Healthcare Policies in West Bengal (1991-2015): A Case-study of Women Careworkers in select Formal and Informal Sectors

Thesis submitted to Presidency University, Kolkata for award of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in ARTS

by

Madhurilata Basu



Department of Political Science Presidency University, Kolkata, India

2023

Thesis Title: HEALTHCARE POLICIES IN WEST BENGAL (1991-2015): A CASE-STUDY OF WOMEN CAREWORKERS IN SELECT FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTORS

Name of the Candidate: Madhurilata Basu

Registration Number: R-14RS04210046

Date of Registration: 9th May 2016

Department: Department of Political Science

Date: 06 February 2023

(Madhurilata Basu)

Madhurilata Basu

Acknowledgement

This thesis has been the result of encouragement and support from a lot of people hence this section would be too small to contain the list of all names who had helped, guided and shaped it. But still, I would like to thank the following people. My interest in informal economy had peaked during post-graduation days and for that I am grateful to my teachers at University of Calcutta, Prof. Samir Kumar Das, Prof. Amartya Mukhopadhyay and Dr. Kaberi Chakrabarti. During the initial days of present research, I have received encouragement from Prof. Prasanta Ray (Professor Emeritus, Presidency University) and Dr. Laura Corradi (University of Calabria). Further, my interest in care, labour and gender was carefully nurtured during my tenure at the Calcutta Research Group (CRG), as a research and publications assistant and I have learnt a lot from my interactions with my seniors and colleagues there. Thus, I extend my gratitude to Prof. Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury (honorary director, CRG), Prof. Paula Banerjee, Prof. Byasdeb Dasgupta, Dr. Arup Sen, other senior members of CRG and my former colleagues, Dr. Atig Ghosh and Dr. Iman Kumar Mitra, from whom I have learnt a lot.

I am immensely grateful to Dr. Monotosh Baisya, Principal Gurudas College Kolkata, and my colleagues in the above-mentioned institution and in the department of Political Science who have been very supportive. The last leg of research coincided with Covid 19 pandemic, which came with different set of challenges and I express gratitude to all the respondents who had agreed to be interviewed over telephone or through other platforms like Google Meet, WhatsApp Call etc. Dr. Urmila Ukil, Principal, Sarojini Naidu College for Women (my present place of work) has been understanding and accommodating for which I am indebted. I could not have gone through this phase without the active support of my other colleagues in the institution as well as in the department of Political Science – Dr. Debjani Bhattacharyya, Unmana Dhar, Sujata Roy and Dr. Shailendra Pradhan.

During the course of research, I have got help from friends and strangers alike. My respondents have been patient and have also urged me to approach my work from other perspectives. I am immensely grateful to (in no particular order) Rinta Raju, Liza Koshi, R. Ganga Devi, Bithi Begum, Lalremruati Sailo, Champa Maity, Polly Pariat, Toma Sen, Sangita Jha, Angura Bibi, Nooresha Begum, Poonam Toppo and all other anonymous respondents in both government hospitals or facilities and private nursing homes. A considerable section of this present research is based on interviews and field work for which I am immensely thankful to Dr. Siddhartha

Shankar Manna (University of Gour Banga), Biki Biswakarma, Abishek Biswakarma, Chanda Singh, Sunil Panwar, Dr. Swapan Ghosh, Dr. Habiur Rehman, Dr. Santi Sarkar, Rajat Roy, Sanjay Biswas, Humayun Kabir, Sabir Mallick, Banglar Manabadhikar Surakha Mancha (MASUM), United Nurses Association West Bengal, Shamin Ahmed, Debika Chakraborty, Rumki Das, Sraboni Dey, Aniket Goswami, Sammilan Baxi, Rana Sarkar, Snehal Sengupta and Kumarmangal Roy for their help during field work.

