbursed. And, PWDs are provided with 3 percent reservation under this scheme. In establishing the microenterprises, the emphasis under SGSY is on the cluster approach. For this, four to five key activities are identified in each block based on the resources, occupational skills of the people and availability of markets. The key activities are selected with the approval of the Panchayat Samitis at the block level and the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) at the District Level. Under the scheme, care is taken to ensure that the maximum number of Panchayats is covered without jeopardizing the quality of the programme. This scheme mainly focuses on group approach. This involves organization of the poor into self-help groups and their capacity building. Thus, efforts are made to involve women members in each self-help group (Rungta, 2004).

The Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY)

It is also known as Urban Employment Scheme. This scheme seeks to provide gainful employment to the urban unemployed or underemployed through encouraging the setting up of self-employment ventures or provision of wage employment (Rungta, 2004). As part of the scheme, 3 per cent reservations are allotted for persons with disabilities as per the provisions of 'The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995, but there are no proper mechanisms or procedures established to ensure its compliance. There is no data kept in these programs on participation rates of people with disabilities (ibid).

Jobs identified for PWDs in the private sector

The government of India has adopted a strategy of giving incentive to private employers for promoting employment of persons with disabilities in the private sector.

Thus, it has identified jobs at different levels for implementing the scheme of incentivizing hiring PWDs by private establishments. The identified jobs are to be filled up as per their respective quota in accordance with the scheme of reservation under Section 33 of Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995. Some of the identified jobs notified by Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment disability wise are:

Jobs Identified for Persons with Loco-Motor Disability and Cerebral Palsy

- Group-A jobs – finance manager, chief accountant, finance advisor, agriculture scientists, director, asst. director, economic analyst, editors of publications, etc.
- Group-B jobs – section officer, audit officer, foreman, assistant engineer, hostel manager, etc.
- Group-C jobs – Laboratory assistant physical, agriculture engineer, draughtsman, train examiner, textile designer, cloth examiner, filter man, leather cutter, etc. and
- Group-D jobs – wood turner, carpenter, etc.

Identified Jobs for the Hearing Impaired

- Group-A jobs – director, sr. research officer, scientist (information technology), operation officer, senior designer, mechanical engineer, etc.
- Group-B jobs – sub editor, artist, dy. manager, joint director, admin Officer, etc.
- Group-C jobs – laboratory assistant, physical, lithographic artist, decorators, school inspector, etc. and
- Group-D jobs - mono operator, Photostat camera operator, painter glass, white washer, etc.

Identified Jobs for the Visually Impaired

- Group-A jobs – bank officer grade A, dy. general manager, research officers, officer bank policy and planning, officer public grievances marketing officers, instructors, management faculty, etc.
- Group-B jobs – vice principal, head masters, teacher -secondary school, junior analyst, asst. editor Hindi, asst. law officer, etc.

- Group C jobs – translator, medical social worker, singer, computer operator, enquiry clerk or information clerk, telephone operator, field officers, stenographer, etc.
- Group D jobs – washing machine operator, carpet repair, letter box peon, carpenter, postman, duplicating/cyclostyling, peon, office boy, etc (http://www.planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_pdp1206).

Employment Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities in Protected Work Environments

Severely disabled and intellectually challenged persons mainly depend on protected or sheltered employment. Initially, the Government adopted the approach of sheltered employment for all types of disabilities. It encouraged the NGOs to run sheltered workshops for disabled persons. However, with the enactment of PWD Act, 1995, mainstream employment and, sheltered employment is encouraged only for intellectually challenged persons and persons with multiple disabilities. The protected employment is offered through NGOs. There are two approaches for providing protected employment. First approach is to establish residential sheltered work centres and provide jobs to persons with disabilities on either daily rated wage basis or on the basis of wages linked with production. In this type of program, concerned NGOs take the contract from industries or from government and are responsible for the discharge of contractual obligations. Another approach is to facilitate work contracts for a group of disabled persons and ensure availability of work to them (Rungta, 2004).

NGO initiatives towards employment of PWDs

Meera Shenoy, in her report on *Persons with Disability and the India Labour Market: Challenges and Opportunities* (2011) discusses the initiatives of NGOs on rehabilitation and advocacy towards PWDs in India. According to Shenoy some NGOs which work in the area of disability and employment are

Ability Foundation: Based in Chennai, Ability Foundation is a cross disability organization set up to empower persons with disabilities. It conducts job fairs in Chennai and Delhi, where companies are invited to screen and hire the persons with disabilities. In collaboration with the Chennai based company Cavin Kare, the annual Cavin Kare

Ability awards are given to achievers with disabilities who have soared beyond conventional barriers to realize their dreams. It also runs a quarterly magazine, 'Success & Ability'.

Association of Persons with disability (APD): APD's vocational and employment section runs an inclusive training centre which is affiliated to and follows the National council of vocational training curriculum. A range of skills from welding to carpentry are taught in the training centres. Besides, short and long term computer courses are offered in its Information technology centre. Its Horticulture section trains persons with disabilities in a range of horticultural skills and runs a nursery in Bangalore.

Blind People's Association (BPA): Located in Ahmedabad, BPA operates an employment cell for persons with disabilities. It provides diverse opportunities for employment and self-employment in the public and private sectors, across disabilities, with a specific focus on generating employment for women with disabilities. It attempts to create opportunities beyond the stereotypical jobs for persons with different disabilities from varied educational background and experience. As part of the program, BPA contacts and builds relationships with public sector companies to encourage them to recruit persons with disabilities as employees. It has also made inroads into government institutions. It encourages private and individual donors to employ persons with disabilities instead of making financial donations to BPA.

Abled Disabled All People Together (ADAPT, formerly known as the Spastics Society of India): Based in Mumbai, ADAPT provides persons with disabilities access to employment-related support services (e.g. assessment, referrals, counselling and placement assistance, and a continuum of support in the post-training and post-placement phases). It also provides education and training (e.g. technical or vocational training, vocational guidance programs, and others); and a one-year bridge course for students from special schools to prepare them for vocational training. The course includes functional academics, skills of daily living, exposure to various job skills and recreation activities. Through its National Job Development Centre's Activity Centre and Narika Shakti, ADAPT promotes self-employment, entrepreneurship skills, and income generation for persons with disabilities and mothers of children with disabilities.

Enable India: This organization focuses on empowering persons with visual impairment. It offers pre-employment services, supplemental education, counselling and support services and consultancy for other institutions. Enable India has different training offerings for persons with disabilities, companies, partners and institutions working for persons with disabilities and volunteers. Shanti Raghavan, founder of the organization, observes that ‘our teaching methodology is based on detailed root cause analysis by disability. Giving one on one attention; using multiple intelligence; real time exposure; job simulation; challenging time bound exercises and making candidates responsible are integral parts of our curriculum’. Enable India has collaboration with Lake Systems for training visually impaired for the medical transcription industry.

National Association of Blind (NAB): NAB was set up with a vision to make a difference to the lives of the visually impaired in Mumbai and eventually at the national level. Employment related activities range from participation in Job melas to providing placements to those who register with them. A joint initiative of NAB and Tata Indicom is the Drishti call centre which employs 25 visually impaired youth. A new initiative is information on job availability to visually impaired youth across the country through SMS.

NCPEDP (National Centre for Promotion of Employment of Disabled People): NCPEDP works in the field of policy advocacy to promote employment. It has, in a pioneering manner, partnered with industry associations like CII, FICCI, NASSCOM, ASSOCHAM to include disability in their agenda. The Disabled-friendly corporate logo was designed in 1999 and portrays a partnership between the Indian corporate sector and the disabled citizens of India, in the international colours of disability which are blue and yellow. Another noteworthy intervention is the NCPEDP-Shell Helen Keller Awards which are awarded annually from 1999 for various categories of employers of disabled including individuals who have done inspiring work in the field of employment and disability (Shenoy, 2011).

Centre for PwD Livelihoods (CPDL): Youth 4 Jobs Foundation has tied up with SERP (Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty), Rural Development, Government of Andhra Pradesh, to set up the Centre for Persons with Disability Livelihoods (CPDL). 2500 disabled youth have been trained in 14 centres set up exclusively for the disabled in

one and half years with 70% placements. 90% of the companies are first time employers of the disabled. CPDL offers Persons with disabilities a basket of options to train and get employed in apparel, manufacturing, and service sectors. Service sectors like retail, e-learning and BPOs have been providing jobs. The model, the first of its kind in the country, leverages the strengths of the government in reaching out to rural, underprivileged disabled youth, and private sector by Youth 4 Jobs which designs strategy, organizes trainings linked to markets, placement and post placement mentoring. Some of the organizations where PWDs were placed after training are:

McDonald's Restaurants- The Company had not hired Persons with disabilities before. Company officials were sensitized by bringing them to the model training centre and making McDonald staff interact with trained youth who were placed in prestigious malls. McDonald recently gave Youth 4 Jobs Foundation an award for this partnership which both will scale together.

Gitanjali Gems- CPDL works closely with Gitanjali to help them take their percentage of disabled workforce to 10% of their total staffing in their SEZ in Hyderabad.

Tata Business Support Services (TBSS) - CPDL worked with TBSS to co-create training modules.

Employees with disabilities in the Public Sector Units

Several public sector units have commenced special drives to recruit persons with disabilities. These include:

NTPC Limited- NTPC is one of the largest state owned energy provider. It addresses the issue of disability through two institutional set ups. One is the CSR group and the other is the NTPC Foundation. The focus is on health, education and employment of persons with disability. NTPC has ensured its physical environment is accessible for employees with disabilities. Special ramps with railings have been constructed for improved access to buildings. Toilets with proper signages are also being installed. The CPWD guidelines for accessible buildings have been circulated to all NTPC Projects, and some units have already taken a lead in implementing the guidelines. Today NTPC has 400 employees with disabilities on its rolls (Shenoy, 2011).

Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited (BPCL) - To provide wider employment opportunities for persons with disabilities, Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited (BPCL), Mumbai, re-organizes its recruitment and selection processes to facilitate the participation of persons with disabilities in campus-based recruitment. It also makes special efforts to ensure access at all its test centres during special recruitment drives for persons with disabilities. The work conditions are supportive. BPCL supports persons with disabilities through technological aids, reorganizing the work process, and providing collegial support. In case of new recruitments or transfers, preference is given to employees with disabilities while allotting houses, superseding the existing wait lists. Employees with disabilities have not encountered any forms of discrimination in career advancement and growth. It recognizes that accessible environment is a work in progress within the organization, and that there is a need for wider work on making higher education accessible to persons with disabilities, to facilitate their entry within the skilled workforce (ibid).

Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) - BEL is a state owned electronics company with nine factories manufacturing advance electronic products for the Ministry of Defence. Out of a total workforce of 11,180 persons as on 31st March 2011, employees with disabilities are 258.

Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) - HAL is Asia's largest aerospace company which manufactures and assembles aircraft, navigation and communication equipment and operating some airports. Out of 33990 employees of the company, 1.93% were employees with disabilities, as on 31st December 2010 (ibid).

Private Sector Enterprises

Despite negative attitudes and perceptions, there are economic and social reasons why employers should welcome PWDs into their organizations. The percentage of persons with disabilities in the population is steadily increasing, and it is impractical to continue to ignore this segment of our population (ibid). According to a resource guide on disability for employers developed by ILO:

- Persons with disabilities make good dependable employees. Employers with disabled workers consistently report that, as a group, persons with disabilities

perform on par or better than their non-disabled peers on measures such as productivity, safety and attendance.

- Persons with disabilities are more likely to stay on the job. The costs of job turnover, such as lost productivity and expenses related to recruitment and training, are well known to most employers
- Hiring persons with disability increases workforce morale.
- Persons with disabilities are an untapped resource of skill and talent. Persons with disabilities have skills that businesses need i.e. technical job skills and transferable problem solving skills developed in daily life.
- Persons with disabilities represent an overlooked multibillion-dollar market segment. The market consists of their families and friends.

The document on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Profiles of twenty five companies which hire PWDs published by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2010 (ILO, 2010) describes how companies address hiring and retention, products and services, and corporate social responsibility from the perspective of disability.

Bhattacharya (2016) also reports that the experts committee constituted by the Government of India which included representatives from the corporate sector identified 1065 jobs at various levels. Out of 1065 jobs identified by the committee 120 are executive/management/supervisor level jobs and 945 skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled level jobs in the private sector

The following are some examples of the business case for hiring persons with disability (Shenoy, 2011).

Vindhya e-Infomedia: Set up in June 2006 with 2 people, Vindhya e-Infomedia today employs 200 people who are mostly based in Bangalore, while a small group is posted at client locations across India. The company employs people with physical disabilities and hearing impairment. The team of nearly 190 persons with disabilities in Vindhya services the company's clients in the banking, microfinance and insurance. From a predominantly data entry focused portfolio, the Vindhya team now also carries out higher value work consisting of loan processing, human resources processing and claims processing (for insurance companies). The company pays market salaries but the business case comes from the greater commitment and productivity of the staffers. Unlike high

attrition levels of the BPO industry, the company has only 5-8% attrition. The company's unique vision and business strategy have paid off with the business clocking a close to 100% growth year-on-year. Annual revenues are just short of a half a million dollars (USD 500,000). The company recently attracted private equity investment and now plans to open offices in other cities to take its employee base by 5000 by the year 2020.

Mirakle Couriers: There are about 8 million deaf adults in India, of which many are exploited in the informal sector employment. Mirakle Couriers is the only privately run for-profit organization in India that employs only hearing-speech impaired people. The company hires 60 young men and women from the underprivileged sections, trains them and puts them on a career path. The company is run like any other – salaries are comparable with the rest of the industry and the workforce is given every right that a blue- or white-collar employee deserves. Mirakle Couriers employs them in a highly competitive and professionally demanding courier business. Dhruv Lakhra, founder of the organization observes that 'working with us they gain copious levels of confidence and eventually gain financial independence. The result is that many of them are able to go back home and support their families rather than having to be helplessly dependent on the family'.

Revive Enterprise: Revive Enterprise hires only visually impaired, both as frontline and backline staff. The founder of Revive Enterprise, Karan Thakur, says 'when I wanted to start off with this business idea, I can't name a single person who supported the idea or did not scoff at it. Even if these persons are vision impaired, they have immense potential and with the right training, they can be absorbed into the mainstream professional world instead of pushing them to sidelines and treating them as disabled people with no sense of the real world'.

Titan Industries: Titan, one of the earliest employers of persons with disabilities, had by year 1999, 169 disabled employees out of a blue-collar workforce of 3,235, which amounts to 5.22 per cent. By year 2010 the numbers were over 120 persons with disabilities which constitute about 4 per cent of Titan's total employee strength. Titan's unique recruitment strategy meant combing the countryside in search of capable candidates aged between 18 and 24. Appropriate selection procedures were adopted, depending on the nature of the disability. The company arranged counselling sessions

with the families, to make the transition into the factory smooth. Those with disabilities were housed with regular employees, which contributed to their integration with the rest of the workforce. Even work areas were made common. Fortnightly meetings sensitized the company about issues concerning the disabled and their families. Supervisors who interfaced with the hearing impaired were trained in sign language. Today, in the strapping department, it's nearly impossible to distinguish the hearing impaired from the others, as everyone uses sign language. A new initiative of the retail division, Tanishq is to hire persons with disabilities for its expanding retail outlets for the back operations and frontline customer service staff.

Pointec Pens: The Company manufactures pens, gel pens and mechanical pencils. Currently 3% of its workforce is persons with disabilities and their target is to increase hiring of persons with disabilities to 15%. The employees work in various departments ranging from production assembly, production moulding, and data entry to quality lab and accounts. Many of their products lend themselves to assembling and sub-assembling work which can be done at the homes of the persons with disabilities.

Lemon Tree Hotels: Lemon Tree Hotels is a Shell Helen Keller Award Winner 2010 for policies, practices and belief in equal rights and gainful employment for persons with disabilities. The aspects of both interests and safety of persons with disabilities are duly considered. The existing staff also undergoes sensitization to promote a healthy work environment. 'This is a big alternate talent pool at a time when everybody is vying for the same set of people. Their attrition is in single digits compared with double digits for other employees', says Rahul Pandit, President and COO. After employing them as gardeners, tailors and laundry staff, it's now trying deaf employees as waiters in restaurants in three hotels in Bangalore, Gurgaon and Hyderabad. Lemon Tree now has around 75 deaf people currently among its 2,000-odd employees, and is targeting 10% of its workforce, or 500 employees with disability in the next three years.

Aegis Limited: Aegis has a six dimensional Diversity Model which includes initiatives that act as enablers towards enhancing the cause of employment of disabled people: 1) Equal Employment Opportunity Policy in which the service conditions are same for persons with disabilities and others. However certain flexibilities are provided for persons with disabilities depending on their specific needs. 2) Facilities for Persons

with disabilities include provision of facilities that are accessible, convenient and which cater to their needs. 3) Target based commitments. The company has a policy of equal pay for all employees including the employees with disabilities, partnering with NGOs and state employment exchanges to recruit persons with disabilities and by providing an accessible working environment through provision of auxiliary aids and services for persons with disabilities with hearing, visual impairment and mental disability.

IBM India: IBM was awarded India's National Award 2009 in the category of 'Technological Innovation' for best applied research aimed at improving the life of persons with disability - India's highest such award. It recognizes the work of IBM Researchers in creating technology for what IBM calls the 'Spoken Web'. This voice-enabled technology, developed by IBM Research - India, complements the Internet, and enables people with little or no literacy, or those with visual impairment, to access and share information, perform business transactions, and create social networks using mobile or landline phones. IBM's Project Able, in its Global Leadership Forum sets the tone of its philosophy, 'we don't hire people who are disabled because it is nice thing to do; we hire them because it is a right thing to do from a business perspective'. IBM recruited its first employee with disability almost a century ago and has a long history of creating an inclusive work environment. The persons with disability have jobs in a number of roles at IBM, including project management, programming, consulting, operations, quality assurance, and human resources. Currently, IBM has 120 persons with disability on its rolls.

Mphasis: Mphasis is a leading IT solutions provider, offering Applications, Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) and Infrastructure services globally through a combination of technology know-how, domain and process expertise. Mphasis states that it makes not only business sense but also common sense to recruit persons with disabilities because the organization, in turn, benefits from diversity, systems become accessible not only for employees but also for their clients. Mphasis is also the winner of prestigious Shell Helen Keller Award 2008 for the empowerment of persons with disability in the category of best employer. The initiative to ensure persons with disability have access to all opportunities is headed by Ms. Meenu Bhambani, who is differently abled. Mphasis has been consistently releasing the number of persons with disability employed in its annual report further highlighting its commitment towards this cause at

the stakeholder level. Currently persons with disability employed at Mphasis are around 350. Mphasis in its policy towards hiring PWDs states that

...we are committed to being an equal opportunity employer, and encourage employment of otherwise qualified persons with disabilities. We have recruited over 320 persons with disabilities in various capacities across BPO, Applications, ITO and Corporate Support towers (Bhattacharya, 2016).

Gitanjali Gems: Gitanjali Gems (GGL) is an India based integrated diamond and jewellery manufacturer and retailer established in 1966. The company's activities are spread across the entire value chain from sourcing and processing rough diamonds to manufacturing, branding and retailing gold and diamond jewellery. The Saksham initiative of Gitanjali Group is focused on empowerment of persons with disabilities through training and employment. The goal of the project is to create conditions for their rehabilitation and integration into society. Out of 1650 strong work force Gitanjali currently employs nearly 270 persons with disability and is planning to employ more than 1,000 additional disabled workers in the next three years. In 2009, the Government of India awarded Gitanjali Gems with the 'Best Employer' award for its efforts to empower persons with disability, particularly for the company's efforts at its unit in Rajiv Gems Park, Hyderabad, India. Gitanjali sources its manpower needs from the Centre for Persons with Disability Livelihoods, Andhra Pradesh which also partly funds the cost of training of the youth with disabilities.

Microsign Products: Microsign Products, Bhavnagar, Gujarat represents a voluntary initiative of employing persons with disabilities in the private sector, with nearly eighty per cent of the workforce comprising of persons with disabilities. The result of an individual's enterprise, Microsign has chosen to focus on the abilities of its employees: employing persons with hearing impairments and orthopedically handicapped. In doing so, it creates opportunities for employment of persons with disabilities who are unskilled or low skilled, and those who have been rejected by their families and communities. Microsign provide family-like support to meet the social security needs of the employees (UNCRPD 2011).

ITC Hotels: At ITC Hotels, persons with disabilities are engaged in core functions like finance, HR, housekeeping, reservations and concierge services. The

company has 292 - employees with disabilities across all its hotels. ITC Maurya, for example, has the largest number of employees with disabilities in any luxury hotel. Out of the total 1079 employees, 22 are employees with disabilities with the nature of disability varying from hearing impairment to cerebral palsy, dyslexia, dwarfism and locomotor disability. According to the ITC sources all new ITC hotels are disabled friendly. Besides, the company has brought out several manuals for having an inclusive workforce.

These examples of private sector initiatives towards providing employment to persons with disabilities are commendable. They show the possibility of employment of persons with disabilities if the management takes the lead.

