

# INVISIBLE WORK

# INVISIBLE WORKERS

The Sub-Economies of Unpaid Work and Paid Work

Action Research on Women's Unpaid Labour



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## **Abbreviations**

ADB: Asian Development Bank  
AE: Actual Expenditure  
AICSS: All India Civil Service Rules  
AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome  
APBOCWFB: Andhra Pradesh Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board  
APR: Activity Participation Ratio  
ARPAN: Association for Rural Planning & Action  
ASHA: Accredited Social Health Activists  
ASVSS: Dr. Ambedkar Sheti Vikas Va Sanshodhan Sanstha  
AWC: Anganwadi Centres  
AWH: Anganwadi Helper  
AWW: Anganwadi Worker  
BAJSS: Bhartiya Adim Jati Sewak Sangh  
BE: Budget Expenditure  
BIA: Benefit Incidence Analysis  
BOCWA: Builders and Other Construction Workers Act  
BOCWW: Builders and Other Construction Workers Welfare  
BPL: Below Poverty Line  
CAG: Comptroller and Auditor General  
CBGA: Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability  
CCS: Central Civil Service  
CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women  
CRGGE: Collaborative Research Group on Gender and Energy  
CSE: Centre for Science and Environment  
CSO: Central Statistical Organization  
CSS: Centrally Sponsored Schemes  
CSWB: Central Social Welfare Board  
DBT: Direct Benefit Transfer  
DBTK: Direct Benefit Transfer for Kerosene  
DBTL: Direct Benefits Transfer for LPG Consumer Scheme  
ECCE: Early Childhood Care and Education  
ECD: Early Childhood Development  
ECI: Elderly Care Insurance  
EECC: Early Education and Childhood Care

ESIC: Employees State Insurance Corporation  
ESNA: Extended System of National Accounts  
EUS: Employment and Unemployment Surveys  
FAPR: Female Activity Participation Ratio  
FGD's: Focused Group Discussions  
FHH: Female Headed Household  
FRWPR: Female Rural Work Participation Rate  
FUWPR: Female Urban Work Participation Rate  
GAPR: Gendered Activity Participation Ratio  
GDP: Gross Domestic Product  
GNP: Gross National Product  
GoI: Government of India  
GoM: Government of Maharashtra  
GPWSC: Gram Panchayat Water and Sanitation Committees  
GSDP: Gross State Domestic Product  
GSPPA: Gender Sensitive Public Provisioning Appraisal  
GTBR: Gendered Time Burden Range  
HCB: Hogares Cumunitarios de Bienestar  
HH: Household  
HRW: Human Rights Watch  
IATUR: International Association for Time Use Research  
ICCW: Indian Council for Child Welfare  
ICDS: Integrated Child Development Scheme  
ICLS: International Conference of Labour Statisticians  
ICPD: International Conference on Population and Development  
IEBR: Internal and Extra Budgetary Resource  
IGMSY: Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana  
IHD: Institute for Human Development  
IHHL: Individual Household Latrine  
ILO: International Labour Organization  
IMF: International Monetary Fund  
IPTUS: Indian Pilot Time Use Survey  
ISST: Institute of Social Studies Trust  
IT: Information Technology  
ILE: Institute of Labour Economics

KII's: Key Informant Interviews  
LFPR: Labour Force Participation Rates  
LPCD: Litres Per Capita Per Day  
LPG: Liquefied Petroleum Gas  
MAPR: Male Activity Participation Ratio  
MBA: Maternity Benefit Act  
MBCWWB: Maharashtra Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Board  
MBP: Maternity Benefit Programme  
MBS: Maternity Benefit Scheme  
MDM: Mid-day Meals  
MDWS: Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation  
MGNREGA: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act  
MGNREGS: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme  
MIS: Management Information System  
MNRE: Ministry of Non-Conventional and Renewable Energy  
MOSPI: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation  
MWCD: Ministry of Women and Child Development  
NA: Not Available  
NAP: Not Applicable  
NCATUS: National Classification of Activities on Time Use Survey  
NCW: National Commission of Women  
NFSA: National Food Security Act  
NGO: Non-Government Organization  
NIC: National Industrial Classification  
NIPCCD: National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development  
NPEGEL: National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level  
NPF: Nation Policy on Farmers  
NRDWP: National Rural Drinking Water Programme  
NRHM: National Rural Health Mission  
NRLM: National Rural Livelihoods Mission  
NRM: Natural Resource Management  
NSS: National Sample Survey  
NSSO: National Sample Survey Organization  
NT: Nomadic Tribe  
NWP: National Water Policy

OBC: Other Backward Classes  
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
OF: Other Females  
OM: Other Males  
PAHAL: Pratyaksh Hanstantarit Scheme  
PDS: Public Distribution System  
PEIMT: Programa de Estancias Infantiles para Apoyar a Madres Trabajadoras  
PHC: Public Health Centres  
PIB: Press Information Bureau  
PMGSY: Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana  
PMUY: Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana  
PPF: Public Provident Fund  
PRF: Primary Respondent Female  
PRI: Primary Rate Interface  
PSE: Pre-school Education  
PVTG: Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group  
RE: Revised Estimates  
RGNCs: Rajiv Gandhi National Crèche Scheme  
RGSEAG: Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls aka SABLA  
RTE: Right to Education  
SALAH: Social Action for Literacy & Health  
SAM: Social Accounting Matrix  
SBA: Swachh Bharat Abhiyan  
SBM: Swachh Bharat Mission  
SC: Scheduled Caste  
SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals  
SEDESOL: Subsecretaría de Desarrollo Social  
SEWA: Self Employed Women's Association  
SHG: Self Help Groups  
SNA: System of National Accounts  
SNE: Special Needs Education  
SNP: Supplementary Nutrition Programme  
SPNRE: Strategic Plan for New and Renewable Energy Sector  
SPV: Solar Photovoltaic  
SRHR: Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights



SRM: Secondary Respondent Male

SSA: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

ST: Scheduled Tribe

TBOCWWB: Telangana Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board

TDM: Time Distribution Method

TUS: Time Use Survey

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UNW: United Nations Women

VAT: Value Added Tax

## Chapter One

### Introduction and Research Design

#### 1.1: Introduction

The UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, in her report to the 68th Session of the General Assembly in 2013 has termed the unequal burden of unpaid and care work borne by women as a major human rights issue: it restricts women, especially poor women, from enjoying a whole gamut of basic rights – the right to health, education and training, public participation, and in the labour market, to paid, decent work and social security. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), approved at the highest level by heads of states at the UN General Assembly held in New York in September 2015 advocates public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate (Target 5.4), as a critical way forward in achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls (Goal 5).

It is a well-recognised fact today that unpaid work is an extremely important aspect of economic activity, indispensable to the well-being of individuals, households and in fact, of society as a whole. Yet unpaid work, whether in the form of economic production of goods by the household for self-consumption, or services rendered by some members to others in the household, has generally been neglected in economic analysis and policy formulation as well as measurement of the labour force and calculation of Gross Domestic Product. This neglect is in part due to the difficulties in valuation of work, the products and services of which are not traded in the market, but mostly because it is considered 'women's work'. Not only do significantly more women compared to men engage in unpaid work, they spend two to ten times more time on unpaid work. This, in addition to their paid activities, creates a double burden with implications for numerous facets of women's life cycle – on their health, on their ability to acquire education, skills, a paid job, independent income as well as voice and social status. This unequal gender distribution of the unpaid work burden is recognized by the UN (2013) as an infringement of women's rights, a serious obstacle to empowerment and hence economic development.

In India, women are employed primarily in the informal sector which accounts for 93 percent of the national workforce (NSS 2009-10). With merely 22 percent recorded as workers, four fifth of women are associated with the farm economy which has little or no economic or social recognition and limited access to social protection. Women's work by and large is characterised by informality, invisibility, vulnerability and drudgery. Even when they are remunerated, the conditions of work and wages remain grossly exploitative and in contravention of international and national labour standards. The marginalisation of these women is further exacerbated due to their socio-economic position in society. Moreover, entering the labour market does not mean women abandon their unpaid and care work. Instead, the expectation is that they will continue with multiple activities.

Further, the burden of unpaid work is intensified by the lack of adequate public provisioning in critical sectors such as energy, health, water and sanitation, food security and livelihoods. Intensifying the burden and increasing it manifold is the huge vacuum created by macroeconomic policies and strategies that do not take cognizance of its existence, aggravated even more by the continuous and consistent withdrawal of whatever little State support exists in the eternal hunt for capital accumulation.

The discourse on women's unpaid work is especially relevant in the Indian context because women's labour force participation has seen a declining trend over the last decade, with 21 million women exiting the workforce, and a large majority moving into what is termed as the realm of 'domestic responsibilities'. So far, efforts in India to draw attention to these issues have been twofold – (a) research and advocacy on time use and on engendering data systems; and (b) grassroots mobilisation for legal and policy reform in the area of 'care', with a focus on child-care, maternity and health rights. While one stream of work is generally undertaken by feminist economists, statisticians, etc., the other stream is dominated by campaigns and grassroots activists working on early childhood care and development, right to food, public health and labour organising.

Over the last two years, UN Women has played a significant role in convening these diverse stakeholders (including government, researchers, practitioners, activists) concerned with child rights, women's rights and labour rights, in order to converge the discussion on women's unpaid work in line with emerging and new global paradigms, such as the Social Protection Floors, and more recently, the Sustainable Development Agenda with a special focus on Goal 5. A loose alliance called the Collective on Women's Unpaid Work was formed to support the development of a common roadmap for policy and action. As part of the roadmap, it

was proposed that a study be undertaken to (a) document the paid and unpaid continuum of women's work and (b) to identify policy gaps therein.

This action research, sponsored by UN Women as part of the implementation of the roadmap mentioned above, anchored by ActionAid India Association, and Ritu Dewan and her team at Centre for Development Research and Action to generate evidence on the continuum of women's paid-unpaid work in the specific context of both urban and rural constituencies, combined with building capacities of grassroots women's collectives and gender equality activists to take up the ensuing recommendations for policy advocacy for creating a gender-responsive legal, policy and programmatic framework that can effectively contribute towards creating an enabling environment for women's work, both paid and unpaid, and specifically ensure the recognition, reduction and redistribution of women's unpaid work, as is also recommended by UN Women's Progress of the World's Women Report, 2015.

## **1.2: Diacritic Intensification of Gendered Work Continuum: Conceptual Situating of Approaches and Estimators**

This evidence based research takes forward, both vertically and horizontally, the analysis of the continuum of women's work, involving several conceptual redefinitions. Women's work is conceptualized as a single continuum in all its elements: paid work – underpaid work – unpaid work – unpaid care work. In a major departure from current convention, the definition of unpaid work is expanded to include unpaid care work. The extent, distribution and intensity of unpaid work which subsumes unpaid care work are closely linked to macroeconomic policies.

The definition of macroeconomic policies goes beyond the predictable and somewhat facile sectoral-social perspective; in the classic sense of the term macroeconomic policies include fiscal and monetary policies and this is precisely what is sought to be examined in women's gendered work continuum. In the wake of reforms carried out over the last two decades in India, the macroeconomic structures have undergone fundamental changes particularly in relation to plan and non-plan demarcations; definitions of revenue and capital expenditure; the devolution of funds between the Centre and states, and especially taxation patterns and subsidy levels. The argument here is that there is no policy whatsoever that does not impact women's work; the purpose is to unravel these impacts and visibilise these connects at all levels.

The three basic levels at which the entire analysis is conducted are macro, meso and micro, often combined with and equated to the three scenarios of the nation, the region and the field. The basis is the fundamental two-way interlinkage between the macro, the meso, and the micro, in terms of structures, policies, analysis, advocacy, and action. This approach thus also spans across and extends to various levels, sectors and constituencies, incorporating either individually or collectively the main components that constitute each level of analysis.

The understanding of women's unpaid work in developing countries therefore requires analysis of the complex paid-unpaid continuum at several interconnected levels perceived in the presence or absence of enabling conditions – work duration in terms of time; distribution of time between paid and unpaid work; allocation of unpaid time among a range of activities. This is essential in order to not only recognise but also examine the nature of agglomeration, aggregation, and synchronicity that characterizes women's work across the continuum. It is in this context that this study has formulated new conceptual-based methodological approaches and estimators.

One, a new estimation of the unpaid burden has been created which we term as Time Distribution. This Time Distribution Method (TDM) should not be perceived as a time use study, per se. TDM departs conceptually from the diary method, and uses calculations of average time spent in an average week. This approach has been created in order to capture the multiplicity and simultaneity of women's work, both paid and unpaid, focusing as it does on macroeconomic linkages to the gendered continuum, with the purpose of recognising, reducing and redistributing women's work.

Two, the Gendered Activity Participation Rate (GAPR). This consists of, a) the Female Activity Participation Ratio and b) the Male Activity Participation Ratio, and indicates the extent of engagement of males and females in a given activity – economic as well as extra economic; recognised and unrecognised. Seemingly somewhat similar to the work participation ratio in standard NSS analysis, the GAPR goes beyond it to capture the degree of gendered involvement and is computed as follows: Activity Participation Ratio (for a given study site) = Number of participants in a select activity/total number of respondents aged 14 to 60 years, where the numerator for a given activity is with reference to that sub-activity with the maximum number of participants. The application of the formula is explained in greater detail during primary analysis.

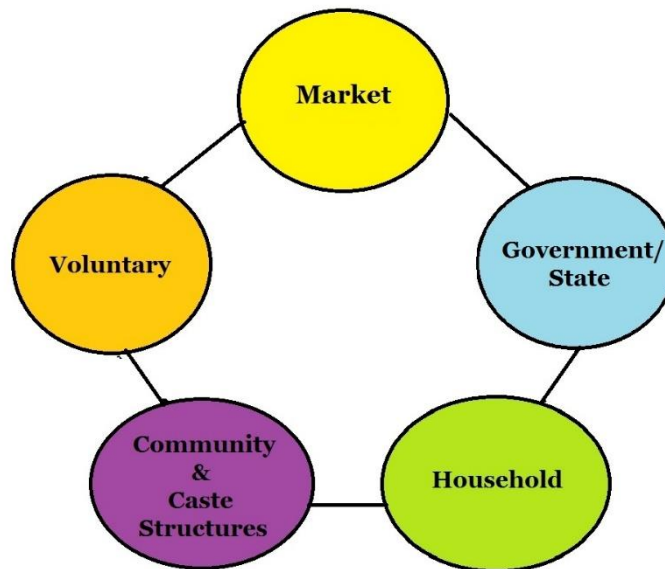
Three, Gendered Time Burden Range (GTBR). The intricate functioning of the gendered work continuum cannot be unraveled by calculating intensity of involvement alone; an essential added component is the range of hours that women and also men expend at a minimum as well as at a maximum on the various activities that constitute the basis of lives and livelihoods within especially a marginalised household generally characterised by gendered conflict and also probably by cooperation. Therefore, to each estimation of time disbursed on each activity and each sub-activity of all categories of paid and unpaid work including care is specified the GTBR.

Four, Gender Sensitive Public Provisioning Appraisal (GSPPA). This method has been created especially for this study. The fundamental objective is to unravel the relatively unexplored connection between fiscal policies and women's unpaid work, both that has a shadow value and lies at the threshold of the public and private domain, and also that which are termed as 'care'. As an illustration of usage in this study, two are rather apparent in their impact on women's time allocation and work burden – the removal of subsidies on cooking energy particularly kerosene that forces women to expend more time and labour on collecting alternate fuel, and the imposition of VAT on processed food items particularly ground wheat which compels especially poorer women to purchase whole grains and then spend time and effort in grinding for household consumption.

Additionally, in view of the changed and changing dynamics of prevailing social realities in the context of changing macroeconomic architecture, a new element has been identified and incorporated as an essential factor that impacts gendered work continuum. This is the role of community and caste structures that are increasingly influencing the central issue of women and work. The Care Diamond has been consequently expanded to include this crucial component.

## Exhibit 1.1

### Care Diamond



Finally, the gendered work continuum has been sharpened and reformulated in the context of the altered and altering fundamentals at the three interconnected levels of macro, meso and micro structures that impact the recognition, reduction and redistribution of women's unpaid work. The 3 R's have been developed particularly and specifically for unpaid care work. With our study extending the very basis of unpaid work to encompass all forms of unpaid work including but also beyond care, it becomes necessary to expand the framework and redefine the concept of unpaid work itself. Therefore, is introduced the fourth R of Redefinition which we believe is essential in order to understand the nature of the gendered work continuum in the context of especially the dramatic changes in global and macroeconomic architecture, policies and strategies.

### 1.3: Research Design

The fundamental purpose of this research is to unfold and visibilise the gendered continuum of work both paid and unpaid in terms of duration, distribution and intensity undertaken by those working in the unorganised sector in India, with a special focus on construction workers and agricultural workers including subsistence farmers. This is done via the integration of primary and secondary data. The macroeconomic

policies focused on for their impact on women's unpaid work and the creation of enabling conditions are those related to Energy, Water and Care, located in the specific context of the two most heavily feminized constituencies of Construction representing the urban scenario and Agriculture representing the rural situation. Policy analysis includes the gender appraisal of programmes and schemes that are relevant to women's unpaid work, the fundamental objective being to recognise and incorporate it as an integral part of policies, laws and programmes with the purpose of reducing and redistributing their work and time burden. The research questions addressed are therefore

- a) What is the pattern of duration and distribution of the gendered continuum between paid and unpaid work especially among the most marginalised communities in the two livelihood constituencies of agriculture and construction?
- b) What are the linkages of women's unpaid work with macroeconomic policies, laws, and programmes/schemes in the three select sectors?
- c) To what extent does the design of select sectoral programmes and policies recognise women's unpaid work?
- d) To what extent have allocations for public provisioning in the three sectors over a period of time taken women's unpaid work into account?

The analytical methods and tools used represent the character of women's work – which is a continuum and an interlinkage – that is essential to capture the concrete reality. It is thus rather problematic to separate what tool should be used for secondary research and which for primary research; just as the issue of where does women's unpaid work begin and where does it end. The research structural matrix identifies the basic research questions, the methods and tools with which these questions are sought to be answered, along with primary and secondary sources of information. The issues at debate are rather complex and therefore require a judicious mix of appropriate methodological approaches and tools.



**Exhibit 1.2**

**Research Structural Matrix**

No.	Research Questions	Methods & Tools	Source of information
	<p>What are the linkages of women’s work with macroeconomic policies, and programmes/schemes in select (care, water and energy)?</p> <p>To what extent have allocations for provisioning in the three sectors over a of time taken women’s unpaid work count?</p>	<p>Gender Aware Sectoral Policy Budgetary analysis</p>	<p>Analysis via desk reviews, based on secondary data at national and state (See Appendix I A: Sources of for Macro &amp; Meso Schemes)</p> <p>Interviews with state level officials.</p> <p>Key Informants: Wards &amp; Panchayats</p>
	<p>What is the pattern of duration and distribution of the gendered continuum between paid and unpaid work (in select ) especially among the most marginalised communities in the two livelihood sub-sectors of agriculture and construction?</p>	<p>Time Distribution Method Gendered Activity Participation Rates Gendered Time Burden Maximum Range</p>	<p>Household Questionnaires</p> <p>Primary level interviews with local Panchayat/Ward members and Panchayat/Ward committees</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions at field level</p> <p>Case studies</p>
	<p>What are the linkages of women’s work with macroeconomic policies, and programmes/schemes in select (care, water and energy)?</p>	<p>Time Distribution Method Gendered Activity Participation Rates Gendered Time Burden</p>	<p>Household Questionnaires</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions</p> <p>Case Studies</p> <p>Key Informants</p>
	<p>To what extent have allocations for provisioning in the three sectors over a of time taken women’s unpaid work count?</p>	<p>Gender Sensitive Public Provisioning Appraisal</p>	<p>Household Questionnaires</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions at the field level</p> <p>Case studies</p> <p>Key Informants</p>

Several approaches and tools are utilised at different levels and different stages of analysis, often integrating the quantitative and the qualitative. Overlapping sometimes takes place, keeping in mind the intricate interlinkages between research questions and research approaches, as well as the continuum between paid and unpaid work. Boundaries are often crossed and analytical divides broken, conforming to and in

consonance with the gendered continuum of work. Apart from those created specifically for this study, four standard and internationally recognised methods have additionally been integrated into analysis.

- *Gender Aware Sectoral Policy Evaluation:* Probably the most scientific approach to carry out gender sensitive budgetary analysis, it has been used for a systematic evaluation of the selected schemes/policies/laws perceived through the lens of unpaid work.
- *Focused Group Discussions:* These group interviews capture nuanced qualitative aspects that go beyond the quantitative. They also strengthen social interaction and knowledge as relevant to and in specific regional and geographical group settings, and develop community support for what is, in the ultimate analysis, a sensitive issue.
- *Case Study Method:* This qualitative research method is used primarily to capture instances of the kind of work and the especially the issues of continuum that need to be highlighted. Focusing not only on individuals but also on situations, this method has proven to be successful in identifying what are termed as exceptions in real-life contexts. An issue that immediately comes to our mind but on which there is absolutely no research is that of unpaid work of deserted and single women who are compelled to live with their maternal families.
- *Key Informant Interviews:* Information that especially knowledgeable persons have attained as a result of their involvement in the issues of both the field sites and the regions has greatly enriched the analysis, as well as helping significantly in developing insights into existing problems and also getting suggestions for resolution of issues.

The household questionnaire which provides the basic quantitative evidence on the gendered work continuum was canvassed over a period of seven months beginning from May 2016. As a best methodological practice, pilot surveys were conducted in all field sites, and the results and the responses of local partners and other knowledgeable persons were incorporated. It needs to be specified that the entire process of this research has been dynamic and fluid. While the household questionnaire was being designed and finalised, the literature review and policy analysis were conducted simultaneously in order to identify prevailing gaps. This non-linear and concurrent strategy underlying this action research, we believe, is rather innovative and hopefully will contribute significantly to further research methodology.

## 1.4: Literature and Policy Evaluation

One of the fundamental components of this study is the de-constructing and therefore also re-constructing the concept of work, paid and unpaid. This has been done by reassessing the work continuum rather than a predictable review of literature. The objective of the literature review is not to recapture and summarise the major work done so far on the fundamental issues, but rather to critique in order to re-examine the very concept of unpaid work.

The desk review of laws/policies and programmes/schemes responds to the research questions on policy analysis, appropriate to the selected sectors from the point of view of incorporation of women's unpaid work. Integrated into this analysis is their location in the context of macro-economic policies particularly those related to public provisioning.

One of the most fascinating analytical journeys is from the macro to the micro, and then the tracing back in a reverse manner – the dialectical path between policy conceptualisation and formulation and its articulation in the highly gendered reality of women and their work. In this context, a framework has been designed within which State intervention is evaluated on the basis of common parameters that extend from the macro to the micro. Identified below are questions, both individual and collective, on which the critical analysis of schemes and policies is based. The tool for analysis used is Gender Aware Policy Appraisal.

- Is gender equality and women's empowerment a stated objective and goal?
- Is the issue of women's unpaid work given any form of recognition and resolution?
- What are the overt and also underlying gendered assumptions relating particularly to women's unpaid work?
- Is there recognition and provision for the special needs of women arising out of their responsibility for reproduction and care?
- Are women acknowledged as individual entities with individual entitlements, or subsumed within the household, in order to claim the rights/service mandated?
- What provisions are made for women in terms of access mechanism, enforcement and redressal?
- What positive discrimination measures have been built in for gender equality and empowerment?

- At what levels and which entry points can these policies and schemes be amended in order to address women’s unpaid work?

