Working from Home: Women in the Indian Tech-industry through the Pandemic

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I. Introduction

This paper examines the condition of women in the Indian tech-industry, through the COVID-19 pandemic, as they negotiate the challenges of 'Work from Home' (WFH). Amidst mass termination and pay-cuts, tech-companies in India have switched to WFH, a pre-existing method of production that the pandemic has normalized. Some companies even installed desktops at their workers' homes to ensure security and compliance (Sangani and Chandrashekhar 1-3). However, corporations have not adequately addressed how this invasion of paid work into domestic boundaries would impact women, who by default are unpaid caregivers in Indian families (Rout et al. 92-93; Patil 2-5). For this new arrangement of labor, implemented for social distancing, women now have to fulfill domestic and professional obligations at the same space, almost simultaneously. Incidentally, the lockdown has also led to a sharp increase in intimate partner violence across various classes and communities (Bradbury-Jones and Isham 2047; Ravindran and Shah 1).

The situation is not unique to women in India. Women in the US tech-industry have experienced additional domestic responsibilities, and a spike in domestic violence, during the lockdown (Kottasová 3-4). Similar to Indian women, their representation in the tech-industry, especially in leadership roles, is marginal (Tom Finn 4-8). I use the pandemic as a context to understand how the global neoliberal market defines the relationship between gender and labor, and from five life-story interviews I examine what women in the Indian tech-industry think about building transnational networks of feminist solidarity (Desai 15-18), across all industries, classes and cultures.

II. Women in Tech: Peripheral Encounters

Indian tech-companies achieved global visibility in the 1980s and 1990s, especially after economic liberalization in 1991 (Sharma 4). A large number of women joined this industry, because the workplace was considered safe and job opportunities were aplenty. Many Indian women began to pursue technical education (Parikh and Sukhatme 193). However, tech-companies have failed to dismantle gender-based boundaries on both domestic and professional fronts. There were about 34 percent women workers in the Indian IT-ITES sector in 2017-2018; but many women leave the industry within the first five years of their tenure (Gupta 3-8). Women in tech-companies globally experience inequality in health and intimate relations, workplace sexual harassment, wage gaps, and discriminatory maternity policies. They have much less representation than men even in the Global North (Vigo 3-4).

Policies against gender inequality in tech-companies and gender sensitization programs do not prevent gender bias (Wynn 107). These programs shift the responsibility for gender inequality to individuals. Men are trained to limit unconscious bias, and women are encouraged to be assertive. Thus, tech-firms underplay the role of organizational culture (e.g. referral hiring, subjective evaluation criteria, vague evaluation standards, unfair distribution of rewards, etc.) that normalizes gender inequality. Sometimes, executives also blame the national culture, to justify the inability of the company to eliminate gender discrimination (Wynn 108-109).

There are several instances of gender discrimination in the tech-industry. Women in motherhood are perceived to be incompetent workers and inefficient leaders. For women in the tech-industry, the glass ceiling hindering their professional growth is often "a motherhood ceiling" (Correll et al. 1334). Again, women in leadership are penalized in harsher ways than men. There are so few women in tech, across the hierarchy of designations, that their so-called mistakes are immediately attributed to gender identities. "High-achieving women experience social backlash because their very success – and specifically the behaviors that created that success – violates our expectations about how women are supposed to behave" (Cooper 5). This practice points at the stereotyping and sexualization of women workers in tech-companies. Women are well accepted in call centers because clients prefer to interact with women for their "pleasant voice and demeanor" (Jensen 758). This gender stereotyping exists also at Indian tech-companies that relegate women workers to low-prestige roles (Upadhya and Vasavi 125).

A 2019 UNESCO report on gender bias in the algorithms of chatbots or digital assistants shows that the limited presence of women in decision making teams leads to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes (West et al. 100). Tech-companies make female chatbots, with submissive demeanor, to attract business; such as Amazon's Alexa, Microsoft's Cortana and Apple's Siri (originally only female, and in Norse it means 'a beautiful woman leading someone to victory'). "Women enter technology domains only after their parameters and norms have been established by men. Alternately, women are quickly displaced by male decision-makers and technical workers as norms are set" (West et al. 101). Algorithms, thus, capture and reproduce structural inequalities (Ed Finn 9).