Industry Associations: National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM): In 2009, NASSCOM Foundation came up with the Accessibility Initiative. The Accessibility Initiative based itself on the rights approach to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the IT-ITeS sector by reaching out to the Talent Acquisition Team. Sensitization workshops were held in Delhi, Chennai and Mumbai and that elicited participation from companies like Wipro, IBM Daksh, Genpact, Aegis, etc. NASSCOM Foundation has conducted a number of diversity awareness workshops for NASSCOM member companies. Since the initiative began, 190 persons with disabilities have been employed by ten IT service companies. In 2010, NASSCOM Foundation published a handbook, *Inclusivity at the Workplace – Five Principles that Enable and Empower persons with disability*.

NASSCOM Foundation collaborated with the Vocational Rehabilitation Centre (VRC) in Chennai to provide HR counselling to jobseekers with disabilities. Given the growing need for skilled and qualified persons with disabilities in the IT industry, the Foundation decided to conduct its first job fair as part of World Disability Day 2010 celebrations in Delhi, in collaboration with *Sarthak*, an educational institute for training people with disabilities and Vocational Rehabilitation Centre for the Handicapped operated by the Government. The job fair brought together some 450 disabled jobseekers with IT employers like Aegis, Designmate, Disability India Network e-Vindhya, Genpact, Synopsys, Wipro Infrastructure, IBM, IBM Daksh, Mphasis, NetAmbit, Netmagic Solutions, NewGen and Team Computers. To facilitate the IT industry in sourcing

qualified employees with disabilities, the Foundation started a specific training and mentoring project in 2011.

Confederation of Indian Industry: In 2006, CII developed a 'Corporate code of disability' for voluntary adoption by companies in order to develop a disability policy. CII adopted disability as part of their social agenda in 1998. In Bangalore and Delhi, core groups have been appointed which keep the agenda of disability alive in the corporate sector. Other initiatives are job fairs, producing awareness films and bringing out a comprehensive manual for educating employers on disability employment (Shenoy, 2011).

Chapter 3

Employment of Persons with Disabilities in India

Introduction

Ensuring employment for persons with disabilities (PWDs) is an important first step towards independent and decent living. Employment not only provides financial independence but also brings social esteem. As meagre as Rs. 500/- monthly pension offered by the state to the PWDs provides them a respectable place in the family (Reddy 2012). Assured income, whether through pension or employment, to any individual enhances the image in the family as well as in the community. This is more significant in the lives of the persons with disabilities. In this sense, a stable job that provides a decent income to those who are qualified can bring a significant change in the lives of PWDs. However, PWDs are unemployed or underemployed when compared to normal or able-bodied persons. This chapter aims at presenting an overview of the employment scenario of PWDs in the country.

Population of persons with disabilities in India

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 10 per cent of any given population is disabled (Elwan, 1999). The World Report on Disability published by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Bank in 2011 reveals that 15% of the world's population or one billion people are affected by disability. Of this, as many as 80% or 800 million people live in the global South which includes the nations of Africa, Central and Latin America, and most of Asia. Persons with disabilities also constitute 20% of the world's poorest individuals (Abidi and Sharma, 2014). The Census 2011 of India indicates that the prevalence of disabilities is more among scheduled castes and tribes than others (Reddy and Sree, 2015)

Kishor Bhanushali (2005) in his work on *Dimensions of Disability in India* illustrates the efforts of the state in recording the number of disabled in the country. He reports that the Census of India began collecting information on disability since its inception in 1872. The questionnaire of the 1872 Census, called the 'House Register' included questions on the physically disabled, the mentally disabled and persons affected

by leprosy. Data collection on infirmities was continued in the censuses from 1881 to 1931. However, due to the problems of authenticity and quality of data collected on disabled population, the enumeration of physically disabled persons was discontinued during the 1941 Census. It was felt that the question on disabled population did not lend themselves to a census enquiry since these did not seem to provide accurate data due to variety of reasons, particularly due to the social stigma attached with this characteristic. After a gap of 50 years or four decennial Censuses since 1931, a question on disabilities was again canvassed at the 1981 Census (Bhanushali, 2005).

1981 being the 'International Year for the Disabled' resulted in the inclusion of a question on disability during censuses the world over and in India too. However, the exercise was limited to the extent that data on only three broad categories of physical disabilities, i.e. totally blind, totally dumb and totally crippled was ascertained. The 1981 Census data reported considerable under enumeration of physically handicapped persons. Thus it was felt that simple census enumeration exercise does not help in identifying persons with disabilities. Based on the assumptions that the complexity of the definition of disability and inherent reservations of the population to share the information with the enumerator, it was felt that the enumeration of disability lies beyond the scope and capacity of Census Operations. Thus the census enumeration in 1991 did not focus on disability. However, as the disability rights movement started gaining ground across globe and with the obligation under the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act 1995, the question on disability was again incorporated in the census of India 2001 (Reddy and Sree 2015).

The two main official sources of nation-wide disability statistics has been the data of the Census and the NSS (National Sample Survey). According to the Census 2011, the total disabled population in India was 26,810,557 which constitute more than 2.2 per cent of total population.

Table: 3.1 Population of PWDs by Sex and Residence

Residence	Persons (percentage of PWDs to the total population)	Men (percentage of PWDs to the total population)	Women (percentage of PWDs to the total population)
Total	26,810,557 (2.21%)	14,986,202 (2.41%)	11,824,355 (2.01%)
Rural	18,631,921 (2.24)	10,408,168 (2.43)	8,223,753 (2.03%)
Urban	8,178,636 (2.17)	4,578,034 (2.34)	3,600,602 (1.98%)

Source: Census of India 2011

Population of PWDs by Type of Disability

Census 2011 was successful in including a set of questions to ascertain disability status. It had attempted to collect information on eight types of disabilities as against five types in Census 2001. It was designed to include all categories of disabled listed in the ‘Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995’ and ‘The National Trust Act, 1999’. In the Census 2011, the question was brought forward at Q-9, which otherwise was the Q-15 in the Census 2001. Table 3.2 presents data on persons with disabilities by the type of disability.

Table –3.2 Population of PWDs by type of Disability

Type of Disability	Persons (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
In Movement	5,436,604 (20.3)	3,370,374 (22.5)	2,066,230 (17.5)
In Hearing	5,071,007 (18.9)	2,677,544 (17.9)	2,393,463 (20.2)
In Seeing	5,032,463 (18.8)	2,638,516 (17.6)	2,393,947 (20.2)
Any other	4,927,011 (18.4)	2,727,828 (18.2)	2,199,183 (18.5)
Multiple Disability	2,116,487 (7.9)	1,162,604 (7.8)	953,883 (8.1)
In Speech	1,998,535 (7.5)	1,122,896 (7.5)	875,639 (7.4)
Mental Retardation	1,505,624 (5.6)	870,708 (5.8)	634,916 (5.4)
Mental Illness	722,826 (2.7)	415,732 (2.8)	307,094 (2.6)
Total	26,810,557 (100)	14,986,202 (100)	11,824,355 (100)

Source: Census of India 2011

Census 2011 data reveal that (see Table 3.2) majority of the persons with disabilities belong to locomotor disability (about 20.3%) category followed by hearing

impaired (about 18.9%) and visually challenged (about 18.8%). It is important to note that quite a significant number of PWDs (about 18.4%) are reported under any other category.

Participation of Persons with Disabilities in Labour Market

Access to work or livelihood is more important to persons with disabilities than others as it can alone help them overcome exclusion. However, employers view persons with disabilities as not fit, unproductive and unqualified. Statistics of employment of persons with disabilities are not available in many of the countries. For instance, survey conducted in 2003 by International Labour Organization (ILO) reveal that 16 out of 111 countries had no statistical data on employment of persons with disabilities (ILO, 2007). Moreover, the availability of data on disability is a major problem in the low and middle-income countries. And, it is very important to recognise that in many of the developing and under developed countries majority of the people work in unorganised or informal sector (Montes, 2002).

Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development report finds that employment rates for persons with disabilities in several countries are very low as compared with the overall population (See Table 3.3) with employment ratio varying from highs of 92% in Malawi and 81% in Switzerland to lows of 38% in Japan and 30% in South Africa (Philip, 2011).

Persons with disabilities are not considered as good human resource and are treated as burden to the organization. Hence, they are not considered as part of the general labour force. Therefore, available statistics on the unemployment status of persons with disabilities may not give full picture.

Table 3.3 Employment rates and ratio in select countries

Country	Year	Employment rate of people with disabilities (%)	Employment of overall population (%)	Employment ratio
Australia	2003	41.9	72.1	0.58
Austria	2003	43.4	68.1	0.64
Canada	2003	56.3	74.9	0.75
Germany	2003	46.1	64.8	0.71
India	2002	37.6	62.5	0.61
Japan	2003	22.7	59.4	0.38
Malawi	2003	42.7	46.2	0.92
Mexico	2003	47.2	60.1	0.79
Netherlands	2003	39.9	61.9	0.64
Norway	2003	61.7	81.4	0.76
Peru	2003	23.8	64.1	0.37
Poland	2003	20.8	63.9	0.33
South Africa	2006	12.4	41.1	0.30
Spain	2003	22.1	50.5	0.44
Switzerland	2003	62.2	76.6	0.81
United Kingdom	2003	38.9	68.6	0.57
USA	2005	38.1	73.2	0.52
Zambia	2005	45.5	56.5	0.81

Sources: Philip R. De Jong, 2011

World Health Survey 2002-2004 indicates that the employment rates are very low among persons with disabilities in 51 countries. Among the employed persons with disabilities, 52.8% were men and 19.6% were women, whereas among the non-disabled 64.9% were men, and 29.9% were women. Table 3.4 depicts the representation of employment rates among disabled and non-disabled (Philip, 2011).

**Table 3.4 Employment rates, proportion of disabled and not disabled respondents-
world**

Individuals	Percent					
	Low income countries		High income countries		All countries	
	Not disabled	Disabled	Not disabled	Disabled	Not disabled	Disabled
Male	71.2	58.6*	53.7	36.4*	64.9	52.8*
Female	31.5	20.1*	28.4	19.6*	29.9	19.6*
18 – 49	58.8	42.9*	54.7	35.2*	57.6	41.2*
50 – 59	62.9	43.5*	57.0	32.7*	60.9	40.2*
60 and over	38.1	15.1*	11.2	3.9*	26.8	10.4*

Source: World Health Survey 2002-2004, Geneva.

Note: * indicates that t-test results that significant difference from 'not disabled' at 5%.

Employment of persons with disabilities in India: Issues and concerns

While considering the employment situation of the persons with disabilities in the Indian perspective, certain major points are noticeable. Firstly, one may find plethora of public programmes to promote the employment of the persons with disabilities, though their impact has been quite negligible and mostly confined to urban areas (Karna 2008).

Secondly, private sector employment incentives for hiring the persons with disabilities are quite limited. Despite the fact that the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 has provided for private sector incentives policy with a target of 5 per cent of the private sector workforce being persons with disabilities, neither the Government of India nor State Governments have introduced a general incentives policy (though there is a specific new incentive provided for formal sector workers in the 2007- 2008 budget). During the fag end of 1990s, employment of persons with disabilities among larger private firms was only 0.3 per cent of their workforce. Among the multinational companies, the situation was far worse with only 0.05 per cent of their workforce being the persons with disabilities. One could, however, find a number of private and public sector firms with far better performance with regard to hiring the persons with disabilities.

Thirdly, public sector employment reservations have also yielded poor outcomes due to design and implementation problems. Fourthly, notwithstanding the fact that a financial assistance programme for entrepreneurs with disabilities is in place, the beneficiaries have been negligible so far. This could be corroborated by the fact that more than 11 years have passed since the establishment of the National Handicapped Finance Development Corporation (NHFDC) with the mandate of providing financial assistance to the disabled beneficiaries, the beneficiaries of the NHFDC scheme had percolated down to only 19,643 till 2005 (Hameedu and Shahul, 2014).

Fifthly, there cannot be denying the fact that a greater number of NGOs have become active in vocational training of the persons with disabilities and direct employment generation, but the majority of them without accreditation process. Sixthly, the Government of India provides vocational services to the persons with disabilities, but coverage is low and its impact not known. Seventhly, one may also find a national network of special employment exchanges for the persons with disabilities, but they have failed to play the desired role in promoting their employment. Though there are employment exchanges in State capitals, the link between employment exchanges and establishments in the private sector is weak. Consequently, the job placement ratio is quite abysmal for both special and other exchanges, 0.9 per cent and 0.7 per cent of registered persons with disabilities respectively in 2003, has roughly halved over the past decade. The downward trend is indicative of shrinking job avenues in the public sector as also general failure of employment exchanges to reach out to the private employers. Lastly, low educational attainment, poor employment prospects and stigma also suggest that the persons with disabilities and their households are notably worse off than average (ibid).

Major findings of the report submitted by Karna (2008) on behalf of the Society for Disability and Rehabilitation Studies in 2008 on *“Employment of Persons with Disabilities in Public Sectors in India Emerging Issues and Trends--An Evaluation Study with Special Reference to Persons with Disabilities Act (1995)”*, Commissioned by Planning Commission, Government of India are that:

- Only 58.7% of the target groups with disabilities are aware of their employment rights

- 37.8% opined that the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 is most effective for empowering the persons with disabilities.
- The respondents were not aware of others like Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992 or National Trust for Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act, 1999 or Mental Health Act, 1987, etc.
- 96.5% said it is not being observed as per stated guidelines of the Act. Only 14 respondents across States were of the view that the quota was being observed
- The extent of implementation opinion level of the respondents varied across States and respondents. Close discussions with the disabled beneficiaries revealed that their organizations have nominal number of the disabled employees.
- More than 31% of the respondents stated that the percentage of disabled employees in their respective organization was below 2%.
- The major source of information about the job reservation quota for the disabled is the employment exchange (38%) followed by Television (21.5%)
- The persons with disabilities find difficult to find a job because their disability comes in the way of their functioning. But here in this study it was revealed that majority of the respondents had got the job under reservation quota for the disabled within a year's time.
- 80% of the respondents stated that they got the employment within 1 year of applying for the job. 90% of the disabled employees were in their respective profession for more than 5 years.

The study revealed that the hindrances in the implementation of 3% reservation quota are:

- Discriminatory attitude of society
- Paternalistic attitude of society
- Lack of literacy
- Lack of social awareness
- Lack of political and administrative will power
- The target of 3 per cent reservation does not have a gender dimension.
- 97.8% disabled respondents affirmed that the reservation provision for women was the same

- The respondents were by and large convinced by the selection process adopted for selecting the employees. More than 95% stated it to be fair.
- 43% of the sample disabled respondents were satisfied with the adequacy of the reservation quota, whereas 57% stated it to be insufficient.
- Majority of the respondents, 56.5%, felt that the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 had some impact in empowering people with disabilities. More than 93% maintained that there is no provision of training courses offered by the organizations for the capacity building, especially for the persons with disabilities.
- 83.2% disabled target respondents have not acquired any vocational training-whether from department or otherwise (ibid).

A Committee set up by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment/Government of India made an in depth study of the various jobs done in Government Departments/ Ministries as well as Public Sector Undertakings and identified 1100 posts out of 3000 posts listed in the National Classification of Occupations as suitable for the persons with disabilities. For the first time the Committee had also identified the physical requirements for all these jobs.

In giving jobs to persons with disabilities, the Government of India has announced certain other concessions which are as follows:

- Disabled persons who are otherwise qualified to hold clerical posts and who are certified as being unable to type by the Medical Board or a Civil Surgeon where there is no such board, have been exempted from typing qualification.
- Disabled persons have been granted relaxation in upper age limit up to 10 years for appointment to the clerical and subordinate cadre posts.
- All persons with disabilities can be given posting near their places of residence, subject to administrative constraints. The ban on recruitment has been relaxed in favour of identified posts to be filled by the disabled people.
- Disabled persons are exempted from payment of application and examination fee prescribed for the recruitment of clerical posts and other cadres in Public Sector Banks and Financial Institutions, though this is not followed by plethora of organizations.

- Disabled persons are not to be subjected to the usual medical examination by the appointing authorities but their physical fitness should be decided on the basis of the report of the Medical Boards attached to the Special Employment Exchanges for the Physically Handicapped for their recruitment to group 'C' and 'D' posts. The appointing authorities and the Medical Boards have to view the cases of persons with disabilities with utmost sympathy while considering them for appointment. Further Group 'C' and 'D' employees found medically unfit for the post s/he is holding and from which s/he is proposed to be discharged or has been discharged may, wherever practicable, be considered for another identical equivalent post for which s/he may be found suitable against direct recruitment quota without insisting on the condition of appointment through the employment exchange.
- Persons with disabilities are not to be denied promotions on medical grounds, if they are otherwise fit for promotion and can discharge the duties satisfactorily (Karna 2008).

The story of economic empowerment of persons with disabilities in India started in the year 1977 when the then Prime Minister of India passed a Government Order mandating a 3% reservation for persons with disabilities in government jobs (Abidi and Sharma, 2014). Although it was a good beginning, but there were so many downsides, for instance it was only a Government Order and not a law, so the level of implementation was dismal and similarly, this reservation was only for few sections such as C & D category jobs.

Government jobs in India are graded as A, B, C, and D, where A and B are officer-level positions and C and D are lower level jobs. This clearly indicates that Government Order of 1977 thus assumed that persons with disabilities were unfit to become executives or officers. Another important point we need to keep in mind is that whatever reservation they provided was for only three dominant disabilities— 1% each for individuals with orthopaedic, visual and hearing impairments (Abidi and Sharma, 2014).

In the year 1995, India passed its first disability legislation i.e. Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995.

With this Act, the 3% reservation for persons with disabilities in government jobs became legally binding. Moreover, reservations were extended to A and B category (officers as well). Abidi and Sharma (2014) observe that there are several major drawbacks in the Act. Some of which are:

- Restriction of the 3% reservation to the three dominant disabilities (orthopaedic, visual, and hearing),
- Tardy implementation of the 3% reservations in the private sector jobs which are more in number when compared to the government sector.
- Poor implementation of the 3% reservation is in the government jobs.

In 1996 National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled Persons (NCPEDP) was set up to work as an interface between Government, Industry, International Agencies, and the Voluntary Sector towards promotion of better employment opportunities for persons with disabilities. This created a paradigm shift as it broadened the thinking of officials beyond basket weaving and candle making. In addition, there was new emphasis on development of jobs in the private sector. In 1999, NCPEDP (National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People) conducted a survey in the top 100 companies in India, which include 23 public sector companies, 63 private sector companies and 14 multi-national companies (MNCs). Of this, 70 companies responded to the survey, which include 20 public sector companies, 40 private sector companies, and 10 MNCs. Survey results suggest that:

- Percentage of employees with disabilities in the respondent companies is 0.40%
- Percentage of employees with disabilities in the public sector is 0.54%
- Percentage of employees with disabilities in the private sector is 0.28%
- Percentage of employees with disabilities in the multi-nationals is 0.05%

For monitoring and evaluating the PWD Act 1995, NCPEDP conducted a similar follow-up study in the year 2009. The study report reveals that the percentage of employment among persons with disabilities increased, however, negligibly. For instance the findings of the study reveal that the percentage of employees with disabilities in the surveyed companies in the public sector, on an average, was between 1% and 2% and in the private sector, (which included the MNCs) was between 0.5% and 1% (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, 2012).

It is suggested that on an average, about 3,500 persons with disabilities are placed through employment exchanges every year and some are being placed through other sources, including competitive exams, advertisements, etc. (Ministry of Labour & Employment, 2010). Similarly, in the private sector, particularly in the information technology (IT) and hospitality industry, several companies have started proactively hiring persons with disabilities. According to Rama Chari, Founder and Director of Bangalore-based Diversity and Equal Opportunity Centre (DEOC), the situation is slightly better than what it was about 8 to 10 years ago as there has been an increase in the job opportunities in IT and hospitality sectors in the last decade (Abidi and Sharma, 2014).

The following section presents the Census 2011 data on employment pattern among persons with disabled in the country. Census collects data on employment along three categories, namely, main workers, marginal workers and non-workers. The Census of India defines these categories as.

Main workers are those who had worked for the major part of the year preceding the date of enumeration i.e. those who were engaged in any economically productive activity for 183 days (or six months) or more during the year.

Marginal workers are those who worked any time in the year preceding the enumeration but did not work for a major part of the year, i.e. those who worked for less than 183 days (or six months).

Non-workers are those who had not worked any time at all in the year preceding the date of enumeration.

Census 2011 data suggest that only about 26 percent of the total number of persons with disabilities is main workers, while a large majority i.e. about 64 percent is non-workers. (see Table 3.5). More number of main workers in the urban areas indicates that these disabled were engaged, to a large extent, in service sectors. This may be attributed to the general trend in favour of increasing urbanization and the addition of new towns in the country (2,772 were added between 2001 and 2011). (Reddy and Sree 2015: 65). Significantly, out of 69,82,009 total disabled main workers, men were about 54,64,857 and women were only 15,17,152. In other words, women main workers

constitute a meagre 21.8 per cent of the total disabled main workers. This presents the poor status of employment among women with disabilities in the country. Majority of the women with disabilities are excluded from the main workforce due to gender and impairment stereotypes. Act of guilt or shame among women with disabilities may also force them to stay away from public. Another factor associated with women with disabilities is that there may be a mismatch between the skills required for the employment and the skills possessed by women with disabilities. Majority of the women with disabilities lack basic education.