The central theme of this study is so deeply complex that there is possibly no policy or scheme or factor that does not impact all categories of the work of women, including their entitlements especially as single women and primary breadwinners. Consequently, it was necessary to identify which of these are relevant in the specific context of the three sectors of Energy, Water and Care, linking these to the two research constituencies of construction workers and agricultural workers. In view of the large numbers of schemes/laws/programmes/policies involved and to avoid meandering, the first step was categorisation and identification of relevant schemes. Several problematic issues had to be addressed, some of which are stated below:

- The hierarchy of programme-scheme is no longer as well defined as it once used to be. Under the Mission Mode, now commonly followed, schemes are offered on the cafeteria basis so that state governments or any other implementing authority is able to put together different components according to respective needs/goals to make up a scheme.
- Several Laws and Acts have been incorporated into Missions such as MGNREGA under the NRLM.
- A few formerly ‘stand-alone’ schemes have been either converted into or subsumed under the Mission mode.
- Schemes mentioned on the site of a particular Ministry/Mission/Department are sometimes not identified distinctly in the budget, and schemes which are mentioned in the budget do not find a place under the schemes and programmes list of the Ministry/Department.
- Unlike MGNREGS, few schemes have their origin in an Act.

The next logical step after this sectoral listing is identification of which and what policies to examine; not doing so would have resulted in loss of sharpness of analysis as well as estimation. A total of four laws, four policies and ten schemes which have a direct connect with women’s unpaid work were identified.

**Exhibit 1.3**

**Matrix of Acts, Policies and Programmes Selected for Analysis at Macro, Meso and Micro Levels**

o.	/ Constituency	Law	Policy	on/Programme/Scheme
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Budget analysis has therefore been conducted for the post-Mission mode years of 2014-15, 2015-16, 2016-17, and 2017-18, depending on data availability. The recent changes in the policy architecture have a deep impact on the pattern of analysis. As illustration, some schemes operate at only the regional level and hence there can be no macro evaluation; for instance, water is technically a state subject, as is the Building and Other Construction Workers acts and schemes.

These fundamentals of policy evaluation are the basis of the analytical continuum of the gendered concatenation; that is, the intent, application and implementation of the gendered focus at all levels. The macro issues as identified are adjuncted to not only implementation but the very gendered nature of implementation, as is the utilisation of the same analytical tools. One illustration is the interlinking of gender appraisal along with beneficiary assessment as well as prioritisation. This analytical structure proved to be particularly useful in understanding the needs as well as the level of fulfillment of these needs as articulated through the primary surveys of both agricultural workers and of construction workers via a consistent two-way perspective of MGNREGS and the BOCW. This also applied to all the three selected sectors of Energy, Water and Care, and their joint impact on the pattern of work burden and time poverty.

### **1.5: Selection of Study Regions**

Three states of India have been chosen for the purpose of this research secondary as well as primary, in relation to the three sectors that have been selected for analysis in view of their undisputed impact on the labour and livelihoods of especially women's unpaid work; each affects women's existing and also their potential time distribution as well as their labouring capacity in both rural and urban scenarios. The selection of the regions of research therefore represent the several variations combined with the conceptual and gendered basis of comprehensive commonality.

The selection of focus states and districts for field based research is based not only on the conceptual underpinnings, but additionally and importantly in order to capture heterogeneous variations and differentials in the unpaid work of women and also men. Two constituencies across distinct geographical and historical specificities have been selected: Construction workers and Agricultural workers, the former

representing urban unpaid work patterns, and the latter representing the rural. A total of 1560 households are surveyed covering both women and men, with a special focus on female headed households. The primary survey is based on a detailed questionnaire running into more than 20 pages, detailing all economic and extra-economic activities including, of course, care.

The selection of the areas for field investigation was determined by several factors, including consultation with the ground partners of ActionAid Association India, who canvassed household questionnaires, and conducted FGDs and KIIs, apart from being part of advocacy and action. These local partners are:

- Construction Workers in Maharashtra: SALAH (Social Action for Literacy & Health)
- Construction Workers in Telengana: Regional Office of ActionAid Association India
- Agricultural Workers in Maharashtra: ASVSS (Dr. Ambedkar Sheti Vikas Va Sanshodhan Sanstha)
- Agricultural Workers in Uttarakhand: ARPAN (Association for Rural Planning & Action).

#### **A. Maharashtra**

Over the last decade Maharashtra has emerged to find a place in the very high human development quartile amongst the Indian states, with its Human Development Index showing a rather sharp improvement from 0.666 to 0.752. It is considered as one of the most 'advanced', in that its Per Capita Income is Rs.1,1,7091, much higher than the national figure of Rs. 74,380. Also, the Rural Monthly Per Capita Expenditure was Rs.967 as of 2011-12, significantly higher than that of India at Rs.816.

It is generally perceived that the status of women is somewhat better than their counterparts in other states. While not getting into the details, it must be noted that the Bombay Presidency was the first to witness industrialisation via the textile mills, women forming more than one-third of the workforce well into 1920's. However, the gender reality today appears to be rather bleak, if judged by the single most basic indicator of the status of women – that of sex ratios. Maharashtra has a Sex Ratio of 929, much lower than the national average of an already low 943. What is worse is that the future of women in Maharashtra seems to be somewhat dismal, with the Child Sex Ratio being a shocking low of 894.

Maharashtra has a long historical tradition of women being involved in livelihood activities in both rural and urban areas. Today, even though there appears to be a secular decline in work participation rates according to SNA data, the share of working women both main and marginal from this state stands at 11.22 percent, significantly higher at two percentage points than their share of the country's female population of 9.2 percent as per the 2011 Census. Accordingly, the total work participation rates stand at 56 percent for men and 31.06 percent for women, higher by 2.74 percentage points for the former and remarkably more significantly higher at 5.55 percent for women as compared to the all-India rates. This differential holds true for Maharashtra's women in both rural and urban areas, the Female Urban Work Participation Rate (FUWPR) being 1.4 percentage points more than the national average, the Female Rural Work Participation Rate (FRWPR) being an astounding 12.5 percentage points higher than that for India (NSSO, 2011-12).

The Gross State Domestic Product at constant prices (2004-05) from Construction was Rs. 76,414 crores in 2012-13 for when data is available, accounting for almost 6 percent of the Rs. 13,57,116 crores which constituted Maharashtra's total Gross State Domestic Product. As for employment, there appears to be extremely limited sex disaggregated information available. As per NSS data, the proportion of usually working persons as employed in the Construction industry division has risen steadily in Maharashtra, from 4.6 percent to 6 percent to over 7 percent over the last few years from 2005 to 2010 to 2012 respectively. Yet, in spite of this upsurge in the industry, it is quite shocking to note that Maharashtra topped all the states of India in non-compliance in the payment of minimum wages to its construction workers at an astounding 90 percent.

The advancement of the state on the path of human development appears to be accompanied by the process of marginalisation. The Agricultural Census 2010-11 indicates that the overwhelming majority of rural cultivators at 78.6 percent are marginal and small farmers, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes being the most marginalised with the smallest area of operational holdings. Gendered marginalisation in the rural sector too appears to have risen rather dramatically; of the total working women, almost two-fifths are landless at 39.92 percent, the implication being that gender equality in land rights emerges as an urgent issue, given that Maharashtra records 29.61 percent as 'Female Cultivators'.

Maharashtra accounts for 9.9 percent of all landholdings in India in 2011, down from the 10.11 percent reported in the 2000-01 Agricultural Census. However, while the share of males rose a little during the last decade, that of women actually declined from a rather high 14.47 percent to 11.6 percent. The implication appears to be that the process of attaining land rights has been slower for women in Maharashtra than in



the Rest of India. However, it is rather surprising that the share of land held by them in 2010-11 was 15.66 percent of all land held by all women in all of India; also, that this proportion was an astounding 20.22 percent barely a decade ago.

### ***B: Uttarakhand***

Ecologically fragile and susceptible to earthquakes and landslides, natural disasters have increased in intensity as a result of deforestation and destabilised geology, particularly in the hill regions of Uttarakhand which account for over 92 percent of the geographical area. The extensive forest cover with its rich variety of medicinal, aromatic and herbal plant species apparently provides sustenance either fully or partially to about seven-tenths of the state's population. The historical dependence on what is considered a life giver and livelihood supporter by the Uttarakhandis' gave rise to the world famous Chipko movement in the 1970's when especially women resisted the proposed forest policy by literally hugging the trees and daring the State to kill them before touching their forests.

Agriculture accounts for over 55 percent of employment, the gendered Rural Work Participation Rates being differentiated in an opposite manner as compared to India's. The work participation for rural women in Uttarakhand is 3 percentage points higher than the national average; that of men is precisely and exactly 3 percentage points lower. This gendered division provides a rather fascinating opportunity to study the impact on paid and unpaid work patterns in an agricultural economy that is quite feminised. Combined with the issue of feminisation is the preponderance of marginal farmers with tiny holdings; the average landholding of 0.68 hectares is much smaller than the national average of 1.16 hectares.

Added to the fairly advanced process of gendered marginalisation is that of social exclusion. With almost one-fifth tribal population accompanied by a much smaller proportion of Scheduled Castes at just about 3 percent, poverty levels are quite high; as per the NSS 61<sup>st</sup> Round, almost two-fifth of rural Uttarakhand was defined as below the then-defined poverty level.

There is yet another unique characteristic of Uttarakhand, if such a word could be used – that almost one-tenth of the 16,793 villages are either uninhabited or have a total population of less than ten persons; reports give higher figures of these 'ghost villages'. Environmental degradation appears to have a two-way

connect with migration: the former compelling villagers to migrate, the abandonment of villages resulting in increased degradation of land and making villages unlivable accompanied by decline in livelihood creation thus reinforcing the push factors.

### ***C: Telangana***

Telangana, the newly formed 29th state of India, appears to be on an upswing in relation to the growth rate of Gross State Domestic Product which rose by a percentage point within the short period of a year. The Per Capita Income too has risen by 4.4 percent, up from Rs. 48,881 to Rs. 51,017 during the same period.

The state has an overwhelming proportion of its population belonging to the socially excluded; 80 percent Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Castes and Minorities, being the second highest after Tamil Nadu which has 89 percent. What is also interesting is that the process of urbanisation appears to have emerged as an important background within which to locate issues of exclusion. The growth rate of the state's urban population has been much higher and faster than the all India average of 31.15 percent. Telangana's urban population grew by 38.12 percent between 2001 and 2011, as compared to 25.13 percent in the preceding decade. The implication is rather clear: prioritisation of infrastructure in state development plans, leading to an expansion in construction activity.

Construction is the second major contributor to the Industry sector of the state. When the share of different industries and sectors to the Gross State Domestic Product are compared, only construction has recorded an increase, its proportion being 8.6 percent in 2014-15, up quite significantly from the 7.5 percent reported in 2004-05. The joint share of Andhra Pradesh's and Telangana's construction sector to GSDP is over 13 percent, much higher than the country's proportion of 8 percent; however, in spite of its increasing importance, non-compliance in the payment of minimum wages in the construction sector was 67 percent. In this context, it is quite surprising that only 11.6 percent of urban and 3.6 percent of rural workers in Telangana are reported as being employed in the construction industry in 2013-14.

Although no sex disaggregated data is available in relation to the selected constituency, a rather high degree of gender differentiation exists in the urban labour market of the state. The Urban Male Work Participation Rate in 2011-12 was 54.14, the female equivalent being 19.1 percent. Yet, inexplicably, the share of

Telangana to all-India's women workers is a rather high 10.17 percent, the region's share in all male workers being a significantly lower 7.29; this gender differential reduces in urban areas, Telangana urban women accounting for 9.57 percent of the nation's total, more than two percentage points higher than that of their male counterparts. (See Appendix I B: Selection of States and Districts)

### **1.6: Primary Data Analysis: Sample Design and Interpretation**

The analysis of women's work in the context of recognition and non-recognition that is focused on is not only multi-layered but also requires various methods to unravel the interconnections with the three selected sectors and that too in different scenarios and geographical settings. Consequently, an intermix of several sampling techniques have been used, ranging from the random to the purposive; this intermix, to a large extent, also represents the continuum of women's work which extends into and beyond myriad definitions and forms.

Purposive sampling technique and judgmental sampling is a method of non-probability sampling, and proved to be most useful especially in examining extra-economic domains. There may of course be a certain bias contained in the sample selection, but then this study is overtly partisan, focusing as it does on a wide variety of factors that impact women's time and work burden. Another useful technique used at least partially was chain-referral sampling, more popularly known as snowball sampling. This technique helped to access respondents who are literally on the margins of the production-reproduction syndrome; illustrations of these 'hidden' categories include sex workers and other genders.

The sample design, at the most basic level, is totally integrated with the priority given to marginalised groups. In keeping with this fundamental, the information is presented in a manner that precludes an obvious and verbose description of what is essentially a statistical exercise, based though it is on a theoretical foundation. All efforts have been made to incorporate a representative proportion for all social groups both horizontally and vertically. This design is certainly not linear, in that it does not perceive social inclusion in a static form, but rather in a manner that ensures almost equal representation.

This rather intricate and many-layered study involving a large primary data set is analysed and deconstructed using appropriate statistical tools. This is particularly so in relation to the fact that there are several dependent variables being utilised for data analysis, if the conceptual focus on social and economic groups is to be maintained as being central to the entire issue of women's unpaid work. Therefore, is utilised the statistical package of R which is an independent platform of open source software.

R is a leading tool for statistics, data analysis, and machine learning. It is more than a statistical package and is in fact a programming language. R algorithms document the steps of the analysis and hence reproducing, updating as well as experimenting with new ideas becomes more efficient and understandable. It leads to a better understanding of the workforce, nature of work, the stereotypical roles played by men and women, the time distribution pattern in relation to unpaid work, the impacts on the workforce participation rate of women conditional on age, social conditions and educational qualifications, and additionally an alternative computation of the activity levels and rates of both men and women taking into consideration the time spent on unpaid work.

The analysis of these results is enriched by the findings of the FGDs and case studies which provide insights into how women cope with existing economic and social norms and the tradeoffs between seeking recognition for their work vis-a-vis the expansion of their decision-making power within the household and the prevailing exclusionary class and caste framework.

### **1.7: Limitations**

A study that examines the rather understudied and relatively unexplored theme of the gendered work continuum is bound to face certain constraints and limitations; this research may therefore need to be perceived as a nascent attempt to unravel what is a deeply complex as well as complicated interplay of macro structures that cannot survive unless they are based on patriarchy with all its inherent and stultified rigidities. That these interdependent foundations operate at all levels of State, Market, Community and Family and thereby reinforce each other is a given, as is the fact none can exist without the other, whether in relation to the system of production, re-production and reproduction, or to the distribution of resources both individual and community controlled.

The limitations – for want of a more appropriate word – are several and applicable to all levels of macro, meso, and micro. The analysis could certainly have been hugely enriched if it was possible within the restricted timespan and also rather tightly focused context to examine the interlinkages between all and myriad schemes and policies that impact women’s recognised as well as unrecognised work. This limitation is also due to the fundamental changes that macro and also meso policies have been undergoing for the last few years whereby comparative and times series analysis has been constrained. These changes include reorganisation of schemes; conversion; subsuming under Missions; renaming and reclassification; uncertainty over continuation of especially 12<sup>th</sup> Plan programmes; absence of common identity of meso schemes. The problem is rather acute at the regional level post the 14th Finance Commission recommendations and the change in devolution of funds, with states still in the process of formulating their schemes and hence not sending in demands-in-grants for funds.

At the micro level too there are several limitations related primarily to the process of data collection. The dependence on enumerators who are not formally skilled did prove to be a partial deterrent, although all efforts were made to train them. However, what worked quite favourably for this dependence on local enumerators is that they are closely linked to the community, apart of course from being aware of the major issues that characterise these regions. This ‘technical’ limitation can in fact be converted to a major strength by stressing strongly on the in-built components of training workshops and pilot study. Familiarity with the field area can sometimes be double-edged, in the sense that while sensitivity levels will be high, so will subjectivity levels. Consistent and careful attempts have been made overcome these challenges during the entire process of training, data collection, and data monitoring. An essential element was the meticulous coding of the questions in the household schedule.

An additional constraint was that of not being able to combine the use of the household questionnaire with the diary method of data collection due primarily to time constraints. Related to the time factor was the added difficulty of not being able to re-canvas the household questionnaire over time and over seasons; as seasonality could not be integrated into the household questionnaire, care was taken to not neglect this crucial aspect. This gap has been partially covered by using the averaging method, and partially by depending on the recall method as well as FGDs.

A totally unforeseen limitation, if it can be termed that, is that the fieldwork had to be conducted in extremely stressful situations in both the urban and rural regions. The ongoing drought is probably one of

the worst in recent times, and has affected both constituencies selected for this project. Construction activity and the work that it provides has declined dramatically in the past year, following a series of drought, floods and of course demonitisation. Consequently, construction workers particularly women have been compelled to eke a livelihood by becoming waste pickers, especially in view of the fact that few men take up what is considered as 'low' employment. In the rural areas the situation was even worse, with entire families migrating from villages in desperate search for a livelihood. The impacts extend over all aspects – health, nutrition, education, loss of livestock – the list is long, affecting both the present and the future workforce and work patterns. The forest fires raging in the study region of Uttarakhand further compounded the climatic status, striking most strongly at the fundamental dependency of tribals and other vulnerable groups on common property resources. In all cases, the deleterious and disastrous effects on women's work continuum are direct, immediate, immense, and probably incalculable.

### **1.8: Conclusion**

It is hoped that this action research will conceptually and analytically contribute to knowledge generation and creation on the largely unexplored gendered work continuum between paid, unpaid, and care work, and that the evidence so created both through secondary data and primary field based surveys advances and enriches the debates and actions on what constitutes women's work as perceived in the concrete reality of women in a developing country, specifically in the context of unexamined sectors that constitute part of macroeconomic policy in an increasingly globalized scenario that sustains itself on the withdrawal of the State from the public sphere. Demystifying and demythifying the gendered concatenation is indeed a major and exciting challenge particularly in a context that links the macro, meso and micro structures, policies and realities within a sustainable inclusionary framework.



## Chapter Two

### Revisiting the Unpaid Work Discourse

#### 2.1: Introduction

One of the fundamental components of this research is the de-constructing and hence also re-constructing of the concept of work, paid and unpaid. To this end are set out here the main arguments of the unpaid work discourse: defining the concept of unpaid work, understanding the impact of its inequitable gender distribution on women as well as the economy particularly in terms of women's labour market engagement, and finally, exploring policy prescriptions of the 3R strategy for restoring gender balance, drawing upon a few best practices from across the world, including India.

#### 2.2: Defining Unpaid Work

Work can be interpreted in several ways. It may be defined as any purposeful activity undertaken to produce a valued good or service and which can, in principle, be delegated to someone else (Kabeer, 2008). Work that is remunerated in cash or kind (in the shape of wages, salaries and profit) is *paid work* while tasks performed without any direct remuneration is *unpaid work*. Globally, on average, 35 to 50 percent of the total work time in all societies is spent on unpaid work (Antonopoulos R., 2009), the bulk of it being performed by women. Unpaid work can be broadly distinguished into a range of activities:

- A. Unremunerated activities resulting in the production of goods and services for the market or subsistence (work carried out by family helpers on the family farm or enterprise, for instance).
- B. Processing of agricultural products for self-consumption (milling of flour, preservation of fruits and vegetables, weaving etc).
- C. Activities such as collection of free goods such as water, fuel, and fodder for consumption and production; and
- D. Unpaid production of services that go into the maintenance and care of households, hereafter, *unpaid care work*. Unpaid care work consists of three components: i) household maintenance including cooking, cleaning, shopping; ii) care of persons of own household such as looking after children, elderly, sick,



disabled or simply other adults requiring care; and iii) voluntary services or services rendered free to other households or the community.

The UN System of National Accounts (SNA) (1993), the internationally agreed-upon set of accounting conventions for compiling measures of economic activity, labels groups A, B and C, as SNA Work, to be counted along with paid work, in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Individuals engaged in these activities are deemed to be part of the workforce. Despite its critical role in the sustenance of society, unpaid care work (group D) is considered non-SNA or Extended SNA (ESNA) work. Unpaid care work and unpaid care workers, overwhelmingly women, are thus rendered invisible in official statistical systems and, consequently out of the ambit, until recently, of national and international development policy. For this reason, international discourse on women has focused chiefly on unpaid care work/workers, often using the terms unpaid work and unpaid care work/ESNA work interchangeably.

The Indian scenario is somewhat different. The Indian Central Statistical Organization (CSO), does not include processing of primary goods and collection of free goods (groups B and C) in the computation of India's GDP. This means that workers engaged in these activities, again mostly women, are excluded from the workforce estimates of the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) and the Population Census. The NSSO places them under code 93 - *engaged in domestic duty and allied activities*. Clubbed with unpaid care workers and thus denied official recognition as workers, these SNA women workers have also remained invisible to and excluded from Indian development policy.

In recognition of the Indian situation, this report includes unpaid SNA as well as unpaid care work/workers, in its ambit, treating both as part of the continuum of women's work. Where necessary, the unpaid care discourse is extended to include unpaid SNA work/workers.

### **2.3: Gender Dimensions of Unpaid Work**

All work is highly gendered, unpaid work especially so, much of it viewed universally as 'women's work'. Cross-country analyses of national level Time Use Surveys (TUS), increasingly undertaken since the 1990's (Miranda, 2011; Budlender, 2010; Charmes, 2015; UN, 2015), demonstrate that as a group, men dominate

paid work and women unpaid work in terms of both participation and time spent. Further, the gender gap in unpaid work is greater than the gender gap in paid work. This is the combined effect of two factors: 1) women spend considerably more time than men on unpaid work *and* a higher proportion of women than men engage in both paid and unpaid work; 2) When a woman enters the labour market or when her paid work increases, the time spent on unpaid work declines but less than proportionally, the shortfall often coming out of time formerly spent on leisure including sleep, personal care, social activities or education. A recent ActionAid report (ActionAid, 2016) comparing the total amount of both paid and unpaid work undertaken by men and women, estimates that globally, “a young woman entering the job market today can expect to work for the equivalent of an average of four years more than her male peers over her lifetime, as she is balancing both paid and unpaid care work” (p. 3), the equivalent of one month’s additional work for every woman, every year of her life.

India is an extreme case of this global pattern, closer to Mongolia, Turkey, Mexico and Pakistan. Indian men and women spend, on average, longer duration on paid and unpaid work and less on so-called leisure. On average, men spend daily, around two and a half times more time than women on SNA work; in contrast, women spend ten times as much time in unpaid care work as men do. The gender differences hold for participation as well: 90 percent of men and 71 percent of women participate in SNA work; in ESNA work the proportions of men and women respectively are 52 percent and 90 percent (Budlender, 2010). This means that, with a large proportion of women active in both SNA and ESNA, the relative work burden is significantly bigger for women. In fact, a comparison of the results of the Indian Pilot Time Use Survey or IPTUS (1998-99) with those of 28 other countries (OECD, 2011) revealed that gender gap in time spent on unpaid care work was highest for India.

Further, even within SNA work, gender differentials are large in relation to participation as well as the proportion of time spent on unpaid work: women are invested more in subsistence work mostly as family help, free collection of goods, especially water and fuel (mospi.nic.in). Considerable variations in time use patterns do exist between rural and urban areas; between states and regions; across income classes; and across social groups. Yet what stands out is women’s higher burden of work as a result of their predominance in all unpaid activities whether SNA or ESNA, irrespective of their location in any category.