Tech-companies run on algorithmic distribution and management of labor, or "algocracy" (Aneesh 349); and digital networks of labor turn workers into digital "data-doubles" (Lyon 325). The codes of identity assume a non-gendered form. This apparent erasure of gender from the digital embodiment of labor contributes to the organizational silence about gender politics at digital workplaces. In addition, the neoliberal emphasis on human capital and skills helps these companies overlook issues of inequality. Workers' competence is entirely measured by the acquisition of skills and economic productivity, while structural inequalities barring access to skills remain unaddressed (Fernandez 12-13).

Feminization of tech-labor welcomes women across a wide range of tasks. In developing economies, women's participation in labor is a necessity (Peetz 87). Tech-companies with their various job categories, widens the scope for feminization, but automation and machine learning limit employment, especially for women (Peetz 94). In India, the 2005 Amendment of the 1948 Factories Act holds employers accountable for women workers' security. Yet, in the precarious "electronic sweatshops" (Pandita 83) feminization of labor does not stop these companies from undermining gender rights. Women are laid off even for taking maternity leaves (Pandita 89).

Payal Banerjee identifies feminization of tech-labor as "the rapid increase women in global capital", "the steady degradation of the conditions and terms of work for third world or immigrant men and women so that their labor remains inexpensive and disciplined," and "the extension of ideologies and exploitation typically associated with women's labor/status/ability to both male and female workers employed precariously in global capital" (106). Women experience multiple levels of marginalization—for their gender, racial as well as caste identities (Alegria 723; Fernendez 27). It is evident from the way the pandemic has aggravated women's invisibility in tech-companies in both the Global South and Global North. More women than men in the tech-industry have lost jobs, and have faced increased childcare responsibilities during the pandemic (Huisache 3-5); and women of color have been the hardest hit by unemployment (Modarressy-Tehrani 1).

Some constraints for women in the tech-industry are culture-specific, and related to family obligations. Night-shifts, long working hours and close contact between female and male colleagues cause cultural anxiety about women's safety, morality, and the possible breakdown of Indian family values. South Asian women's education and skills have a negative correlation with their visibility in the industry. Educated women usually marry educated men with high income that often leads these women to withdraw from the labor market (Chatterjee et al. 857). The social visibility of middle-class women, especially of higher castes, hurts the Brahmanical prestige of their families (Chatterjee et al. 859).

Preeti Singh and Anu Pandey see a significant absence of married women between 30 to 40 years of age in the Indian tech-industry. They explain that married women with children find it difficult to continue in demanding tech-jobs, which also affects their health. Most male partners do not cooperate in domestic work. Consequently, women leave growth opportunities and remain stuck at low designations (Singh and Pandey 687). Recruiters and managers, too, are reluctant to put married women on important assignments, because family obligations may force these women to quit prematurely (Upadhya and Vasavi 93).

Married women's migration to the locations of their spouses' employment is another impediment to professional growth (Tanwar 21). Often such compliance is necessary, because Indian women's participation in jobs antagonizes men, who feel threatened and retaliate with violence against women (Rao 101-103). Also, women do not get equal opportunities in choosing their specialization in engineering colleges, promotions, salaries and professional recognition. Affirmative gender policies in education like reservation in engineering colleges have not been effective in mitigating these problems (Parikh and Sukhatme 195-197). In fact, without family surveillance via mobile phones, these women would not be allowed to participate in late-night jobs. Hence, "technology merely provides women with the means to create an existence for themselves outside the household while remaining within the constraints imposed by it" (Patel 23).

Women's financial autonomy does not resolve these concerns. Instead, families often take financial decisions for these women (Patel 25). Financial empowerment does not reduce the burden of unpaid domestic care work for women in Indian families. There is a contradiction between the cultural projections of a global woman in the IT sector and the caring Indian woman in a family (Raju 17). Hence, in women's economic empowerment through IT jobs "[w]hat one sees is largely a situational change, not a processive one" (Raju 18). The liberalization of economy led the state to shift its focus

from social justice to economic productivity, and turned women into active agents of economic growth from passive recipients of social welfare. Yet, women's participation in the finance, insurance, real estate and business services industry has not increased significantly (Rao 100-101).

Existing literature on gender and tech-work identify the structural barriers women in the Indian tech-industry experience, both on domestic and professional fronts. However, the authors assume a segregation between these two sites of labor for women. Although gender inequality is common to both sites, the separation of these two spaces allows women to make some favorable adjustments in their schedules. Besides, many companies have day-care centers where working mothers can keep their children. Some tech-companies also have gyms, yoga classes and recreations centers for workers. Under normal circumstances, even amidst the prevalence of discrimination and sexual harassment, women in the tech-industry sometimes have compassionate bosses. Women are allowed to opt out of late-night shifts. Although these practices often limit their professional growth, these adjustments help them maintain a balance between office work and home.