Table –3.5: Population of PWDs along the categories of Main Workers, Marginal Workers and Non-Workers by Gender and area of living

Type of workers	Disabled Population (%)			Rural Disabled Population (%)			Urban Disabled Population (%)		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Main Workers	6982009 (26.0)	5464857 (36.5)	1517152 (12.8)	4709176 (25.3)	3600720 (34.6)	1108456 (13.5)	2272833 (27.8)	1864137 (40.7)	408696 (11.4)
Marginal Workers	2762377 (10.3)	1607968 (10.7)	1154409 (9.8)	2294944 (12.3)	1311292 (12.6)	983652 (12.0)	467433 (5.7)	296676 (6.5)	170757 (4.7)
Non-Workers	17070608 (63.7)	7915768 (52.8)	9154840 (77.4)	11632238 (62.4)	5498547 (52.8)	6133691 (74.6)	5438370 (66.5)	2417221 (52.8)	3021149 (83.9)

Source: Census of India 2011

Census 2011 data on persons with disabilities along the type of disabilities suggest that about 21.6 per cent of the total disabled main workers belong to locomotor disability category. This is followed by PWDs under main workers belonging to any other category (about 21 percent), about 20.9 percent belonging to hearing impairment and about 19 percent belonging to visual impairment. Persons belonging to certain categories of impairment like speech impairment, mental illness and mental disabilities report negligible share in the total main workers of PWDs in the country (see Table 3.6). Data also suggest that about 67 percent of the main PWDs workers live in rural areas and about 33 percent live in urban areas.

Table –3.6: Main Workers

Type of Disability	Disabled Population (%)			Rural Disabled Population (%)			Urban Disabled Population (%)		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Visual impairment	1346788 (19.3)	1045667 (19.1)	301121 (19.8)	893906 (19.0)	674495 (18.7)	219411 (19.8)	452882 (19.9)	371172 (19.9)	81710 (20.0)
Speech impairment	643201 (9.2)	487333 (8.9)	155868 (10.3)	408828 (8.7)	297673 (8.3)	111155 (10.0)	234373 (10.3)	189660 (10.2)	44713 (10.9)
Hearing impairment	1457022 (20.9)	1117992 (20.5)	339030 (22.3)	952179 (20.2)	707710 (19.7)	244469 (22.1)	504843 (22.2)	410282 (22.0)	94561 (23.1)
Mobility impairment	1505558 (21.6)	1248012 (22.8)	257546 (17.0)	1076279 (22.9)	883332 (24.5)	192947 (17.4)	429279 (18.9)	364680 (19.6)	64599 (15.8)
Mental retardation	210280 (3.0)	163123 (3.0)	47157 (3.1)	149442 (3.2)	113179 (3.1)	36263 (3.3)	60838 (2.7)	49944 (2.7)	10894 (2.7)
Mental illness	95053 (1.0)	74464 (1.4)	20589 (1.4)	71207 (1.5)	54628 (1.5)	16579 (1.5)	23846 (1.0)	19836 (1.1)	4010 (1.0)
Any other	1470110 (21.0)	1130328 (20.7)	339782 (22.4)	971247 (20.6)	727541 (20.2)	243706 (22.0)	498863 (21.9)	402787 (21.6)	96076 (23.5)
Multiple disabilities	253997 (4.0)	197938 (3.6)	56059 (3.7)	186088 (4.0)	142162 (3.9)	43926 (4.0)	67909 (3.0)	55776 (3.0)	12133 (3.0)
Total	6982009	54648577 (100)	1517152 (100)	4709176 (100)	3600720 (100)	1108456 (100)	2272833 (100)	1864137 (100)	408696 (100)

Source: Census of India 2011

Data on marginal workers among the PWDs suggests that out of a total of 27,62,377 marginal disabled workers in the country, about 83 per cent work in rural areas whereas only 17 per work in urban areas (refer Table 3.7). Based on the types of disability it may be inferred from Table 3.7 that about 21.9 per cent of the total disabled marginal workers belong to hearing impairment. This is followed by PWDs under

marginal workers belonging to any other category (about 20.9 percent), about 19.7 percent belonging to visual impairment and about 19.2 percent belonging to locomotor disability category. Data also suggest that about 83 percent of the marginal PWDs workers live in rural areas and about 17 percent live in urban areas.

Table 3.7: Marginal Workers

Type of Disability	Disabled Population (%)			Rural Disabled Population (%)			Urban Disabled Population (%)		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Visual impairment	545131 (19.7)	300367 (18.7)	244764 (21.2)	458715 (20.0)	247461 (18.9)	211254 (21.5)	86416 (18.5)	52906 (17.8)	33510 (19.6)
Speech impairment	196057 (7.1)	112846 (7.0)	83211 (7.2)	158021 (6.9)	88879 (6.8)	69142 (7.0)	38036 (8.1)	23967 (8.1)	14069 (8.2)
Hearing impairment	605036 (21.9)	326091 (20.3)	278945 (24.2)	491072 (21.4)	258832 (19.7)	232240 (23.6)	11396 (24.4)	67259 (22.7)	46705 (27.4)
Mobility impairment	529318 (19.2)	353123 (22.0)	176195 (15.3)	458971 (20.0)	301010 (23.0)	157961 (16.1)	70347 (15.0)	52113 (17.6)	18234 (10.7)
Mental retardation	112005 (4.1)	69175 (4.3)	42830 (3.7)	95679 (4.2)	58162 (4.4)	37517 (3.8)	16326 (3.5)	11013 (3.7)	5313 (3.1)
Mental illness	59481 (2.2)	37409 (2.3)	22072 (1.9)	50525 (2.2)	30894 (2.4)	19631 (2.0)	8956 (1.9)	6515 (2.2)	2441 (1.4)
Any other	576876 (20.9)	326385 (20.3)	250491 (21.7)	462573 (20.2)	256404 (19.6)	206169 (21.0)	11430 (24.5)	69981 (23.6)	44322 (26.0)
Multiple disabilities	138473 (5.0)	82572 (5.1)	55901 (4.8)	119388 (5.2)	69650 (5.3)	49738 (5.1)	19085 (4.1)	12922 (4.4)	6163 (3.6)
Total	2762377 (100)	1607968 (100)	1154409 (100)	2294944 (100)	1311292 (100)	983652 (100)	467433 (100)	296676 (100)	170757 (100)

Source: Census of India 2011

Data on non-workers among PWDs suggest that out of a total 1,70,70,608 disabled non-workers in the country, nearly 68 percent live in rural areas whereas 32 percent live in urban areas (Table 3.8). This suggests that a majority of the unemployed

disabled live in rural areas. The reason attributed to the majority of unemployed disabled living in urban areas is that there is a huge mismatch between required skills necessary for employment among persons with disabilities living in rural areas. Based on the types of disability it may be inferred from Table 3.8 that about 19.9 per cent of the total disabled non-workers belong to locomotor disability. This is followed by PWDs under non-workers belonging to visual impairment (about 18.4 percent) and about 17.6 percent belonging to hearing impairment.

Table 3.8: Non – Workers

Type of Disability	Disabled Population (%)			Rural Disabled Population (%)			Urban Disabled Population (%)		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Visual impairment	3141512 (18.4)	1292994 (16.3)	1848518 (20.2)	2150937 (18.5)	899492 (16.4)	1251455 (20.4)	990575 (18.2)	393502 (16.3)	597073 (19.8)
Speech impairment	1159434 (6.8)	522808 (6.6)	636626 (7.0)	737091 (6.3)	348446 (6.3)	388645 (6.3)	422343 (7.8)	174362 (7.2)	247981 (8.2)
Hearing impairment	3010856 (17.6)	1234501 (15.6)	1776355 (19.4)	1950477 (16.8)	817884 (14.9)	1132593 (18.5)	1060379 (19.5)	416617 (17.2)	643762 (21.3)
Mobility impairment	3401950 (19.9)	1769366 (22.4)	1632584 (17.8)	2500491 (21.5)	1319187 (24.0)	1181304 (19.3)	901459 (16.6)	450179 (18.6)	451280 (14.9)
Mental retardation	1183679 (6.9)	638600 (8.1)	545079 (6.0)	780779 (6.7)	420257 (7.6)	360522 (5.9)	402900 (7.4)	218343 (9.0)	184557 (6.1)
Mental illness	568346 (3.3)	303885 (3.8)	264461 (2.9)	374148 (3.2)	197936 (3.6)	176212 (2.9)	194198 (3.6)	105949 (4.4)	88249 (2.9)
Any other	2880603 (16.9)	1271412 (16.1)	1609191 (17.6)	1859287 (16.0)	843936 (15.3)	1015351 (16.6)	1021316 (18.8)	427476 (17.7)	593840 (19.7)
Multiple disabilities	1724228 (10.1)	882202 (11.1)	842026 (9.2)	1279028 (11.0)	651409 (11.8)	627619 (10.2)	445200 (8.2)	230793 (9.5)	214407 (7.1)
Total	17070608 (100)	7915768 (100)	9154840 (100)	11632238 (100)	5498547 (100)	6133691 (100)	5438370 (100)	2417221 (100)	3021149 (100)

Source: Census of India 2011

Importance of employment to persons with disabilities

Employment is important to all, including persons with disabilities. Without a paid job economic independence and social inclusion are unlikely to be achieved. Further, active participation in social and economic activities leads to increase in self-worth

(O'Day and Killeen, 2002). Lack of employment not only causes social exclusion but also results in low self-worth and makes the individual to feel himself/herself as a burden to the family and society. Unemployment based ill health, depression, anxiety and symptoms of disorder were found greater in persons with disabilities than in non-disabled persons (Linn, Richard and Shayana, 1985). It is also suggested that those who are employed are healthy, independent and enjoying the benefits of direct income.

A United Nations (UN, 2006) report examined the relationship between employment, poverty and growth. This report acknowledges the significance of employment for poverty eradication. It also highlights the issues and challenges of employment opportunities for persons with disabilities. It states that the persons with disabilities are often discriminated by in the labour market and as a consequence their unemployment rate is high. Further, a study by Barnes (1991) reveals that persons with disabilities are not only affected by individual or societal discrimination but also due to institutional discrimination, i.e. 'they face difficulties due to complex system of ill-disposed environment at the workplace'.

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2007) estimates, the population of persons with disabilities in the world is between 600 and 650 million. Out of them, around 470 million are in the working age and, however, most of them are unemployed. It indicates high unemployment rate among persons with disabilities. If persons with disabilities have to overcome social exclusion, they must have access to education, training and inclusive work environment. This helps them to come out of poverty (Yeo and Moore, 2003). The ILO study (2007) indicates that the participation of persons with disabilities not only helps in increasing labour market, but also helps in maximising human resources.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) works to promote and protect the rights of persons with disabilities. Article 27 of this Convention explicitly states that persons with disabilities have the right to work like any other individual in the society (UN, 2006). Further it also works to promote access to vocational training, making reasonable accommodation in workplace and prohibits discrimination at workplace. In 2007, the UNCRPD adopted a new provision in Article 27 which emphasises on promoting decent work for persons with disabilities. As a

consequence of this particular provision many countries enacted legislations to protect the rights of persons with disabilities and promoted their participation in the labour market.

Disability and Education

Education and training skills are very significant and central to good and productive work for getting a reasonable income and livelihood opportunity. However, most of the persons with disabilities often lack access to proper education or training to develop their skills (World Bank, 2009). Hence, the disparity in access to formal education between PWDs and Non-PWDs is ever-increasing.

Since education is viewed as an instrument of social change, social mobility, equality and integration, the Government of India decided to give equal education opportunities to persons with disabilities. In order to achieve this aim, the Government of India has enacted three legislations for persons with disabilities. Among them, Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 is an important legislation. It is also meant to provide education, employment, creation of barrier free environment, social security, etc. The Act also states that free and compulsory education has to be provided to all children with disabilities up to the age of 18 years. All these policies brought about significant changes to provide more educational opportunities to children with disabilities at regular schools, as well as in the enrolment of students with disabilities in higher education institutions.

The government of India has taken many initiatives towards the education of children with disabilities effecting changes in the educational structures and systems. Following is the list of enactments, schemes and policies taken by the government to protect and promote access to education for children with disabilities (Kauts and Bhardwaj, 2012).

Constitutional safeguards

- Article 41, Directive Principles of State of Policy
- Article 45, the Constitutions (86th Amendment) Act, 2002
- Kothari Commission (1964-66)
- National Policy on Education (NPE) – 1996
- Integrated Education of Disabled Children (IEDC) – 1982

- Rehabilitation Council of India Act – 1992
- Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995
- National Trust Act – 1999
- Project for Integrated Education for the Disabled (PIED) – 1987
- District Primary Education Programme – 1994
- The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) – 2000-01
- The Right to Education Act, 2009

The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights, and Full Participation) Act of 1995 mandated 3% reservation in government jobs for persons with disabilities. Similarly, it also mandates 3% reservation for students with disabilities, such as, orthopaedic, visual and hearing impairment in educational institutions. In 2003, National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People (NCPEDP) conducted a survey to understand the impact of government education policies for the students with disabilities in the schools, colleges, and universities across India. The survey questionnaire was sent to 322 universities, 294 colleges, (10 colleges in each State and 1 from each welfare association territory) and 318 schools (10 schools from each State and 5 for each Welfare association Territory). Of this sample, 119 universities, 96 colleges, and 89 schools responded (about 46%).

The findings of the survey suggest that:

- The percentage of students with disabilities in the surveyed universities is 0.10%
- The percentage of students with disabilities in the surveyed colleges is 0.52%
- The percentage of students with disabilities in the surveyed schools is 0.51%

The findings of the study show that very few students with disabilities reached schools and colleges, and even fewer to the universities. NCPEDP conducted a similar survey in 2010-2011 in more than 300 top universities/colleges across India. This included the top 20 colleges, medical sciences, engineering, law, journalism, management, and so on. More than 150 institutions responded (Abidi and Sharma, 2014). However, the average rate of students with disabilities in the surveyed colleges/universities was less than 1%. Added to this is the fact that many schools are not equipped to cater to the special needs of the disabled because of lack of infrastructure,

accessibility and availability of special instructors. Even in States with good educational indicators and high overall enrolments, a significant share of ‘out of school children’ is those with disabilities. Data also indicates that across all levels of severity, children with disabilities very rarely progress beyond primary school (Shenoy, 2011). For getting employment, education is very essential for any individual, especially for persons with disabilities. But the findings of these studies reveal a very poor educational status of persons with disabilities.

Studies of Duhaney and Salend (2000) and Palmer, et. al. (2001) report the successful initiatives of the South African education institutions towards inclusive education. The findings of the studies suggest that the goal of inclusive education can be achieved by providing quality education for all learners within the mainstream of education. The international affirmative action and policy documents lay considerable emphasis on the rights of all children and young people to have equal access to education (Komana, 2006). However, the operationalisation of inclusive education is hampered by many problems in spite of progressive policies (Prinsloo, 2001). It is suggested that parents and community in developing countries are not making adequate and responsible contributions to the process of inclusive education. Kromberg, Zwane and Jenkins (1987) indicate that shame is also a reason for keeping children with disabilities away from the public.

The study conducted by Anderson et. al. (2003) indicates that children with disabilities face various problems including refusal of school administration to admit children with disabilities; problems with transportation of the child, lack of special arrangements or attention which could not be provided by the school due to the non-availability or limited human and material resources. The study conducted by Gaigher, Lund and Makuya (2002) suggests that health professionals, parents, teachers and school management must play an important role to enhance inclusiveness.

Disability and Gender

The experience of disability varies according to nature of impairment, culture, ethnicity, age, class, and gender (Acharya, 2012). It is argued that both disability and gender are physical constructs that totally ignore the personhood. The experiences of persons with disabilities are determined by society’s attitudes and perceptions of

disability. For instance, to be a disabled person is to fail to measure up to the general cultural definition of masculinity as strength, physical ability and autonomy whereas to be a disabled woman is to be considered unable to fulfil the role of home care taker, wife and also a mother. Further, she is unable to conform to the stereotype of beauty and femininity in terms of physical appearance (ibid). Being disabled, women face many stereotypes and have to depend on their husbands and care takers in the family. Thus gender and disability combine to create a situation of double jeopardy where physical impairment can have a profound impact on women and her ability to carry out traditional or non-traditional gender roles.

According to the Census 2011, there are 44 per cent of women with disabilities of total disabled population. Women with disabilities when compared to their men counterparts are in a more vulnerable position. They require protection against exploitation and abuse. They have been struggling to get their basic rights (National Commission for Women, Govt. of India). The women's rights movement itself is in its initial stages. Women are fighting all the stereotypes that have been ingrained in the national psyche. Since education and vocational training are seen as investments for high-value employment, a woman is less likely to have the opportunity to receive them. However, the general attitude is still that a disabled woman has little hope of becoming a wife or a mother, or of getting a productive and rewarding job. Thus, the normal tendency among lay people is to visualize women with disabilities as a burden on family, society or the state – a dependent for the rest of her life.

In India, women with disabilities live with discrimination of greater magnitude when compared to their male counterparts (Chand 2014). Mehrotra (2006), in a study of disabled women in rural Haryana, observes that disability becomes as an additional burden on the gendered position, demanding them to cope with twin identities – women and impaired. Anita Ghai (2002), highlighting the deep rooted social discrimination against the impaired women, observes that 'for poor families with a hand-to-mouth existence the birth of a disabled child or the onset of significant impairment in childhood is a fate worse than death'. Quoting a Hindi phrase *ek to ladki oopar se apaahij* (which means 'one, a girl and that too disabled') to highlight the discrimination against disabled women. Ghai (2002) maintains that in a culture where a daughter is considered a curse, a disabled daughter is considered as a fate worse than death. Attempting to expose the

social stereotypes that operate against the disabled women, Ghai presents the anguish of a mother of a disabled girl in her own words “*wasn’t it enough that we are poor and helpless. Why did God have to add to our burden by giving me a daughter and that too, blind?*” (Ghai, 2002, as quoted in Reddy, 2012).

The disabled women comprise one of the most neglected, if not almost totally ignored, segment of the population. The oppression and discrimination are equated with other forms of discrimination based on gender, race, caste and class. In fact, disability as a form of discrimination and oppression cuts across all other forms of discrimination and assumes magnifying proportions. For instance, if impairment is considered as a disadvantage, an impaired woman is considered to have a double disadvantage and if she belongs to a deprived caste she then is considered to possess triple disadvantage (Reddy, 2012).

It is important to note that cultural stereotypes play a greater role in the marital prospects of persons with disabilities in India. Interestingly, Klasing’s (2007) study while reporting a high incidence of marriage among disabled women respondents’ states that traditional norms in villages impel the parents of the disabled girls to get their daughter married. A girl’s life is perceived as ruined or incomplete in the Indian society if she remains a spinster all her life. The ‘societal perception of marriage as the final responsibility of the parents toward their daughters leads some parents to resort to any means, fair or foul, to find them husbands’ (Klasing 2007). In the process, the parents make many compromises ranging from marrying their daughter to older person, widowed, or as a second wife to offering exorbitant amounts of dowry. Even if disabled women do get married, however, the marriage always remains precarious (Chand 2014).

The World Report on Disability (WHO, 2011) for 51 countries shows that employment rates stand at 52.8 percent for men with disabilities and 19.6 percent for women with disabilities, compared with 64.9 percent for non-disabled men and 29.9 percent for non-disabled women. Although the employment rate is lower for persons with disabilities, the case is more serious for women with disabilities. This lower rate of employment for women with disabilities can be attributed to factors such as dual discrimination, faced by an individual first as a woman and second as a woman with disabilities. Also, regardless of disability status, women might experience an additional

life change of marriage and childbirth, leading to a tendency for employment transition after childbirth and maternity leave. A study by O'Hara (2004) shows that combining gender and disability discrimination, the barrier of wage discrimination may confront women more often and more severely than other impediments to work. Persons with disabilities might also receive lower wages than their non-disabled counterparts for reasons such as less education and less occupational experience. For women, this is double the case. As a result of these persistent barriers, they are more likely to experience unemployment and may make choices to find lower paying jobs than persons without disabilities (Lamichhane, 2015).

Thus, women with disabilities are the most marginalized. Especially, in developing country like India, girls with disability are excluded from education, because of the gender and impairment stereotypes (American India Foundation, 2014). Similarly, they have far greater difficulty—in public and private sphere – access to housing, health, education, vocational training and employment. Moreover, they experience inequality in living, access to credit, and rarely participate in economic decision making. According to the World Health Organization (WHO 2011) report on disability, lower labour market participation is one of the main pathways through which disability leads to poverty.