Gender imbalance in the sharing of unpaid work has a marked adverse impact on gender equality as well as on economic development. While the unequal burden of unpaid work on women has been deplored as an

infringement of women's basic rights to education, healthcare, decent work and leisure (United Nations, 2013; ActionAid, 2013) and a road-block to their empowerment, the restoration of balance is also being recommended as a strategy to promote economic growth (UNDP, 2015; Mckinsey Global Institute, 2016).

#### **2.4: Implications of Unpaid Work on Women**

The impact of the unequal burden of unpaid work on women is multi-dimensional, layered and complex and touches every facet of a woman's life. Much of the unpaid work, including SNA work such as work on the family farm or enterprise, is not a matter of choice for women, determined as it is by norms governing gender division of labour which characterize the male as the bread winner and woman as the home-maker, mother and dependent. Labelled as *housework*, women's unpaid work is thus unacknowledged and therefore unquantified and undervalued in the family, community and market, despite the benefits it confers on all these institutions. The lack of recognition in turn determines the hierarchy in gender relations within the family and acts as the mainspring of gender inequality.

Even though women themselves may sometimes perceive this work as a source of immense 'satisfaction', the heavy and unremitting pressure of unpaid work and the sheer drudgery can have adverse effects on physical and mental health; increase financial dependence; heighten the risk of falling into poverty in old age especially in the absence of social security and property rights (Mckinsey Global Institute, 2016); expose women and girls to gender-based violence; and incapacitate them from leaving abusive partners (Esplen, 2009). Particular tasks such as nursing the sick could also pose higher risks for women (Langer, 2015).

Most important of all, unpaid work imposes costs in terms of missed opportunities for education, skill acquisition or improvement, and public participation; it impedes entry into the labour market and restricts women's income earning potential. These costs can be in terms of loss of income and financial independence to the woman, as well as the loss of her investment in the education and health of her children, especially girls. Further, low female participation in and low returns from paid work act as disincentives for uptake of education and skill acquisition amongst girls and young women, especially in countries with a strong gendered division of labour, thereby maintaining or augmenting their disadvantages in the labour market and reinforcing the gender division of labour (Kingdon, 2007). Despite its many attractions, paid employment

can be truly empowering however, only when it is 'decent' and does not increase time stress and time poverty.

For employed women, their unpaid work load means that they must endure longer work hours and double or triple work burdens, leading to time stress and time poverty. Further, their socially ascribed role in unpaid work largely dictates their choice of work: self-employment, home-based or part time; casual, irregular, seasonal and in the informal sector – types of work that are compatible with the discharge of their responsibilities but are inferior in quality and offer poor remuneration (Kabeer, 2012; Razavi, 2007; Budlender, 2004; Maloney, 2004;). For obvious reasons, chances of falling out of the labour market increase and that of getting a good job decline on marriage (Das, S. 2015; Neff, 2012) and motherhood (Grimshaw & Rubery, 2015; Aguirre, 2012). These life-course events also diminish opportunities of career advancement. In a 2015 ILO survey of 1,300 private sector companies in 39 developing countries, the greater burden of family responsibilities borne by women compared to men was ranked as the number one barrier to women's leadership (ILO, 2015).

For Indian women, marriage is almost universal and reduces participation, with the husband's income having a significant and negative effect (Das, 2006), additionally mediated through religion and caste (Pillai, 2008; Easwaran, 2010). Children less than 3 years old also appear to dampen labour market engagement (ISST, 2015).

The level and quality of basic infrastructure especially safe water, sanitation, energy for lighting and fuel, transport and child care also have a strong influence on the time spent on unpaid work since women and girls are typically the primary collectors of water and fuel (Razavi, 2007; Budlender, 2010; ADB, 2015) and main care givers. Easy access to water reduces the time and work burden of women, and frees them to move from unpaid economic activities to overt income earning in the paid labour market (Dewan, 2012a), reduces drudgery and increases attendance of girls in school (ADB, 2009; ADB, 2015). Similarly, time saved due to a shift to superior fuels may translate into greater participation of women in the work-force (Dewan, 2012a).

Public provision of these services is important for poor women who cannot afford private alternatives. Poverty exacerbates the adverse impact of lack of basic infrastructure, often transmitting it to the next generation, while intensifying care deficiency in such households. In the absence of child care services, for instance, poor women are likely to seek assistance from daughters who pay the penalty of dropping out of

school. Those without family support are often obliged to take children with them to work or leave them at home unsupervised with negative consequences. Low wage employment also intensifies care deficiency by making it necessary for mothers to work long hours to make ends meet (Samman, 2016). Similarly lack of easy access to water has been indicted in high school drop-out rates for girls not only because their responsibility for fetching water takes priority over schooling but also because the lack of water in school toilets discourages them from attending school during menstruation.

Finally, the lack of recognition for and the undervaluation of care provided by women in households is reflected in the market for paid care workers in the form of lack of recognition, low status, low wages and the absence of social security arrangements. The case of domestic workers everywhere provides the perfect illustration: they are among workers with the longest working hours and lowest pay in any economy. Abuses against domestic workers are also reported to be widespread (HRW, 2006).

## **2.5: Unpaid Labour and the Economy: The Unpaid – Paid Work Link**

Indispensable for the well-being of individuals, household and the community, unpaid work is critical also for the functioning of the economy. It is in fact the enabler and foundation of paid work. The products and services produced by unpaid work maintains workers, compensating for wear and tear or depreciation, enabling them to get to work every morning. The household sector and the women in it thus subsidize the market by making it possible for other sectors of the economy to pay much less for a worker than is necessary to maintain the same standard of living. Similarly, by providing many services that governments are expected to provide to citizens such as child care, care of the sick and elderly, supply of drinking water, fuel and so on, households and women also reduce the burden of the State (Hirway, 2014). Interestingly, women's unequal share of unpaid work also restricts the size of the potential workforce and distorts the labour market.

Countries with high average unpaid working time for women or a large gender gap in unpaid work are seen to have labour markets characterized not only by low female presence in paid work (Budlender, 2010; Miranda, 2011; Charmes, 2015), but also gender-based segmentation and low and gender discriminated wages (Gaelle, 2014). In such economies, women are certainly underrepresented in decision-making positions such as corporate executives, managers, technocrats, senior officials and legislators.

Higher female labour force participation is known to boost economic growth and alleviate poverty (Dollar, 1999; World Bank, 2011; UNDP, 2015; IMF, 2013). The loss to the economy of keeping half the population out of the labour force is enormous. Boosting gender parity in the labour market is estimated to increase global GDP between \$12 trillion and \$28 trillion in the next decade. In India's case, the potential annual addition to the country's GDP from raising women's employment is estimated between \$0.7 trillion and \$ 2.9 trillion – the largest gain of ten regions analyzed. About 70 percent of the increase is expected to come from a 10 percent rise in women's labour force participation rates (Mckinsey Global Institute, 2016).

Women's income contributes directly to poverty reduction by augmenting household income. More importantly, it triggers an intergenerational virtuous cycle and reduces non-income poverty in the long term, due to women's propensity to invest a larger proportion of their income on improving nutrition, health and education of household members, including girls (World Bank, 2011). Latin American and the Caribbean experiences validate this (World Bank, 2012). However, advocating reduction of the unpaid work burdens of women in order to increase their labour market participation should not be taken to imply that all women must seek paid employment. The ultimate aim is to widen choices for women on par with men in the labour market and in the economy.

To the extent that the household sector is a legitimate and integral part of the economy, unpaid work, particularly care work, that originates in this sector, is part of the continuum of work. This is borne out by the shift of activities from paid to unpaid status and from the market (SNA) to the household (Non-SNA) status and vice versa not only in response to different household characteristics but also in response to economic cycles. In Latin America and Asia, there is evidence of a strong counter-cyclical pattern to women's employment: poor households particularly in agriculture seek to compensate falling incomes by mobilizing family women and children as 'added workers' or as replacement for paid labour in their own farm or enterprises (World Bank, 2012). The Indian (Unni, 2007; Abraham, 2009) and Indonesian (Bhalotra, 2010; Posadas, 2010) experiences of crises illustrate this phenomenon.

Austerity measures following crises increase the pressure on women's unpaid work burden. Existing evidence from developing economies shows that cuts in critical public investments following the 2007-08 global crisis added to shrinking of household budgets due to rising prices while dwindling job opportunities

led to the intensification of unpaid work burdens for women (UN Women, 2014). Women are also likely to cut their demand for paid labour such as domestics and care workers in a bid to control household expenses, assuming these burdens increase during such periods. Poor households supplying such services are impacted, in turn reinforcing, and perhaps prolonging, the downward spiral. The opposite can be expected in the upward stage in the cycle: many services performed normally in the confines of the home such as child care and food processing enter the market and boost economic activity. Emerging challenges such as demographic changes, health shocks such as the AIDS epidemic, and climate change especially water shortage are also expected to alter the mix of paid-unpaid work in the economy (ILO, 2016).

Feminist economists argue that the systematic transfer of hidden subsidies to the economy in the form of women's unpaid work also works as a time-tax on women throughout their life cycle (Hirway, 2015; Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010). Macro structural adjustment and neo-liberal policies, formulated without regard to unpaid work in the economy, not only increase the penalty on women but ultimately also have an adverse impact on the economy (Elson, 2008; Folbre & Yoon, 2008; Hirway 2005). An important illustration of this pertains to the impact of austerity measures, such as those that have been implemented across the world since the global economic crisis of 2008, taking the form of massive cuts in public expenditure on health, education, and public services. Such policies have increased the burden of unpaid work on women who can no longer depend on free or low-cost public goods (UN, 2013; UN Women, 2014), reducing their well-being, human capital and productivity on the one hand, and creating a care deficiency in the economy on the other.

These negative consequences, however, go unnoticed due to the invisibility of unpaid work and workers, and are therefore not addressed by suitable compensating policies. In fact, economists point out that in developing countries, GDP and growth rate may lead to incorrect inferences about levels and changes in well-being by masking the substitution between paid and unpaid work (Weinrobe, 2005). In fact, policy which has a blind spot for women's unpaid work is partial macroeconomic policy-making, attributable to a fragmentary view of the macro economy (Hirway, 2015). Resolving gender disparities in paid and unpaid work calls for macro policy attention not only as a goal in its own right, but also as a pathway to gender equality, pro-poor growth, social cohesion, and improvements in overall human development.

## **2.6: Macroeconomic Policy for Unpaid-Paid Work Balance: the 3 R's**

As argued so far, unpaid work and the products and services it produces for the household are indispensable for maintaining and improving well-being of households and communities and essential for the functioning of the economy. However, in the absence of State-provided alternatives for care in developing countries, the burden of unpaid work results in limiting the choices of women who are expected to provide it. Expanding women's opportunities, choices and freedoms requires a range of actions that on the one hand remove barriers to their full and equal participation in the realm of paid work and on the other require the recognition, reduction and redistribution of the unpaid care burden that they disproportionately carry. That is, a move towards a world in which individuals and society recognize and value the importance of different forms of unpaid work including care work, without reinforcing such work as something that only women can or should do (Razavi, 2007). This argument of course applies equally to other forms of unpaid work that women do – unpaid SNA work that supports and is often indistinguishable from care work.

The “3 R” approach towards a more equitable sharing of the unpaid care burden by integrating it into macroeconomic policies, which was first suggested by Diane Elson in 2008, is easily extended to other forms of unpaid work as well. The 3 R's stand for Recognize, Reduce and Redistribute.

**2.6.1: Recognition.** Recognizing the importance of unpaid work, including unpaid care work, to the economy implies making it a core development issue in national policy and addressing women's unpaid work in all development interventions across sectors in a gender sensitive manner. Social protection measures for unpaid workers should be an important element of gender-sensitive macro-economic policy as they can help alleviate women's care burden by offering care for older and younger family members. Paid maternity leave is a good example of social protection that directly addresses care responsibilities of working women by offering income and job security to mothers and allowing them time to recover and rest from the effects of pregnancy and childbirth. Equally relevant is the provision of information, training and domain knowledge to women through government, private and voluntary sectors to reduce drudgery and improve efficiency and productivity in both unpaid SNA and care work.

A broad and effective gender sensitive macroeconomic policy with a focus on unpaid work presupposes a strong data base – a statistical system that can provide the requisite information on the multiple facets of unpaid work and worker. Such a system can inform macro policy by pushing governments to rethink how



they visualize the economy and how they prioritize the allocation of public resources (ActionAid, 2013). The Time Use Survey, in use since the 1990's, is a proven tool that needs to be mainstreamed in national statistical systems. Also required is the linking of Gender Budget Analysis to TUS; setting up of strong monitoring and evaluation systems that use gender-disaggregated and unpaid work-related information to routinely assess and modify interventions; and the identification and analysis of best practices to upgrade current ones.

At another level, policies and programmes need to address the challenges of breaking gender stereotyping and thereby expanding women's choices and opportunities. This can involve not only identifying and affirming the unpaid work especially the care work that men carry out, but also finding ways of actively involving men in breaking down entrenched cultural norms regarding gender division of labour. NGO's have a critical role to play in this regard. The 'Entre Nos (Between Us)' campaign in Brazil, which uses soap opera to encourage young people to think about the rigid division of labour in society, and the mobilization of home-based carers in Africa to get decision makers to recognize their needs and priorities, are just two examples ready for wider adoption (Esplen, 2009). The education system can be another powerful entry point for breaking down gender based norms and promoting gender equality.

Initiatives that seek to promote women's employment must be built on an understanding of the interrelationship between paid work, unpaid SNA work and unpaid care work, as also between unpaid work and time and material poverty. Policies and systems that protect and promote the rights to decent work need to be extended to unpaid SNA workers – the self-employed, particularly the unpaid family workers as well as to paid care workers. Initiatives that will narrow down the gender-based segmentation of professions originating in care are also needed. In Argentina, Chile and South Africa, gender advocates have been successful in convincing governments to implement measures to protect the rights of paid care workers, for example by ensuring they have access to the same basic labour protections available to other workers (Esplen, 2009). In India gender advocates have been organizing domestic workers as well as anganwadi workers to secure rights under conditions of decent work.

**2.6.2: Reduction.** This refers to seeking ways to reduce drudgery and time stress of unpaid work including housework, and at the same time, increase productivity of unpaid work. Improving infrastructure and basic service delivery is an important way of achieving this. Some of the ways of reducing work load and time stress are:

- expanding, improving or making more accessible basic infrastructural support to reduce drudgery: providing clean and safe water supply and toilets within the household or clean and affordable source of fuel for instance.
- making basic services accessible through improving connectivity, such as reliable electricity supply, good roads, transportation services and
- improving technology, making it user friendly particularly women-friendly; making available fuel-efficient stoves for cooking in place of primitive stoves which use inferior fuels such as wood, kerosene and so on; replacing heavy agricultural equipment with women friendly ones.

In order to encourage the use of technology by women, the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, subsidizes the purchase by women of agricultural machinery and equipment such as tractors, tillers, sprayers, etc., and offers training programmes on gender friendly equipment to women farmers. Although the objectives of the programme do not include reduction of the care burden, it is likely that by saving time and energy these initiatives will help lighten the total work burden on women farmers.

The Working Group on Women's Agency and Empowerment, XII Plan, in an attempt to infuse a gender perspective within all energy development programmes recommended among other measures, research and development with a focus on meeting energy needs of women; encouragement to women's groups to undertake smaller power production units; and provision of seed capital and training for the management of energy programmes and development of expertise in the renewable energy sector.

**2.6.3: Redistribution** refers to seeking ways of a more equitable sharing of unpaid work, particularly unpaid care work, between men and women within the household as also between the other four institutions that together with households, form the care diamond: State, market, caste and community structures, and community organizations or the voluntary sector. It is possible to shift unpaid work to the mainstream economy, because of the existence of what Antonopoulos and Fontana (2006) term as hidden vacancies, defined as vacancies or job opportunities which ought to have existed in the mainstream economy but are

hidden, as these are inadequately filled in by unpaid work in the household. These exist mainly in the area of child care and care of elderly, sick and disabled, and may sometimes be provided by the market, State and voluntary sectors with the last two expected to cater to the poor, but not necessarily exclusively. According to a UN policy brief, investing 2 percent of GDP into the care sector could increase employment rates by 4 to 7 percentage points, with women filling between 59 to 70 percent of the newly created jobs (UN 2017).

Provision of reliable and affordable child care, specifically Early Education and Child Care (EECC), can have double benefits: give a great deal of relief to young mothers, boosting their participation in the labour market and simultaneously contribute to early development of children. Public provision of childcare can be funded fully or partially either through the government's tax revenues, social insurance or through subsidies. A variety of approaches are possible (Esplen, 2009; ILO, 2015) as illustrated by Colombia's Hogares Comunitarios de Bienestar (HCB) programme and Mexico's Federal programme for day-care, Programa de Estancias Infantiles para Apoyar a Madres Trabajadoras (PEIMT).

The HCB creates 'community nurseries' run by a 'community mother'. While the local parents' association elects and pays her, the government provides food and nutritional supplements (ILO, 2012). The PEIMT specifically targets poor mothers who work, are seeking work or are enrolled in education or training. The government provides financial support to both individuals and public organizations interested in starting nurseries and a subsidy to low-income mothers (SEDESOL, 2011. Quoted in ILO, 2012). The "Chile Crece Contigo" ("Chile Grows with You") programme goes a step further by combining childcare with support for fathers' roles in care and promoting women's access to paid work (ILO, 2016).

In India, several examples can be found: the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), a globally renowned programme for promoting early childhood care for survival, growth and development, holistically addressing the inter related needs of young children, adolescent girls and women; the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, a public works program on which crèches for children of participating women is mandated; Crèches provided by Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) and Mobile Crèches are voluntary sector initiatives for women working in the informal sector.

As regards elderly care, the Elderly Care Insurance (ECI) of the Republic of Korea is held up as an example of innovation in public provision of care. The ECI entitles all citizens over the age of 65 to public care services,

ranging from help with domestic work and delivery of prepared meals, to full institutional care in nursing homes. It is claimed to have reduced the share of care that family members, predominantly women, provide on an unpaid basis by 15 percent (UN Women, not dated).

Legislative measures offer an alternative avenue for sharing parental responsibilities: Maternity leave, discussed earlier, is also important for its promotion of sharing of childcare, where some paternity leave is built into it. Paternity leave helps increase fathers' involvement with small children and overturns gender stereotyping (UN, 2016). European, particularly Scandinavian countries are models in this respect. In Iceland, no distinction is made between paternity and maternity leave, but a nine-month paid leave after childbirth at 80 percent of salary is granted instead (ILO, 2014). This leave is split into three equal parts between the mother and father (both shares being non-transferable) and the couple (which can be taken by either the mother or the father) (Esplen, 2009).

Other measures embedded in the labour market that recognize the disadvantages of workers with family responsibilities, some of which are being tried in developing countries are: 1) flexi-timing (part-time/compressed jobs and staggered timing); 2) Job sharing involving arrangements to share a full-time job between two people and 3) reducing the distance or travel time between home and work (home-based work). These measures come with a few disadvantages (Hirway 2008) and need to be designed carefully. They can be used to maintain low and gender differentiated wages for women and reinforce gender based division of labour. Unless they are accompanied by other decent work conditions like equal pay for equal work, and enabling conditions like infrastructure and childcare, they may neither be effective in lightening women's work burden nor promote gender equality. Strategies such as incentives to employers for employing women and special retraining programs for women are also being tried out. These policies lighten to some extent the unpaid work burden of employed women.

Other measures being tried out with mixed results across the world include,

- Cash Compensation or Wages for Housework.
- Conditional Cash Transfers. Example: Mexico's Oportunidades programme, South Africa's Child Support Grant and the Maternity Benefit Scheme in India (MBS)
- Pensions for Housewives. Argentina, Ecuador and Venezuela have innovative pension plans for unpaid carers.

Of these Conditional Cash transfers have become quite popular. Such programmes have many problems of which the most important are exclusion and inclusion errors, inadequacy of the compensation, difficulties in fulfilling conditions due to non-availability of public services (see, Chapter Four for a critique of the Indian MBS). Also, reviewing Mexico's Oportunidades, Molyneux (2007) observes that child support programmes based on conditional cash transfers can often end up reinforcing women's responsibility for child care.

The various legislative and other measures discussed above will go a long way in reducing women's unpaid work. However, some care work will always remain within the household and unless prevailing patriarchal norms and customs change, women will continue to perform most of it. Gender norms can take a long time to change but can be accelerated by advocacy, especially if targeted at young people and a well-thought out system of incentives. Redistribution, especially between men and women is essential for gender equality. The voluntary sector can play an active part in this regard. A good example is Program H Alliance of Brazil which promotes critical discussion of traditional gender norms in a variety of ways including use of training manuals, educational videos and the popular soap opera, *Entre Nos* (Esplen, 2009).

## **2.7: Conclusion**

Of the many actors involved - individuals, households, communities, employers, government – the State clearly has a critical role in moderating gender relations and practices especially in the case of poor women. This, as discussed above, can be done in several ways through policies and laws: But State intervention alone may not lead to the desired changes within a desired time frame. Nevertheless, these can serve as crucial first steps towards genuine change for women and a means to institutionalize a gender-equitable mindset. Personal empowerment and changing social norms need to be combined with macroeconomic and social policy measures, legal frameworks and social mobilisation to achieve gender equality. NGO's have a critical role to play in this regard. Their contribution could be valuable in, a) mobilizing women and disseminating information regarding their rights and entitlements, especially in terms of government interventions; b) creating awareness amongst men about women's unpaid work, and its impact and actively involving them in breaking down cultural mores pertaining to gender division of labour and in other ways executing the 3R measures ; c) liaising with authority to ensure that benefits of government policies and schemes reach those who require them the most and d) engaging with the government at all levels - planning, design of programmes, implementation, evaluating and monitoring.



## Chapter Three

### Conceptual Underpinnings of Unpaid Work: Overview of Indian Literature

#### 3.1: Introduction

The intention here is not to present a predictable review of literature on women's unpaid work in India, nor is it to recapture and summarize the major work done so far on the fundamental issues; rather, the objective is to critique in order to re-examine the very concept of unpaid work as an important element of the gendered work continuum. The focus is on post-IPTUS literature.

Interest in women's unpaid work and its labour market connect in India predates the recent surge in global interest in the care economy and extends beyond care to encompass unpaid SNA work. The reasons for the interest in unpaid work and Time Use Survey (TUS) as a technique for measuring it are also distinct. Here, the initial stimulus came from the urge to demonstrate under-enumeration, inadequate attention to unpaid family labour, home production and household work and the relationships between these in the national statistical system (Jain, 2007). This was also the *raison d'être* of the country's first TUS by Jain & Chand in 1982. Despite decades of feminist advocacy and constant efforts by the Census and NSS organizations, accurate estimation of women workers, especially those engaged in unpaid work in 'difficult to measure' sectors, continues to remain a challenge.

The IPTUS initiated in 1998-99 and subsequent efforts at refining TUS methodology opened up opportunities for more focused and precise empirical exploration of women's unpaid work, including unpaid care work, by making available nationally representative time use data, for the first time. These also generated considerable information on the technical aspects of such surveys. This has encouraged a large number of attempts, especially in universities, at small scale, localized TUS. Forays into evaluation of policy through the lens of women's unpaid work burden, and in that context, the directions of and motivations for public investment in basic infrastructure are still rare and merit much more attention. Time poverty as an explanation for and indicator of material poverty and Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) as a way of incorporating unpaid work in the economic calculus are other potential areas for research.

Here, the more than 100 items of post-IPTUS literature — books, monographs, chapters in books, articles, papers presented in conferences, working papers/reports of institutions, university thesis and papers published on the web – are broadly divided for review into three categories: theoretical and conceptual discussions, attempts at measurement and valuation, and studies exploring the unpaid work, macro-economy and policy connect. Under the last, seven studies are singled out for their special relevance to the central issue at debate.