However, through economic upheavals during the pandemic, tech-companies have done away with the basic gestures of commiseration. Before the pandemic, women in tech could separate the locations of waged and unwaged labor, and seek opportunities of leisure in liminal spaces. Work-from-home during the pandemic has entangled professional and domestic work, erasing the in-between opportunities of autonomy. The volume and duration of work have significantly increased in WFH. The fear of termination through the looming economic crisis builds the pressure of performance and affects mental health (Moorthy 4-5). My analysis shows how women in the tech-industry navigate these challenges. In view of the theories of transnational feminism, I also analyze if the common experiences of gender-based exclusion can motivate these women to forge networks transnational solidarity.

III. Methods

This qualitative study is based on semi-structured, life-story interviews of five women (aged between 33 and 45 years) in the Indian tech-industry. Out of a large snowball sample created for my ongoing research on the Indian IT industry, I have built this all-women sub-set. I have addressed the obvious limitations of the small sample by using in-depth interviews. The purpose of small-sample in-depth interviews is not to establish objective facts, but to gauge the "complex reactions and feelings" of participants in their social contexts (Crouch and McKenzie 487).

To capture the variety of contexts in which participants are embedded, I have maintained diversity in the participants' locations, job roles and intimate-relationship status. Four participants identify as non-queer women, and one as queer. Out of the two participants in heterosexual marriages, one is a mother. Two participants are engineers, two work in call centers, and one is a communication consultant. They work in four Indian cities— Bengaluru, Pune, Hyderabad and Kolkata. All participants have the experience of migration to other cities. Class homogeneity is a characteristic of Indian tech-workers. All participants hail from middle-class, and usually upper-caste, urban families. This points at how class and caste intersections determine the acquisition of necessary skills to participate in the global digital industry (Fernandez 14-15; Gupta 167).

I conducted the interviews online, on a mainstream video calling platform. Three of these five interviews were recorded, with the participants' informed consent. To maintain

confidentiality of this research, I have not used the participants' real names, and asked them not to identify their employers. In order to recognize these participants' agency in self-identification, I asked them to choose their pseudonyms which I have used in this research. Interviews were scheduled according to the participants' convenience. Sometimes, scheduling was difficult, since the participants had been busy completing office work and domestic chores simultaneously. I prioritized the participants' convenience; but the participants, too, accommodated my concerns. This mutual solicitude, across locations and identities, was evocative of transnational networks of feminist solidarity.

I have predominantly used narrative analysis on these life-story interviews. Although corporate practices vary across companies, I focused more on the structural issues that precipitate women's stress and marginalization in this industry. I see the participants as purposive social actors immersed in the process of meaning-making (Gubrium and Holstein 164; Maynes et al. 30-31). I have also deployed techniques of Norman Fairclough's method of Critical Discourse Analysis to examine how the participants' statement betrayed the structures of power embedded in social relations. Critical discourse analysis views language as a manifestation of social power and discourses. It inductively studies language, discourse and socio-cultural practice as intertwined levels of analysis. With his linguistic focus, Fairclough sees "texts as elements in social processes" (6). In the interviews, I examine how these women identify their labor, name their relations, describe their work, and articulate their everyday experiences.

Marjorie DeVault recognizes that women are linguistically co-opted in male-dominated discourses, and lack expressions to identify their unique locations and experiences. DeVault (100) stresses that feminist strategies of interviewing and analysis should reflect the awareness that disciplinary practices are shaped by men, and existing categories do not consider women's standpoints. Interviewers should listen to how women translate their experiences into men's language, and experience difficulties while doing so. Following these ideas, I have been cognizant of the verbal and visual hints of confusion, prevarication and assertion when participants discussed their work and social relations.

Although I am an outsider to the tech-industry, my gender identity and experience of growing up in and being briefly married into heteronormative, urban, middle-class families in India, shapes my understanding of the politics of gender and labor in the domestic space. Throughout the interviews, I negotiated the fine balance between empathy and research objectivity. My insider knowledge of gender inequalities in India, and the shared experience of working within neoliberal structures through the pandemic, helped me capture the nuances of affective response and gender-based solidarity. That way, my approach draws on Nancy Naples's materialist feminist method. Grounded in everyday experiences of women, this method undermines the "false divide between insider and outsider research and between so-called objective or scientific and indigenous knowledge," and forges feminist allyship (Naples 64).