Barriers to entry into the labour market

Persons with disabilities are marginalized in the labour market. Their lack of access to education and training and to financial resources is responsible for their exclusion from the labour market. Besides, physical and attitudinal barriers also significantly affect the entry of persons with disabilities in to the labour market. A number of factors impact labour market outcomes for disabled people, including the perceived difference in productivity between people with and without disabilities; labour market imperfections related to discrimination and prejudice and disincentives arising from disability benefits.

Physical and attitudinal barriers

The term physical barriers refer to all infrastructures such as buildings, roads, public transport system and many more. According to Arthur and Zarb (1995) physical environment refers to the working environment in organization and the surrounding

places, such as entrances, ramps and parking bays. Access to physical environment in the employment situation is very important for persons with disabilities. Therefore, in the work organization, the physical environment includes all offices, equipments and furniture that form part of the individual's workstation and other physical access which a person with disabilities uses in his/her day-to-day activities.

The findings of the study by Annold, Cooper and Robertson (1995), suggest that disabled workers are sometimes stigmatised in the work environment mainly by the non-disabled workers. They argue that the technological advances enhance the competencies of disabled workers as per their special needs e.g. the deaf, blind and visually-impaired. The disabled workers who don't have access to advanced technologies found to be more affected by the negative attitude of employers. These findings are similar to the study conducted by Spicker (1994) which shows that persons with disabilities are most stigmatised people, as they sometimes feel that they are not completely accepted by their employers as capable or responsible workers.

Arthur and Zarb's (1995) study suggests that employers have to take the responsibility to create disabled friendly environment in the work place. The degree to which environment has to be altered depends on the attitudes of and awareness of employers towards the barriers faced by the employees with disabilities. Blanck (1998) states that for making modifications and providing assistive technologies, costs incurred to be justified, based on the benefits and value to the employer which should normally exceed the cost of modification. Ramage's (1999) study suggests that the elimination of physical environment barriers is being made easier with the advent of new technologies and information technology. However, this advanced technology is not always a viable option for all employers because of its high cost.

Another important hindering factor which is highlighted by a majority of the research studies is discrimination in the workplace. Stereotypes and negative attitudes of employers of persons with disabilities are considered as the biggest hindering factor affecting the morale of employees with disabilities. The working conditions of employees with disabilities depend on the attitudes of employers in their particular organization. In most of the cases employers underestimate or view persons with disabilities as extra burden and incapable of performing functions which are considered as normal. According

to the Code of Good Practice (2002), in industrialised countries, those employees who became disabled in the course of their employment will be replaced with able-bodied persons. This is mainly due to the fact that unavailability of retaining strategies for persons with disabilities in the workplace. Thus, these people would be removed or given early retirement packages and left to rot at their homes with their skills and potential (Code of Good Practice, 2002).

Possibility of mismatch between what a job requires and a disabled person's actual potential/ability can render the person less productive or completely unproductive. For instance, a person with visual impairment might find it difficult to operate a crane but face no impediment to productivity as a telephone operator. Due to functional limitations and disabling barriers, disabled people, especially those with severe impairments such as visual and physical impairments, experience difficulty in effectively engaging in sectors such as physical labour or blue-collar work (Lamichhane, 2015).

Misconceptions about the ability of disabled individuals to perform jobs could also be the reason for unemployment of persons with disabilities (Baldwin and Johnson, 1994). Such kinds of attitudes are the result of prejudice or from the false belief that disabled people are considered to be less productive than their non-disabled counterparts. Misconceptions are often prevalent not only among non-disabled employers but also among family members and, on occasions, disabled people themselves (different impairments elicit different degrees of prejudice) (Hameedu and Shahul. 2014).

Because of their impairments, most disabled people face negative perceptions and treatment from the people around them, and this tendency is even more pronounced in developing countries. Gradually, as a result, persons with disabilities accustom themselves to negative words and treatment, which discourage them to think of doing something, which ultimately leads to low self-esteem.

Low Wages

Persons with disabilities, if employed, generally earn fewer wages than persons without disabilities, mainly due to lack of physical and environment support. And women with disabilities earn less than men with disabilities. Thus, the wage disparity between men and women with and without disabilities are significant in employment rates. Kidd,

Slonne and Ferko (2000) report that in Britain and Ireland there are differences in employment participation rates among disabled and non-disabled.

A study conducted by Baldwin and Johnson (1994) in the United States indicates that persons with disabilities are affected with discrimination, with less employment opportunities. The study of Johnson and Lambrinos (1985) reveal that wages for women with disabilities are 51.4 per cent of what women without disabilities get. It may be said that women with disabilities are not only affected with disability-based discrimination, but also gender-based discrimination. It may also be said that securing employment for persons with disabilities is difficult not just in the developing countries but also in the developed world.

Johnson and Lambrinos (1985) further state that discrimination limits job opportunities, such that firms employing workers with severe impairments can exploit them through less frequent promotion and lower pay increases than people without disabilities. This implies that wage disparity increases with the duration of employment. Even if people with disabilities are employed, in many cases, they earn less than their counterparts without disabilities.

Conclusion

Employment is a potential tool to improve a person's social status which in turn leads to opening up of opportunities, building new relationships and to improve person's self-esteem in the society. Employment is equally important to all people – without it, social inclusion and economic independence are unlikely to be achieved. Among the crucial social functions that employment can facilitate are financial independence and social inclusion. It has also been found to improve social status, provide social support and enable workers to make a contribution, thereby leading to an increase in self-worth (O'Day and Killeen, 2002 cited in Lamichhane, 2015).

The 2005 UN report highlights the issue of employment of PWDs, stating that they often face discriminatory treatment in the labour market and that their unemployment rate is consequently relatively high. The level of unemployment of persons with disabilities is higher in different parts of the world than that of their counterparts without disabilities. In a capitalist labour market, persons with disabilities

are excluded from employment or underemployment receives low wages than their counterparts (Russell, 2011 cited in Lamichhane, 2015).

This chapter illustrated that in India persons with disabilities are significantly under-employed when compared to the able-bodied population. This chapter also examined the employment situation of persons with disabilities and also the reasons for the high rate of unemployment in terms of the barriers which persons with disabilities face in employment.

Chapter 4

EMPLOYEES WITH DISABILITIES AT ILC: EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

The present thesis is based on the research study carried out in Ideal Limited Company (ILC) located in Hyderabad. ILC is one of the largest public sector units (PSU) in the country. ILC was chosen for the study because a) it is a PSU which works under the direct control of the central government. Hence it has to follow the constitutional safeguards for the disabled, b) it is one of the few successfully functioning PSUs in the country, c) it has a huge work force thus having considerable number of EWDs on its rolls.

Data were collected in 2013-14 through personal interactions with the employees with disabilities (EWDs) in the ILC. They were approached during the working hours and sometimes after the working hours. Initial contacts with few EWDs were developed through acquaintances, who, in turn, during the course of data collection, referred to other EWDs. Data were also collected from the immediate superiors and colleagues of EWDs. Data were collected using the interview schedules developed for EWDs and their superiors separately. The respondents were approached independently for most part during which through long conversations data were collected. Besides, the respondents were also consulted in groups, particularly when they assemble for meetings, and on occasions of importance in the organization. Apart from relying on the interview schedules data were collected through observation of the daily routine of the employees of the organization in general and EWDs in particular. Interaction and engagement with the field site for a considerable period, i.e. for nearly twelve months, yielded rich data. Casual conversations with employees, participation in their association meetings, long telephonic conversations with EWDs and their family members provided rich insights into the issues of disabled in the formal organization. In this chapter the first part presents the profile of the ILC throwing light on the industrial activities it is engaged successfully for the past five decades and the second part discusses the data collected from field. Here the socio-economic profile of the respondents is described.

PART-A

ILC at a glance

Ideal Limited Company (ILC) is a premier engineering and manufacturing company in India established in 1964. ILC is one of the world's largest industries having the capability to manufacture an entire range of power plant equipment. It is recognized as a Navaratna PSU by the Government of India and also is the recipient of 'Star PSU of the Year' award in 2009-10. As per the ILC sources, ILC strives to evolve into a world-class engineering enterprise with a mission to be a multinational corporation providing quality product and services in the fields of energy, industry, and infrastructure. ILC claims to foster integrity and fairness in all matters, respect for the dignity of individuals and to foster learning, creativity and teamwork.

Over the years, ILC has been involved in the design, engineering, manufacture, construction, testing, and service of a wide range of products and services related to power, transmission, industry, transportation, renewable energy, oil, gas, and defence. It has clientele in India and abroad as well. It has several units located in various parts of the country. The ILC Hyderabad unit has a work force of over 5000 employees. ILC produces and manufactures many types of equipment related to power, transmission, transportation, renewable energy, oil, gas, and defence thus contributing to the national economic development.

Study unit

ILC – Hyderabad consists of several divisions which are divided based on two factors i.e. product and function. The functional divisions are Finance, Human Resources (HR), Communication and Public Relation (CPR) and Quality Control (QC). The product divisions are production operation, marketing and engineering design. The production operation division is further divided into several work centers. Data were collected from EWDs and their superiors located in all these divisions.

Part-B

The number of persons with disabilities participating in economic activities has increased with the enactment of disability laws and provisions (Metts, 2000). In India, these laws, such as Mental Health Act of 1987, The Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995,

The National Trust Act 1999, and the constitutional provisions, assist employers, organizations to remove barriers that hinder the employees with disabilities from participating in work. Despite these developments, the works of many employees with disabilities may be disrupted due to the effects of their impairment, disabling environment, and negative attitudes of employers towards disabled persons (ibid). Importantly, even today many formal organizations, both in the public and private sector have not adopted the legal provisions for EWDs. In many organizations the employers are not aware of the rights of PWDs, which not only affect their employment opportunities but also their efficiency of work.

This part of the chapter presents the data collected from EWDs in ILC and discusses the findings. The socio-economic profile of the respondents and the responses of the EWDs, and their superiors related to research questions on work experience, perception on challenges, support system available at the workplace to EWDs and other issues related to work in the organization are discussed.

Socio-economic profile of the respondents

Any attempt at entering formal organizations with an intention to know the organization of work generates resistance from the higher officials in the administration. Particularly on the issues related to EWDs, the management is wary about the outcome as there are inadvertent policy lapses during its implementation. Moreover, the critical eye of the social science researcher is not appreciated by the management to open its work place for research. In the light of such resistance the present study was conducted using both formal and informal channels. One of the channels available was the Disability Welfare Association (DWA) evolved by EWDs in the ILC. Details about EWDs and their contacts were sought through the office bearers of the ILC.

With the available database on EWDs in the ILC the researcher contacted the EWDs over telephone first and met them personally at their work place during and after office hours. Contacting the respondents during office hours was difficult for the fact that the work of the EWDs is affected. Hence the researcher approached the EWDs during break hours like, lunch or tea breaks. Often the researcher was introduced by the respondent to others in the office as a friend but not as a researcher. However, the identity of the researcher was disclosed by the respondents to their close confidants and fellow

EWDs. Trust between the researcher and the respondents evolved during the course of field work which extended for almost an year.

Semi-structured interview with respondents yielded data to understand the socio-economic background of the respondent. However, rich insights into the social organization of work and issues specific to disability like, identity, inclusiveness of workplace, etc. could be obtained through long personal informal conversations with the individual respondents and members of the DWA. Every day the researcher used to interact with them during the break hours and after working hours. Researcher got the opportunity to interact with all employees with disabilities on special days or functions such as International disability day, Independence Day, and Republic Day, where all EWDs assemble for the DWA rituals to commemorate the day.

In addition to field work, special efforts to meet EWDs informally through acquaintances helped researcher to get rich insights into their work environment, interpersonal relations and issues of identity of EWDs in the organization. Close rapport with EWDs allowed researcher to explore these issues in-depth. Further, researcher also used observation method to understand the problems of varied experiences of employees with disabilities. In all, data were collected from 50 EWDs working at the ILC, Hyderabad. In the following part socio economic profile of the respondents is discussed along certain sociological categories.

Gender

Sex disparities in employment opportunities tend to be greater in developing countries, and India is not an exception to this. We may appreciate that employment has much more meaning for a disabled person as it can, to a great extent, reduce the impact of disability and improve his/her living conditions. In recent times, greater number of persons with disabilities has chosen to participate in economic activities due to accessibility laws, legislation support, disability advocacy groups, and developments in technology. Disability cuts across gender, however, it is more disadvantageous to women. In the ILC organization the representation of women EWDs is low when compared to their men counterparts.

Data were collected from fifty respondents who are employees with disabilities. Among fifty respondents forty five are men and only five are women. Less number of women EWDs in the data reflects the low representation of women EWDs in the organization. It was found that there are only five women EWDs in the entire ILC organization. All the five women EWDs were approached by the researcher for data collection.

Table 4.1: Gender-wise distribution of the respondents

Gender	No. of respondents (%)
Men	45 (90)
Women	5 (10)

Out of these five, only two women EWDs are regular, permanent employees. The rest three respondents are contract employees. Contract employment is not a permanent employment, rather an *adhoc* employment which is subject to renewal every year. It may be said that the reasons for less participation of women employee with disabilities in formal organization could be due to the negative stereotypes about women vis-a-vis employment in general and disabled women in particular. Negative attitudes towards employment of disabled women, differential treatment, patriarchy, coupled with over protection of girls and under-estimation of their abilities, etc. have greater effect on the representation of disabled women employees in the formal organizations.

Type of Impairment

Data on type of impairment of EWD respondents suggest that about 78 percent (39 respondents) are orthopedically challenged, six respondents are speech impaired, three are visually challenged and two are hearing impaired. A considerable number of EWDs are orthopedically challenged.

Table 4.2: Type of impairment and distribution of the respondents

Type of impairment	No. of respondents (%)
Orthopedically Challenged	39 (78)
Visually challenged	3 (6)
Hearing impairment	2 (4)
Speech impairment	6 (12)

Gender and type of impairment

Data on gender and type of impairment suggest that four out of five women EWDs from whom data were collected are orthopedically challenged. Only one women respondent is speech impaired. Women EWDs were not found under visually challenged and hearing impaired categories (see Table 4.3). Among men respondents a large majority of them are orthopedically challenged. 35 respondents (about 78 percent) are orthopedically challenged while five are speech impaired, three are visually challenged and two are hearing impaired.

Table 4.3: Type of Impairment and Gender

Gender	Number of respondents (%)				Total no. of respondents (%)
	Orthopedically challenged	Visually challenged	Hearing impairment	Speech impairment	
Men	35 (78)	3 (7)	2 (4)	5 (11)	45 (90)
Women	4 (80)	-	-	1 (20)	5 (10)
Total	39 (78)	3 (6)	2 (4)	6 (12)	50 (100)

Age

One of the important demographic variables is age. Employment tends to attract various social groups cutting across age. In the present study the age factor has a great role as it shows the variations of the employee's experiences and work environment. As regards the age profile of the respondents, about 38 percent (19 respondents) belong to

the age group of less than 30 years, 28 percent belong to the age group of 31 to 40 years while about 34 percent belong to the 40 years above age group.

Table 4.4: age profile of the respondents

Age (in years)	No. of respondents (%)
Less than 30 years	19 (38)
31-40 years	14 (28)
41-50 years	9 (18)
50 years and above	8 (16)
Total	50 (100)

Gender and age

Table 4.5 presents data on gender and age among the respondents. Out of nineteen respondents in the age group of less than 30 years sixteen are men and three are women. Out of twelve respondents in the age group of thirty one to forty years twelve are men and two are women. It may be said that all the women EWDs from whom data were collected are below forty years of age. It was observed that as a result of increased activism by feminist scholars and disability scholars coupled with affirmative legislations the ILC also became cautious about gender parity in recruitment. Thus we may see that the policy effect is recent, as a result of which women EWDs were recruited in the recent past.

Table 4.5: Gender and age-wise distribution of respondents

Gender	No. of respondents (%)				Total (%)
	Less than 30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	50 years and above	
Men	16 (35)	12 (27)	9 (20)	8 (18)	45 (90)
Women	3 (60)	2 (40)	-	-	5 (10)
Total	19 (38)	14 (28)	9 (18)	8 (16)	50 (100)

Educational qualification

Education is an important tool for the socio-economic development of any individual. It empowers one with the capacity to take rational decisions and analyse what is good and bad in a more realistic and pragmatic manner rather than merely providing employment and livelihood opportunities. Especially in India, education status of persons with disabilities is very low and they have been denied even elementary education. World Bank Report of 2007 suggests that the average literacy and education rates amongst persons with disabilities are much lower than those of their non-disabled counterparts. Reports suggest that there is 52% illiteracy among persons with disabilities as against 35% average for the general population. Illiteracy is high across all categories of disability, and extremely so for children with visual, multiple and mental disabilities (TARSHI, 2010).

Data on academic qualification of the respondents suggest that about 48 percent (24 respondents) have the qualification of Intermediate and are trained in ITI (ITI stands for Industrial Training Institute, which is a technical qualification and the candidates are trained in industrial trades of different kinds, like fitter, electrician, draughtsman, etc.) The minimum qualification for entry into ITI is 10th class. There are several ITIs in the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh which attract large number of students from rural areas who want to take up skill based employment immediately after passing out of tenth standard. The ITIs follow the government guidelines on reservations to PWDs in their admission process, hence, several PWDs get admission into ITIs. However, there are restrictions in terms of type of impairment and the trade offered for PWDs in ITIs.

Data on academic qualification also suggest that there are 13 respondents who have passed general degree or have a B.Tech. degree, 9 respondents have a diploma and four have M.Tech. degree.

Table 4.6.: Educational profile of the respondents

Academic qualification	No. of respondents (%)
Inter + ITI	24 (48)
Diploma in Civil/Mechanical	9 (18)
Degree / B .Tech	13 (26)
M .Tech	4 (8)
Total	50 (100)

Education for women with disabilities is much more critical. In the Indian context where women's education is seen as an additional burden on the family, education of women with disabilities is greatly neglected. Women generally spend most of their time as unpaid labourers doing household works. Moreover, in rural areas educating women is considered to be a waste of time and an unnecessary investment. A girl child from a very young age gets involved in the management of household works, taking care of younger children and therefore denied the fruits of education. As regards data from the field, three women respondents out of five have the basic qualification (i.e. Intermediate + ITI) only. One each has the qualification of Degree and M.Tech.

Table 4.7: Educational qualification of respondents by gender

Gender	No. of respondents (%)				Total
	Inter +ITI	Diploma in Civil/Mechanical	Degree / B. Tech	M. Tech	
Men	21 (47)	9 (20)	12 (27)	3 (7)	45 (90)
Women	3 (60)	-	1 (20)	1 (20)	5 (10)
Total	24 (48)	9 (18)	13 (26)	4 (8)	50 (100)

Job profile of the respondents

For persons with disabilities, to be fully integrated into main stream life, they must be able to earn a livelihood and live an independent life like any other citizen. This is a bit like stating the obvious. Though they are earning a livelihood in all sorts of ways,

but they are mostly in low-skill jobs, not much in decision-making positions, and not in the formal sector. The jobs handled by the respondents of the organization are placed in the following broad categories.

Top Management jobs: It is made up of senior-level executives of the organization who become part of the decision-making body of the organization.

Middle Management jobs: The incumbents into these positions serve as link between the top management and the shop floor or division levels of the organization

Administrative jobs: Incumbent of this position is expected to provide various types of administrative support in the organization. The job, predominantly involves dealing with files and making notes for the perusal of higher officials in the division.

Skilled/technical jobs: Skills, both technical and non-technical are abilities an individual acquires through practice and learning. For example, computer skills, note making skill, etc. Incumbents of these jobs are those who are trained in the specific skills and most of the time, young entrants into the position handle these jobs. Once they get sufficient experience in the entry level skilled jobs, there is a scope to move up the ladder into the middle management positions.

Unskilled jobs: These involve simple, manual, routine tasks. They require physical strength to handle these jobs.

As part of the study data on the job status of the EWDs was collected to know the positions the PWDs are offered in the formal organization. Data reveal that about 62 percent (31 respondents) of the respondents are employed in skilled and technical jobs followed by 22 percent (11 respondents) in the middle level management jobs. Three respondents are employed in the administrative jobs and an equal number are employed in the unskilled jobs. Only two out of fifty respondents are in the top management positions.

Table 4.8.: Job profile of the respondents

Position	No. of respondents (%)
Skilled and Technical workers	31 (62)
Middle Management	11 (22)
Administrative Staff	3 (6)
Unskilled	3 (6)
Top management	2 (4)
Total	50 (100)

Caste

Caste is an ascribed status. It accords high status and power to a particular set of castes and denies the same to others on the basis of purity and pollution of the occupations practiced by different caste groups. In this study, data were collected on caste of the respondent to ascertain the social background of the respondents. Caste, thus ascertained, was categorized into four namely, General category (other than SC/ST/BC castes), BC (Backward castes), SC (Dalit) and ST (Tribal groups). Out of fifty respondents seventeen belong to the general category which include castes like Kamma, Kapu, Brahmin, Vaishya (Komati), Reddy and Velama. Of these seventeen respondents, two are women. Twenty one respondents belong to BC category which include castes like Gouda, Golla, Chakali, Mangali, Mudiraju, Kamsali, and Kummari, etc. Out of the twenty one respondents two are women. There are eleven respondents, including a woman, belonging to SC (Dalit) category which includes castes like Mala and Madiga. Only one male respondent belongs to ST category.