### **3.2: Theoretical & Conceptual Discussions**

One question that has piqued feminist economists is why unpaid work including care work missing from mainstream economics and praxis. Dewan (2015) points to the tight integration between patriarchy, production and reproduction and the collusion between the State, market and family, while Ghosh (2014) attributes it to the poverty of economics as a discipline. Some, like Sen (2015), Pradeep and Adaina (2015), and Kakade (2015) look for an answer in different mainstream frameworks – Classical, Neo-classical, Marxist, Feminist and New Home Economics. Others search history (Das Gupta, 2015) or data (Prasad, 2015) for an explanation.

Chakraborty (2007) examines various theories of allocation of time. She charges mainstream economists of ignoring the role of unpaid (care) work by clubbing it with leisure in defining non-market time, despite the greater importance of unpaid care for well-being, as highlighted by Gary Becker as far back as in 1965. Research on time use has since proved that socio-economic changes have completely different effects on unpaid care work and leisure and that unpaid work at home influences important household behavior such as participation in the labour market.

The Report on the International Seminar on TUS (Gol, 1999) notes the failure of extant theoretical frameworks, including the Neo-classical and Marxian paradigm to provide tools for valuation in an internally consistent manner. Most of the papers in this seminar contain a section on the definition of work in the UN system and related concepts (Hirway, 2000, 2005; Pandey, 1999; Pillai, 2008) – unpaid work, unpaid SNA work, care work, unpaid care work, the last also variously referred to as non-SNA work, extended SNA (ESNA) or often simply as unpaid work by different writers, leading to lack of uniformity and clarity. Sen (op cit)



clears the confusion by distinguishing between alternate definitions, explaining the overlaps and inconsistency in their application.

Hirway (2014) points to the arbitrariness in the division of SNA and Non-SNA and the resultant exclusion of unpaid household services (unpaid care work) from the production boundary rejecting the justification provided by the UN. Ghosh (op cit) and Dewan (op cit) redefine work using NSS data on the lines of the logically more consistent and precise definition recently provided by the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS), which makes a clear distinction between work and employment: While work comprises, any activity performed by persons of any sex and age to produce goods or to provide services for use by others or for own use, employment is work for pay or profit. These fresh estimates reveal dramatically different trends from those delineated by mainstream analysts: 1) many more women than men are and have been consistently involved in paid and unpaid activities across the various NSS rounds; 2) women seem to be increasingly shifting from code 11-81 into code 93, that is, from paid/recognized work (employment) to unpaid/unrecognized work.

Nandi (2015) and Sethia (2016) bring in the Rights perspective and the Decent Work framework. They argue for looking at women's unpaid work as part of the continuum of women's work. This view is reflected by many others as well (see ISST, 2015). Ghosh (op cit) and Hirway (2010; 2014) establish the critical links between unpaid work, the market economy and poverty, elucidating the concepts of time stress and time poverty and the role of the State in providing relief via public provision of basic services, particularly water, sanitation and fuel.

In addition to discussions on the definition of work, the IPTUS (1998-99) also generated a great deal of attention on the practical and technical aspects such as classification of activities, modes of data collection, and basis of valuation of unpaid care work. The first-hand experiences of Hirway (not dated; 1999; 2000; 2005) and Pandey (op cit) in conducting the IPTUS makes their work particularly relevant. The latter's discussions on the limitations of using TUS data for valuation of unpaid care work and the relative merits of alternate methods of valuation of unpaid work – input vis-à-vis output method, and of the first, the advantages of the replacement cost method (specialist and generalist) over the opportunity cost method are important contributions to the literature. The most recommended and popular choice amongst researchers conducting small scale TUS appears to be the replacement cost method. Besides the technical issues mentioned above, two papers that provide inputs on the multiple uses of TUS in the context of developing countries (Hirway, 2007d; Ironmonger, 2007) also merit mention here.

The long delay in holding the second Indian Pilot TUS (SEPTUS, 2015) compelled fresh calls for mainstreaming of TUS and fresh discussions on the advantages of TUS for measuring women's work (Hirway & Jeyalakshmi, 2007b; Hirway, 2009). This period also saw several attempts at the review and critique of IPTUS methodology and its comparison to TUS in other countries (Hirway, 2007a; Hirway, 2009; Budlender, 2007; Jain, 2007; Neetha, 2010; Pandey, 2007; Samantroy, not dated). The lessons drawn and the recommendations offered in these are important inputs for the design and implementation of future surveys, national as well as smaller local ones.

The report of the Expert Group (GoI, 2013) presents the results of the SEPTUS, which covered Gujarat and Bihar. A fresh classification of activities based on the National Industrial Classification (NIC) and matching the conventional surveys on labour and employment was attempted. Surprisingly, besides this official report, little has been written about this exercise or its lessons except by Samantroy (not dated). She compares the methodological issues in the two pilot surveys (1998/99 and 2012) and highlights ways to improve future TUS, including, advance publicity, deployment of female investigators along with male, both drawn from the local population and the translation of the questionnaire into the local language to improve accuracy of returns. She also recommends the inclusion of context variables in TUS to better capture reality.

### **3.3: Measurement and Valuation of Women's Unpaid Work**

Prior to the IPTUS, empirical research on women's work was perforce limited by the data available in the Population Census or the Employment and Unemployment Surveys (EUS) of the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) and was hence focused mainly on women's labour force engagement albeit post-scripted with comments on women's unpaid (SNA) work and the consequent undercounting of the female workforce. Post IPTUS there has been a surge of work on women's unpaid work, based on not only on the IPTUS, but also on small-scale TUS as well as on NSS data.

*Studies based on IPTUS*

Initial studies of IPTUS data focused on improving upon the NSS and Census estimates of the labour force, particularly women's labour force, this being one of the major and explicit objectives of the pilot survey, a prime example being Hirway (1999, 2002). She argues for the superiority of TUS estimates of women's workforce due to its several inherent advantages, primarily absence of investigator and respondent bias, and the ability to capture non-remunerative or unpaid work. Similar exercises can also be found following subsequent NSS rounds. These (Hirway, 2007, 2010, 2011 and 2012) seek to explain the sudden and significant rise in women's labour force participation in the NSS EUS of 2004-05 and the substantial subsequent decline in EUS of 2009-10.

The report on the International Seminar on TUS (Gol, 1999) contains many of the papers written during the early years, which provided the basis for much of the future work on IPTUS. In particular, Baskaran, 1999; Chandra, 1999; Hirway, 1999; Kulshreshtha, 1999; Lyngdoh, 1999; Narasimhan and Pandey, 1999; Pandey, 1999, 1999a, 1999b; Rajivan, 1999; Raut, 1999 and Thaker, 1999, did yeoman service to those who could not access the raw data by explaining the concepts and the methodology of the IPTUS, putting the results in scores of easily understandable tables and analyzing them. Some of these also undertook valuation in money terms of women's unpaid work.

Three other papers meriting mention here are, Pillai (2008) which explores in great depth the many dimensions of unpaid work, especially those related to child care; Samantroy (2012), which places the time use pattern of the women of Meghalaya as evidenced in the IPTUS in the socio-economic and cultural context of the North East; and Samantroy (2015), where the various challenges that women face in balancing paid and care work are examined using IPTUS data and the implication of extant social policies are reviewed in terms of their impact on women's choices regarding work.

#### *Cross-country studies based on IPTUS*

One of earliest of cross country studies involving developing countries including India is by Budlender (2010). A part of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) project on Political and Social Economy of Care, the paper aims to explore the way in which care — and in particular, care of persons — is provided by the institutions of family/household, State, market and community, and by the people

within these institutions by comparing TUS conducted at various period in six countries – Argentina and Nicaragua in Latin America, India and the Republic of Korea in Asia, and South Africa and Tanzania in Africa.

Other similar studies, involving different number and combination of countries and including India are – Charmes (2015) based on 102 TUS carried out in 65 countries, results of which were used in the World Development Report (2015); Miranda (2011) featuring 26 OECD member countries and 3 emerging economies, China, India and S. Africa, again results used by (OECD, 2011); and Institute of Political Studies Paris (2005) which features India, Benin and Mexico. These cross-country studies serve to place Indian women's role in unpaid work against their counterparts elsewhere in the world including in other developing countries, revealing clearly that gender skewed distribution of unpaid work is a universal phenomenon but within that, India is an extreme case with the highest gender gap in time spent on unpaid care work.

#### *Studies based on Micro TUS*

These studies, mostly university theses and projects acquire significance for their ability to throw light on periods and regions not covered by the official surveys, representing areas of the country with widely differing socio-economic conditions.

Most of the studies mentioned here, presented during the 57th Annual Conference of the Indian Society of Labour Economics, analyze the gender distribution of time on SNA, ESNA and Non-SNA work with special attention on unpaid care work of women. Almost all also attempt to place a monetary value on women's unpaid work, using the replacement cost method. The distinctiveness of each study arises from the variety of regions and constituencies that they cover, sample sizes adopted, and in the case of a few, the small innovations introduced – in the technique of survey, method of data collection or construction of indices.

Some studies confine themselves to women in the rural economy - Agarwal's (2015) is anchored in Uttar Pradesh; Kaur & Harvinder's (2015a) in Punjab; Dutt's (2015) in Andhra Pradesh; Skariah's (2014) in Kerala and Sardana's (2007) in Haryana; or to the urban milieu - Lahiri-Dutt (2014). A few select their samples from both rural and urban areas - Sengupta (2015) (W. Bengal) and Aara & Dhindsa (2015) (Punjab) for instance. In terms of constituency, the focus groups range from poor women, women of female headed households,

tribal women, and even middle-class women: while Upadhyay and Gurung (2015) look at women in the tribal economy (Arunachal Pradesh), Lahiri-Dutt (2014) explores issues relating to middle-class urban women. In terms of employment status, both housewives and working women are covered by Aara & Dhindsa (2015) and Raju, M (2015). Several studies also try to explore differences across age, marital status, education, class and caste hierarchies.

Other studies using small, localized TUS are Equity Foundation India (not dated) in Bihar; Sidh (not Dated) in Garhwal; Choudhary (2015) in Maharashtra; and Devi (not dated) in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu. Instances of studies that seek to introduce some variation are - Kaur & Harvinder (op cit), who construct a well-being index, incorporating work intensity of the respondents in addition to personal income and education level; Sardana (op cit) incorporates respondent women's perceived monetary value for various chores in the valuation of unpaid work. Raju, M (2015) supplements TUS results with analysis of NSS data, and Sarker and Mukherjee (2015) uses a combination of household survey and case study method.

Choudhary (2009), and Singla and Miglani (2015) devise a short-cut to the classical TUS: each respondent is asked only whether they performed (Yes) or not (No/Occasionally) each of the selected activities, classified into 'domestic work', 'caring for family members' and so on. The value of unpaid work is calculated by using replacement value at current wages for each task.

#### *Studies based on NSS Employment and Unemployment Situation Reports*

Unpaid workers in the NSS Employment & Unemployment Reports are classified under three categories: unpaid family labour (code 21); attending to domestic duty only (code 92) and attending domestic duty with other activities of benefit to the household (code 93). Since the last decade or so, researchers are increasingly paying attention to unpaid work in the NSS Employment and Unemployment Surveys, analyzing differences in women's participation in unpaid work across different socio-economic variables or explaining trends in women's employment via their participation in unpaid work. A definite propensity to view paid and unpaid work as a continuum is emerging, even with data that has severe limitations in measuring unpaid work.

Neetha (2010) establishes the links between women's paid and unpaid work through a disaggregate analysis of the three rounds of NSS data - 1993-94, 1999-00 and 2004-05. This analysis is taken further in Mazumdar (2011) to show how specific attention to unpaid work in NSS EUS data can overturn standard assumptions regarding women's employment. Olsen (2006) uses retrodution to interpret regression equations of labour force participation (1999-2000), tracing thereby the plurality of causal mechanisms that explain patterns in both women's employment and 'housewifisation'. Tripathi (2015) finds that unpaid women workers (NSS codes 21,92 & 93) continue to either work in a subsidiary capacity at low paying jobs or look for jobs, establishing low-paid jobs as an element of the work continuum of women.

Abraham (2009) and Sanghi (2015) and Zakaria (2017) use analysis that differs only in detail to explain the temporary rise in women's employment in 2004-05 and/or its subsequent decline in 2009-10 and 2011-12 in terms of the switch from paid to unpaid work. Kanjilal Bhaduri (2015) uses logistic regression towards the same end in the case of women of land-owning class across regions and socio-economic groups.

Tomar and Mustafi (2015) analyse data on the responses of women engaged in domestic duties in rural Uttar Pradesh, to the set of probing questions addressed in the NSSO survey to show that for 50 percent of women in domestic work, it is the lack of paid opportunities that keep them there. They also examine the impact of caste, education, age, and marital status on unpaid work. Other papers that explore various facets and determinants of women's unpaid work across regions and states are Dutta (2015), Shankaranand (2015), Sinha (2011) and Mukherjee (2015). Kumar (2015) uses a multinomial choice model towards the same end.

Somewhat different from the other papers, Naidu (2016) establishes the link between women and land by uncovering the non-linear relationship between women's participation in "domestic and allied" activities and land ownership and thereby posits gender equity as a contemporary and unresolved question in the midst of India's agrarian transition.

#### *Studies based on Other Techniques*

Dhingra (2015) uses the narratives of young to middle aged housewives to capture the experiences of paid and unpaid work. It is argued that the policies of liberalisation and processes accompanying globalisation have interacted in multiple ways to create and reinforce domesticities, increasing and intensifying women's

share of unpaid work, particularly with respect to child care. Jha (2015) offers a concrete illustration of Dhingra's argument by examining the gender dynamics of unpaid care work and violence in the Information Technology (IT) industry in India, which is touted as one of the most important sources of white-collar employment opportunities for women, characterized by flexibility and absence of occupational segregation between men and women.

### **3.4: Unpaid Work, the Macro Economy and Policy**

Feminist economists have led the crusade in India for unpaid work to be counted in the national statistical systems with some measure of success. Their attention is now increasingly turning to having unpaid care work incorporated in the formulation and monitoring of macro-economic policy (Hirway 2005) by highlighting the pathways through which well-being of particularly women is affected via their unpaid non-SNA work (2007,2010). The importance of a strong national statistical paradigm that includes unpaid work and the suitability of TUS for this purpose are emphasized (2008, 2014). Sethia (2016) adopts the 'Rights' and 'Decent Work' perspectives in a discussion of State provisions for unpaid workers, 'those engaged in domestic work' and other women excluded from just conditions of work. She contends that not only have care workers been largely ignored in policy, they have also been exploited by being treated by the State as 'honorary workers', not entitled to standard minimum wages, pensions or insurance. She recommends better public provisioning to help free time for women in low income household to pursue education or skill development to improve labour market outcomes and social security coverage for unpaid family workers.

Swaminathan (2009) traces the trajectory of simultaneous exclusion and inclusion of women in policy through a critical reading of some of the seminal reports of officially constituted commissions and committees, and revisiting their arguments and recommendations. The larger implications of the continued expansion in the numbers of, and time involved in, "unpaid labour", the ineffectiveness of protective labour laws for women and the continued denial of worker status to women are discussed.

Chakraborty (2007; 2013) analyses IPTUS data to highlight the significant role of time in gender-specific public expenditure analysis by identifying points of intervention and the groups that require public provision. To her, despite gender budgeting being used as a significant socio-economic tool for the analysis of fiscal policies, time use statistics have hardly been integrated. Gender budgeting often rests on the assumption

that mainstream expenditure such as public infrastructure is non-rival in nature and thus avoids the use of gender lens. Examples of roads and water supply are used to show that there is an intrinsic gender dimension to the outcomes even of non-rival expenditure. She also recommends a relook at the construction of the gender equality index in this context.

Drawing lessons from ActionAid's Young Urban Women's project (involving 6465 women aged 15-25 years in seven poor urban and peri-urban areas across India, Ghana and South Africa) this publication by ActionAid (2015) demonstrates how personal empowerment and changing social norms need to be combined with macroeconomic and social policy measures, legal frameworks and social mobilisation to achieve the ambitions of international instruments such as CEDAW, ILO Conventions and the ICPD Programme of Action. While there is some headway in this respect at the international level, national governments need to be more assertive in centering SRHR (sexual and reproductive health and rights) and unpaid care work, and linking them with development frameworks, both at the national and regional levels.

### **3.5: Selected Studies of Special Relevance**

*ADB (2015): Desk Review of Studies on Infrastructure and Time Use*

Although not exclusively centered on India, ADB's desk review of literature on the link between women's time poverty and infrastructure – water & sanitation, energy and transport – in Asia and the Pacific, is an invaluable addition to the literature on women's time use in India because of the numerous examples it provides of the role of infrastructure on women's work burden (ADB, 2015). For each of the 4 kinds of infrastructure considered in the review, evidence has been collected, where available, for i) the time use related to that service and ii) the impact of its improved provision. Due to constraints of space only the salient conclusions on water supply and energy for lighting and cooking in the Indian context are highlighted here.

Although improved access to water has demonstrable effects on health outcomes of children and school attendance of girls, the report concedes that contradictory conclusions have emerged on whether time saved by improved water supply leads to more time spent on market work. It notes the possibility that time



saved in collecting water is reallocated to improving family welfare. More studies are clearly required before generalization can be made and regional differences can be understood.

Despite the many benefits that electrification can be expected to bring, the report notes that globally, including India, households show a reluctance to use electricity for cooking. In terms of lighting, two caveats regarding the benefits of electrification are noted: 1) merely living in a village that is connected does not entitle any household to the benefits of electrification (applies equally to roads and water supply) unless the household gets a connection. This implies that subsidies and pricing policies are important to ensure that poor women, including poor households headed by women, have access to and can utilize affordable infrastructure facilities and services. Second, more can be done to increase time saving benefits by introducing time-saving equipment. However, the chances of women acquiring time saving equipment is reduced because of their low status and the vesting of financial decision making in men's hands.

*Chakraborty (2005): Time Use and Investment in Water Infrastructure & (2008): Improved Access to Water and Market Work: Fresh Evidence*

These two articles examine the link between public infrastructure investment in water and time allocation across gender in the context of the 6 states that feature in the IPTUS i.e., Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Meghalaya. Investment in water infrastructure in rural and urban areas of each state, collected from budget documents, is regressed against number of persons involved in fetching water and time spent in 1) fetching water (i.e. travel time), 2) SNA, 3) ESNA and 4) Non-SNA activities for males and females. The results imply that though infrastructure investment lessens the time stress in unpaid SNA activity, complementary employment policies are required along with infrastructure investment to ensure substitution effect of unpaid work with market work, which in turn can have impact on household poverty. The analysis is refined in the second study by defining time allocation in SNA activity as a function of the log of public investment in infrastructure across states and the distance travelled to fetch water, captured through the time-use budget of travel. The results reveal, 1) that worsening public infrastructure affects market work, with evident gender differentials; 2) that access to public infrastructure can lead to substitution effects in time allocation between unpaid work and market work. The policy implication is that public investment policy needs to redress intra-household inequalities in terms of labor-supply decisions by supporting initiatives that reduce the allocation of time in nonmarket work.

*Das (2015): Women Workers: Why So Few Among So Many?*

This paper focuses upon the impact of roads and power (electricity) supply on women's labourforce participation. A regression analysis across States shows that women living in states with greater access to roads are more likely to be in the labor force, and those in states with higher transmission and distribution losses of state power utilities are less likely to be in the labor force.

*Dewan, R and Swati Raju. 2012a. Impacts of Physical Infrastructure on Women's Workforce Participation Rates in Rural and Urban India*

This paper focuses on five gendered infrastructural issues: 1) reduction of time and drudgery through improvement in water supply, sanitation, energy and transport; 2) enhancing community planning, construction, and maintenance by increasing investment in drainage, water supply, tertiary irrigation canals, transport and sanitation; 3) ways to increase income earning opportunities as well as economic and societal empowerment both horizontal and vertical; 4) expansion of efficiency and productivity through improvement in several forms of infrastructure especially those related to markets and transport; and 5) the nature of policy design, planning, and implementation that more often than not remains insulated from gender concerns. The effect of a large number of physical infrastructure indicators on work participation rates of both men and women were considered for major states of India over a period spanning two decades, using regression analysis. Results indicate that reducing the time spent on fuel wood collection or alternatively increasing access to cleaner sources of fuel like kerosene and LPG translates into a greater participation of women in the work-force; that the most significant and positive correlations exist between water within the premises, hand pumps, roads, and the paid work of especially rural women casual workers.

*Dewan, R. 2012b. Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana: Visibilising Gender in Rural Road Connectivity.*

This paper debates gender sensitive infrastructural development and gender mainstreaming of physical infrastructure in India, and applies gender responsive budgeting to physical infrastructure projects. The focus here is on the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), a centrally sponsored road project with a potentially encompassing impact. Gender differentials and gender needs are identified in the context of rural

roads arising from women's location in the process of production and reproduction in a patriarchal society. Results reveal that: 1) much larger share of women's journeys, as compared to men's, are for household and family needs, including trips to collect water and fuel wood, visits to health centres, community and social interaction, etc. 2) A majority of such trips are relatively short or local, but undertaken frequently, thus absorbing considerable time and effort, which directly impact work burdens and the time available for economic activities. 3) Women's journeys often tend to combine several stops to meet various purposes. The policy lesson underlines the importance of ensuring that roads and transport services connect the destinations important to women, and that the fare structures facilitate short journeys with multiple stops.

*Palriwala R. and R.N. Pillai (2009) India: Research Report 3: The Care Diamond: State Social Policy and the Market.*

This report makes a significant contribution to Indian policy analysis by examining in depth State social policy on child care and its interface with the market and 'community' organisations. The history, framework and motivations of public policy addressing child care are traced. The various arrangements (laws, schemes etc.) in India for the provision of maternity benefits for formal and informal workers, and creche and daycare facilities (in the government, non-government and private sector) are listed and reviewed in some depth. They conclude that State policy in the context of care has been piece-meal, haphazard and reactive rather than proactive, with links between gender, care and welfare of citizens remaining a blind spot.

### **3.6: Conclusion**

This review of post-Indian Time Use Survey literature, an evidence of the burgeoning interest on the subject in the country, is set within a framework that recognizes the interconnects between paid and unpaid work. Current discussions reveal that much has been achieved in terms of understanding the conceptual construction of unpaid work, its measurement and valuation, its links with various aspects of women's lives, including employment. Some beginnings have been made on the work continuum-macro policy connect but much, much more remains to be done. There is greater realization today that not only the quantum of benefits but the ways in which it is delivered significantly affects women and men, and that involving men in what is usually considered women's work is critical for the improvement in the quality of women's lives and the ultimate ushering in of gender equality. However, much more work is needed to sharpen our understanding of the impact of design and implementation of State interventions on women's work continuum, and its translation into gender-sensitive, evidence-based policy making.

## Chapter Four

### THROUGH THE UNPAID WORK LENS:

#### *Desk Review of Laws, Policies and Schemes at National and Regional Levels: India, Maharashtra, Telangana and Uttarakhand.*

#### 4.1: Introduction

Of the five institutions that impact women's work especially that which is unpaid – households, community and caste structures, non-government actors, markets, and the State – the State, with its reach, financial strength and tools, is in a prime position to wield a critical influence over the other institutions in moderating gender roles and relations. Macroeconomic policies governing social protection, public provision of basic infrastructure, taxes and subsidies can have a significant enabling or disabling impact on the unpaid and unrecognized economy. The role of the State is especially significant in developing countries, more so in the case of women in poor and vulnerable households.