IV. Working from Home: The New Site of Labor and Solidarity

Tech-companies in India adopt some ostensibly affirmative measures for women, such as flexible hours, gender sensitization programs and limited night shifts. However, these measures reinforce gender stereotypes instead of eliminating them. These practices corroborate the existing division of labor, in which women perform domestic duties and comply with patriarchal restrictions. In the new labor arrangements through the

pandemic, the global market has converted the domestic space into a site of paid labor, without removing the burden of unpaid care work that befalls women. Corporations have not bothered to resolve the structural issues that cause gender discrimination.

Five participants of this research—Nikitasha, Karli, Anita, Eesha and Paula—grew up in urban middle-class families in India between the 1970s and 1990s. They witnessed changes in the patterns of consumption and urbanity after economic reforms in the 1990s that also globalized the Indian tech-industry. What has remained unchanged, however, is women's obligation to perform domestic duties. Hence, the WFH arrangement has overwhelmed the majority of women, because it leaves no gap between the time for professional assignments and domestic tasks.

Nikitasha completed engineering education from a college in Kolkata and joined a multinational corporation in 2007. She worked in two different Indian cities, and returned to Kolkata, to be with her former spouse. Throughout her previous marital relationship, Nikitasha left several opportunities for the sake of her family. Promotions would have required her to migrate to other cities. Now in her early-thirties, Nikitasha regrets that her former partner did not acknowledge her "sacrifice" and "career compromises". She finds that for women in the IT industry, these challenges are common. She asserts that WFH and the recession through the pandemic have exacerbated women's existing crises.

For Nikitasha, taking care of two children is especially challenging, even though she has been working from home. Her partner keeps the children busy in games and studies; while deadlines keep her from spending time with the children. She regrets that she is unable to respond when her children knock on the door, while she is working. While discussing the blatant practices of gender-based discrimination and wage gap in the industry, she vents that the companies do not show any consideration for women, especially young mothers like her. Even under normal circumstances, men have more opportunities to build professional networks than women, because they can stay late at work. Nikitasha resents that her employer does not provide any additional technical support in these difficult times; and tech-workers are left to fend for themselves while dealing with "demanding clients". At times she has to be available for assignments at 1 or 2 am.

Karli, the other married participant in this study, says that her spouse has also been working from home for another IT company; but, "naturally, all household responsibilities come to" her. Karli grew up in Pune, graduated with an engineering degree, and after her marriage migrated to Bengaluru with her husband. Her husband had been trying to immigrate to the US on H-1B visa, but Karli's job does not offer such opportunities. She would have left her job, and immigrated with her husband, without immediate possibilities of her employment. The recent restriction on H-1B visa applications has halted their plans. Karli would have seen the "career compromise" as an opportunity to regain her health, before she could conceive. She admits that motherhood during the lockdown would have been "a nightmare". She considers herself "lucky that [her] in-laws support the decision to delay child-planning" when she is in her mid-thirties— presumably "past the normal age for child-bearing in India" Karli's statement lays bare the limited autonomy urban Indian working women have about their family decisions, as well as the intersections of ageism and sexism in heteronormative families.

The three single women in this study are aware of their married colleagues' struggle through the pandemic. They admit that while WFH has been terribly taxing, as single women they do not feel the pressure as much. Now in her early-thirties, Anita began her career in a call center in Kolkata six years ago, and migrated to Hyderabad for economic

opportunities. Anita struggles with isolation through the pandemic, but she is also happy to be on her own. "Cooking and cleaning can wait until weekends," says Anita, "as no one is there to judge." She identifies that primarily gendered expectations of labor cause strain to her married female co-workers. Anita explains that "there is an inherent conflict in the way women are traditionally identified in Indian society, and what is expected of her in the global industry." However, Anita mentions that to support women workers, her company has started separate WhatsApp groups, on which women discuss issues which they cannot share with their male bosses.

Eesha has similar views about the status of women in tech. Now in her forties, Eesha grew up in Kolkata, worked at a media house for a decade, and migrated to Bengaluru to join the communication sector in the IT industry about a decade ago. Eesha considers herself an "outsider" to the industry, because, as a communication expert trained in literature, she feels she does not represent the core unit of IT companies. However, she feels at home with her small team, in which the majority are women.