Table 4.9: Caste and gender

Gender	No. of respondents (%)				Total
	General	BC	SC	ST	
Men	15 (33)	19 (42)	10 (23)	1 (2)	45 (90)
Women	2 (40)	2 (40)	1 (20)	-	5 (10)
Total	17 (34)	21 (42)	11 (22)	1 (2)	50 (100)

Marital status

Marriage is an approved institution of every community and society. It is one of the social institutions found cutting across the boundaries of religion, caste, and culture, and is looked upon as a necessary and holy sacrament. Kapadia (1955) observes that ‘the institution of marriage enlarges the social boundary of an individual’. It is a source of personal gratification, as well as an extension of social relations and responsibilities. Marriage of the disabled family member, in the Indian context, is a cause of concern for the family. Working paper by TARSHI (2014) on *Sexuality and disability in the Indian context* quoting Khanna et. al. (2004) suggests that

Girls and women are more likely to be excluded from education than boys with disabilities;

They are less likely to be taken for health care and treatment for their impairment than boys, particularly when money is in short supply;

Their opportunities for family life are severely compromised, due to societal prejudices against marriage of disabled young women, which can lead either to them remaining unmarried or to their family having to pay large dowries to ‘offset’ the disadvantage of their disability;

With limited education, employment opportunities are restricted and even if they are educated, discrimination makes it more difficult for young women to obtain and hold on to jobs; and

In many of these contexts – family, school and work – disabled women and girls experience high rates of sexual abuse.

As a consequence of a life marked by discrimination, disadvantage and often abuse, most disabled women and girls suffer from low self-esteem and confidence and poor self image.

Anita Ghai (2009) observes that disabled women are simply not regarded as women - they are encouraged to be childlike and apologetic towards able-bodied society, which judges them as being better dead than alive. Data collected on marital status of the respondents suggest that 41 (about 82 percent) respondents are married while seven of the

fifty respondents are unmarried. Four out of five women are married while one from each sex is widowed.

Table 4.10: Marital status of respondents by Gender

Gender	No. of respondents (%)			Total
	Married	Un- married	Widowed	
Men	37 (82)	7 (16)	1 (2)	45 (100)
Women	4 (80)	-	1 (20)	5 (100)
Total	41 (82)	7 (14)	2 (4)	50 (100)

State of nativity

Data collected from fifty respondents reveal that a large majority of them (43 respondents) belong to Andhra Pradesh (data were collected before the division of the state into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in 2014). The rest come from states like Bihar, Karnataka, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

Table- 4.11.: State of nativity and Gender

State	No. of respondents		Total
	Men	Women	
Andhra Pradesh	38	5	43
Karnataka	1	-	1
Orissa	1	-	1
West Bengal	1	-	1
Bihar	3	-	3
Uttar Pradesh	1	-	1
Total	45	5	50

Educational qualification of the respondents by type of impairment

Data on the educational qualifications across type of impairment was analysed to understand the educational profile of respondents along the type of impairment. Data, as presented in Table 4.12 suggest that only among the orthopedically challenged category there are respondents who have studied beyond basic qualification i.e. Intermediate. Nine

out of 39 orthopedically challenged respondents have the qualification in diploma in Civil or mechanical engineering. Thirteen out of thirty nine orthopedically challenged respondents have passed B. Tech. or completed under graduation. Four out of thirty nine orthopedically challenged respondents have completed M.Tech. programme. It may be said that higher educational qualifications were found among respondents with locomotor disabilities when compared to the respondents with other disabilities. All the three visually challenged respondents have the basic qualification of Intermediate. Same is the case with hearing impaired and speech impaired.

The reasons for the occurrence of a large number of orthopedically challenged than respondents with other impairments are that the management favours recruitment of orthopedically challenged under the reservation quota for PWDs. The management also favours earmarking certain technical jobs to orthopedically challenged than to persons with other disabilities. It was mentioned by one of the officials that ‘we cannot allocate technical works to visually challenged or speech or hearing impaired persons. Orthopedically challenged can overcome the problems of their physical inability to some extent in performing certain technical jobs’.

The notions of body and ability are intertwined and the socially conditioned notions also transcend to the formal organizations. Access and exclusion of PWDs to jobs is determined by the traditional notions of body and thus we find a large number of technical jobs are inaccessible to PWDs. Unfortunately it was found in the ILC that reservation of jobs for PWDs is earmarked by able bodied persons without considering the opinion of PWDs. It may be argued that the notions on ability to perform certain jobs are normative and thus the formal organization like ILC doesn’t escape the normative thinking. When probed by the researcher, the officials observed that they never thought beyond the normative framework while earmarking technical jobs for PWDs. It may be suggested that by making certain minor changes in the shop floor and the way machines are operated can broaden the opportunities for PWDs and throw many jobs open for them.

Another reason for not earmarking other jobs to PWDs is the fact that there is a lack of supply of trained PWDs in certain trades. Most of the institutions offering technical courses to PWDs again go by the normative approach in identifying trades ‘fit’ to PWDs. Shortfall in the supply of trained PWDs also was cited as a reason for making

certain jobs inaccessible to the EWDs. The reason for allocating administrative and non-technical jobs for other disabled (other than orthopedically challenged) is that the administrative jobs are not strenuous and can be handled by EWDs like speech impaired, hearing impaired or visually impaired. Hence we find that all the respondents with these impairments are located in the non-technical administrative jobs.

Table 4.12: Educational Profile of the respondents by Type of Impairment

Type of Impairment	No. of respondents (%)				Total
	Interme- daite +ITI	Diploma in Civil/Mech anical	Degree / B. Tech	M. Tech.	
Orthopedically challenged	13 (33)	9 (23)	13 (33)	4 (10)	39 (100)
Visually challenged	3 (100)	-	-	-	3 (100)
Hearing impaired	2 (100)	-	-	-	2 (100)
Speech impaired	6 (100)	-	-	-	6 (100)
Total	24 (48)	9 (18)	13 (26)	4 (8)	50 (100)

When probed about the absence of visually challenged, hearing impaired and speech impaired, who are qualified above Intermediate, it was found that the issues related to education, like, pedagogy and curriculum deter the visually challenged, hearing impaired and speech impaired from pursuing technical/vocational courses. A visually challenged respondent observes that ‘we don’t have access to vocational education due lack of vision which is considered as essential in these jobs’.

Work experience

A significant number of respondents (29 out of 50) have less than ten years of experience in the present organization. 21 respondents have more than ten years of work experience out of which twelve respondents have work experience between twenty and thirty years. It was observed that a large majority of the EWDs get into the job in their late twenties or early thirties. In general, when compared to the non-disabled, PWDs’ age of entry into the formal job is higher. The age profile of the respondents suggests (refer

Table no 4.13) that about 38 percent (19 respondents) have less than 30 years of age. However, when it comes to years of work experience it may be found that about 58 percent (29 out of 50) have less than ten years of experience.

It may be said that PWDs not only find it difficult to get employment but also their entry into job is considerably late when compared to the non-disabled. Entry into paid job in the formal sector is much more difficult for the fact that the PWDs have to acquire minimum necessary qualifications to get into the formal sector. It is a fact that lack of opportunities to pursue education deters many PWDs to discontinue their studies. Even those who want to pursue higher education find it difficult to go to places where such courses are available. In the absence of measures that promote higher education through financial support PWDs remain with primary education available at their native place, be it village or town. Unlike non-disabled, migration to urban centres for higher education is less among PWDs. Any attempt at pursuing higher education in the urban centres is put down by the family members on the financial and feasibility grounds.

What becomes clear from the data is that the age of entry into first job in the formal sector is more for PWDs when compared to non-disabled. It was also found in the study that only those EWD respondents who were highly motivated to pursue higher studies could complete higher technical courses with lot of difficulties. Also, it was reported by the respondents that their families provided financial and logistical support for higher education. However, a large majority of the respondents whose families couldn't support their higher education stopped with basic qualification and thus joined the unskilled jobs or semi-skilled jobs in the organization.

It may also be highlighted that the government measures aiming at promoting higher education among PWDs should not just confine to reservations in educational institutions and monthly stipend during the period of study but also should be extended to the intervening period, i.e. from the date of completion of formal degree and till getting into formal employment. Such financial support would help the PWDs to pursue courses of their choices after completing the basic degree and thus they will be able to move up in the occupational ladder. Otherwise PWDs would remain at the lowest level of the occupational hierarchy leading to further discrimination and oppression.

Table- 4.13.: Years of work experience

Years of work experience	No. of respondents (%)
0-10 years	29 (58)
11-20 years	8 (16)
21-30 years	12 (24)
31 years and above	1 (2)
Total	50 (100)

Perceptions of EWDs on working conditions

The Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment (MSJE), a central ministry, works towards the development of PWDs through its various schemes. As part of its initiatives in implementing reservations for PWDs in employment in the government sector, the MSJE has identified certain specific jobs for persons with disabilities. The identified jobs are open to PWDs and the state and central governments have to recruit with suitable candidates to these positions. The jobs are enlisted by the MSJE under different categories of impairment. The rationale behind the attempt to categorize jobs based on impairment is again based on the normative assumptions of ability and efficiency. The officials who notify the jobs under different categories of impairment believe that the PWDs are capable of performing certain jobs only. Again PWDs are differentiated based on their impairment and accordingly different levels of jobs are earmarked for the PWDs belonging to the particular category of impairment.

However, the disability activists oppose such normative categorization calling it as discrimination and oppression unleashed by society. Instead, the activists argue for changing the norms related to performance of jobs so that the PWDs can perform those jobs. It is argued that the normative construction of job chart makes these jobs inaccessible to PWDs and not the inability of PWDs. For example, take the case of Ira Singhal, the first differently abled to top the Union Public Service Commission Examination of 2014. Her story tells us about the disabling attitude of people at higher levels who undermine the abilities of PWDs and think from a normative perspective in assessing the abilities needed for several jobs. Ira Singhal cleared her UPSC in 2010 but

was denied posting citing her physical impairment. Ira Singhal (2015) expresses her anguish at the stereotypes which hinder the participation of PWDs in employment saying

“it was a big disappointment, a major setback then. But I decided to fight back. It was tough initially as I had to undergo tests, submit medical certificates and prove that I am capable of doing jobs entrusted to me in the IRS. For two years, it was tough but then everyone realised that I am capable of working in spite of the disabilities”.

(Source:<http://www.firstpost.com/living/meet-2014-upsc-topper-ira-singhal-earlier-denied-posting-due-disability-2327524.html> accessed on 17-12-2016)

The story of Ira Singhal could be an exception. However the reality is that PWDs in the country have to face the same hindrances when it comes to employment.

Data presented in Table 4.14 suggest that a large majority of the (about 62 percent) respondents are performing skilled, technical jobs. About 22 percent (11 respondents) are in the middle management level, and three respondents are in the administrative division and another three are performing unskilled jobs. Two respondents are in the top management level. It also shows that only two respondents, who are orthopedically challenged, are in the top management positions. On the whole data suggests that majority of employees with disabilities are working in skilled jobs and very less number of them are at the top management level.

Table 4.14: Type of disability and job profile of the respondents

Type of impairment	No. of respondents (%)					Total
	Administra- tive staff	Top Management	Middle Management	Skilled and technical jobs	Unskilled	
Orthopedically challenged	2 (5)	2 (5)	10 (26)	25 (64)	-	39 (100)
Visually challenged	--	-	-	-	3 (100)	3 (100)
Hearing	-	-	-	2 (100)	-	2 (100)
Speech / Dumb Impaired	1 (17)	-	1 (17)	4 (66)	-	6 (100)
Total	3 (6)	2 (4)	11 (22)	31 (62)	3 (6)	50 (100)

EWDs observe, during the course of field work, that many of them put in a lot of hard work, sometimes beyond their capability levels. For example, they take up strenuous tasks which demand high physical labour because they were recruited in to those positions. As they were young at the time of recruitment they could perform those functions without much difficulty. However, as they grow old, sometimes, the impairment related health problems compound adding difficulty in handling the same tasks. In such situations, the respondents observed that, the management doesn't consider their hardships sympathetically. The reply from the management would be that 'you are selected into the job and you have to perform the tasks expected'. The contention of the EWDs is that with the advancement of technologies the jobs handled by them could be modernized, improvised so as to reduce the physical strain. It was found that application of advanced technologies in the jobs handled by the EWDs is not taken up seriously by the management.

The other side of it is that the EWDs fear about the use of advanced technology in their tasks. Fear of losing the job or additional demands placed by the management for extra work or the possibility of retraining the incumbent EWDs so as to meet the demands of the machine make the EWDs uncomfortable, leading to resistance to the idea of application of advance technologies in their jobs. In such conditions of anxiety EWDs remain in the same job performing the tasks repeatedly for years together. The chances for their elevation in the hierarchy are less as there are no reservations in promotions for PWDs. Hence EWDs have to compete with the non-disabled in terms of efficiency and performance. Annual increments are offered as per the standard rules to EWDs, however, in terms of promotions they find it difficult to move up. In the absence of clear guidelines EWDs complain about remaining in the same job for years together. A respondent suggests that

“... I am a welding machine operator and I am doing this job for many years. I remain in the same job because of lack of necessary educational qualification and the company also doesn't encourage EWDs to go for higher education. The management doesn't encourage us to take up other jobs which are less strenuous like computer related works as they say that we are recruited into the specific job and other jobs are not meant for them”.

He also contends that

“...there should be training classes for the EWDs from time to time to help them upgrading their skills as per the advancements in the new techniques available in the market so that they can bring good results and contribute like any other employee in the organization. It also helps them in moving up in the ladder in the organization”.

Similarly, when we look at the type of impairment, and position of the respondents in the ILC, it may be said that the visually challenged respondents are assigned unskilled jobs. Data also reveal that hearing and speech impaired respondents are assigned semi-skilled jobs and jobs in the administration. One of the respondents states that

“...I am a person with orthopaedic impairment. I am having problem in accessing public places like canteen, mess or office buildings. Many of the buildings are not constructed as per the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995, which mandates that the buildings and offices must be accessible to all. Due to lack of access to canteens or due to lack of proper tables inside the canteen, many times employees with disabilities won't be able to get chance to go to canteen. Canteen is a place where people meet and have casual talk during the break hours, which I think the EWDs are deprived because of the structural constraints”.

Another respondent observes that

“...I am a person with speech impairment. Most of the people will write on paper what kind of work I have to do for them. Though I am not expecting sign interpolators, but at least they should not imitate my language for playful purpose. I have informed Disability Welfare Office about my problems. However, there was no support about my concerns”

Income

EWDs draw wages/salaries as per the formal rules of the organization. There was no discrimination found against the EWDs as far as salaries are concerned. Out of 50 respondents ten have not shown interest in disclosing their salary. The researcher also considered what the respondents have reported and didn't consider it important to seek salary details through formal sources. Data from forty respondents reveal that twenty of them are in the monthly salary range of Rs. 25,000/- and Rs. 50,000/-. Eleven respondents receive a monthly salary of less than Rs 25,000/-. Only nine respondents reported their monthly salary to be more than Rs. 50,000/-. It was also found that annual increments, bonus and other perks are paid to EWDs on par with other employees of the organization. The EWDs are eligible for allowances related to health, housing and other non-monetary benefits from ILC. There was no discrimination reported in the matters related to leave, permissions from work, etc.

Table 4.15: Monthly income by work experience

Years of experience	No. of respondents (%)					Total
	Less than Rs. 25,000/-	Rs. 25,001/- to Rs. 50,000/-	Rs. 50,001/- to Rs. 75,000/-	Rs. 75,001/- to Rs. 1,00,000/-	Did not disclose	
0-10 years	9 (31)	12 (41)	3 (10)	1 (3)	4 (13)	29 (100)
11-20 years	1 (12)	3 (38)	1 (12)	2 (25)	1 (12)	8 (100)
21-30years	1 (8)	5 (42)	1 (8)	-	5 (42)	12 (100)
31 years and above	-	-	-	1 (100)	-	1 (100)
Total	11 (22)	20 (40)	5 (10)	4 (8)	10 (20)	50 (100)

Commuting to work

One of the major difficulties PWDs face in general is commuting to work. Physical, technical infrastructure is built in such a way that they deter the PWDs from their use. Access to roads, public transportation like buses, trains, even hired transport like cabs, auto, etc. are so unfriendly to PWDs that they find it difficult to use independently. The design of automobiles for public transportation and the physical infrastructure to run automobiles is biased against PWDs. It is also important to note that the policies, legislations monitoring public and private transportation do not consider the special needs of PWDs. In such hostile environment it is important to know how EWDs commute to office for work.

In urban areas transportation for work is one of the most crucial factors in enabling the PWDs to take up work. It contributes to their life in enhancing dignity and to their standard of living. Disability activists have been fighting against discrimination in the provision of public transportation services for PWDs and are seeking measures to enable PWDs to move freely and access the workplace and other public places. The government of India on its part provides double travel allowances for persons with

disabilities as part of their monthly salary. Such government initiatives are vital to enable PWDs to take up employment in the formal sector and to the right to work.

In addition to transportation, the issues of accessibility and physical barriers continue to act as hindrances within the organizations for persons with disabilities. This includes lack of access to buildings, seating arrangement, etc. at work place. Thus, work experiences of persons with disabilities vary based on the physical access, distance from home to work, and it also depends on the type of impairment and its severity.

As part of the study data were collected from EWDs about their daily routine related to commuting to work and back home. The question was about commuting to office independently, i.e. on their own without depending on others like, family members or friends. Thus owning a vehicle is different from that of driving on their own to office. Self driving to office reflects the independent way of handling things by EWDs. It is seen as way of empowerment leading to independent living. The employment in formal PSU provides them economic security but in the absence of corresponding changes in the built environment makes them dependent. Thus the question was intended to know whether EWDs are able to commute to office independently. Responding to this question, 35 EWDs said they own a vehicle which is used to commute office on their own. And 15 respondents, including all five women respondents reported that they do not own a vehicle.

Table 4.16: Respondents having own vehicle by Gender

Gender	Commuting to office driving on their vehicle (%)		Total
	Yes	No	
Men	35 (78)	10 (22)	45 (90)
Women	-	5 (100)	5 (10)
Total	35 (70)	15 (30)	50 (100)

Further, the researcher also enquired about the problems faced by EWDs in commuting to office. To this, only seven respondents reported some problems in commuting to office and rest 43 had reported no difficulties. All the seven respondents have reported problem in commuting to the office are orthopedically challenged.

Table – 4.17 Respondents opinion on problems of commuting by type of Impairment

Type of Impairment	Problems of commuting to office (%)		Total
	Yes	No	
Orthopedically challenged	7 (18)	32 (82)	39 (78)
Visually challenged	-	3 (100)	3 (06)
Hearing impaired	-	2 (100)	2 (04)
Speech impaired	-	6 (100)	6 (12)
Total	7 (14)	43 (86)	50 (100)

It was found that a large majority of the respondents stay close to the work place. However, those who drive their own vehicles reported problems with relation to legal aspects of obtaining a driving license. A respondent states that

“...EWDs, particularly, those with locomotor difficulties face problems in getting Driving License from the road transport authorities. The road transport rules consider that persons with locomotor difficulties cannot get driving licence as they cannot drive. However, many of us (referring to locomotor disabled persons) have modified our vehicles so as to drive them without difficulty. The standard rules of the road transport authority do not consider this and the officials deny us driving license. This is one form of oppression we are facing and because of which we are forced to depend on others for our commuting needs. Another important point is technological discrimination. If the orthopedically challenged wishes to go for modification of a two wheeler it costs a lot. Neither the government supports nor the organization we work for. Despite we lack driving license, we use them for commuting as there is no way that we can get a driving licence. Of course the police officials are sympathetic to our issues thus they let us drive our vehicles”.

Further some of the respondents commented on accessibility at the work place and how it affects their working experiences. For instance one of the respondents states that

“...not only working condition at ILC, even public places like canteen or mess are also not accessible for persons with disabilities. It is not easy to enter the building

for EWDs who use wheel chairs. This is because there are no ramps. These buildings neither have ramps nor railings”.

Another respondent observes that

“...I am not able to enter the administrative building because the marble floor in the building is very smooth. This actually threatens me as it is slippery for a person like me. Lift is available, but it is far away from the corridor”.

Some of the respondents stated that Human Resource Department of the admin division is not accessible for the employees with disabilities at work place. It was also observed that the wash rooms are also not accessible. Therefore, the respondents prefer to go home or out of ILC for their wash room needs.

Information received about job opportunities at ILC

The aim of the PWD Act, 1995 is to provide jobs by implementing 3% reservation for the disabled, and thereby empowering them. The respondents were inquired about how they received information about the job opportunities. Table 4.18 shows that about 45% of the respondents received information about job opportunities at ILC through the employment exchange followed by 42% through media sources like news paper. One respondent reportedly got the job through campus placement. Three respondents, all men, got the job on compassionate grounds. This is applied to those cases wherein if the incumbent worker dies during the service, the job is offered to the members of the family conditionally. One member from the family who fulfils the minimum requirement is offered the job following the procedures of compassionate employment.