In India, articulation of women's unpaid work including care or discussions of related issues like time stress or time poverty can rarely be found in public policy. This, despite the strong welfare tilt that Indian policy has had from the very beginning, the evolving rights perspective and the gender tint that it has acquired in the last decade or so. Neither does the socio-economic policy discourse on poverty alleviation, inclusion and gender equity pay attention to unpaid work. The Draft Policy for Women 2016 (GoI, 2016 a) for the first time, dedicates a single paragraph on the subject, promising to hold household surveys to assess the "gender inequality in the household work and undertake suitable strategies to integrate unpaid work with major programmes" (p. 7,8). Measures such as time-saving technology, infrastructure, child/parental care leave and services are also promised. Unpaid work is also mentioned in the context of social security measures for women. Apparent in this scant regard to unpaid work in policy, are four underlying implicit assumptions:

- 1) that the unpaid work that all households require for their daily reproduction is private, familial, and in line with social beliefs, especially regarding division of labour;
- 2) that even the unpaid SNA work that women do in family farms and enterprises is part of 'housework';

- 3) that men are the bread winners while women are dependents and/or mothers, and
- 4) that intra-household (gender) balance is outside the obligations of the State or the remit of policy.

Interventions are considered justified only in response to family-based failures (single women, widows, orphans) or where conditions such as poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy are perceived as the reasons for societal malaises such as high infant/child/maternal mortality or undernutrition. This chapter assesses through the unpaid work lens whether and how far women's work burden informs policy initiatives. In the main, examining whether and to what extent policy – in its intent, design, implementation, budgetary outlay and outcome – incorporates unpaid work: its recognition, reduction and redistribution.

Since in the Indian federal fiscal system, responsibility for policy formulation (Centre) is generally separated from implementation (state) and funding is shared between the two, both macro (Central Government) and meso (state level) analysis of the working of the select programmes/schemes become essential. Regional assessment has acquired added significance due to the implementation of the 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission recommendations which has substantially increased the responsibility of the states for the implementation of Central projects since 2015-16 (CBGA, 2015), at the same time, slashing, in most cases, the share of Central funding from 90 percent to 60 percent. Hence, budget tracking is carried out separately for the Centre and the study states.

In the analysis that follows, principal features of the specific Act/policy/programme or scheme are stated very briefly followed by a discussion of its link with or implications for unpaid work of women. Next comes an analysis of the budgetary outlays and outcomes (budget tracking) where both Estimated and Revised Budget allocations (BE/RE) as well as actual expenditure (AE) are examined. Recommendations can be found at the end of each section.

## **4.2: Energy**

### ***4.2.1: Strategic Plan for New and Renewable Energy Sector (2011-17/22) (SPNRE)***

The SPNRE (Gol, 2011b) is an articulation of the goals, strategy and action plan of the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy covering the period 2011 to 2017 and extending the perspective up to 2022. The vision is to upscale and mainstream use of new and renewable energy sources towards attaining national energy security and independence through grid-interactive and off-grid projects (especially for rural applications), promotion of research and the encouragement of a robust manufacturing industry. The plan also discusses targets, strategies and programmes for the 12<sup>th</sup> Plan. Despite the increasing policy attention to the development and promotion of alternative energy, gross budgetary allocations remain small in the Central Budget – between Rs. 50 crores (2017-18) and Rs. 100 cr (2016-17).

### ***SPNRE and Unpaid Work***

The focus of this review is on the contents of the SPNRE as relevant to the lighting and cooking needs of women. Energy needs of Indian households are generally met from a variety of sources: electricity or kerosene and candles for lighting, and kerosene, LPG, and coal or firewood for cooking. Renewable energy systems based on solar photovoltaic (SPV) and biogas plants are alternative sources for both lighting (electricity) and cooking.

There are no real references to women in the policy document. Neither in its vision nor in its objectives, process, strategy, plans or programs, are gender concerns addressed. Women and children do not find a mention under stakeholders or 'end users', (implicitly households rather than women), even in the context of cooking stoves and anganwadis. That there is no recognition or discussion of women's unpaid work is not therefore surprising. In fact, the document can be said to be completely blind to gender issues, including women's unpaid work. This despite the strong and specific recommendations of the Working Group on Women's Agency and Empowerment, XII Plan (Gol, not dated) to incorporate a gender perspective within all energy development programmes. A later report by the Ministry (Gol, nd b) however acknowledges the implications of the use of renewable energy for lighting and cooking for women: "(t)he social and economic benefits include reduction in drudgery among rural women and girls engaged in the collection of fuel wood from long distances and cooking in smoky kitchens, minimization of the risks of contracting lung and eye ailments" (p.2). One possible reason for the absence of gender interface in policy is possibly the increasingly heavy dependence for infrastructure provisioning on private players, heavily subsidized and incentivized by the government.

Typically, cooking, heating and even lighting is the responsibility of women and girls and this includes the fetching and preparing fuel which may range from coal, firewood, dung patties, waste paper and even plastic. This is a time-consuming job, sometimes involving long trips with heavy head loads and often exposes women, especially single, to violence. Thus, as a group, women are most affected by energy scarcity and related environmental degradation, economically in terms of time spent on subsistence activities, including unpaid work and negative health impacts (Balakrishnan, nd).

Women respond differently from men to incentives and options for renewable energy consumption, showing greater readiness for energy conservation efforts and more willing to change their everyday behavior to save energy (UN Women, n.d). They also perceive risks differently, rejecting environmentally destructive production processes and purely technological solutions involving large scale technologies, preferring decentralized solutions (see Women in Europe for Common Future, nd). Women's involvement in the design of sustainable energy solutions is hence critical to ensure that solutions are tailored to their needs and priorities. Their engagement in distribution and marketing helps encourage the use of sustainable energy services by providing other women with comfortable spaces as well as confidence to learn and apply new technologies (Gill et al, 2012 cited in UN Women op cit).

To be successful, strategies for promotion of renewable energy appliances like cook stoves in households need to recognize the gender dynamics involved: women often fail to reap advantages of new and improved technology only partly because of lack of information and awareness. Of greater significance is the fact that, due to their inferior status and lack of voice in household and community decisions, appliances or systems that save their time or drudgery are given low priority, with male members of households showing no interest in buying, repairing or replacing such appliances. Affordability and connectivity can also play an important role in the choice. Disappointingly, first, the Ministry's allocation on such appliances, labelled '30 percent women-specific,' has declined sharply from 28 percent in 2014-15 to a virtually non-existent 2 percent in 2017-18; second, the SPNRE suggests counter-productive strategies like reduction in gas subsidy (p. 26) or gender blind ones like identifying business models (p. 45) to promote large scale adoption of renewable energy cook stoves.

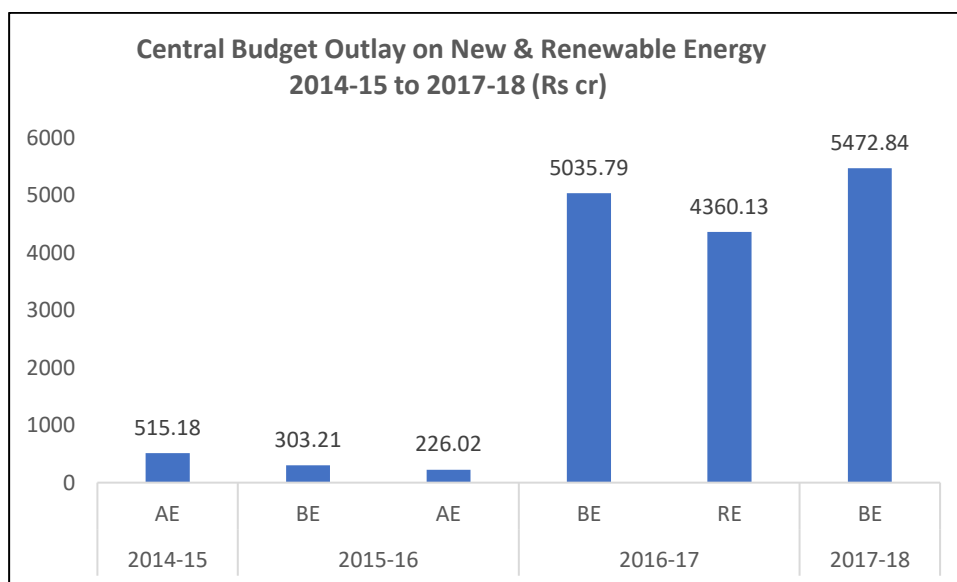
Women are not just consumers of energy: they are also potential workers and entrepreneurs of the renewable energy sector and/or sectors using renewable energy. Taking their needs into account in energy interventions makes it more likely that energy will have a significant impact on household and community

poverty and on gender equality (Collaborative Research Group on Gender and Energy (CRGGE), 2006). Involving women in renewable energy plans and initiatives is crucial, particularly considering this is a relatively young sector, suitably placed for a break from traditional non-inclusive and gender-blind approaches.

**Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States**

In contrast to the trend in expenditure of other Ministries, that of the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE) received a dramatic boost in budget allocations in 2016-17. From only Rs. 515 cr in 2014-15 (AE) it grew eight-fold to Rs. 4360 cr in 2016-17 (RE) and to Rs. 5473 cr in 2017-18 (Exhibit 4.1; Appendix IV A.1). However, of this, the gross budgetary outlay for 2017-18 is only Rs 50 cr, the balance comprising Internal and Extra Budgetary Resource (IEBR), constituting incentives provided by GoI to private players which may be realized based on private participation and incomes from government bonds etc. The gross budgetary outlay for 2017-18 has in fact declined from Rs. 92 cr in 2015-16 and Rs. 100 cr in 2016-17.

**Exhibit 4.1**



Source: Demand for Grants, MNRE, Union Budget 2016-17 & 2017-18



The Gender Budget Statement of the Union Budget reveals that the MNRE does not have a single 100 percent women specific programme. However, Biogas programme, Cook Stove and Solar Cooker are listed under the 30 percent allocation for women (Exhibit 4.2) of which bio-gas is the largest recipient. The outlay on these programmes have declined in the latest year to a pathetic 3 percent from a robust 28 per cent and 40 per cent of the MNRE budget in 2014-15 and 2015-16 respectively, signaling the failure of allocations to women specific programmes.

**Exhibit 4.2**

<b>Allocation in MNRE Budget to 30 percent Women Specific Schemes: 2014-15 to 2017-18 (Rs crore)</b>					
	<b>14-15</b>	<b>15-16</b>	<b>2016-17</b>		<b>2017-18</b>
<b>Programmes</b>	<b>BE</b>	<b>RE</b>	<b>BE</b>	<b>RE</b>	<b>BE</b>
Biogas	29.50	6.93	2.00	00.00	134.00
Cook Stove/Solar Cooker etc.	4.00	7.28	6.00	5.50	1.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>43.50</b>	<b>14.21</b>	<b>8.00</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>Total MNRE Budget</b>	<b>15.18</b>	<b>52.07</b>	<b>35.79</b>	<b>60.13</b>	<b>472.84</b>
<b>Women Specific Allocation as % of total MNRE Budget</b>	<b>7.85</b>	<b>9.76</b>	<b>1.14</b>	<b>2.65</b>	<b>2.47</b>

Note: AE figures are not given in Gender Budget Statements

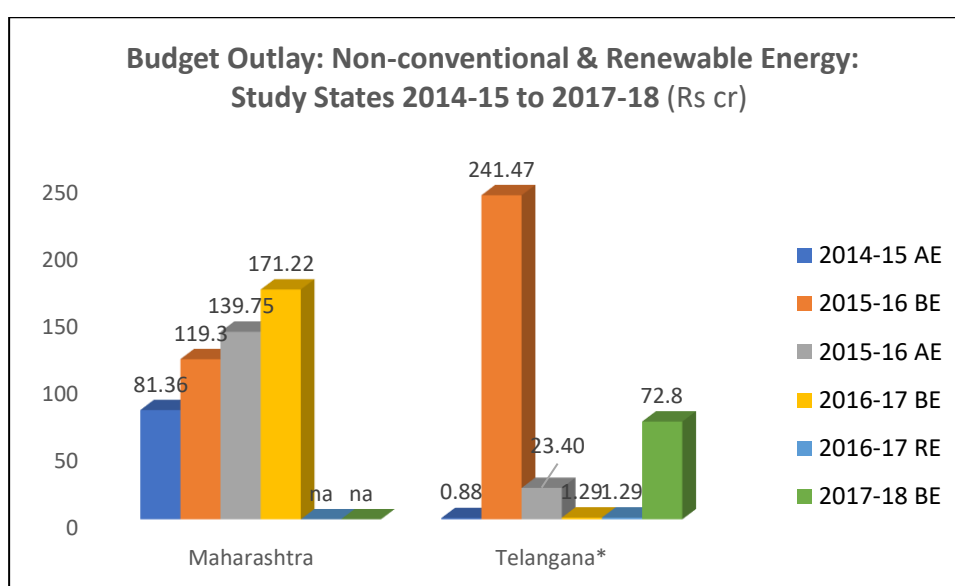
Source: Statement 20, Union Budget 2016-17; Statement 13, Union Budget 2017-18

### **Study States**

In Maharashtra, both BE and AE have grown between 2014-15 and 2016-17, the AE almost doubling between 2014-15 and 2015-16. In fact, the absolute amount spent on non-conventional and renewable energy in the post-14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission year exceeded the BE by almost Rs. 40 cr; subsequently, the budget of 2016-17 recognized this demand and increased allocations accordingly, even though the absolute amount is a mere Rs. 171 cr. BE and AE in Telangana have fluctuated wildly: the AE in 2015-16 was not even one crore, yet BE for succeeding year was increased rather dramatically to over Rs. 241 crores. However, as not even 10 percent of this was utilised, both BE and RE were reduced to just about a crore, though the current financial reveals a sharp increase to almost Rs 73 crores (Exhibit 4.3; Appendix IV A. 2). Data is not

available for Uttarakhand despite consistent and continuous efforts to mine information from all sources possible, including relevant offices and officials.

**Exhibit 4.3**



Source: Annual Financial Statement, 2016-17, 2017-18, State Budgets

**4.2.2: PAHAL or Direct Benefits Transfer for LPG (DBTL) Consumer Scheme; Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY), and Direct Benefit Transfer for Kerosene (DBTK).**

These three schemes are evaluated together, as they all deal with cooking fuel and are hence closely related.

**PAHAL** (<http://petroleum.nic.in/dbt/whatisdbtl.html>), launched in 2013 and extended to whole of India in 2015, aims to rectify two ills that afflict the distribution of LPG to domestic consumers in India: a heavy and growing burden of subsidies, as well as a lack of transparency and accountability in LPG distribution which diverts fuel meant for domestic to commercial users. Consumers registered under this scheme have the LPG

subsidy credited directly to their account for every cylinder consumed, up to an annual cap (currently 12) determined by the government per consumer (Economic Times, 2016). Cylinders consumed in excess of the cap must be bought at the market price and are not eligible for subsidy. The consumer also receives a Permanent Advance on the first cylinder booked, ensuring that consumers have extra cash to pay for the first cylinder at market price. For every consumer who gives up subsidy under the Give Back Scheme, one BPL household is to be given a security-deposit-free connection. PAHAL has been called the largest direct benefit transfer programme in the world.

**PMUY** (<http://www.pmujiwalayojana.com/about.html>) was launched on the back of PAHAL on May 1, 2016. While PAHAL directly transfers the subsidy to existing gas users, PMUY increases the number of gas users especially amongst Below Poverty Level (BPL) households by giving the gas connection free of cost. This scheme aims to universalize use of clean cooking fuel by providing 5 crore connections to BPL families within 3 years with the financial support of Rs.1600 per connection. The connections are issued in the name of woman in the household, identification of BPL families being done through Socio-Economic Caste Census data.

**DBTK** (PIB, GoI, 2016) was launched on April 1, 2016 to improve targeting of kerosene subsidies. Applied to 33 districts identified by 9 state governments namely, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat, the consumer pays the non-subsidized price of kerosene at the time of purchase, the subsidy then being directly transferred to the bank account of the beneficiary. To avoid any inconvenience during the initial purchase through payment of the non-subsidized price, an initial amount of subsidy is credited. The implementing states are given fiscal incentives equivalent to 75 percent of subsidy saved in the first two years, 50 percent in the third year, and the remaining in the fourth year. Aadhaar is mandatory to avail of benefits under all three schemes.

### ***PAHAL, PMUY, DBTK and Unpaid Work***

These schemes have a huge potential to save time spent on cooking, collection of bio and other fuels, reduce drudgery, and bring health benefits of smokeless cooking: PMUY by promoting a switch to gas from other inferior fuels; PAHAL by plugging leakages and augmenting the supply to households, and the DBTK by making kerosene available to those who depend on it.

Although all the three schemes impact time use and drudgery involved and women's health, the PMUY is the only scheme which explicitly states its aim in gender and care sensitive terms: the aim is to safeguard the health of women and children by providing them with a clean cooking fuel, so that they do not have to compromise their health in smoky kitchens or wander in unsafe areas collecting firewood. The website of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas estimates that there are 10 crore households who currently rely on firewood, coal, dung-cakes as the primary fuel for cooking and are thus subject to the adverse health effects of burning such fuel. However, figures are not available for how many households have switched from kerosene/wood/dung or other inferior fuels to gas. Performance indicators do not attempt to measure outcome in terms of savings in time or drudgery, but rather in terms of the number of connections/beneficiaries, savings in subsidy, and the amount transferred as direct benefit. Further a CAG audit has also found substantial systemic problems with PAHAL, including the continued diversion of domestic cylinders to commercial use and of domestic subsidy for commercial use.

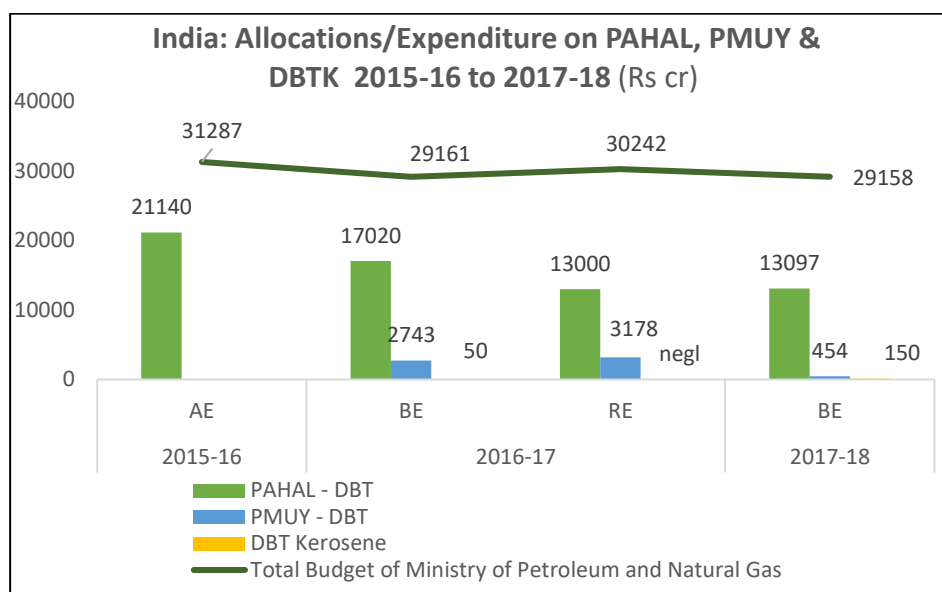
***Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States***

PAHAL is a huge scheme with an allocation that at one point accounted for two thirds of the budget of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. The allocation was Rs. 22,660 cr in its debut year, but has since declined, almost halving to Rs 13,097 cr in 2017-18. Possible causes are the decline in the Ministry's budget, and the plateauing of customers switching over to DBT. However, users especially in rural areas could have been deterred in joining the scheme due to several reasons – digital illiteracy, lack of knowledge, lengthy process, low process clarity, time taken for processing or problems of receiving the permanent advance (Gol, 2016e).

Compared to PAHAL, the PMUY and the DBTK are miniscule schemes that account for respectively no more than 1.5 per cent and 0.5 per cent of the Ministry's budget (2017-18). The allocations to PMUY have declined drastically from Rs. 3178 cr (RE) in 2016-17 to a mere Rs. 454 cr (BE) in 2017-18. On the other hand, although DBTK has tripled its allocation in the current financial, it stands at a mere Rs. 150 crores today. Unfortunately, with no data yet available on annual physical progress, it is difficult to explain the impact of this decline (Exhibit 4.4; Appendix IV B.1).



#### Exhibit 4.4



Source: Demand 72: Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas, 2017-18

The Annual Report (2016-17) of the Ministry of Petroleum (Gol, nd c) records cumulative outcome since the launch of the schemes: 17.36 crore households joined PAHAL, the DBT amounting to Rs. 40446 cr. Also, 3.6 cr duplicate/inactive/ghost accounts were detected and closed, and 1.05 crore persons gave up subsidies under the Give Back Scheme, out of which 69 lakh households benefitted. Under PMUY, 694 districts have been covered and more than 1.55 cr LPG connections released as of December 2016, achieving the target for the entire year. Regional analysis is not possible as state-wise figures are not available.

#### Recommendations:

- Incorporate gender perspective with special attention to unpaid work. This is essential for energy policy to be an effective vehicle for the switch to cleaner energy as well as gender equality. SPNRE needs to be reformulated taking into account gendered needs, preferences, access and capacities in appraisal of projects and in assessment of their impact; dissemination of information; capacity building and gender sensitization; in design of products and their marketing. Budget allocations to women-specific schemes are meaningless unless RE goals, strategies and schemes are informed by the gender-unpaid work perspectives.
- Make available affordable smokeless stoves and other time-saving clean energy technology. Despite many years of funding research and prototypes, these have not reached the masses.

- Consider, in the case of PAHAL and similar schemes, the price of LPG while fixing subsidies especially during periods of rising prices. The impact of the limit of 12 cylinders may also need to be examined.
- Extend extra support in the form of connectivity, especially in hilly and inaccessible habitations where costs of transport may prove prohibitive for sustained consumption of LPG.
- Increase availability of kerosene in the market as it is widely used for cooking, to start woodfire and for lighting. In recent years the supply of kerosene, particularly via the public distribution system (PDS) has been cut and households with LPG connection are denied their quota. The alternative for women who cannot afford LPG or are unable to get a refill is to go back to inferior fuels such as wood.
- Design appropriate strategies to support buying, repairing and replacing appliances.
- Provide support for accessing digital processes to the illiterate and poor.
- Institutionalize arrangements for collection of gender disaggregated data for appraisal, monitoring and evaluation of impact for all energy interventions – conventional as well as NRE.
- Initiate/encourage social audit of PAHAL, PMUY and DBTK schemes to help plug leakages.

#### **4.3: Water**

##### ***4.3.1: National Water Policy (NWP), 2012.***

The NWP 2012 (GoI, nd a) of the Ministry of Water Resources laments the lack of consciousness relating to water scarcity, and raises several concerns including ecological over-exploitation, pollution, and inequitable distribution. It focuses on evolving a system of laws and institutions as well as the implementation of a plan of action with a unified national perspective. It lists in detail the various concerns and the basic principles that should govern public policies for water, including those related to climate change; water supply; sanitation; demand management; water use efficiency; pricing; conservation of river corridors; flood and drought; institutional arrangements; data base and information system, etc. The National Water Board is given the responsibility of preparing a plan of action, emphasis also being given to drafting of water policies at the regional level. The only reference to women's link with water is in the context of project planning and implementation, where the policy notes the necessity to consider "the needs and aspirations of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, women and other weaker sections of society" (GoI, n.d g, p. 9).