I thank (late) Prinu Koshy, Dr. Swadhin De, Dilip Ghosh (retired bureaucrat), Dr. K.K. Bagchi (retired bureaucrat), P.N. Dasgupta, (late) Dr. B.K. Dasgupta, Pradip Tandon, Dr. Punyabrata Goon, Victor Bose, Sabir Ahamed for sharing their experiences and insights. Thanks are also due to Dr. S. Mani and Mrs. Evelyn P. Kannan. I would also like to thank the librarians and other library staff of Institute of Development Studies Kolkata (IDSK), Pratichi Trust, National Library, officials at Swasthya Bhavan (Salt Lake). Friends who bore with me include Sreyoshi Dey, Sucharita Sengupta, Subhangi Dutta, Payel Ghosh, Abhijit Sarkar, Dishari Sarkar, Abir Ghosh, Sanchari Naskar, Pritha Sarkar, Utsha Saha, Limanochet Jamir, Rubesh Sircar.

Further, without the support of my teacher (and Head of the Department) at Presidency University, Abdus Samad Gayen, and other faculty members of the department of Political Science, Presidency University, external members of the PhD. Committee, Prof. Shobhanlal Dutta Gupta, Prof. Sanjukta Bhattacharya and Prof. Manabi Majumdar, this thesis would not have taken its current form. I am also thankful to Dr. Maidul Islam (the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata) for his initial comments.

I cannot thank enough Prof. Ranabir Samaddar (former Director, CRG) for sharing his observations with me, encouraging me, criticising me, whenever needed. Same goes out for my former supervisor Prof. Pradip Basu and my present supervisor Dr. Zaad Mahmood. While Prof. Basu offered calmness to my chaotic mind through his guidance and had instilled confidence when I doubted my own thoughts, Dr Mahmood, provided clarity, thereby taming waywardness. A big thank you to both of you. At last, if this thesis has reached its fruition, it is because of the love and care of my parents, my family, in-laws and my partner, Shovik. Many others have contributed in both significant and minor ways. I apologise for not being able to thank each of you personally.

Date: 06 February 2023

Madhuilata Basu

(Madhurilata Basu)

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis contains original research work carried out by me under the guidance of Dr. Zaad Mahmood, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Presidency University, Kolkata, India as part of the Ph.D. programme.

All information in this document have been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct.

I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work.

I also declare that, this work has not been submitted for any degree either in part or in full to any other institute or University before.

Date: 06 February 2023

(Madhurilata Basu)

_Madhurilata Basu



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE PRESIDENCY UNIVERSITY

86/1, COLLEGE STREET, KOLKATA - 700 073, INDIA Phone : +91 33 4052 9999

Ref. No.	Date
	Date

To whom it may concern

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "HEALTHCARE POLICIES IN WEST BENGAL (1991-2015): A CASE-STUDY OF WOMEN CAREWORKERS IN SELECT FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTORS" submitted by Smt. Madhurilata Basu who got her name registered for Ph.D. programme under my supervision (Registration Number R-14RS04210046 and date of registration 09.05.2016) and that neither her thesis nor any part of the thesis has been submitted for any degree or diploma or any other academic award anywhere before.

Date: 4 Feb 2023

(Dr. Zaad Mahmood)

Frad Mahwood

List of publications and Presentations:

Book Chapter:

Basu, Madhurilata. 2018. "Migration and Care-giving in Kolkata in the Age of Globalization." In Ranabir Samaddar ed. *Migrants and the Neoliberal City*. Hyderabad, Orinet BlackSwan.

Paper Presented:

Basu, Madhurilata. 2016. "Politics and Healthcare Scenario in India: Media Analysis." Presented at UGC sponsored National Seminar, organised by Gurudas College Kolkata and Calcutta Research Group on 'Media, Economics and Politics in Post-Globalization India., in Kolkata on September 22 and 23.

Journal Article (Forthcoming):

Basu, Madhurilata. 2023. "Healthcare Policies and Electoral Politics in West Bengal: 2011-2021." In Vidyasagar University Journal of Economics (Vol 27,2022-23), which is a peer reviewed Journal with ISSN (0975-8003) and also currently UGC-Listed Journal.