With relation to the nature of employment in the ILC two kinds were found. One, permanent employment and the other contract employment. Out of fifty respondents two women respondents are contract employees while the rest are permanent employees. These two employees who are on contractual employment are not made permanent in the ILC. Generally lower level unskilled jobs are placed under contract employment. Data from the study reveal that women EWDs got job in the ILC either through contract labor or media notification, whereas, men EWDs got through employment exchange office. It may be reported that, generally, parents of woman disabled do not prefer to get their daughter register in the local employment exchange. However, men with disabilities

register with the local employment exchange as soon as they complete the requisite training and acquiring the minimum qualification in the hope of getting a job.

Table 4.18: Information about job opportunities at the ILC by gender

Mode of information	Gender (%)		Total
	Men	Women	
Campus selection	1 (100)	-	1 (02)
Contract labor	-	2 (100)	2 (04)
Employment office	23 (100)	-	23 (45)
Employment notification in the print media	18 (86)	3 (14)	21 (42)
Compassionate grounds	3 (100)	-	3 (06)
Total	45 (90)	5 (10)	50 (100)

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is an important factor in the performance of work and all formal organizations consider it seriously for enhancing productivity and efficiency of the workers. Job satisfaction in the case of EWDs has to be understood in a much more intensive and wholistic manner as it is a nuanced and complex notion than thought to be as in the case of non-disabled. It may be said that job satisfaction derives from the extent of involvement of the incumbent in the job. It arises from the incumbent's ability to decipher the expectations, responsibilities, importance of the incumbent's job in the gamut of jobs in the particular division or section. It may be said that higher the involvement in the job greater is the job satisfaction. In the case of EWDs understanding the issue of job satisfaction requires greater effort. In most of the formal organizations jobs earmarked for PWDs are identified by the non-disabled as part of obligatory responsibility. As a result, the jobs identified for PWDs may not match the expectations of the incumbent EWDs. Also that ambiguity on the job expectations by the superiors about the role and responsibilities of the EWD leads to dissatisfaction. Once recruited, the incumbent EWDs remain in the same job for a long time without much scope for promotions. This arises as result of inappropriate attention of higher authorities on the jobs handled by the EWDs. It is also a fact that most of the non-disabled superiors carry their social baggage to the formal sphere and thus their cultural stereotypes often guide

their actions and policies. Thus it may be said that job satisfaction in the case of EWDs is a much more nuanced one when compared with that of non-disabled. Keeping these in mind the researcher asked the respondents about their satisfaction in the job they are positioned.

Table 4.19: Job satisfaction by Type of Impairment

Type of impairment	Satisfaction with the current job (%)		Total
	Satisfied	Not satisfied	
Orthopedically challenged	31 (80)	8 (20)	39 (78)
Visually challenged	3 (100)	-	3 (06)
Hearing impaired	2 (100)	-	2 (04)
Speech impaired	6 (100)	-	6 (12)
Total	42 (84)	8 (16)	50 (100)

Responding to the question about job satisfaction 42 respondents (about 84 percent of EWDs) expressed their satisfaction while only eight EWDs responded negatively. Except orthopedically challenged employees other respondents did not express any kind of dissatisfaction towards their job. However, realizing the importance of probing further on the issue of job satisfaction, the researcher engaged the EWDs in informal, casual, long conversations. This effort has yielded result as EWDs were more expressive about the dissatisfaction than they were stating in the yes or no type answers. To put it in the words of an orthopedically challenged respondent

“...I am not happy with my work because of my health condition. This is mainly due to more work load, pressure and moving from one place to another which is affecting my work and health condition. My problem here is I need to carry all the files related to the administrative and non-administrative work from one division to another division. Being a person with orthopaedic impairment, it is a very tough task to me. Several times, I have requested the management to allot me the work which I can do my best and give me work which I can do without moving from one place to another. However, there was no positive response from them”.

Another respondent observes that

“...I am a person with speech and hearing impairment. My job is carpentry (wood work). But most of the time, they (higher authorities in the division) give me many other works like dispatch, pay slip distribution and even they ask me to do electric repairs, etc. which are not part my duties. One day I got electric shock and I was bed ridden for few days. They often give me extra work to me, without extra payment”.

Awareness on legislations related to employees with disabilities

The Government of India initiated several measures to ensure discrimination free work environment to the employees with disabilities. It also provided reservations to PWDs so that they can lead a decent life and overcome the problems of poverty and dependency. 3 percent of the vacancies in central government ministries, government institutions, public sector undertakings, banks, etc. have been reserved for PWDs. In accordance with the provisions in the PWD Act, 1995 the government institutions have to provide incentives to employers in both in the public and private sectors to recruit at least five percent of their workers with PWDs.

Referring to such legal provisions towards PWDs the researcher enquired with the respondents about their awareness on the legal entitlements to PWDs. It was found that only seventeen out of 50 respondents (about 34 percent) are aware of the legislations related to employees with disabilities. In other words, a majority of the respondents (i.e. 33 out of 50, including four out of five women EWDs) are not aware of the legislations related to employees with disabilities.

Table 4.20: Awareness about legislations related to EWDs by gender

Gender	Awareness (%)		Total
	Yes	No	
Men	16 (32)	29 (68)	45 (100)
Women	1 (20)	4 (80)	5 (100)
Total	17 (34)	33 (66)	50 (100)

Success of any law or Act doesn't just depend on the executive machinery alone. It also depends on the agency, i.e. here in this case the EWDs. It may be said that if the

EWDs in the organization are aware of their rights as per the legislations they would fight for achieving those rights. However, data suggest that the extent of awareness among the respondents is considerably low. It was also found in the study that those respondents who are aware of the legal provisions for PWDs are also aware of the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995, which is considered as a landmark legislation as far as disabled persons are concerned in India. Similarly, those who are not aware of the legal provisions are also not aware of this landmark Act.

Perceptions on implementation of reservations in ILC

ILC as a PSU has to abide by the legislations of the government of India. Its administration has to work towards achieving the goals enshrined in the legislative Acts passed by the Parliament. However, there are several instances which reflect the anomalies in the implementation of laws by the executive of government and semi-government organizations. In the study, the researcher was interested to find out the respondents' opinion on the implementation of reservations for persons with disabilities in ILC. Responding to this the President of the Disability Welfare Association (DWA), who is an EWD, observes that

“...a year back, I, as the President of the DWA of ILC, wrote a letter to the Executive Director and the HRD manager requesting them to implement 3 percent reservations for PWDs across all types of disabilities, i.e. orthopedically challenged, hearing impaired, visually challenged, etc. in ILC. However, till today, they (ILC management) are not implementing reservation for visually challenged as per the quota. Several times we have demanded the ILC management to implement the reservation equally across all types of disabilities on similar lines that of reservations for SC and ST. However there is no proper response and no solution has come to date”.

About the effective implementation of 3 percent reservations of PWDs in the ILC many EWDs responded negatively. When the respondents were asked to mention whether 3% job reservation quota for persons with disabilities provided in accordance with the PWD Act, 1995 is sufficient for empowering them, majority of them stated that 3% reservation quota is not sufficient. It was suggested by the respondents that 5 to 10

percent reservation is necessary. It was also observed that ILC has not been implementing the mandatory reservations for a long time. One of the respondents suggests that

“...I don’t have any idea about the implementation of reservation quota for persons with disabilities in my organization as I do not see many people (EWDs) in my work place. Moreover, I got the job based on my qualification and not through reservation”.

Promotions

The ILC management is considering caste and disability status into account in its promotion policy. For example an ST (scheduled Tribe) EWD is promoted on the basis of ST reservation of 7.5%, of which 0.75 percent is considered and his/her EWD status which entitles him/her for 3 percent reservation, out of which 0.3 percent is considered. By adding these two statuses i.e. ST and PWD together the reservation percentage comes to 1 percent.

Table 4.21: Reservation procedure adopted by ILC in promotions

Category of reservation	Percentage	Corresponding percentage
Scheduled Castes	15	1.5
Scheduled Tribes	7.5	0.75
Persons with disabilities	3	0.3

Thus by combining these two reservations the ILC offers reservation for one candidate every year under ST category. Consideration of social category is taken on the basis of rotation. If in a particular year ST was considered, in the subsequent year SC candidate is offered opportunity in promotion. Also, in the absence of the candidate of such category next category is considered. The process of implementing reservations in promotions for the EWDs is taken up through the DWA. The eligible employee with disability has to register for the promotion with the DWA based on the notification issued by the management of ILC. Responding to this an EWD observes that

“...Welfare association office is taking care of the promotion process and as a result every eligible candidate (EWDs) should get promotion after 4 to 5yers of experience. The management (i.e. ILC) is considering 0.3 percent every year

under PWD quota and combining for 3 years for each EWD (which comes to about 1 percent, equalling to one candidate eligible for promotion). Thus EWDs are getting the quota in every three years under PWD quota for promotion”.

However, the President of the Disability Welfare Association observes that

“...in 2013 one ST employee (who is also an EWD – orthopedically challenged) who is eligible for promotion didn’t register his name in the Disability Welfare Association office due to lack of awareness. Because of this he (the eligible EWD) lost the opportunity for promotion. He came to know the process later and so he requested the Disabled Welfare Association. On behalf of the employee the association approached the ILC Management. They were very inconsiderate saying that one must enrol with the association of Disabled welfare and in the absence of that they cannot help in any way as the file has already been forwarded to the CEO”.

Problems of EWDs

The National Policy on Disability recognizes that the persons with disabilities are valuable human resource for the country and envisages creating an environment that provides them equal opportunities, protection of their rights and full participation in society. However, the Report of Working Group on Empowering the Disabled for the 11th Five Year Plan, 2007-2012 reveals that ‘despite plethora of measures taken for vocational rehabilitation of the persons with disabilities and enactment of the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995, hardly a miniscule part of the population has so far been benefited, thus leaving a vast gap from demand and supply points of view (Society for Disability and Rehabilitation Studies, 2008)

It was attempted in the present study to understand the perceptions of EWD respondents about the hindrances they see in the development of EWDs. Data reveal that there is a large scale discrimination against PWDs in the society. It also suggests that there is not much awareness about the issues of PWDs among people. Among fifty EWD respondents fifteen respondents observe that people discriminate PWDs vis-à-vis opportunities for latter’s development. Similarly an equal number of the EWD respondents also observe that there is lack of awareness among people in general on the

issues of PWDs in the society. It is also important to note that thirteen respondents mentioned about the lack of political will as a reason for the hardships faced by the PWDs.

Table- 4.22 Perception of EWDs on the problems of PWDs

Type of Impairment	Problems faced by the PWDs- No. of respondents (%)				Total
	Discriminating attitude of people in general	Illiteracy	Lack of political will	Lack of awareness among people about the issues of PWDs	
Orthopedically challenged	12 (31)	5 (13)	10 (25)	12 (31)	39 (100)
Visually challenged	-	-	1 (33)	2 (67)	3 (100)
Hearing impaired	1 (50)	-	1 (50)	-	2 (100)
Speech impaired	2 (33)	2 (33)	1 (17)	1 (17)	6 (100)
Total	15 (30)	7 (14)	13 (26)	15 (30)	50 (100)

Data presented in Table 4.22 suggests that societal discrimination against PWDs and lack of awareness among people in general about the issues of PWDs emerge as the important problems as perceived by the respondents. Equal percentage of respondents (about 30 percent) highlighted these issues. Other problems as highlighted by the respondents are lack of political will and illiteracy among the PWDs.

Experience of EWDs with formal employment

The human rights movement in India has boldly and categorically shifted the attention of policy makers from the mere provision of charitable services to vigorously protecting their basic right to dignity and self-respect. In such a scenario PWDs are viewed as individuals with a wide range of abilities and each one of them is willing and capable to utilize his/her potential and talent.

Intending to know the opinion of EWDs with relation to change of jobs and problems associated with it, a question was posed to the respondents to state whether the present job at the ILC was their first job. Data suggest that for 36 respondents (about 72 percent) out of fifty the present job in the ILC is their first job. Respondents also suggest that they don't prefer to change jobs. For the rest fourteen respondents the job at ILC is their second or third job. Before joining ILC, these respondents reportedly worked as part-time employees in other private organizations, private establishments like shops, stores, etc. In the words of a respondent who is an orthopedically challenged

“...I am a qualified ITI technician presently working as a machine operator. My work condition in the ILC is somewhat better than what I had experienced in my earlier jobs. However, sometimes, I feel that unity among the EWDs missing as far as achieving the disabled rights are concerned. However, through the Disability Welfare Association we could succeed in getting some basic rights. But, same was not the case in my earlier organization, in terms of the availability of support services and benefits for EWDs. Even the attitude of management towards the EWDs was not good. As I was the only EWD working in that organization, the management never bothered about my needs because of which my work efficiency and my health condition was affected. So I have shifted different jobs and places for livelihood for 13 years before settling finally in ILC”.

It may be observed that ILC as PSU provides better scope for participation of PWDs in employment when compared to private organizations and informal establishments.

Response on continuing the present job in ILC

It was found that a majority of the respondents (38 out of fifty) prefer to continue to work in ILC while only 12 respondents prefer to move out if they get an opportunity. The reasons for continuing in the current organization are many. One of the women respondents who is not interested to move out of ILC and quite content with the support systems at ILC reports that

“...ILC provides better support services to its EWDs. For example, the crèche facility in the ILC is quite good for women employees in general and EWDs in

particular .If a woman employee has children of six years below, children can be dropped at the crèche during working hours. In addition, the women EWD is also given fifteen minutes break for feeding the child and to take care of their needs. Further, they also provide free food for the children in the crèche”.

Table 4.23: Preference to continue in the present job by Type of Impairment

Type of impairment	Prefer to continue in ILC – No of respondents (%)		Total
	Yes	No	
Orthopedically challenged	28 (72)	11 (28)	39 (78)
Visually challenged	3 (100)	-	3 (06)
Hearing impaired	2 (100)	-	2 (04)
Speech impaired	5 (83)	1 (17)	6 (12)
Total	38 (76)	12 (24)	50 (100)

Significantly, eleven out of thirty nine orthopedically challenged respondents reported that, given an opportunity, prefer to move out of ILC. When probed about the reasons for moving out, a respondent observes that

“...I am an orthopedically impaired person. My legs were affected by polio during my childhood. I hail from Nalgonda District and belong to OBC category. I am thinking to move out of this organization mainly due to the fact that there is no encouragement and motivation for employees with disabilities. From a long time, I am waiting for my promotion. I have five years of experience. Management shows lot of difference between employees with disabilities and others. For example, employees who joined with me have been getting regular increments and promotion as well although they have less experience than me. When I have raised this issue management stated that there is a difference between the salaries of the employees who are working in the Production unit and Non-Production division. The difference is not just in salaries but also in the increments, promotions, allowances, etc. I am still getting the salary of Rs.14,000/-per month from the last five years, without any increase”.

Similarly, another respondent who wishes to move out of ILC observes that

“...I am an orthopedically challenged person. I am working as a welder and most of the time my work involves welding standing on the walls. The walls at ILC are of 15 feet height and 2 feet width. So you can imagine... I am taking great risk in my work, given my impairment. Being a person with orthopaedic impaired climbing a wall becomes difficult for me. Sometimes I have to take the support of the holes on the walls for climbing. However, my legs won't support at all. Moreover, if there is an electric shock during the welding process my life, along with that of the fitter, will be in danger. We will die on the spot. Another thing is that during welding lot of smoke is generated. Due to the smoke I develop breathing problems and my eyes get infected. ILC doesn't provide safety equipment to the EWDs. Management is negligent to the special needs of EWDs”.

It was found from other sources in the ILC that this particular respondent's work is very risky. However, as per his qualification, he has no other option but to take up this assigned work. When enquired about the risks associated and the special needs of this employee with disability with his superior, he was not willing to respond. It was reported by the respondent that when he took up the issue, he was told by the management that for the time being he has to adjust with the available support and the required support will be provided in due course, which has not happened till date. What is more disturbing is that without providing adequate safety support the management demands EWDs to work with available support and any resentment leads to fines and cuts in salary.

Other respondents too reported the problems with the attitude of management towards the special needs of the EWDs and to the basic needs of others too. For example, many respondents reported the problem of increasing noise levels at the workplace. For instance, a respondent reports that

“...In our building there are over 350 workers. We all face the problem of high noise during the work process. This is because of the poor architecture design of the building. As a result we can't concentrate on work. It was also observed that, due to the high noise levels some of our colleagues have lost hearing ability partially over a period. The buildings are not properly designed. Leave about the

special needs, needs of the workers in general are also not taken care off by the management”.

What comes out very clearly is that ILC doesn't differentiate between the needs of the EWDs and others as far as work is concerned. As the EWD is recruited into the job based on the reservation the incumbent EWD is expected to perform the job along with others. However, the EWDs have special needs which have to be considered by the management while allocating the job. It was also noted that if any EWDs reports such issues s/he is allocated non-technical jobs which are eligible for less pay. For the fear of reduction in salary many EWDs continue to take up such risky works without adequate safety equipment.

Discrimination at work place

A study in the UK (Palmer et. al. 2001) reveals that one in five respondents in employment believe they had been passed over for promotion because of their impairment. Further, the same study findings indicate that half of the respondents have experienced workplace discrimination or prejudice. The study also reveals that a fifth of the respondents believed they were over-qualified for their job, and one in 10 respondents who needed a workplace adjustment to do their job said they had to pay for it themselves. The findings of the study report the discrimination faced by EWDs in the workplace. It also suggests that if the government wants to support persons with disabilities to actively participate in the economic activities then tackling discrimination and removing barriers at workplace must be a top priority.

In the current study it was attempted to understand discrimination faced by the respondents at the workplace.

Table -4.24 Experience of discrimination by Type of Impairment

Type of Impairment	Experience of Discrimination- No. of respondents (%)			Total
	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Orthopedically challenged	3 (8)	14 (36)	22 (56)	39 (78)
Visually challenged	-	2 (67)	1 (33)	3 (06)
Hearing impaired	-	1 (50)	1 (50)	2 (04)
Speech impaired	1 (17)	3 (50)	2 (33)	6 (12)
Total	4 (8)	20 (40)	26 (52)	50 (100)

Twenty six out of fifty respondents have reported that they have not faced any discrimination at the workplace. Twenty respondents have reported discrimination faced by them sometimes while only four respondents reported discrimination all through their career. The respondents were more forthcoming about the discrimination they faced during conversations with the researcher. It was reported by a respondents that

“...one day one of my co-workers was talking with the manager about disabled persons and their working capacities in ILC. As per his understanding, the EWDs are not fit for the jobs they are assigned. He stated in Telugu that this (referring to an orthopedically challenged employee) ‘ee kuntoduki ee job suitable kadhu’ (this job is suitable for this crippled)”.

Narrating the experience of discrimination in terms of not recognizing the special needs of the EWDs a respondent narrates that

“...I am working in ILC from five years. My workplace is situated on the first floor. However, I have requested my manager several times to change my work location as I cannot climb up. I have to climb 25 steps every day. It takes 15minutes to reach my work place. I have to crawl on these steps to reach. Even after several requests, the management has not understood my problem and moreover they crack jokes on me just because I am crawling on the steps”.

Such humiliating stories are many. The management doesn't consider them worth spending money or paying attention to. From the management point of view providing lift

for the sake of one orthopedically challenged employee is a waste of money. The management would not be willing to post him at a suitable place, quoting the rule position. However, most of the rules of workplace are prepared keeping the able bodied workers in mind. When it comes to accommodating the interests of the EWDs and their special needs the management looks the other way. It may be due to the fact that the EWDs in the ILC are not very well organized. Although they have the disabled welfare association, it basically looks at the issues of reservations and promotions in a conciliatory mode but not on a rights mode. It doesn't take an aggressive posture as the other trade unions take on the issues of work.

It was observed that the EWDs also believe that, for them, getting a job in the ILC itself is something that is equal to a great favour bestowed on to them by the management. It is seen as a kind of philanthropic and charitable act. This option is also ingrained among the EWDs. Thus they seldom look at the issue of discrimination in rights mode.

Many respondents observed that most of the time their co-workers don't understand their problems. Moreover they also compare the work and efficiency of EWDs with theirs. It was found that the management of ILC do not differentiate between EWDs and others in the production related aspects. EWD respondents observed that the discrimination is perpetrated by their co-workers too. The discrimination is in the form of avoidance, not including the EWDs in their activities, showing too much sympathy or sometimes passing remarks about the reservations for the PWDs and their salaries. It was also reported that sometimes the co-workers imitate the EWDs implying ridicule or insult. In the words of a respondent

“...in addition to training programmes, awareness sessions about rights of the EWDs must be taught to other employees in the organization so that they will be aware of the issues of EWDs and learn to treat their disabled colleagues with dignity. They should be sensitized to understand the special needs of the EWDs and the obligations of the organization in implementing the rights of the EWDs. There should also be a helpline to tackle the problems of EWDs”.