##### ***4.3.2: National Rural Drinking Water Policy (NRDWP) 2013***

The NRDWP (Gol, 2013d; Gol, 2013) is a flagship programme of the Government of India launched in April 2009 for assisting states in providing drinking water. It has incorporated lessons on collective management from the Swajaldhara Yojana of 2002, including source security, conjoint treatment of water supply, quality assurance and sanitation, as well as the decentralization of planning and management of water supply systems by communities at the village level with representation of women, SC and ST members. The goal is to provide every rural individual, anganwadi and school at least 55 litres per capita daily (lpcd) of piped, safe, drinking water of a minimum quality, for drinking, cooking and other domestic needs within household premises or within 100m radius on a sustainable basis, at all times and in all situations. By 2017, at least 50 percent of rural households are to be covered, with at least 30 percent having individual household connections, as against 13 percent in 2013. By 2022 at least nine-tenths of rural households are to be provisioned with piped water supply and at least 80 percent of rural households are to have a household connection.

### ***NRDWP and Unpaid Work***

Almost one-fifth of households collect water from sources outside their homes (IPTUS, Central Statistical Organization, 2000). Within households, collection of water is a heavily gendered task in both rural and urban India, with (adult) women doing 87 percent of this work (Motiram, 2006). The 5.11 hours per week in rural and 4.63 hours in urban India that women expend on this activity does not include the time spent in walking increasingly long distances to a clean water source and waiting in queues. According to Census 2011, only 30.80 percent of rural households have access to piped water supply while 22.11 percent collect drinking water from a distance of more than 500 m. According to the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, access to safe and adequate water is available in only 77.8 percent of rural habitations.

The necessity of a gender interface, including women's unpaid work issues, in water policy cannot be over-emphasized. The NRDWP does recognize that provision of piped water is necessary "to relieve women and girls from drudgery of fetching water, address malnutrition and increase time available for education and leisure while preventing contamination likely while fetching water from a distant source" (Gol, 2013d p.5). Besides quantity, quality and access parameters envisaged in the policy, other measures like establishment of 24x7 supply; inclusion of schools and anganwadis under coverage and importance of source security and



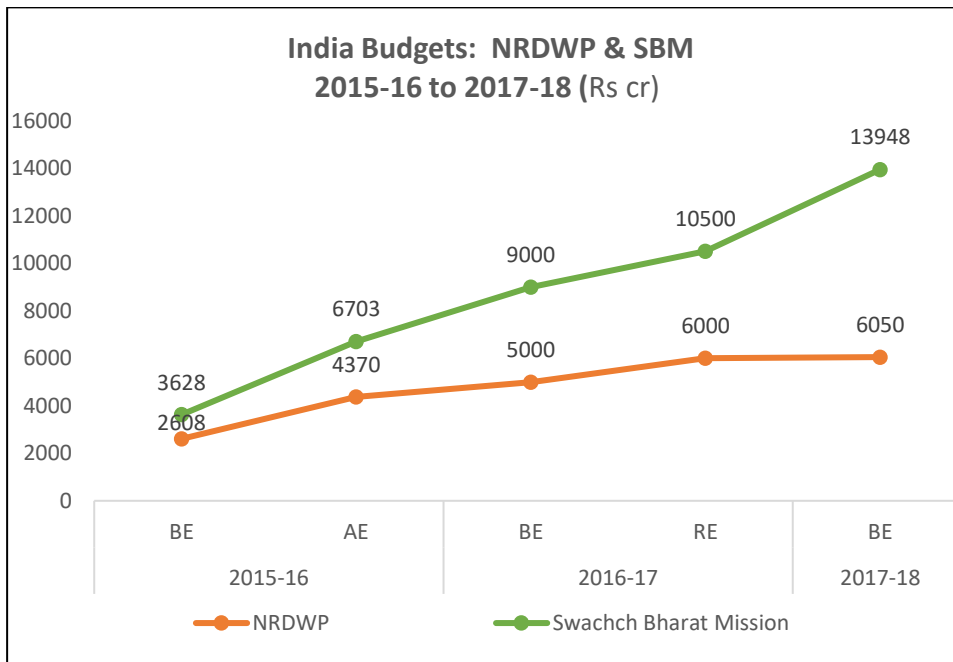
traditional methods of conservation are conducive for the reduction of women's unpaid work time and drudgery. The introduction of participative management with the involvement of women signals the recognition of women as both users and managers, and introduces opportunities for their technical and managerial training.

Unfortunately, many of the women-centric components of NRDWP have remained on paper. All new interventions are being managed by the government, with no active ground participation except in villages that had been covered under Swajaldhara Yojana; the result is poor ownership of water supply systems and sources by communities (Mankad 2013). Possible reasons for the absence of community participation could include any or a mix of several factors: cultural resistance, the lack of enthusiasm amongst households particularly women, possibly due to time stress or the unwillingness or inability of the government cadres/NGOs to put in the time and efforts required to prepare the communities and women for participation.

#### ***Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States***

The BE for NRDWP increased from Rs. 2608 cr (2015-16) by more than two-and-half times to Rs. 6050 cr (2017-18); however, the BE for Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (SBA) increased much more steeply by 3.84 times in the corresponding period. Further, while the allocation for NRDWP plateaued after 2016-17, that for SBA grew sharply, even though both AE/RE for NRDWP exceeded BE in the past three years. The issue here therefore is not that of low allocations, but of a clear shift in State priorities, and an increasing and therefore worrying disconnect between water and sanitation (Exhibit 4.5; Appendix IV C.1).

**Exhibit 4.5**



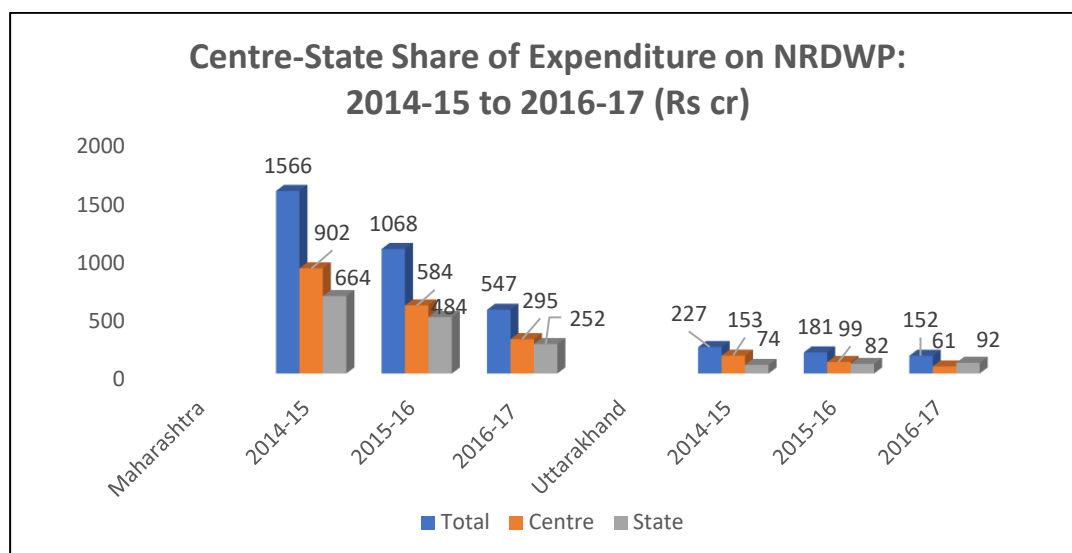
Source: Demand for Funds – NRDWP, GoI 2017-18

As of December 2015, 12.9 lakh rural habitations and a population of 65.94 crore were getting 40 lpcd or more of potable drinking water, constituting 72.95 percent of the total rural population. Of these only 7.8 lakh rural habitations and a population of 37.79 crore, constituting merely two-fifths of the rural populace were getting the target 55 lpcd. Implementation therefore leaves much to be desired. Major problems with NRDWP include a gap between designed service level and actual delivery, traceable to consistent slippages of water supply targets over the years; overdependence on and consequent decline in supply of ground water due to over-exploitation, contamination and inadequate recharge; and a water grid based design requiring massive injection of funds.

In line with the 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission recommendations, the Centre-State share of resources is now 60:40. Between 2014-15 and 2016-17, the total expenditure on NRDWP declined in Maharashtra and Uttarakhand both in relation to the Centre and States' shares. (Exhibit 4.6; Appendix IV C.3). The decrease was most severe in Maharashtra, from Rs. 1566cr (2014-15) to a mere Rs. 547cr (2016-17). Utilisation of Central funds hovered between 50 percent (2016-17) and 76 percent (2015-16). Uttarakhand's utilization of Central funds was lower ranging between 46 and 69 percent. However, the state share increased over the

period from Rs. 74 cr to Rs. 92 cr, exceeding Central share in total expenditure. The utilization of Central funds appears to be a common problem.

**Exhibit 4.6**



Source: [http://indiawater.gov.in/imisreports/Reports/Financial/rpt\\_RWS\\_StatewiseAllocationReleaseExpenditure\\_S.aspx?Rep=0&RP=Y](http://indiawater.gov.in/imisreports/Reports/Financial/rpt_RWS_StatewiseAllocationReleaseExpenditure_S.aspx?Rep=0&RP=Y)

Although high levels of achievement are reported in 2014-15 and 2015-16, with only five months left in 2016-17, Maharashtra showed low achievement in terms of coverage of quality affected and partially covered habitations/population, with less than 5 percent of the targets being met. Uttarakhand has performed well in terms of partial coverage targets but has failed to make any headway in terms of quality affected habitations/ population.

#### **Recommendations:**

- Sustained and rapid progress in attaining norms built into the NRDWP, in terms of quantity, quality and access is the single most important factor for the reduction of time spent and drudgery involved in fetching water.
- Rejuvenate community participation in water management as per policy commitments, recognizing and integrating the additional demands on women's time and work burden that their participation in water management would entail and proactively designing appropriate processes.

- Make gender sensitization with focus on women's unpaid work burden a critical part of the training envisaged for all cadres in the State machinery and the community – men as well as women. Such an exercise is crucial to equip functionaries and men in the household to appreciate the needs, role and problems of women pertaining to water and related issues and to design responsive systems, processes and procedures.
- Strengthen processes for the identification and facilitating participation of NGO's.
- Induct at project level, female technical experts as well as gender experts who can better relate to issues involved and communicate with women participants.
- Institutionalize the collection of sex-disaggregated data required for appraisal, planning, monitoring, evaluation and course correction and TUS in appraisal and impact evaluation of projects.
- Define target/outcome in terms of number of households provisioned in addition to the number of habitations and population used currently.
- Improve accuracy and timeliness of on-line reporting of targets and outcomes by line agencies.

#### 4.4: Care

IPTUS reveals that on average, child care accounts for a small proportion of a woman's unpaid work. However this can be misleading as time spent in child care is exceptionally difficult to capture. Typically, mothers, especially with small children are obliged to spend a great deal time at home, actively engaged in child care tasks such as feeding, bathing etc., but also in supervision and in just 'being there'. Much of the time spent in passive care is combined with other household tasks and are not reflected in regular TUS. Further, child birth and child care cause interruptions in and absorb a significant part of a woman's time during what is potentially her economically most productive years. Young women are forced, on the birth of a child, to pay what has come to be known as *motherhood penalty*, by having to give up opportunities for education, training and paid employment. As discussed earlier, child care responsibilities also tend to push women into the informal sector with its highly exploitative conditions of work and low and gender differentiated wages. It is well established that this results in all-round loss at four levels – for the woman, her household as well as the community and the economy.

Further, the responsibility for the well-being of children is not limited to mothers or parents. The modern State has a major share and needs must play an active role if the full potential of its present and future generations is to be achieved. While doing so, the State needs to not only take cognizance of women's role in and contribution to unpaid work but also fulfill its obligations in ways that support and lighten women's

unpaid child care burdens especially where mothers and parents endure time stress and time poverty, and where care deficiency exists due to material poverty, illiteracy, poor health and social discrimination. Maternity Benefit and public child care institutions serve to redistribute unpaid child care responsibilities.

**4.4.1: Maternity Benefit Act (MBA) (1961) (Amended by Act No. 15 of 2008 dated April 1, 2008; and Act No.6 of 2017 – The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Act 2017, dated 27<sup>th</sup> March 2017)**

The explicit objective of MBA is to regulate employment of women in factories, plantations, mines, and shops and establishments with 10 or more workers for certain periods before and after child birth, and to provide for maternity benefits in the form of paid maternity leave and cash benefits but also other equally important entitlements such as exemption from arduous work, protection from dismissal and provision of nursing breaks until the child attains the age of 15 months. Included are provisions for leave and compensation for miscarriage, illness arising out of pregnancy/delivery or premature birth. A woman needs to have worked for at least 80 days in a year before becoming eligible for coverage.

Following the 2017 Amendment, the entitlements (GoI, 2017,) under the MBA comprise

- 1) A maximum leave of 26 weeks with full pay, for first two children; of 12 weeks for the third child onwards, and for adopting and “commissioning” mothers.
- 2) An employer may permit a woman to work from home after the completion of maternity leave, if the nature of work so permits.
- 3) Child care leave for a maximum of 2 years during their entire service, for women having minor children below 18 years of age.
- 4) Establishments with more than 50 employees to provide for crèche facilities, mothers being entitled to four visits to the crèche during working hours to look after and feed the child.
- 5) Establishments covered under the Act, obliged to intimate every woman employee in writing and electronically regarding the benefits available under it.

Because of the conditions of eligibility specified under MBA, only formal sector employees, numbering 18 lakhs or 5 percent of employed women are covered. The 95 percent who toil in the informal sector are as of now excluded from any maternity protection under this Act. Poor enforcement further restricts the reach to only a fraction of the eligible. In 2014, at the national level, only 35,035 women availed of maternity benefits

amounting to Rs. 60.63 cr. At the level of individual states, the payments and beneficiary numbers were miniscule: Maharashtra, with its larger female workforce in the formal sector, paid out Rs. 28 cr to 2078 women; Telangana, around Rs 3 cr (Gol, nd i) to 604 women; and Uttarakhand Rs 0.02 cr to 2 women (2013) (Gol, 2013e). An important point to be remembered while interpreting these figures is that no part of the amounts given under Maternity Benefit Act comes from the government budget; the maternity benefit is essentially a payout by private sector enterprises falling under the purview of the Act.

### ***The Maternity Benefit Act and Unpaid Work***

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) looks at maternity benefit as a measure to protect women against discrimination, income loss, and job security while they are given sufficient time to give birth, recover and nurse their children. The stated objective of the MBA is to regulate conditions of employment of women during the period of pregnancy and lactation. In addition, it also seeks to reduce her on-the-job drudgery. Although there is no explicit or implicit recognition in the Act of the working woman's double burden of unpaid work, the stipulation in the latest amendment of crèche facilities with entitlement to visits for feeding and caring of the child does serve to offer some support. This provision redistributes childcare work to the employer. However, despite the positives, several glaring omissions mar the Act.

The onus on the employer for payment of maternity benefit built into the Act together with the rather long leave prescribed may act as a disincentive for hiring women by increasing the financial and other costs in terms of the salary/wage for a replacement and the price of retraining of the beneficiary. Small firms may in fact find the additional costs prohibitive. The Act does not offer any solution to this problem. Offering maternity benefit together with paternity leave may partially resolve this problem. A more generic solution may lie in finding an alternative to the present employer liability mode of funding. As far back as in 1988, the Shram Shakti report while strongly recommending maternity benefits for women in the informal sector, suggested that all employers, irrespective of whether they employed women or not should contribute a percentage of their wage bill to a maternity fund to which the State would also contribute. This suggestion marks one of the best ways of dealing with the disincentive effect of maternity benefit on employment of women and deserves to be explored seriously. The advantage of such a mechanism is that it does not discourage employment of women or impose a heavy burden on small informal establishments. The ESIC and PPF models are alternate approaches.

**4.4.2: Maternity Entitlements in the National Food Security Act (NFSA) 2013 (passed on September 10, 2013 with retrospective effect from July 5, 2013): The Maternity Benefit Programme (MBP)**

The NFSA is the first national-level legislation to recognize the right of all women to maternity benefits (Sinha et al, 2016) through the MBP, formerly Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahayog Yojana (IGMSY/MBP). The MBP involves conditional cash transfers of Rs. 6000 in three installments to pregnant and lactating women not receiving maternity benefits from any other source. The cash incentive is provided (i) for wage loss so that adequate rest is possible before and after delivery; (ii) to improve the mother's health and nutrition during pregnancy and lactation; and (iii) to breastfeed the child during the first six months of the birth. The conditions specified under the MBP are, (i) registration of pregnancy; (ii) completion of ante-natal and post-natal check-ups and immunization for mother and child; and (iii) institutional delivery (PIB, GoI, Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2017). Aadhaar has also been made mandatory for enrolment. The maternity benefit is available for one live birth only. Payments are made directly to the beneficiary in DBT mode through Aadhaar linked bank/post office accounts etc.

***MBP/IGMSY and Unpaid Work***

The availability of maternity benefit as an entitlement to all women, employed or not, and its definition as a 'wage compensation' may suggest that the scheme recognizes that all women work and deserve to be supported during pregnancy and childbirth. However, a closer examination leaves little room for this view: there is no explicit reference to women's unpaid work burden; it neither has specific provisions to reduce their unpaid work load or its drudgery, nor to distribute it either to the State or to other members of the household. In fact, the conditions imposed diminish its reach to women who need it most – the poor, the marginalized and the geographically remote (Sinha et al., 2016). Field studies (Falcao, 2015, p. 27) as well as studies based on secondary data (Lingam & Yellamachili, 2011) of the IGMSY show huge exclusions especially of the vulnerable sections of women.

Interestingly, maternity benefit based on conditional cash transfers does not appear to reduce women's work – paid, unpaid, under paid or care work. In IGMSY pilot districts, maternity benefits were never seen as compensation to allow a woman to rest, nurse and rear her baby but spent on food, medicine and household expenses. Also, beneficiaries did agricultural work until the time of delivery and resuming it within a month

after delivery. Other beneficiaries who stayed home began doing household work, including strenuous work such as fetching water and firewood within 7 to 30 days of delivery. For rural women pregnancy makes little change to the kind and amount of work that they must perform. Some blamed their mother-in-law but most women simply had nobody to share their house work. This is a telling comment on women's inferior status, resilience of gender norms pertaining to the gender division of labour and the absence of support structures to reduce women's work, which the MBA as much as the IGMSY/MBP appear powerless to tackle (see Mander, 2017; Sinha et al, 2016).

### ***Budget Tracking (IGMSY): Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States***

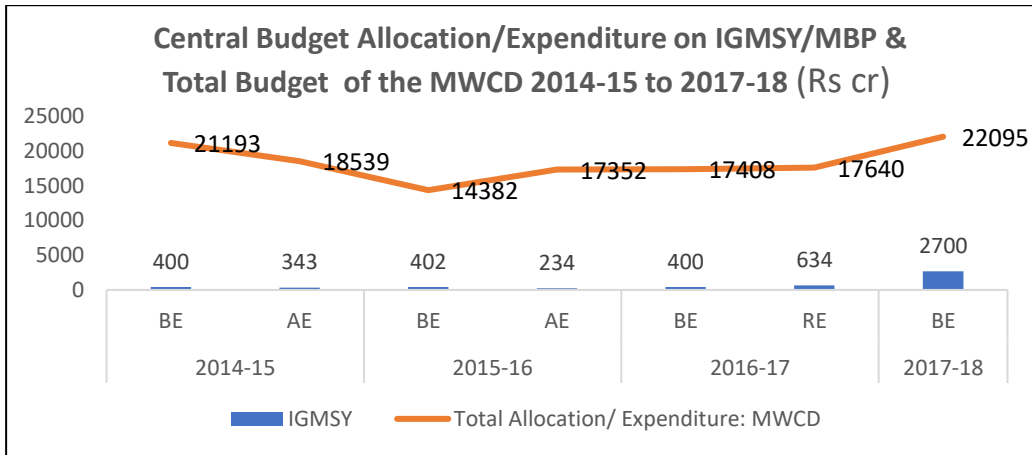
An amount of Rs 2700 cr has been allocated in the 2017-18 Union Budget towards MBP for an estimated 53 lakh beneficiaries. This is purported to meet 60 percent of the MBP budget, with states expected to find the remaining 40 percent. As the allocation was found to be insufficient to reach all eligible women with up to two children, eligibility was restricted to one child.

Trends show that AE fell short of the budgeted provisions even when the entire bill was footed by the Government of India: Compared to the BE of around Rs. 400 cr in 2014-15 and 2015-16, AE was Rs. 343 cr and Rs. 233 cr respectively. Only in 2016-17 did AE (Rs. 634 cr) exceed BE (Rs. 400 cr) (Exhibit 4.7; Appendix IV D.1). With the states now having to fund part of the expenditure, implementation especially in the poorer states is likely to suffer further. MWCD budget utilization data for 2013-14 shows that only 28 percent of targeted women at the national level were covered since 2010 while other studies report delays in payment of up to two years.

No funds have been released so far to the states under the MBP and guidelines are yet to be released; the figures shown here pertain to IGMSY. Maharashtra, with the 2 districts of Bhandara and Amravati under the pilot phase of IGMSY, spent Rs. 27 cr in 2014-15; allocations for 2015-16 rose to Rs. 30 cr, before falling drastically to a pathetic Rs. 5 cr in 2016-17 (Exhibit 4.8; Appendix IV D.2). Beneficiaries numbered around 50,000 women in 2014-15, 62,000 in 2015-16 and 59,000 (up to December) in 2016-17.

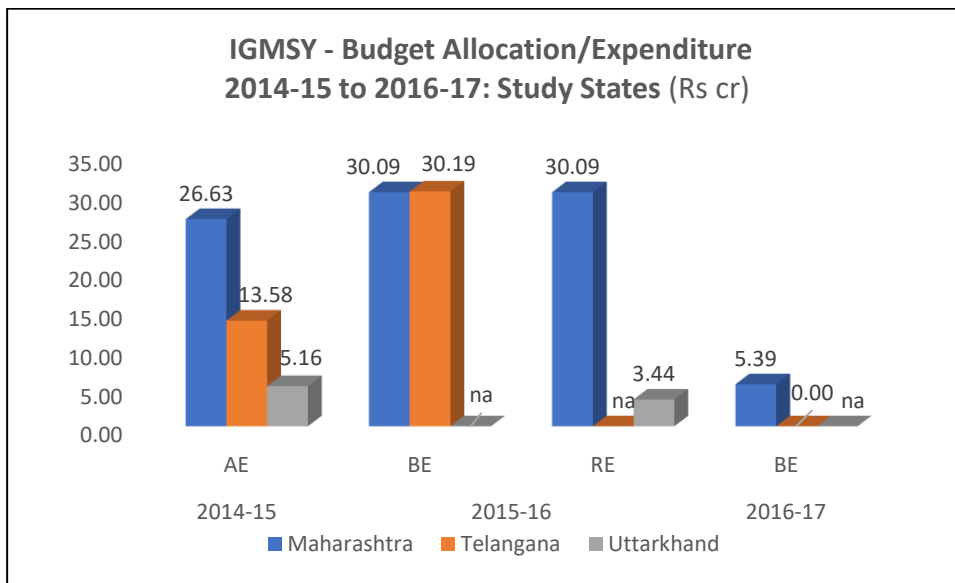
### **Exhibit 4.7**





Source: Expenditure Budget 2016-17 & 2017-18: Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India. [www.Indiabudget.nic.in](http://www.Indiabudget.nic.in); accessed April 4, 2017

**Exhibit 4.8**



Source: Allocation/Expenditure: Demand for Funds Dept of WCD - 2016-17, Maharashtra, Telangana & Uttarakhand - figures refer to Central Funds utilized from Annual Report MWCD, GoI 2016-17.