Eesha points out that there is awareness about gender equality now, but discrimination has not ceased to exist. A persistent "men's locker room ambience" prevents women's spontaneous participation in leadership roles. She suggests that women's domestic obligations also play an important role in forcing them to leave their jobs five years after joining the industry. She calls them "the lost women" of Indian IT companies. Eesha has positive views about WFH, and enjoys the relative flexibility of her new schedule. Yet, she acknowledges that for women in martial relationships and with other familial obligations, it is a difficult arrangement.

Like Anita, Eesha, too, mentions the solidarity networks that exist on social media groups. Her company builds affinity groups for women, for queer, and for disabled people. These support networks occasionally organize events, and send emails about their activities. Through the lockdown, Eesha has been regularly calling her co-workers, but not necessarily to discuss assignments. Such connections of affect and empathy have helped many women cope with their anxiety about work and well-being.

As a queer woman, working in a call center for seven years, Navnita feels that more than corporate policies, heteronormative patriarchy is responsible for exacerbating gender inequality. She feels that, this "heteronormative industry" makes special allowances only for women in heterosexual marriages, but not for queer persons with "unique challenges". Her company does not have any queer support network. She points out that only big multinational corporations provide support structures for diversity. Navnita grew up in Kolkata, completed education in liberal arts, and migrated to Pune with a call center job, hoping to lead a life of dignity. Now in her early-thirties, microaggressions and insensitive remarks about her sexual identity count among her everyday workplace experiences. Hence, she avoids office gatherings, outside work. The solitude in WFH is a respite for Navnita. Besides, like the married women, she does not feel the "pressure of domestic chores" while finishing office assignments. Yet, she fears that being "out of the network" may render her more invisible among her peers, and will have an adverse impact on her annual appraisal as well as mental health.

Once in a while, Navnita reaches out to some of her co-workers. Navnita also hesitantly mentioned the WhatsApp groups of women workers; but she does not participate much in those conversations. Like Anita and Eesha, Navnita acknowledges that she does not have the additional burden of domestic chores and family demands. Navnita asserts that "it is patriarchy—nothing else. When you see both straight and queer women suffering in this abnormal situation, it's got to be patriarchy responsible for the crisis."

In various ways, therefore, precarity of different types—professional, marital and sexual—connects these women. Amidst their everyday struggle, these women in tech reach out to each other on social media networks. They share their experiences, seek suggestions from each other, share recipes and workout tips, and generally keep each other in good humor. In the networks that divide and isolate workers, these women build solidarity networks and affective dialogues to sail through the turbulence. However, resolving gendered issues at micro levels on WhatsApp groups means authorities can remain conveniently oblivious to the structural factors perpetuating gender inequality.

All participants of this study repeatedly referred to other women co-workers, with empathy. Hence, even in the isolation of WFH, the networks of solidarity encourage them to pursue a collective identity. These women also acknowledge their differences—in marital status, sexual identities, and family commitments—instead of homogenizing their gendered experience. This also enables them to look across class and caste barriers. Karli and Navnita also reflected on the recent migrant worker crisis in India, in which thousands of workers lost employment in Indian cities, and walked thousands of miles home with their families and belongings. The participants especially felt for the misery of the migrant women and paid domestic workers, through this ordeal. These women in the tech-industry recognize that despite their affluence and relative financial autonomy, in their gendered situation they have been somewhat similar to the women, who are further marginalized for their class and caste affiliations. The pandemic has rendered all women in the Indian labor market more invisible, both in rural and urban sectors (Rukmini S. 1-3)

However, these women consider their experience of marginalization to be culture-specific. They do not reach out to global peers. To them, the Global North represents the site of business, and not empathy. Instead, tech-workers' male-dominated trade unions help these women to secure maternity benefits and to prevent sexual harassment (Stevens and Mosco 51). However, stuck in their own constraints, these unions do not yet have the means to eliminate structural inequality at workplace and at home.

Hence, women's movements in the tech-industry, largely due to their negligible representation in decision-making bodies, have been localized, sporadic and issue-based. Women organizers have also been routinely penalized. In November 2018, the Google Walkout of thousands of employees across 50 cities in 14 countries protested sexual harassment of women in the company. Within months, Claire Stapleton and Meredith Whittaker, two of the seven women organizers reported that they faced retaliation, and lost their jobs and projects (Tiku 2-3). Yet, the strength of this agitation lay in its transnational approach. Google workers in Tokyo and Singapore, too, participated in this campaign. Women in the tech-industry, thus, can strengthen transnational solidarity networks to make their movements more participatory and less hierarchical between the Global North and the Global South.