Support system for employees with disabilities at the work place:

Employees with disabilities require special assistance as the work environment, including the physical and architectural spaces is normative. Hence, they impede the participation of EWDs by denying access or best use of facilities. In this context, the study attempted to understand the support services available for EWDs at the ILC. It was found that the EWDs make an effort for special services and other demands through the association they have formed. The Disability Welfare Association was formed by the members of the EWDs at the ILC to take care of their special needs and to address their problems at the workplace. The researcher attended several meetings of the association in order to know about its functioning. The researcher also attended the programmes on the International Disability Day, Independence Day, Republic Day, etc.

Disability Welfare Association (DWA) is a recognized unit similar to that of other welfare associations or trade unions in the ILC. It is a recognized body by the ILC management and is a registered body with the government. It has by-laws which govern its functioning. All the EWDs are the members of the DWA. The functioning is similar to that of other welfare associations in the ILC like, Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribes/Other Backward Castes Welfare associations. There are 104 members in the DWA. This includes 80 orthopedically challenged employees, 20 hearing and speech impaired employees and 4 visually challenged employees. The office bearers are elected by the members of the association. The office bearers include President, General Secretary, Treasurer, etc. ILC has earmarked separate fund for the functioning of the DWA. The fund is used for meeting the expenses incurred in organizing meetings, functions, programmes, special assistances/needs as per the requirements of the EWDs, office maintenance and staff salaries.

Objectives of the Disability Welfare Association

- To work towards the full implementation of 3% reservation for PWDs in the ILC and actively contributing to the recruitment process
- To assert itself in the allotment of quarters for the EWDs which enables the EWDs an easy access to workplace.
- To create awareness about the tax benefits, financial support available through various sources, not only at ILC, but also in the other government support services

- To organize various programmes for the benefit of EWDs and celebrate days of importance like, International Disability Day, days of superannuation of its members, etc.
- To actively take up the issues of discrimination in promotion or benefits of the EWDs with the management of ILC.

Initiatives of the DWA

The DWA has taken up several initiatives. The DWA made compulsory for the EWDs to become member of the association. This helps them to organize themselves and take up issues together and demand for their rights together. Every new member has to pay the registration fee at the time of joining. The association uses this money for the welfare activities of the association.

Benefits provided by the DWA to the EWDs in ILC are

- All EWDs get a home loan up to Rs. 2,50,000/-. DWA facilitates the process of application and sanction not only with the ILC but also with the commercial banks outside ILC. It was reported that about 57 EWDs got free house site of 250 sq yards from ILC for the construction of house.
- DWA takes up initiatives in getting the allowances to their members. For example, all the EWDs are eligible for the handicapped allowance of Rs. 200/- per month provided by the State Government. Now this has been increased to Rs. 1500/- per month.
- Disabled employees are allowed to report to the office 15 minutes late and leave office 15 minutes early.
- Employees with disabilities also get double travel allowance.

Further, it was observed that, if any EWD wants to get any of kind of special need, for example, a home loan, the information about the available facilities within and outside the organization is provided by the ILC. It facilitates the process between the EWD and the bank or the institution offering the loan. Further, the DWA maintains records of all the information related to the Acts, legal provisions, tax provisions, benefits and activities of the association, etc. at the office which are open for all the members to access and make use of them.

However, during the interaction with the respondents who are the members of the DWA contradictory points of view emerged on the functioning of the association. A respondent reports that despite several representations to the DWA nothing has been done so far. He argues that

“...facilities like disabled friendly wash rooms and western toilets for persons with disabilities are demanded by the orthopedically challenged employees since a long time. Most of the employees like me with orthopaedic problems are facing lot of problem while accessing wash rooms provided by the ILC at workplace. As my both legs are affected with polio I have to crawl and go inside. As these wash rooms are not properly maintained and due to unhygienic conditions I don't feel comfortable to use it at all. It is causing so many problems to me. I have reported this issue to the DWA several times. But till today it has not been addressed”.

Another respondent reports that

“...there should be special busses which are smaller in size to ferry us to work place and other places like administration, canteen, etc. within the organization. Government of India introduced this kind of transport in railway stations and airports which carries persons with disabilities from entrance to the platform. This kind of support brings a lot of change in the working conditions for the EWDs. Moreover people with orthopaedic impairment need to walk long distances, and sometimes have to crawl. This is a struggle they face every day. This causes lot of strain and consumes all the energy just to reach to the office. And to work like any other, as we are expected to do so in our job, it is just like a punishment. We are enduring this apathy as we have to sustain ourselves and our family members”.

Another respondent observes that

“...several times it was discussed that being persons with hearing and speech impairment, we need special boards to write and communicate with our co-workers, as many of them don't understand our sign language. However, our needs were not taken care of till now”.

What emerges from these experiences is that although DWA exists but it functions to a limited extent. It works within the ambit of the management under the latter's guidance rather than fighting for the rights of the EWDs. All these suggest a form of discrimination experienced by the EWDs in a PSU like ILC. Apart from the views of the respondents, the researcher also personally observed that most of the buildings are not accessible to the EWDs, particularly, the orthopedically challenged employees. It was suggested by the EWDs that the ILC management must consider providing lift facilities, ramps, railings, etc at least for the buildings which are being built.

It was also observed that most of the EWDs have problems in accessing places including wash rooms, canteens, mess, etc. Raising a specific problem about the canteen facility, respondents suggest that canteen in the ILC is not friendly to EWDs, particularly to the orthopedically challenged employees. The seating arrangement is designed to suit the needs of others and thus it is discriminatory against the orthopedically challenged employees. Due to lack of proper access to canteen many orthopedically challenged employees stopped accessing canteen also. As a result they lose opportunity to socialize with others, learn, exchange information, etc. In the process the EWDs are excluded from their social life.

Further, the researcher also observed respondents' dissatisfaction with the management about the implementation of reservations to PWDs in the organization. One of the respondents states that

“...through DWA, we have demanded the management to implement reservation as per the roaster system and argued for filling up vacancies as per the type of disability. However, the management was not very keen to implement reservation for persons with visual impairment. Same issue was raised several times in the meetings of the association and also informed to the higher authorities through letters. Unfortunately one of the higher authorities stated that persons with visual impairment cannot be recruited as they are not capable of working in the formal organization”.

Respondents also reported that although ILC is implementing reservations in recruitment from time to time it is not implementing reservations in promotion. During the study, it was found that every year from June 5 to 20 the ILC conducts recruitment

camp for EWDs. However, other than recruiting new EWDs, management has not showed any interest in providing promotions to the EWDs with sufficient experience. Thus promotions for the EWDs are getting delayed although their counterparts with less experience get promotion as per the time frame.

It was reported by the respondents that they have raised objections about this discrimination saying that same work experience should provide promotions to the EWDs equally along with other employees. Many of the EWDs represented their demands to the authorities personally as well as through the Disability Welfare Association. However, all these efforts did not yield any result. One of the respondents observes that *due to the negligence of the management we are losing opportunities for promotion*. Another respondent observes

“...when we compare ourselves with SC employees (there are a total of 950 SC employees working in the organization) the number of EWDs in ILC is very less. Secondly, as their number (SC employees) is more, the pressure they put on the management as well as on the office bearers of the SC welfare organization is enormous and incomparable with that of ours. Moreover, even the management always actively considers the demands of the SC employees rather than our demands. This is because our strength is less. The management also funds the activities of the SC cell like training programmes, awareness sessions about their rights and benefits, education and exposure tours to different places, implementation of reservation, etc. But when we compare the funding our association receives with the SC cell what we receive is far less”.

It is important to note that among the EWDs there are about 22 percent who belong to SC and 2 percent to ST categories. It was observed in the study that these EWDs have membership in both the associations, namely DWA and SC cell or ST cell (working for the SC/ST employees). They report that the DWA is not working as strongly as the SC cell or ST cell. It was reported by them that apart from the numbers, the SC, ST or OBC employees are more active and powerful than the EWDs.

The president of the DWA was approached by the researcher to get his views on the functioning of the DWA. The president of the association is orthopedically challenged. His both legs were affected due to polio from childhood. He reports that his

impairment has not affected his confidence levels and participation in socio-economic and political activities. He has 30 years of work experience at ILC. In this long journey, as he states, *he had struggled to get his basic rights*.

Based on the learnings through experience in his long journey, he has taken up the initiative of starting the DWA. His efforts are highly regarded by all the EWD and also the management. The president narrates his story of long association with the ILC and DWA. In his words

“...thirty years back I joined the ILC as LDC (lower division clerk). Now I got the promotion to the position of Chief Assistant. I use tricycle to travel from home to office. I have struggled hard to make the workplace accessible to tricycle first. Then I demanded for changing the way my seat in the office was designed. At every level I had to fight hard with the management. Now I am able to fight for my colleagues’ (EWDs) rights because I am fully aware of the basic needs, disability laws and acts. That only helped me to be strong whenever I raise any issue with the higher authorities. I have realized that if we don’t fight nobody is going to bother about us”.

However, he also expressed his concern about accessibility problems in other places in the organization. For instance, he states that

“...I am not able to enter the administrative building. This is mainly due to the fact that the office floor is covered with marble stone, which is very smooth and sometimes very slippery to use crutches. I am so scared to walk on the floor, as I don’t have control over the crutches. But my anxieties are not considered as the management feels such kind of flooring is elegant and adds beauty to workplace”.

The president of the association also claims credit for the following initiatives. They are

- Tax exemption for EWDs
- House allotment in location easily accessible to EWDs
- Implementation of reservation for PWDs
- Home loan for the EWDs for constructing houses up to Rs. 2,50,000/- from Andhra Bank, and fifty thousand rupees from the Provident Fund (PF)
- Free medical treatment at the health centre of the ILC

It was also observed that due to the accessibility problems many EWDs don't attend meetings when held in such buildings. For instance many orthopedically challenged employees seldom visit the Human Resource Department for their work because it is located in the first floor which makes it difficult for them to climb. A respondent observes that

“...some people were not able to use washrooms due to lack of accessibility. Some of them wait till the end of the work day and go home for using washrooms. It caused health problems to some of us”.

Chapter 5

ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYERS TOWARDS EMPLOYEES WITH DISABILITIES

Introduction

The availability of employment opportunities, job protection of persons with disabilities in India or in any other country may be attributed to various factors including policies and their implementation, culture and the support structure within the community (Parmenter as cited in Albrecht et al., 2000). It is not only important for the PWDs to acquire skills and knowledge to enter the labour market, particularly formal labour sector, it is also important for the society to create an enabling environment. Barrier free work environment, both physical and social, is necessary to enhance the participation of PWDs in the economic activities. The social model of disability places the onus on society to change its approach and orientation to PWDs vis-a-vis their economic participation. Irrespective of affirmative legislations to facilitate the entry of PWDs into economic sphere and stupendous efforts on the part of the disabled individual to meet the requirements of the market needs in terms of knowledge or skill, it is the social and cultural attitudes of the members of wider society which make or mar the chances of the entry of PWDs. Thus there has been a constant demand by the disabled activists and academia to focus on the changes in the attitudes, value system, parameters of work evaluation, etc. in tune with the special needs of the PWDs.

Studies of Arthur and Zarb, (1995) and Ramage (1999) point out that employers play an important role in the employment of persons with disabilities in any organization or institution. Their findings reveal that the misconceptions, attitudes, myths, and apprehensions concerning persons with disabilities may lead to the low employment rate of the latter. The availability of jobs or the extent to which persons with disabilities are included in any organization or institution not only depends on the type, severity of impairment and their educational qualifications but also on the attitudes of the employers and the inclusive work environment.

The present study made an attempt to know the perceptions of the employers of EWDs in the ILC. Understanding the attitude of the immediate superiors or heads of the

departments where EWDs are located helps us to analyse how employers perceive the abilities, work and contributions of the EWDs towards the organization. In this regard, data were collected using an interview schedule wherein information about the socio-economic background of the employers was collected. And, through informal personal interviews and informal discussions data were collected on the assumptions, stereotypes the employers have towards EWDs.

Part-A: Profile of the employer respondents

In all fifteen employers of the ILC were contacted for data collection. They are also the immediate superiors or heads of the departments where EWDs are working. Thus the employer respondents include those under whom the EWD respondents (from whom data were collected) and other EWDs are working in the ILC. Data suggest that out of fifteen respondents thirteen are men and only two are women. Twelve respondents belong to the age group of forty to fifty years. Six out of fifteen respondents belong to general category while six belong to SC category.

Table 5.1- Demographic profile of the respondents

Variables	No of respondents (%)
Gender	
Men	13 (87)
Women	02 (13)
Total	15 (100)
Age	
20-30	01 (7)
30-40	02 (13)
40-50	12 (80)
Total	15 (100)
Caste	
OC	06 (40)
BC	02 (13)
SC	06 (40)
ST	01 (07)
Total	15 (100)

With regard to the educational qualifications of the employer respondents data suggest that nine have passed under graduation or B. Tech while four have Post graduation or M. Tech qualification.

Table 5.2: Educational profile of the respondents

Educational qualification	No of respondents (%)
SSC, Inter + ITI	02 (13)
Degree / B. Tech	09 (60)
P.G. /M. Tech /Mechanical	04 (27)
Total	15

Designation

Data on employer respondents' designation suggest that eight respondents are at the level of Additional General Manager while five are at the level of Senior Divisional General Manager and Senior Manager. Two respondents are at the level of Executive Engineer and Assistant Engineer.

Table 5.3 – Designation of the respondents

Designation	No of respondents (%)
Additional General Manager	08 (53)
Senior Divisional General Manager and Senior Manager	05 (33)
Executive Engineer	01 (07)
Assistant Engineer	01 (07)
Total	15 (100)

Years of experience

About the years of experience of the employer respondents, data reveal that twelve out of fifteen have twenty to thirty years of experience while two have experience between eleven and twenty years.

Table 5.4 –Years of work experience

Years of experience	No of respondents (%)
0-10 years	01 (07)
11-20 years	02 (13)
20-30 years	12 (80)
Total	15 (100)

Part-B: Perceptions of employers about EWDs

The main objective of the Persons with Disabilities Act 1995 is to address the issues of PWDs in the country with relation to access, inclusion, identity and independent living. It also envisages integration of persons with disabilities into mainstream society. The PWD Act also earmarked three percent reservations for PWDs in government and PSU organizations. It is however important to know how the organization through its different levels of management looks at PWDs working in their departments or divisions as it reflects the inclusiveness or otherwise of the organization. In other words for a formal organization supported by government it is not just sufficient to earmark certain jobs for PWDs as per the legislations but also it is important for it to facilitate an inclusive work environment for their EWDs. The inclusiveness, discrimination free and barrier free work environment is reflected in the perceptions or attitudes of the employers (represented by the immediate head of the EWD) in the organization. Thus it becomes important to know the perceptions of employers under whom EWDs are working. For this data were collected from fifteen employers as to know how they feel about their EWDs.

Employees with disabilities working in the division

As the superior or Head of the department where EWDs work the incumbent is expected to be functioning in a non-normative manner so as to enable the EWDs work in an efficient manner. Data on employers of EWDs find that ten out of fifteen have one or two EWDs working in their division. Three respondents have five or six EWDs while two have three to four EWDs. The number of EWDs is in addition to other employees in the division. EWDs work along with other employees under the supervision of the employer respondents.

Table 5.5 – EWDs working with the employer respondents

No of EWDs	No of respondents (%)
1-2	10 (67)
3-4	02 (13)
5-6	03 (20)
Total	15 (100)

The question next arises is the nature of interaction between the employer and the EWDs in the division. How the interaction takes place between the two, the perception of the employers with relation to the EWDs under the division and how this interaction is perceived to be different from that of interaction between the employer and other employees in the division are some of the issues the researcher tried to understand through interaction with the employer respondents.

To the question on the intensity of interaction between the employer and the EWDs eight respondents reported that they interact often with EWDs. Three respondents reported the interaction to be more frequent while four have responded saying the interaction with the EWDs is rare.

Table 5.6 – Respondents’ interaction with employees with disabilities

Level of interaction	Number of respondents (%)
Always	3 (20)
Often	8 (53)
Sometimes	-
Rarely	4 (26)
Never	-
Total	15 (100)

One of the employer respondents observes that

“...as part of my work I meet employees in my division daily. This applies to the EWDs also. Of course, as the Head of the division, what is important for me is the quality of the work and completing the given task in time. The EWDs are good at their work and mostly they finish the work on time. What else I need more than

this. We (referring to the EWDs) often chat and discuss about our personal and working conditions during tea time”.

What emerges from the study is that the employer respondents are more than aware about the special needs of the EWDs. A respondent puts it this way

“...as the Head of the division I always consult my employees with disabilities about their special needs and what I can fulfil within my capacity I try to provide them. Whatever the organization can provide I try to take the issue to my higher officials”.

Awareness about the nature of disability of the EWDs

Awareness about the nature of disability of the EWDs working in the division by the employer or Head of the division always provides the latter an opportunity to know the special needs of the EWDs. Intending to know the awareness of the nature of impairment of the EWDs working in their divisions a question was asked by the researcher. Responding to this all the employer respondents reported that they are aware of the nature of impairment of the EWDs in their divisions. Nine respondents have reported that they have EWDs who are orthopedically challenged. Three respondents have reported that they have visually challenged employees while three have employees with multiple disabilities like locomotor disability and hearing impairment or locomotor disability and visual impairment and speech impairment.

Table 5.7 - Nature of disability of the EWDs

Nature of disability	No of respondents (%)
Locomotor disability	9 (60)
Visually challenged	3 (20)
Locomotor disability & Hearing impaired	02 (13)
Locomotor disability, Visually challenged & Speech impaired	01 (07)
Total	15 (100)

Awareness about policies for EWDs

Awareness on the policy safeguards, Acts, and legal provisions enacted by the state is necessary for the employers who have EWDs. The organization follows the procedures laid down by state when it comes to recruitment of PWDs. However, it is important for the Heads of divisions of superiors of EWDs to be aware of these legal safeguards for EWDs. It may be argued that higher the awareness among the employers greater is the enabling environment for the EWDs. Keeping this in mind the researcher attempted to know the extent of awareness of the legal provisions for the EWDs among the employer respondents.

Data reveal that ten out of fifteen respondents have said that they are aware of the legal provisions and policies for the EWDs. Three responded saying that they have heard about legal provisions and policies but are unaware of the details whereas two respondents have expressed complete ignorance of such provisions.

Table 5.8- Awareness on policies for EWDs

Awareness on policies for EWDs	No of respondents (%)
Yes	10 (67)
Heard but not aware	3 (20)
No idea	02 (13)
Total	15 (100)

Further intending to know the extent of awareness of legal provisions and safeguards among those who have responded positively (10 out of 15 respondents) to the question on the knowledge about legal provisions the researcher asked them about some basic details of such laws and provisions. Data reveal that about seven of them reported that they are aware of the a) Persons with disabilities Act, 1995, and b) PWDs are eligible for 3% reservations in all government institutions / organizations. One respondent stated that PWDs will get free and compulsory education up to 18 years of age as per the Right to Education Act 2009 and one respondent mentioned that the EWDs are entitled for double Travelling Allowance (TA).

Awareness on the inclusive work environment to EWDs

Work is central to a person's well-being. In addition to providing income, work can pave way for broader social and economic advancement of the individual, family and community (ILO, 2015). Similarly, Oliver (1996) suggest that the meaningfulness of a person's life largely depends on and determined by the work that person is engaged in. They also observe that 'meaningful employment is a cardinal factor with regard to determining both the quality of life and the rehabilitation of PWDs. It also improves the individual's sense of dignity and contributes to the establishment of a positive self-image. Getting a good job and justifying your work and satisfying your employment has a therapeutic effect on everyone, but especially on people with disabilities'.

Employment for PWDs prevents their isolation and is conducive to a healthy home life (Akabas, Gates and Galvin, 1992). Unemployment can result in the loss of dignity, respect, self-esteem and leads to many other problems. Similarly, Schneider and Ferritor (as quoted in Bolton 1982) emphasize that a 'person with disabilities not only values work highly but perhaps values it more highly than does the able-bodied worker'. However, when it comes to empirical reality many PWDs face problems with relation to access to work and the poor work environment which hinder their work efficiency and participation.

As part of the study the researcher made an attempt to examine the employers' awareness about the working conditions conducive for the EWDs in their organization. Responding to this question six respondents have suggested that the working conditions in their organization i.e. ILC is conducive to EWDs. Further, they added that they are aware of the special needs of EWDs working under them and they try to ensure providing the required facilities so that EWDs can perform their duties and take up responsibilities like other employees. These respondents also stated that for the effective work of the EWDs the ILC management takes the responsibility to create accessible environment as per their needs. However, five respondents have reported that the working conditions are not conducive while four respondents have reported that they are not aware whether the working conditions are conducive to the EWDs or not.