Telangana, with only the district of Nalgonda covered, spent a little less than Rs. 14 cr in 2014-15; the budget allocation for 2015-16 was Rs. 30 cr with 74,925 expected beneficiaries ([http://wcdw.tg.nic.in/scheme\\_IGMSY.html#](http://wcdw.tg.nic.in/scheme_IGMSY.html#)). Telangana is apparently mulling giving around Rs. 15,000 as maternity benefits in four installments to BPL women with institutional deliveries at the total cost of Rs. 500 cr (Balakrishna, 2017). In Uttarakhand, with only Dehradun being covered, the expenditure on the scheme

was around Rs. 5 cr in 2014-15, the latest year for which data is available. However, the Annual Report of the MWCD shows release of Rs. 11 cr in 2015-16 of which Rs. 3 cr is shown as utilization.

Based on experience with the IGMSY, combined with the narrowed eligibility criteria, the MBP is likely to suffer from low coverage; The arbitrary period of coverage and inadequate and discriminatory compensation are also problematic. As a partial wage compensation, the benefit of Rs. 6000 is totally out of line with prevailing wage rates.

## **Recommendations:**

### **General**

- Universal coverage under maternity benefits is a real and urgent need in India (Gol, 2013c; Lingam & Kanchi, 2013; <http://www.righttofoodcampaign.in>). All women deserve maternity benefits: the employed, regardless of the kind of work they do or the kind of establishment they work in, are entitled under labour rights. For them, fresh ways of funding and delivering maternity benefits that do not disadvantage women in the labour market need to be explored; those who are not employed merit it on account of the unpaid-SNA and care work they do. A conditional cash transfer program for maternity benefit is an oxymoron and alternatives need to be explored.
- The recommendations of the Shram Shakti report (1988) offer an alternative way of financing maternity benefit for informal sector employees by creating a maternity fund to which all employers as well as the State would contribute. The ESIC and the PPF are other models for consideration.
- Limits on the number of children as an eligibility condition is punitive and needs to be abandoned, as women have little control on their body or reproductive decisions. Further such limits may have potential impact on sex ratio.
- In order to redistribute child care burden to men, maternity benefit interventions need to involve fathers as well. Most interventions including the MBA and the MBP put the onus for childcare entirely on the woman.
- Improvements in data collection, implementation, monitoring and redressal system and most important of all, an understanding of women's unpaid work, are also required to make the current maternity benefit system an effective tool for gender equality.

### **Specific to MBA**

- Childcare arrangements need to be flexible. Women in large Indian cities, for instance may find it impracticable to carry babies to the place of work due to length of the commute and/or crowded means of transport, preferring institutions closer home.
- MBA must recognize the other elements of care that a child needs besides breast feeding and extend the same benefits to adoptive and commissioning as to normal mothers.
- Paternity leave needs to be a part of the maternity benefit package. A combination of maternity and paternity leave has been successfully used in the developed world and in Latin America to promote sharing of child care. Paternity leave also serves, to some extent, as an antidote to the negative effect of maternity benefit on women's employment.

### **Specific to MBP**

- i. Evidence based modification of the period of coverage and the amount of compensation (wage-linked) is required.
- ii. Quality of service in government hospitals need to be improved drastically if institutional delivery is to be encouraged.
- iii. Geographical and procedural barriers such as difficult physical access to anganwadi centres (AWC) in hilly areas; shortage of essential supplies, infrastructure and staff, and delays in payment must be removed. These issues, beyond the control of women, prevent fulfillment of scheme conditionalities and thereby deny women their entitlements.
- iv. Fathers need to be involved in the fulfilment of MBP conditions. Training in childcare and nutrition must equally involve both parents.

#### ***4.4.3: Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS): Anganwadis and Care Delivery***

The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), recognized as the world's largest community based outreach programme for early child development, is today the most important programme of the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD), Government of India. Coverage is universal and self-selecting (GoI,

nd d): all children below 6 years and all pregnant and lactating women are eligible with no restricting conditions. It offers a package of six services, namely, supplementary nutrition, pre-school non-formal education for 3 to 6-year olds, nutrition and health education to mothers, immunization, health check-up and referral services, delivered on site at the Anganwadi Centres (AWC). The last three services are provided by the Ministry/Department of Health and Family Welfare through the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and the public health network. Aadhaar has been made compulsory for availing supplementary nutrition. The current norm is one AWC for a population of 400 to 800 and thereafter one for every 800. A mini-AWC can be set up where population is between 150 to 400 persons; also, any habitation with at least 40 children can demand an anganwadi as a matter of right. In addition, AWCs are also being built under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS).

The programmes are implemented by the Anganwadi worker – a local woman trained for 4 months, assisted by the Anganwadi Helper (AWH). Thus, the AWC links children and women with the primary health care and elementary education systems, and represents the last mile of almost all the child and maternal care schemes. Also provided is a protective environment for young children including care and protection of the young and adolescent girl child. The AWC is open every day for four hours in the morning, with working hours varying across states.

ICDS has witnessed unparalleled expansion over the last three decades, especially since 2005 (GoI, 2011a; GoI, 2011). The Central government is strengthening and restructuring the ICDS since 2012 with the objective of repositioning the AWC as crèche cum ECCE centre, to become the first village outpost for health, nutrition and early learning. Reforms include implementing ICDS on mission mode, construction of premises, strengthening of package of services, of training and capacity building, and of management information system and planning.

### ***Anganwadis and Unpaid Work***

The AWC contributes significantly to care of lactating mothers and children up to 6 years through its nutrition, supplementary nutrition and immunization components, and pre-school sessions in a protective environment for the duration of children's stay in the AWC. The ICDS lists five objectives of which four pertain to child development and one to mothers: that is, to enhance mothers' capability, through education

to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child. The objectives thus place the onus of child care squarely on the woman, while at the same time ignoring her care work burden or the impact it has on her.

For the four hours that the AWC is open, it functions as a crèche cum education centre and a safe place for children and adolescent girls. In particular, the pre-school sessions for children 3 years to 6 years and the newly introduced ECCE programme of those younger than 3 years, take children off the hands of mothers and thus transfer part of the care burden to the public domain. Supplementary nutrition and immunization could potentially improve health of children and thus reduce women's time spent on caring for sick children. The extent to which AWCs provide relief to mothers depends on the coverage of children in need and the ability of AWCs to retain them in the system.

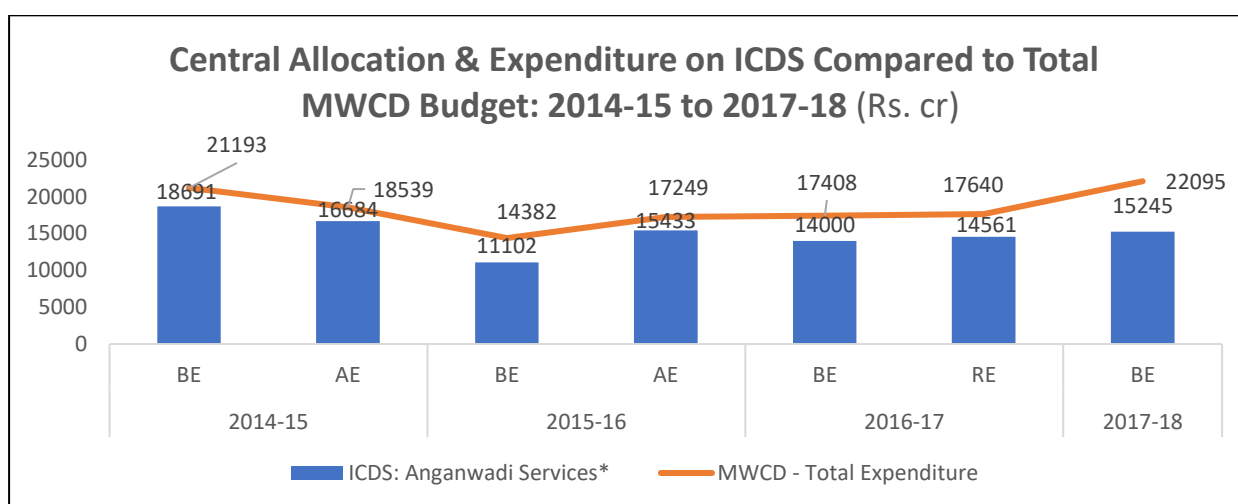
The limited working hours (four) of AWCs is a problem, especially for working women. That they are ill-equipped for care of children is another: nearly 0.12 crore AWC's function from rented premises, from community buildings, temples and so on; most are also poorly equipped to accommodate children and educate them. A study by the Government of Maharashtra revealed that 46 percent of AWCs surveyed lacked a usable toilet facility, half did not have a separate kitchen and one-fourth depended on hand-pump as the main source of drinking water. Requisite medicines were found missing in 56 percent and an equal proportion were found to have inadequate basic education facilities (Singh, 2017).

Another contentious issue related to women's care burden is the exclusive recruitment of women as AWW/AWH and the low payment given to these critical workers, despite the varied responsibilities imposed on them and the level of skill required to fulfill their remit. AWW's are paid a mere Rs. 3000 pm and AWH Rs. 1500, supplemented to varying extents by the state governments. The recent offer by the Centre of maternity leave of 180 days, insurance cover, and scholarship benefit makes for poor compensation in comparison to the salary and other entitlements of government employees. This is one more effect of the State perception of care as an overwhelmingly feminine obligation and as something 'natural' to women and therefore not deserving either of recognition or of fair wage.

***Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States***

From a fully centrally funded programme at the outset, the ICDS has transformed into one with funding shared between the Centre and the states. Between 2010 and 2016, their relative shares were 90:10 in general ICDS with equal shares in Supplementary Nutrition Programme or SNP. In 2016, this was changed to 60:40 for general ICDS and 50:50 for SNP. For North Eastern states, the respective shares are 90:10 and for union territories without legislature, the ICDS is fully funded by the Centre.

**Exhibit 4.9**

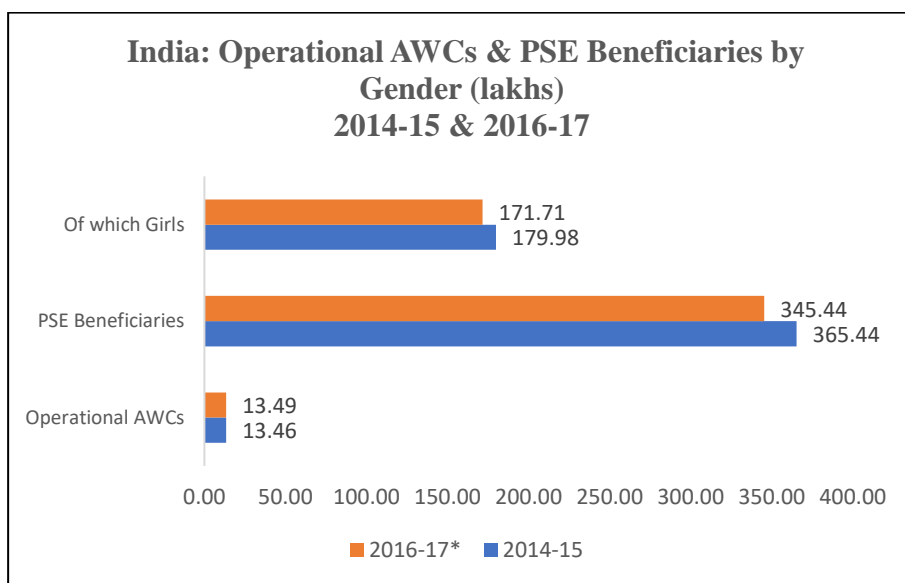


Source: MWCD Annual Report, 2016-17

The BE and AE on ICDS – core as well as umbrella programmes – have been declining over the last 3 years. Central BE on core ICDS, which constitutes the bulk of the MWCD budget, was Rs. 18691cr in 2014-15. This declined to Rs. 11,102 cr in 2015-16 and further to Rs14,000cr in 2016-17. The current budget (2017-18) however has stepped up allocation to Rs.15245 cr (Exhibit 4.9; Appendix IV E.1). As a proportion of the total MWCD budget, ICDS allocation has declined from 88 percent in 2014-15 to 77 in 2015-16 to 69 percent in 2017-18, although it had increased temporarily to 80 percent in 2016-17. AE has also been falling (Exhibit 4.10). If ICDS is to function as the ECCE centre cum crèche as visualized under its restructuring programme, more funds are clearly required. The Report of the Working Group on Child Rights (XII Five-year Plan) estimated an annual resource requirement of Rs.1000 cr for the ECCE segment alone; for all programmes

under the ICDS umbrella, fund requirement is pitched at over Rs. 55,000 cr, compared to the budget allocation of around Rs 15,000 cr.

**Exhibit 4.10**



\*As of Dec. 2016.

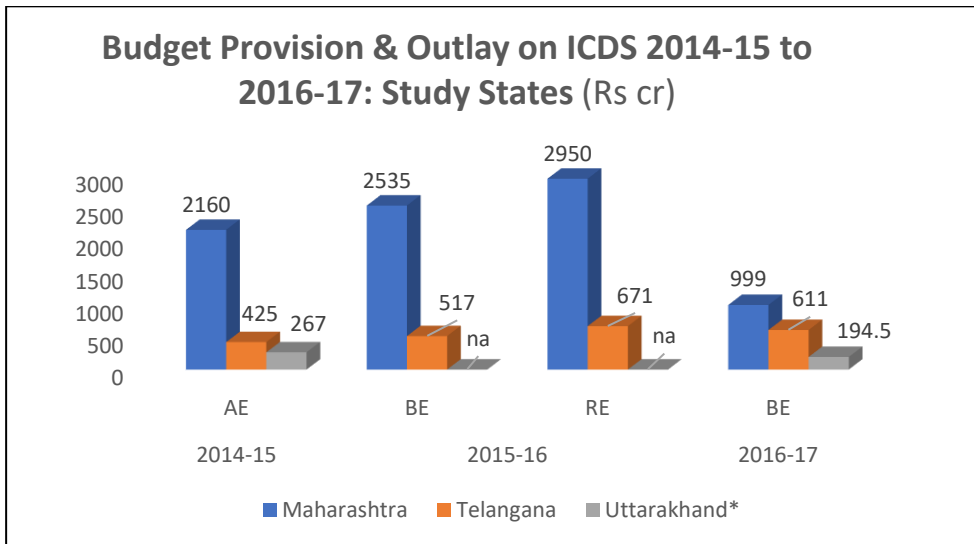
Source: MWCD Annual Report, 2016-17

As of 2014-15, there were 13.46 lakh operational AWCs, providing pre-school education (PSE) to 365 lakh children of whom 180 lakhs or around 49.25 percent were girls. Two years later, although the number of operational AWCs increased marginally by around 3000, children in PSE appear to have declined by five percent (Exhibit 4.10. Appendix IV E. 2).

In 2014-15, Maharashtra's expenditure amounted to Rs. 2160 cr, increasing to Rs. 2950 cr (RE) in 2015-16, but declining drastically to Rs. 999 cr in 2016-17 (up to December.) As against an expenditure of Rs. 425 cr in 2014-15, Telangana allocated Rs. 671cr (RE) in 2015-16 and Rs. 611cr in 2016-17 but a mere Rs. 0.99 cr. in 2017-18. Uttarakhand spent Rs. 267 cr in 2014-15 but the Central funds released in 2016-17 were almost halved to Rs. 194 cr (Exhibit 4.11). Given the population-based norms for setting up AWCs, it is not surprising that as of December 2016-17, Maharashtra had the highest number of AWCs (1.10 lakhs) and Uttarakhand the smallest number (20,000) among the study states. In line with the situation at the national level, all three

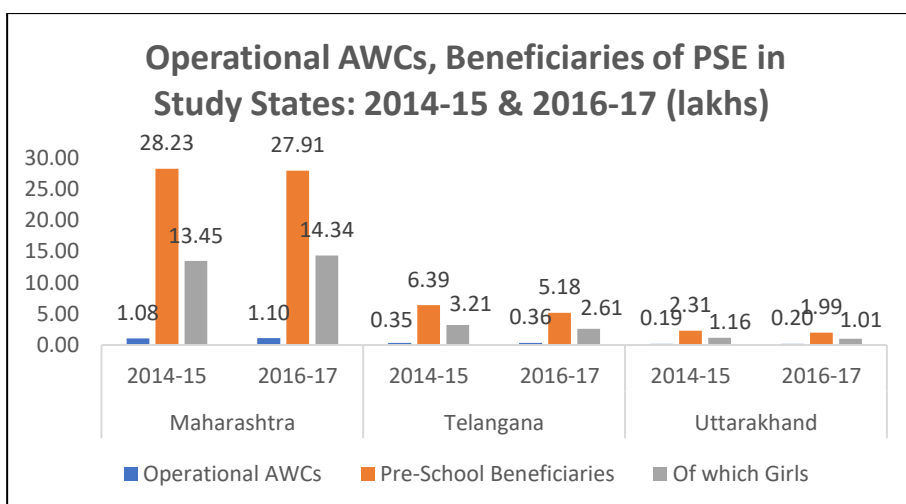
states show a marginal increase in the number of AWCs accompanied by declines in PSE beneficiaries between 2014-15 and 2016-17 (Exhibit 4.12; Appendix IV E.2).

**Exhibit 4.11**



Source: Demand for Grants, various years, Maharashtra, Telangana & Uttarakhand

**Exhibit 4.12**



Source: Annexure XII, MWCD Annual Report 2016-17



#### **4.4.4: Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE)**

The State is the largest provider of ECCE services in India through the network of AWCs under ICDS and crèches under RGNCS. However, the focus on pre-school education in AWCs has so far been limited to children between 3 and 6 years. In this scenario, the National ECCE Policy of 2013 is an effort to extend early care and education to children below three years and to bring all such institutional providers (public, private and NGO's) onto a single platform (Gol, 2015 , p. 27). The policy vision is "to achieve holistic development and active learning capacity of all children below 6 years of age by promoting free, universal, inclusive, equitable, joyful and contextualized opportunities for laying foundation and attaining full potential" (Gol, 2013a, p. 8). The uneven quality and coverage of ECCE through multiple providers and inadequate institutional capacity in the system, combined with the absence of standards, regulatory norms and mechanisms have been identified as the major problem areas to be addressed through reforms and corrective action through this policy.

Public provision of ECCE aims at universal access, primarily through AWCs of the ICDS, supplemented by the NGO sector. The AWC cum creche is being repositioned "as a vibrant and child-friendly ECD Centre" (Gol, 2013a, p. 11) with a full range of services including care, planned early stimulation component, health, nutrition and interactive environment for children below 3 years, to be developed, piloted and scaled up in response to community needs. ECCE centres are to be located within 500 meters of habitation, and area/town planning rules amended where necessary to provide more space for centres in urban slums. Disaggregated child budgeting exercises are to help assess adequacy of investments and identify gaps. This policy also witnesses a commitment by the government to increase aggregate spending on quality ECCE interventions, although no norms per child or floor are mentioned.

#### **ECCE Policy and Unpaid Work**

The primary aim here is the care and education of pre-school children rather than the redistribution of women's child care burden. The policy document emphasizes the importance and major role of parents and families in the care of young children (pp.2, 8), justifying public provision of ECCE as a 'supportive measure' to families in an environment of diversity and stratification. The document also speaks of "including inputs from fathers, mothers and other caregivers..." (p.2) and of informing and educating, "parents and family

members...about good child care practices...” (p.19). However, the generalized use of ‘parents’ and ‘family’, without a discussion of gender roles in childcare in the Indian context invisibilises women’s and girls’ roles. Opportunities for including provisions for relief and support tailored to women are thus lost. One such is the failure to recognize the childcare support that working women require beyond the hours that children will stay in the AWCs. Further, no concrete action for dissemination of information on child education to mothers and fathers or training sessions are envisaged in the policy, thus rendering the concerns cited above a mere token.

The policy document discusses neither the gender balance nor the remuneration for ECCE staff, particularly in the private sector. The effect that this added responsibility will have on the work burden of ‘volunteer’ AWW/AWH’s and/or care deficiency in AWW families is also not recognized. Further, the demands of ECCE duties and the increase in official responsibilities are likely to require significant skill acquisition/upgradation and fair remuneration packages for the overworked AWW and AWH. ECCE centres are not yet functioning as requisite preparations are still underway: ECCE cells are being set up, curriculum in the state language being prepared and submitted to the Central government for approval and so on (GoI, nd d).

#### **4.4.5: Rajiv Gandhi National Crèche Scheme (RGNCs) (revised 2006; 2016)**

The RGNCs (GoI, nd g) is a pan-India, centrally funded scheme under the MWCD with the responsibility for its effective implementation entrusted to Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) along with two other nodal agencies viz., Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW) and *Bhartiya Adim Jati Sewak Sangh (BAJSS)*. Each of these agencies is to act as the mother NGO, delegating the actual running of the crèche to NGO’s including corporate agencies. The changes introduced in 2016 include increased recurring grant incorporating honorarium to 2 workers per crèche, and directives for improved monitoring, including the introduction of mobile or web-based monitoring on a pilot basis. Priority for new crèches is to be given to 87 uncovered districts. Concurrent with these positive steps, the 2016 version has also introduced conditions that severely restrict eligibility. Aadhaar is now mandatory for enrolling under RGNCs.

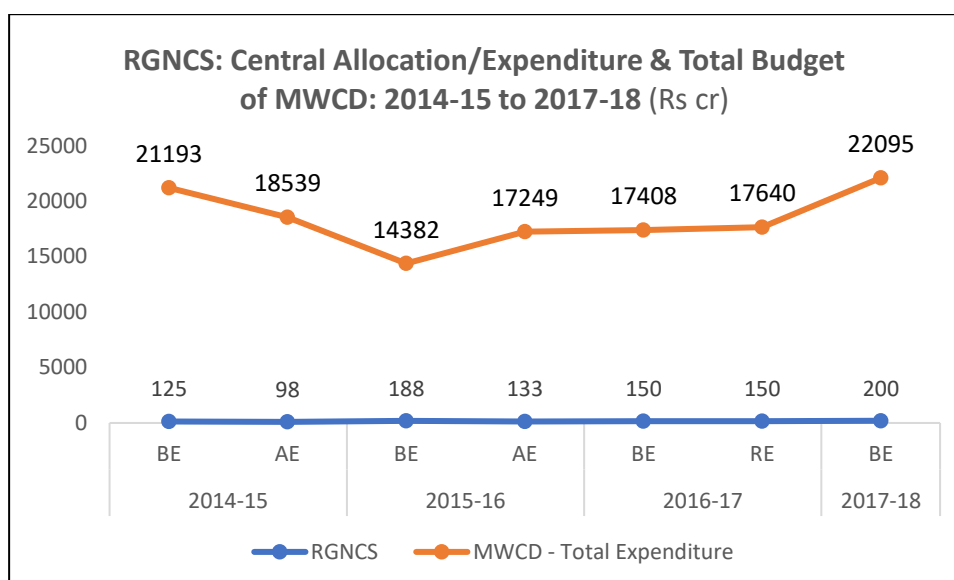
The crèches provide sleeping facilities, health-care, weekly supplementary nutrition and immunization. Each crèche accommodates 25 children and is open for eight hours i.e. from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm (revised to 7 1/2 hours). Poor children and children with special nutritional needs are given preference. User charges of Rs. 20 per month per child for BPL and Rs. 60 per month for non-BPL families are levied. The guidelines also specify

norms for physical infrastructure and equipment, service delivery, training of personnel, review and monitoring. Implementing agencies and crèche workers are required to maintain links with primary and sub-primary health centres and tie up with anganwadis for immunization.