Manisha Desai finds that structural adjustment programs have affected women's lives in the Global South; and similar effects are seen among women in the Global North through privatization. Feminization of labor has increased, but women are mostly absorbed in the low-paid service sector, and in the informal sector, which provides no benefits and protection from exploitation. Women's unpaid domestic labor has also increased as a result of such economic reforms (Desai 20). Yet, women have responded to their precarity through "scattered resistance" (Desai 17).

Chandra Mohanty critiques how feminist theories in the Global North homogenize women's experiences; and how "conceptual cartographies" (3) of global production,

histories, and epistemologies yield hierarchies of representation that marginalize third world women (4-5). As an alternative to such hegemonic theories, Desai suggests that transnational feminism can actualize the "immense potential" of women's agency (32). In transnational solidarity networks, which bring together activists, advocates, NGOs, unions, policy-oriented academic groups, "the flow of ideas and activism is no longer unidirectional, from the North to the South, but multidirectional. The ideas and activism are dispersed into varied local sites where they are picked up and refashioned as they resonate in contextualized ways" (Desai 15).

Transnational feminist solidarity recognizes the significance of interstitial experiences beyond the boundaries of nation states and nationalism; and resists cultural homogenization (Nagar and Swarr 4). Gloria Anzaldúa studies how the liminal spaces between cultures, class and sexual identities create spaces of solidarity among women. Using the spatial metaphor of borders, Anzaldúa finds that borders initiate the act of othering—and legitimizes the supremacy of a race or a culture over "transgressors" and "aliens" (3). Extending the spatial metaphor of negotiation and identities, Anzaldúa contends that, in order to combat the dominance of white cultural forms, it is necessary to look beyond such binary encounters, be tolerant of ambiguities (79), and create new modes of interaction so that it is possible to defuse acrimony and collectively exist "on both shores at once" (78).

Similarly, Nira Yuval-Davis's concept of transversal politics, based on standpoint epistemology, highlights that knowledge is never a complete commodity, and that dialogues are crucial for the formation of knowledge. Transversal politics presents "difference by equality" (Yuval-Davis 95). Horizontal, and not hierarchical, difference complements equality instead of replacing it. Even within the same collectivity or category, individuals may have different values, and people across different categories may have the similar values and concerns. Hence, feminists should not consider themselves as representatives, but as advocates who are aware of positional pluralities and address differences through dialogues "with equal respect and recognition of each participant" (Yuval-Davis 98).

Since women in the tech-industry already have the skill to access global networks of communication, they may build *inclusive* transnational digital networks of solidarity, and undermine hierarchies between the Global North and the Global South, as well as the micro-relations of power within Global South locations. Although mainstream digital networks are corporatized, and their use require specific skills and class privilege, women in tech can design democratic networks to mobilize participation from various class, caste, race and labor segments. Only such participatory models of transnational feminism can enable women to resist both cultural peculiarities and global commonalities that result in their marginalization, especially through the pandemic.

V. Conclusion

The crises for women in the Indian tech-sector and women in the Global North tech-industry are similar in many ways—especially the extreme challenges of balancing deadlines and domestic care work through the pandemic (Bauder 1-2). Sheryl Sandberg, the Chief Operating Officer of Facebook, observes that the lockdown widened the pre-existing gender inequality in housework. She finds that the majority of frontline workers, during the health crisis, have been women from various ethnic communities that are historically marginalized in the US. Although Sandberg has often been criticized for her

individualistic "neoliberal feminism" (Rottenberg 54), she is right about similar forms of precarity for women across class, race and cultures. This sustains the possibility of building their transnational solidarity networks, without reducing these networks to global sisterhood.

The interviews in this study show that some culture-specific barriers in social, economic and intimate lives exacerbate women's precarity in the tech-industry. Despite their consistent commitment, hegemonic forms of organized resistance have not been able to fully address women's everyday challenges in the male-dominated industry. In heteronormative Indian families, the gendered division of labor within the domestic space is as big an obstacle to women's career growth as gender discrimination at workplace. While WFH brings both challenges within the same space, women in tech should strengthen their support and solidarity networks, also by reaching out to women in various other sectors of labor, across cultures and continents.

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