Table 5.9 - Awareness on the inclusive work environment to EWDs

Inclusive working environment	No of respondents (%)
Yes	06 (40)
No	05 (33)
Do not know	04 (27)
Total	15 (100)

Support services provided to EWDs

Formal organizations have to actively consider the special needs of EWDs so that they don't feel discriminated and participate wholly in employment. The needs of the EWDs, however, are not universal as the nature of impairment calls for certain type of needs. Also the needs and problems of workers with disabilities depend on the type and severity of impairment. For instance, persons with visual impairment needs are different from that of the needs of the orthopedically challenged. Thus organizations must identify these needs and provide support services accordingly. Wehman, Revell and Kregel (1998) suggest certain examples of these work related supports, like (a) workplace accommodations with the help of assistive technologies, job restructuring, and schedule modification; (b) co-worker and employer support; and (c) employer-sponsored programs and policies such as return-to-work policies, and company policies regarding family and/or medical leave. According to Millington (1992), 'accommodations that exist in workplaces include wellness programs, employee assistance programs, basic skills training, coaching, mentoring, and apprenticeships. Often, employers may not be aware of these inexpensive and unobtrusive accommodations or supports that may be readily available within their organizations'. The support services could also include assistive devices, accessible environment, western model toilets/wash rooms and special parking areas for vehicles.

The researcher attempted to understand the availability of the support services in the ILC to the EWDs. Similarly, the researcher was also interested to know whether any training is provided to the employees including EWDs at work place to highlight the issues related to the latter about work and coping mechanisms at work. Data on the availability of support services to the EWDs in the organization suggest that eight out of

fifteen respondents said that there are no such services available while five reported that they are not aware of such services. Only two responded positively. Responding to the question on training provided to the employees on the issues of the EWDs seven responded positively while three responded negatively. Five mentioned that they are not aware of the issue at all.

Table 5.10 - Support services and training

Availability of support services	No of respondents (%)
Yes	02 (13)
No	08 (54)
Do Not know	05 (33)
Total	15 (100)
Training provided to all employees, including EWDs	
Yes	07 (47)
No	03 (20)
Do Not know	05 (33)
Total	15 (100)

It may be said that the organization doesn't make concerted efforts about providing support services to the EWDs. It may also be said that the ILC management also doesn't consider training to the employees of the organization about the issues of EWDs important, which is reflected in the responses from the employer respondents. Flatow (1999) argues that formal organizations should employ a team approach in determining workplace accommodations through the integration of activities of human resource professionals, safety professionals, top management, and employees with disabilities. Often within organizations, human resource professionals are called on to address the needs and issues of employees with disabilities. However, it might be more beneficial to the organizations to solicit the collective knowledge and resources of the organization's disability management professionals, or others within the organization, as well as human service professionals to assist employers in the identification and development of workplace accommodations.

Attitudes of employers towards PWDs and EWDs

Decisions made by the employers are critical to providing equal opportunities for persons with impairments and improving their working conditions at work place. A number of researchers have examined employer's attitudes and experiences towards accommodating and retaining employees with disabilities in the USA after the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was passed in the late 1980s. Hernandez, Keys and Balcazar (2000) report that 'although employers are supportive of the ADA as a whole, the employment provisions evoke concern. When appropriate supports are provided, employers express positive attitudes toward workers with intellectual and psychiatric disabilities. Workers with physical disabilities continue to be viewed more positively than workers with intellectual or psychiatric disabilities'. Study by Bruyere, Erickson and VanLooy (2004) suggests that majority of the human resource professionals from organizations studied had accommodated workers with disabilities in each of the following ways: 1) created flexible human resources policies, 2) restructured jobs, 3) modified the work environment, 4) provided written job instructions, 5) provided transportation, accommodations, and 6) modified equipment.

Another study by Dixon, Kruse and Van Horn (2003) shows that the support services provided to the EWDs is very beneficial for both worker as well as employers. They report that these efforts improved working conditions and productivity. The researchers agree that providing support to workers with disabilities cost little or nothing, but are generally effective. They also observe that it is 'worth the investment' in terms of retaining experienced workers and increasing productivity. It also helps in improving organizational culture and climate.

In this study the researcher attempted to measure the opinions of employers on a set of statements towards EWDs in the organization. Data were collected on ten statements related to attitudes of employers towards EWDs. These statements are randomly listed and in the same order were read out to the employer respondents whose response was ticked by the researcher. These statements are framed in such a way that they elicit both positive and negative attitudes of the respondents towards EWDs. The statements five to ten connote negative attitude if the response is in agreement with the statement. Similarly, statements two and three are normative and those who confirm can

be considered as not aware of the evolving disability discourse. Statement one is general in nature while statement four indicate a positive attitude of those who agree with it.

Data reveal that ten out of fifteen respondents have positively responded to the statement that managements look for productive aspects of workers abilities (see Table 5.11). This is a general statement regarding the management's prerequisites for its employees. Two and three statements also received responses in agreement suggesting that PWDs should be treated with sympathy and must be protected. The agreement to these statements only highlights the fact that majority of the employee respondents share the feeling of people in general which considers that PWDs must be treated with pity and thus they require sympathy and protection from other members of the society. Disability activists vehemently oppose such an attitude and consider it as a form of charity orientation and they argue for rights based approach which calls for looking at PWDs as citizens with equal rights. Disability literature also suggests that rights based approach calls for changes in the wider social system including a change in the attitude of people from that of charity to equal members towards PWDs. This actually places demands on the members of the wider society to invoke corresponding changes in the social, cultural and physical structures built over a period which are otherwise oppressive to the PWDs. Only those who are aware of the rights of the PWDs would consider that statements such as protection and sympathy are normative and oppressive and would not agree with the statements.

Table 5.11- Attitudes of Employers toward Persons with Disabilities and EWDs

S. No	Attitudes	No. of respondents (%)			Total
		Agree	Undecided	Disagree	
1	Generally, employers are looking for highly productive people	10 (67)	03 (20)	02 (13)	15 (100)
2	Should persons with disabilities be treated with sympathy	11 (74)	-	04 (26)	15 (100)
3	Should persons with disabilities be protected	15 (100)	-	-	15 (100)
4	Should persons with disabilities participate in all activities	07 (47)	03 (20)	05 (33)	15 (100)
5	Employing persons with disabilities can require big, disruptive or expensive changes to the workplace.	07 (47)	03 (20)	05 (33)	15 (100)
6	Employing persons with disabilities costs more to organization	05 (33)	02 (13)	08 (54)	15 (100)
7	Employees with disabilities take more time to finish the work as compare to others	05 (33)	02 (13)	08 (54)	15 (100)
8	Employing persons with disabilities will disturb existing workers	-	02 (13)	13 (87)	15 (100)
9	Employing persons with disabilities is a hassle	03 (20)	02 (13)	10 (67)	15 (100)
10	Persons with disabilities won't fit in my organization	-	-	15 (100)	15 (100)

The response towards the fourth statement which calls for participation of PWDs in all activities is progressive in nature and data suggest that only seven out of fifteen are in agreement with it. This highlights the fact that a majority of the employers do feel that PWDs are not capable of taking up all the activities. Statement five which says that 'employing persons with disabilities can require big, disruptive or expensive changes to

the workplace' received seven responses in confirmation and only five in negative. This again reflects the 'not so inclusive' attitude of the employers who believe that special needs of the EWDs can be met with huge expenses in changing the work place in tune with their needs. However, literature suggests that work place changes in tune with the special needs of EWDs don't require huge expenditure. It only calls for a different understanding of the work place and corresponding changes may be possible without incurring drastic alteration in the work place. Sixth and seventh statements, which suggest that EWDs cost more to the organization and EWDs take more time to complete the same task respectively, received majority responses in disagreement. Eight out of fifteen responses were not in agreement while five for both the statements were in agreement. This again reflects the attitude which is not so inclusive towards EWDs in ILC. Eighth and tenth statements which say that 'employing persons with disabilities will disturb existing workers' and 'persons with disabilities won't fit in my organization' respectively have received an overwhelming responses in disagreement. The ninth statement which suggests that 'employing persons with disabilities is a hassle' again received majority responses in disagreement.

It may be said that the responses on the statements intended to measure the attitudes of employers indicate favourable attitude towards PWDs in general and EWDs in particular. However, some respondents have not been fully aware of the issues and needs of the PWDs and thus found to be reflecting a negative attitude towards PWDs. This is basically due to lack of orientation and exposure of the employers towards the issues of the PWDs and EWDs and this calls for sensitizing all the employees of the organization through training and orientation programmes. Any number of training or orientation sessions to EWDs is insufficient to evolve an inclusive work place unless the co-workers, superiors and other workers in the formal organization are sensitized. Only then the age-old prejudices embedded in cultural and social practices can be erased from the public places like formal organizations. This kind of attempt makes work environment inclusive rather than mere enactment of laws.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

Development discourse on persons with disabilities considers the issue of employment of the latter as an issue of livelihood and poverty. Following the typical bureaucratic parlance the administrative machinery of state treats the employment of persons with disabilities as one of development or empowerment issues closely associated with poverty and underdevelopment. Hence, we find a series of state programmes, or the programmes taken up by non-governmental organizations funded by the state, looks at PWDs as those who are in need of livelihood sources to overcome poverty. This perspective, derived from charity or benevolence or philanthropy, has been guiding the measures of development of PWDs in the country for a long time.

Historical understanding of economic participation of PWDs suggests that the capitalist industrial production relations have undermined the role of PWDs and confined them to the four walls of house. Agrarian relations of production provided opportunities to the PWDs in the production process while the industrial production process relegated the inferior bodies to the margins. The notions of efficiency and productivity did cast severe spell on the lives of PWDs.

Disability rights movement began in the West and spread to countries across the globe, demands for decent, independent living for persons with disabilities. The very notion of independent living connotes the urge among the PWDs for a way of living of their choice without depending on the mercy of others. Means to independent living are education and employment.

Several international bodies, embarking on the rights approach, passed legislations suggesting for initiating measures by countries towards equal opportunities, right to work, right to education, etc. for PWDs. International Labour Organization, United Nations have been relentlessly striving for the betterment of the lives of PWDs. ILO Convention 159- 'Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention' and United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) are some of the landmark legislations ushered in the progressive reforms in different countries across the globe.

India, as a signatory of the international bodies, ratified several such declarations and enacted legislations to protect the interests of the PWDs. The constitution of India and several follow up legislations like the PWD Act, 1995 and the most recent Act, The Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act 2016, have been aimed at promoting the best possible social, economic and political space for the PWDs in the country.

Apart from the legislations and the constitutional safeguards for the PWDs, the most crucial subject of concern is the cultural and social aspects which influence the everyday living of the latter. Irrespective of the constitutional safeguards and legal enactments, in the absence of appropriate changes in the socio-cultural spheres, the lives of PWDs would not change much. This is because, most of the exclusionary, discriminatory and oppressive practices against the disabled arise and perpetuate in the cultural and social spheres. The magnitude of exclusion of PWDs is immense in the developing countries when compared to the developed countries of the world. Poverty coupled with illiteracy contributed to the marginality of PWDs in the developing countries. Several scholars from India dealing with the issues of marginality and exclusion of PWDs also highlighted the dimension of gender within the discourse on disability.

It may be argued that despite several state interventions the condition of PWDs is still vulnerable. The extent of marginality and exclusion is clearly evident in several indicators of development, like, education, employment, health, etc. On most of the parameters of human development the status of PWDs is way below the national and international standards. Among several key parameters of development, employment is said to be a key parameter. Employment offers individual an opportunity not only to overcome the economic constraints but also provides a social status which is not comprehensible easily.

Formal employment is seen as an important safeguard against economic and social disadvantages for PWDs. Keeping this in mind, India enacted legislations earmarking three per cent (2016 Act envisages four per cent) reservations to PWDs in all the government and public sector undertakings in the country. However, the employment situation of PWDs is far away from what is envisaged in the legislations and Acts. This is reflected in the Census data of 2011 on the employment of PWDs in the country.

Several scholars attributed low percentage of PWDs in the formal sector of employment to the social and cultural factors. It is important to note that the social sphere of a formal organization is nothing but an extension of the external social environment. Hence, individuals in the formal organization carry their social baggage, full of social and cultural stereotypes, to the formal work place. This aspect is amply described by the disability scholars who highlight the social stereotypes which hinder the participation of PWDs in work. Social and cultural conditioning of workplace, reflected in the architectural and work design spaces, leads to discrimination and exclusion of employees with disabilities (EWDs). However, the disability literature on EWDs is limited in India and as a result not much is known to the world about the work environment and the participation of EWDs in formal organizations.

The present study, with the broader objectives of understanding the perceptions of employees with disabilities on work and work environment in the formal organization and examining the employers' attitudes towards EWDs, was carried out in a well-known public sector unit located in Hyderabad. As part of the study data were collected from EWDs respondents and the employers under whom the EWDs are working. In all, data were collected from fifty EWDs respondents and fifteen employers under whom EWDs are working.

EWDs respondents include more men than women and more orthopedically challenged EWDs than others. Majority of the EWDs belong to BC category while a large majority are married. Also, majority of the EWDs respondents have intermediate with ITI as their educational qualification, while very negligible number of respondents is with higher technical qualifications. The highest qualification was M. Tech. and it was found that most of the respondents who have higher academic qualification belong to orthopedically challenged category. It may be said that employees with other impairments like visually challenged or speech impaired do not have higher academic qualification. It was also observed that women EWDs have low academic qualification and are occupying low paid jobs when compared to their men counterparts.

The reason for high presence of orthopedically challenged respondents among EWDs may be attributed to two factors. One, the orthopedically challenged persons, in general, have better opportunities to pursue higher education and thus acquire higher

technical qualifications than that of persons with other disabilities. The other reason could be that the management of the ILC is more favourable towards recruiting orthopedically challenged persons when compared to persons with other impairments. The study finds that the management is more considerate towards orthopedically challenged as the latter are seen as less difficult to communicate and as having high work efficiency when compared to others. It may be argued that the management considers the built environment at the work place, both physical and social, is more conducive to orthopedically challenged. However, the latent reason could be that the recruitment of the orthopedically challenged persons doesn't demand considerable changes in the work environment. In other words, if the management had to recruit persons with other impairments, for example, visually challenged, in greater number, the demand for corresponding changes in the work environment would be much more. Hence, it may be said that, the management considers accommodating those EWDs who do not require major changes in the work environment. This supports the argument of the disability scholars and activists that the work environment is treated as something fixed where as individual with impairment as adaptive. According to the disability activists, this kind of attitude is nothing but a form of oppression perpetuated on the impaired individuals.

The study finds that a majority of the EWDs respondents (62 percent) are placed in the skilled or technical jobs followed by 22 percent in the middle management level. The study finds no difference in the salaries between EWDs and other employees. The ILC, being a public sector unit, doesn't discriminate between EWDs and others in terms of salaries. However, the study finds discrimination in terms of promotions to the EWDs. It was found in the study that the promotions to the EWDs come late when compared to other employees. Some respondents reported that colleagues younger to them get promotion much before the EWDs. This only reflects the lack of equitable procedures in the organization. It was reported that management considers filling up of PWDs according to the quota of reservations as part of the constitutional obligation but doesn't think beyond in terms of improving the quality of work for the EWDs.

The study also finds that the EWDs in the ILC are organized into an association to put forth their views across to the management and to fight collectively in achieving their rights. It was also found that there is a cross sectionality in terms of membership into different pressure group associations of caste and disability. BC, SC, ST employees with

disabilities are also the members of the caste associations, namely, BC, SC, ST employee welfare associations. However, what has not clearly emerged is the women employees association and the participation of women EWDs. This may be due to the fact that there are less number of women respondents in the study.

What is important to note is that the EWD respondents tend to compare the working of the DWA with that of other associations like, SC or ST employees associations. It was reported by the respondents that, because of their less number, the EWDs are unable to exert the same amount of pressure that other associations put on the management. It was found that, not only do the small number weaken the DWA but also the relative evaluation of the management between the caste associations and the disabled employees welfare associations. Moreover, it was found that the DWA works in consultation with the management and there was a feeling that the office bearers of the DWA do not cross lines with the management of ILC.

It was found that there was a sense of gratitude among the EWDs as well as the employers of the disabled, apart from the management, about the jobs given to the PWDs in the ILC. The notion of gratitude emanates from charity and philanthropy mode of thinking which is opposed by the disability activists. It may be said that the formal organization doesn't escape from this social conditioning despite several legislations.

Majority of the EWDs felt that the three per cent reservation in the formal employment for the PWDs is not sufficient. It may be said that the new Act of 2016, which envisages four per cent reservations, may be a step in the right direction. It was also found that majority of the respondents are quite content with their job. However, some EWDs respondents reported discrimination based on their impairment. The study finds that the employees with speech impairment reportedly facing visible form of discrimination and sometimes insulting behaviour from their colleagues, however, the orthopedically challenged respondents faced invisible, structural discrimination.

The study collected data from the immediate superiors of the EWDs to understand their perception towards PWDs in general and EWDs in particular. The study finds that the perceptions and attitudes of the superiors are positive towards EWDs about their working abilities and performance. However, they also have a perception of pity and sympathy towards PWDs. Awareness on the laws pertaining to EWDs appears to be low

among these respondents. The support services for the EWDs in the organization were found to be lacking. There appears to be a lack of awareness on the needs and concerns of the EWDs among the respondents. The study finds that there is a need for sensitization programmes to the superiors of EWDs and fellow workers of the division so that they become more inclusive in their approach towards EWDs. The study also finds that the EWDs are demanded to adjust to the work environment so as to carry out their work. It is important to note that the management is not aware of many inexpensive and unobtrusive work place adjustments which can facilitate a better work environment for the EWDs. It may be suggested that if the employers or superiors are aware of the special needs and concerns of the EWDs the former could actually take up such adjustments to enhance the performance of the EWDs.

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Interview schedule- Employees with disabilities

Section – A: Personal information

Gender: Male Female

Age (in years): less than 30 years 31 – 40 41-50 51 years and above

Caste: General BC SC ST Any other _____

Current marital status

Married

Unmarried

Widowed

Type of impairment (Tick mark)

Physical

Visual

Hearing

Speech

If other (Specify)_____

State of nativity: _____

Highest educational qualification: _____

Current position/designation: _____

Where do you place your current position in the following?

Top management

Senior management

Middle management

Skilled / Technical

Clerk / Admin

Any other (specify) _____

Monthly salary (present): Rs. _____

Years of experience in the present position (in years)

0-10

11-20

21-30

31 years and above

Do you have your own vehicle? Yes No

Do you experience any problem in commuting to office? Yes No

How did you come to know about the present job?

Campus selection

Contract labour

Employment office

Employment notification in the print media

Compassionate grounds

Are you satisfied with your present job?

Satisfied

Not Satisfied

Are you aware of the legislations related to employees with disabilities?

Yes

No

What is the major hindrance, in your opinion, in the development of persons with disabilities?

Discriminating attitude of people in general

Illiteracy

Lack of political will

Lack of awareness among people about the issues of persons with disabilities

If any other (specify): _____

Do you prefer to continue in the present job in the ILC? Yes No

Do you experience discrimination disability in the workplace?

Always Sometimes Never

THANK YOU.

**Interview schedule- Employer's attitudes (and experiences with) towards employees
with disabilities (EWDs)**

Personal information

Post (Designation): _____

Gender: Male Female

Are you an employee with disabilities? Yes No

If yes, what type of impairment? (Tick from below)

Physically challenged

Visually challenged

Hearing impairment

Speech impairment

If other (Specify)_____

Age (in years): 20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45
46 and above

Educational status: _____

Years of experience in the present position

0-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 20 years and above

**Awareness about the policies and working conditions of the employees with
disabilities in the ILC**

Awareness about the policies

How many persons with disabilities are employed in your organization? _____

Are you aware of the policy of your organization on the employment of persons with disabilities?

Yes No Don't know

If yes, please specify: _____

Are you familiar with the Persons with disabilities Act 1995? Yes No

Working conditions

Are facilities in your work place and made accessible to the employees with disabilities?

Yes No Don't know

If adapted, give examples of adapted facilities

Are all workstations reorganised to accommodate all (including those with disabilities)?

Yes No Do not know

If yes, how?

Are support services in place for EWDs? Yes No Do not know

If yes, briefly tell us what kind of support services you are providing?

Employers' attitudes and experiences with employees with disabilities

Employer's attitudes towards employee with disabilities: (Please mark the following statements whichever is applicable).

Please tell us what qualities you or your organisation look for in the potential employees that make them an ideal fit?

- Generally, employers look for highly productive people.

- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Should persons with disabilities be treated with sympathy?
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Should persons with disabilities be protected?
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Should persons with disabilities participate in all activities?
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Persons with disabilities are less predictive
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Employing persons with disabilities require big, disruptive or expensive changes to the workplace.
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Employing persons with disabilities costs more to organization
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Employees with disabilities take more time to finish the work as compare to others
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Employing persons with disabilities will disturb the other workers
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Employing persons with disabilities is a hassle
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
- Persons with disabilities won't fit in my organization
- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|

Employer's experience with employees with disabilities

Are you comfortable working with a person with a disability in your branch or sub-branch?

Yes

No

Do not know

If no, what is the problem? _____

Any other comments

THANK YOU

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