### ***RGNCS and Unpaid Work***

The RGNCS guideline justifies investment in crèches in terms of growth of employed women, urbanization, migration and the changing family system. The earlier (2006) version admits that crèches and daycare facilities, “are not only required by working mothers but also women belonging to poor families, who require support and relief from childcare as they struggle to cope with burden of activities, within and outside the home” (Gol, nd g, p. 1). However, this recognition of women’s child care burden has been lost over time. As of January 1, 2016 (revised norms), crèches are open only to children aged 6 months up to 6 years (40 percent of the places reserved for children aged 3 years or less) of working women, employed for a minimum of 15 days a month or 6 months in a year. Under the earlier version facilities were open to “children aged 0 to 6 years of working mothers and other deserving women belonging to families whose monthly income is not more than Rs. 12000” (Gol, nd d). Current conditions restrict the number of women who can avail of the public facility and serve as justification for the low allocations. Working hours of the crèche is another factor that generally inhibits use. In order to overcome this limitation, the revised Scheme has shortened the hours from 8 to 7 1/2 hours but allows some flexibility in opening and closing timings. It also permits extension through extra payment for additional time at reasonable rates by agreement with the crèche functionary. Swaminathan (n.d) notes several problems related to the functioning: inadequate funding, lack of guidelines, training and supervision etc.

### **Exhibit 4.13**



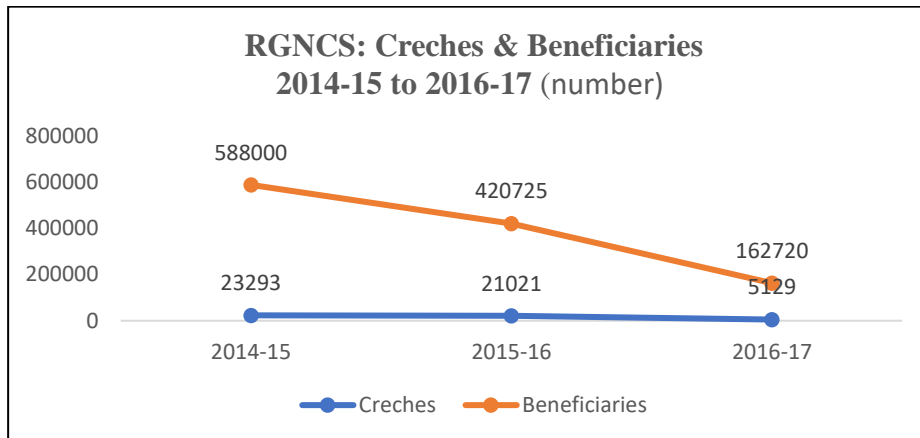
Source: Demand for Funds - MCWD, GoI 2017-18

### **Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States**

Budget provision to RGNCs has remained consistently below one percent of the MWCD budget – 0.6 percent to 0.91 percent between 2014-15 and 2017-18. Functioning crèches and beneficiaries have, in fact, declined (Exhibits 4.13 & 4.14; Appendix IV F.1). As of December 2016, there were only 5129 functional crèches in the country, a steep fall from 21,021 of just one year earlier. By 2016-17, 4056 ICCW crèches that were under RGNCs in 2015-16 had disappeared. No explanation is given for this but a note in the Annual Report (2016-17) hints at one possible reason: “no funds were released in 2016-17 to ICCW during 2016-17 for want of documentary proof in r/o all the crèches” (GoI, nd f, p. 62) However, this provides only a partial explanation since ICCW is responsible only for around 20 percent of the crèches. Crèches run by the CSWB, the major mother NGO including those taken over from BAJSS, also dropped precipitously from 16,853 by one-third to merely 5129.

The decline in beneficiaries from 6 lakhs to 1.6 lakhs in the same period has been even sharper. How much of the problem is due to the restriction of demand via narrowing of the eligibility conditions and how much due to supply related factors can only be revealed by a detailed study. The slight increase in beneficiaries per crèche from 25 in 2014-15 to 32 in 2016-17 was utterly inadequate to compensate for the fall in the number of crèches. This model based on partnership with NGO’s and private sector does not appear to be working well.

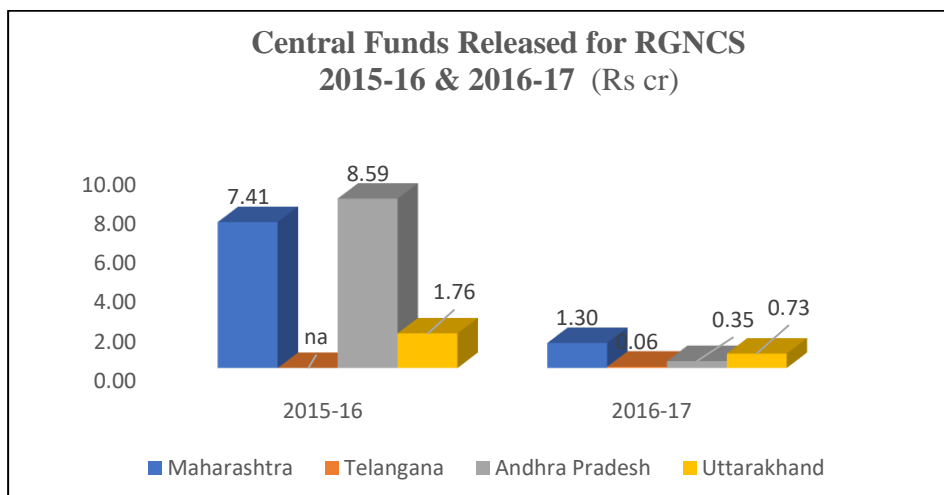
**Exhibit 4.14**



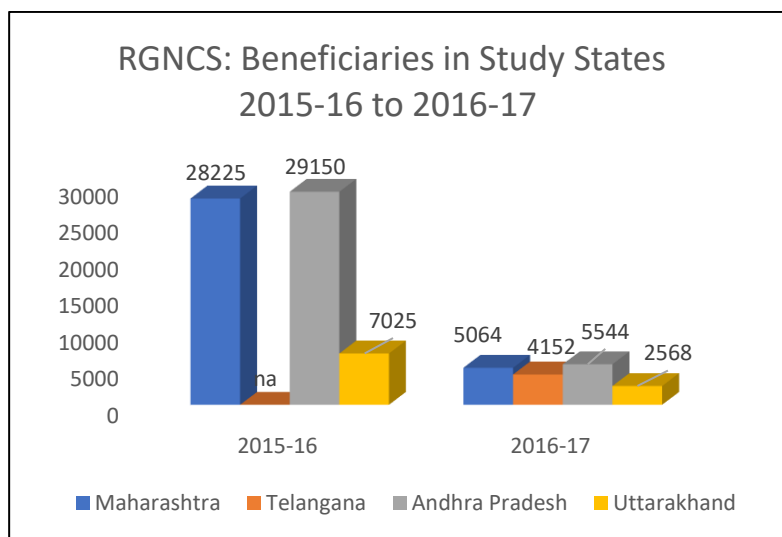
Source: MWCD Annual Reports - 2014-15, 2015-16 & 2016-17

The macro scenario is replicated at the meso level: there has been a precipitous decline in funding in all three regions: from Rs.7.41 cr in 2015-16 to Rs. 1.3 cr in 2016-17; in the case of Uttarakhand the decline was from Rs. 1.76cr to Rs. 0.73cr (Exhibit 4.15; Appendix IV F.2). A corresponding decline in beneficiaries can be seen: in Maharashtra, the number benefiting from RGNCs dropped from over 28,000 in 2015-16 to a mere 5000 in 2016-17; in Uttarakhand from 7000 to 2600. In 2016-17, Telangana beneficiaries numbered 4152 (Exhibit 4.16; Appendix IV F.2). The high annual variation signals a rather casual attitude of the government towards this scheme. With its narrow eligibility criteria, the miniscule funding together with the high variation in number of crèches, RGNCs in its current avatar provides little relief for poorer working women.

**Exhibit 4.15**



**Exhibit 4.16**



Source: as in Exhibit 4.15

### Recommendations

- Redefine the role of childcare policy and institutions particularly in the public sector from the perspective of women's unpaid work dynamics.
- Universalize access to public child care institutions. Although AWC's offer access to all, certain social groups such as migrants are often kept out. In the case of RGNCs, women who are not employed must be

allowed to enroll. Access is also a matter of location – these services must be located in a place that is easily accessible to the majority of the clientele.

- Supplement redistribution of childcare to the State with measures to encourage participation of men in childcare. Training of parents in nutritional and other needs of children envisaged in policy must actively involve fathers as well as mothers. The ECCE policy as well as the two childcare schemes place the onus of childcare solely on women: mothers as well as the largely female AWWs and AWHs.
- Transform AWCs to function as full-time crèches as well as early education centers, with flexibility in timings a la RGNCS to accommodate the special requirements of working women.
- Equip and upgrade AWCs to improve quality of care and retain children: own premises, safe drinking water, functioning toilets, kitchens, safe play areas as well as medical and basic educational supplies are minimum requirements.
- Recognize AWWs and AWHs not just as regular employees rather than volunteers but also for the unpaid work they do in their households and community. As employees, they merit decent conditions of work and as unpaid workers they require support to relieve time stress and fill the care deficiency in own households.
- Initiate/encourage research on the impact of the job on the well-being of AWW/AWHs and their households, based on TUS. Build in gender sensitization of childcare personnel delivering ECCE both in government and private sectors.
- With regard to RGNCS, redefine clearly its role and pay serious attention to the functioning of the public-private partnership pattern.

#### **4.5: Interventions Specific to Agricultural Workers**

##### ***4.5.1: National Policy on Farmers 2007 (NPF 2007)***

The NPF 2007 (GoI, 2007c), the extant policy document of the Indian government (GoI) on the agricultural sector, is significant for the change in focus it introduced: first, progress in agriculture was redefined as economic well-being of farmers rather than in terms of agricultural production; second, it mainstreamed gender within the policy.

A very broad definition of the farmer is adopted to include all agricultural operational holders, cultivators, agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, tenants, poultry and livestock rearers, fishers, beekeepers, gardeners, pastoralists, non-corporate planters and planting labourers, as well as persons engaged in various farming related occupations such as sericulture, vermiculture, and agro-forestry (see Gol, 2007c p.4). Although the definition of the farmer avoids mentioning women, in pursuance of its goal of gender mainstreaming, the NPF recognizes the role of women as producers, workers and input users, and makes specific recommendations for women farmers under every aspect of farming that it considers. In January 2016, the Agricultural Ministry informed the Supreme Court that a panel would be set up to re-examine the policy for farmers (Correspondent, 2016). The Panel is awaited.

### ***NFP and Unpaid Work***

Although the NFP 2007 is by far the most gender sensitive agricultural policy to date, its perspective on women's unpaid work is somewhat limited. The NPF does not contain explicit articulation or discussion about the unpaid work women do or about the need to reduce the drudgery or time stress involved. However, many of the Commission's recommendations are informed by women's unpaid SNA work and care work traceable mainly to the extensive notes containing gender inputs submitted by the Sub-committee set up by the National Commission of Women (NCW) (2008). The following recommendations are in recognition of women's role in agriculture particularly their status as unpaid workers: joint *pattas* for agricultural land and homestead; *kisan* credit cards for women; involvement of women in access and management of water; setting up of community bio-diversity registers; development of seed villages; training to fisher-women. Their care burden and the impact it has on their livelihood is recognized by recommending public provision of support services like crèches, child care centres, nutrition, health and training and so on.

### **Recommendations:**

- Integrate women's unpaid work and its implications within the gender perspective in future agriculture/farmer policy. This will help to make the plans and programmes/schemes more nuanced to women's roles, needs, capabilities and time use, and thus more in line with ground realities. For instance, extension and training as also community activities such as seed villages and water management, can be designed so that women's time stress does not increase. Similarly, support services such as childcare or



women friendly equipment will consider gender sensitization and participation of men as part of information dissemination and advocacy.

- Extend maternity benefit and other social security measures such as unemployment insurance to women in this sector. This has acquired greater significance in view of the increasing incidence of farmer suicides in the country.
- Implement seriously measures for the protection of common property resources such as water bodies and pastures from degradation or acquisition, as women are increasingly forced to spend more and more time and effort to fetch the free goods such as water, fodder, firewood, food and medicine, customarily sourced from such areas

#### **4.5.2: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (MNREGA)**

The most well-known of workfare programmes in the world and held up as a best practice for its rights-based and women friendly design, the MGNREGA aims at enhancing livelihood security of people in rural areas by guaranteeing a minimum hundred days of wage-employment in a financial year to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. Employment is to be provided within 15 days of the registration of the demand failing which the State is obligated to pay an unemployment allowance (Gol, 2016d). It has been hailed as a gender sensitive programme due to its many women-friendly provisions including reservation of one-third of the jobs and seats in the administrative bodies for women; preference given to single and physically challenged women; application of the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976; wage rates fixed with respect to gender capabilities; direct payment of wages to women rather than their spouses.

#### ***MGNREGA and Unpaid Work***

There is no explicit recognition or articulation of women's unpaid work burden or the impact of their unpaid responsibilities, on their participation in paid work, health, care deficiency and related issues either in the Act or in the operational guidelines. The latter merely talks about "empowerment of socially disadvantaged, especially women" (Gol, 2013b, p. 3) as a goal. Nevertheless, through some of the soil water conservation activities, and homestead, horticulture, forest and farm-based livelihoods that find a place in MGNREGA permissible works, a lot of women's invisible and unpaid family work, has the potential of drawing wage employment through this Act. This area in the context of women's unpaid work needs further research.

Specifically under the Act though, only the following are included that have direct relevance to women's unpaid work burden:

- i. Provision of employment within 5 km of residence or within the block, with payment of transportation and living expenses; Flexible work hours not extending beyond 12 hours per day.
- ii. Work site facilities of safe drinking water, shade for children and periods of rest, first-aid box with adequate material for emergency treatment for minor injuries and other health hazards connected with the work being performed.
- iii. Deputation of a woman worker on site to take care of children below the age of six years, provided there are at least five or more women workers. The most marginalized in the locality, women in exploitative

conditions or bonded labour or those vulnerable to being trafficked or liberated manual scavengers are to be given preference for providing child care services.

iv. Creation of productive assets of prescribed quality and durability under the Scheme so as to strengthen livelihood resources of the poor and ensure inclusion. Assets include public works that promote natural resource management (reforestation, desilting of water bodies), individual assets such as household latrines for vulnerable sections and community assets such as school/anganwadi toilets.

The provision of work close to habitation makes the scheme particularly attractive to women, easing the transition between paid work and unpaid work by cutting commuting time and enabling women to combine household, childcare and/or unpaid farm work with paid work on MGNREGS sites. The crèche facility serves to distribute childcare responsibilities between the woman and the State. In addition, the operational guidelines attempt to reduce drudgery for pregnant and lactating women by directing that they should also be treated as a special category and, “(s)pecial works which require less effort and are close to their house should be identified and implemented for them” (Gol, 2013b, p. 79). In this context, one of the serious lapses in the MGNREGA is the absence of any provision for maternity leave. Chhattisgarh is the only state that has introduced maternity leave for MGNREGS workers (Reporter, The Pioneer, 2014).

Works involving natural resource management such as deepening of ponds, or preventive works against erosion, reforestation, rain-water conservation and so on can be expected to significantly reduce women’s unpaid work by decreasing the time and effort spent on and the drudgery involved in fetching water, firewood and other free goods. On this issue, Kelkar (op cit) observes that women’s role in planning of assets under MGNREGA or conducting social audits of the implementation is not visible. A survey of states (CSE, 2008) reveals that auditing processes have been mostly focused on issues such as registration of families, checking of muster rolls for preventing forgery, timely payment of wages and payment of unemployment allowance, and not women-related or asset-related issues. It is likely therefore that assets that fulfill women’s needs are not given priority. Holmes et al (2011) argues for “public works activities to reduce women’s time poverty, such as: improving fuel-wood and water collection sources, or, more broadly, addressing discriminatory access to common property resources and sources of drinking water for SC/ST women; healthcare, nutrition and literacy/skills programmes; improving market access and infrastructure for women; and supporting investments and training in other agricultural activities” (p.4). However, implementation drawbacks inhibit the potential impact of many of the provisions above on women’s care work: in practice, drinking water appears to be the only facility available on most sites with first aid, shade for periods of rest and most importantly crèches, reported to be largely absent (Kelkar, 2011).

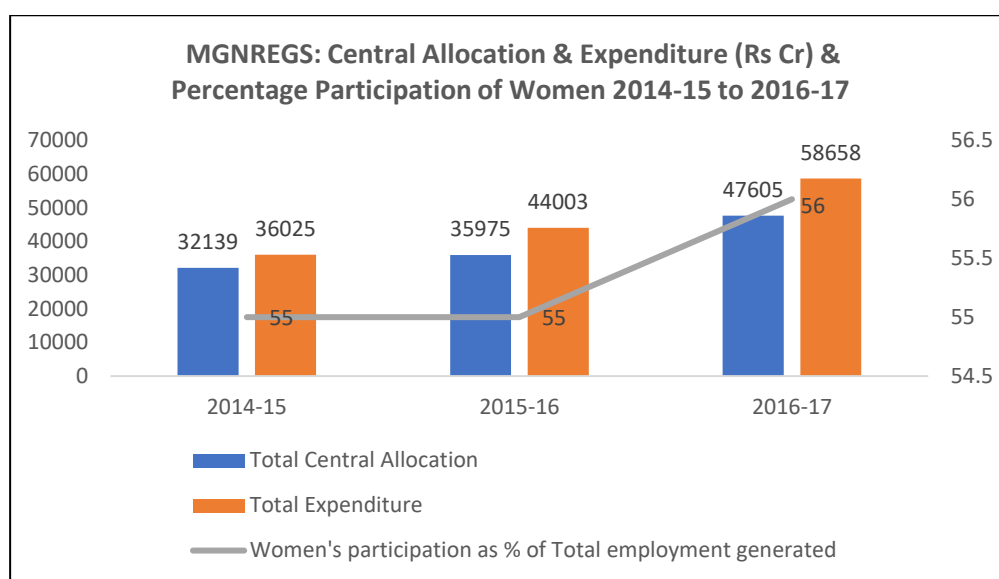
A study based on a survey of crèche facilities and childcare practices of working women in Viluppuram district in Tamil Nadu, one of the better performing states, on the sidelines of a social audit of the MGNREGA (Narayanan, 2008), found that child care is a significant problem for many of the women workers, particularly for mothers of children below the age of three years. Around 65 percent of the respondents were unaware of their entitlement to child care facility; 70 percent found none at the worksite and of the remaining 30 percent, many were unsure if the 'shed' at the worksite was really meant to be a crèche. Only a few worksites were seen to have some arrangement, with one or two elderly women taking care of the children brought to the worksite. So, while they worked on the MGNREGS sites, 19 percent had their children with them at the worksite; half had left their children at home; 12 percent at the 'balwadi' or 'anganwadi', and around 11 percent at schools. Most of the children on site were either left in the shade nearby or kept near the spot where the mother was working. One child was found following the mother around. The children who were not breast fed ate what the mother did – "simply rice, sometimes cooked the previous day" (p. 11), some with *sambar* while others ate *koozhu*, a kind of porridge.

But more critically, the study indicates that women are in general dissuaded from bringing children along to the worksite: some by being turned away, some having to take a cut in their wages, others by being harassed by co-workers or the supervisor. Half the women who reported harassment linked it to child care. Women thus have no choice but to leave children at home – with relatives, neighbours, older children or simply alone. Women with children 3 years or older did not appear to have difficulties – they were sent to anganwadi or school. This may have only been possible because Tamil Nadu is a state with well-functioning anganwadis and schools. The other major problem, perversely, is the condition of a required minimum number of children on site for availing of child care facilities; women are not likely to bring their children unless childcare facilities were available in the first place. Narayanan (op cit) suggests that the provision should be amended – a crèche to be provided if at least five children are present or at least five workers (male or female) demand one.

## Budget Tracking: Outlay and Outcome: National and Study States

Between 2014-15 and 2016-17 total Central allocation to MGNREGS increased from Rs. 32139 cr to Rs. 47605 cr, more or less consistently at the rate of 22 percent per year. Expenditure increased faster from Rs. 36025 cr in 2014-15 to Rs. 58658 cr in 2016-17, growing at nearly 28 percent (Exhibit 4.17; Appendix IV G.1). As of May 5, 2017, Rs. 12,873 cr had been released for 2017-18 (<http://nrega.nic.in>, 2017).

Exhibit 4.17



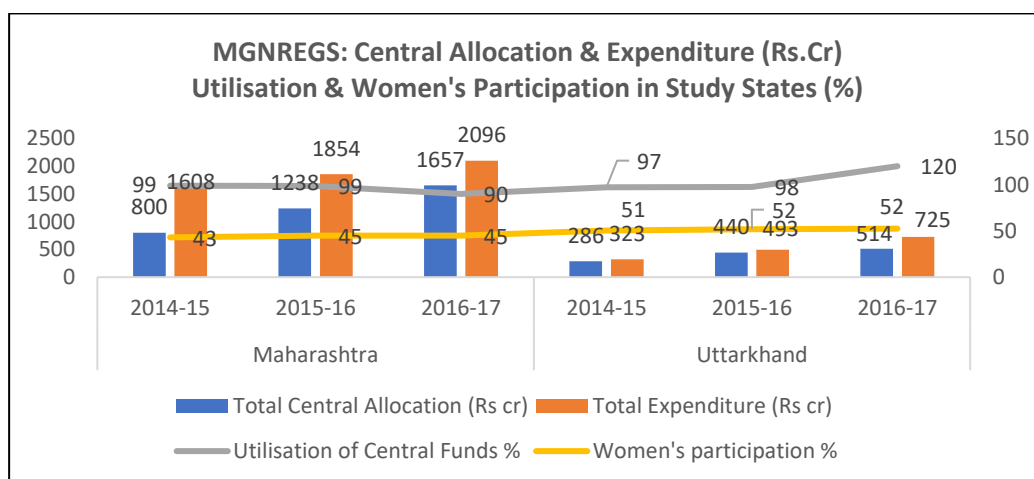
Source: [http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all\\_lvl\\_details\\_dashboard\\_new.aspx](http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all_lvl_details_dashboard_new.aspx) (accessed May 6 2017)

During this period, many states suffered drought, creating a demand for jobs under MGNREGS. At the All-India level jobs provided under the Scheme increased from a little over 4 crores to 5 crores between 2014-15 and 2016-17. Person days generated rose quite sharply from 166 crores in 2014-15 to 235 crores 2016-17 fulfilling 75 percent, 98 percent and 107 percent of the annual targets. Women's participation has remained constant, hovering between 55 and 56 percent in these 3 years. The Scheme performed best in 2016-17 when it breached 100 percent utilization of funds. Of special relevance here is the importance given to Natural Resource Management (NRM) works (Exhibit 4.19; Appendix IV G.3) and the addition that the Scheme will make to the stock of AWCs and individual household latrines (IHHL): a target of building 4 lakh

AWCs up to 2019 (GoI, 2016c, p. 5); and 33 lakh IHHL in 2016-17 (GoI, 2016d, p. 8) in convergence with the respective ministries.

The sharing of funds between the Centre and the states is in the ratio of 90:10. State governments have some room to customize the programme to their context, while abiding by the basic minimum as laid out by the MGNREG Act and Guidelines. For instance, 140 types of works are permissible under the Scheme and each state can select works that suit local needs. At the national level, works related to agriculture and allied activities with focus on water conservation have been given priority, with states required to spend at least 60 percent of MGNREGS funds on such works. Building of IHHL and AWC's are also being given priority. Consequently, what needs to be analyzed is not only budgetary allocation and expenditure, but also the study states' choice of these care related works.

**Exhibit 4.18**

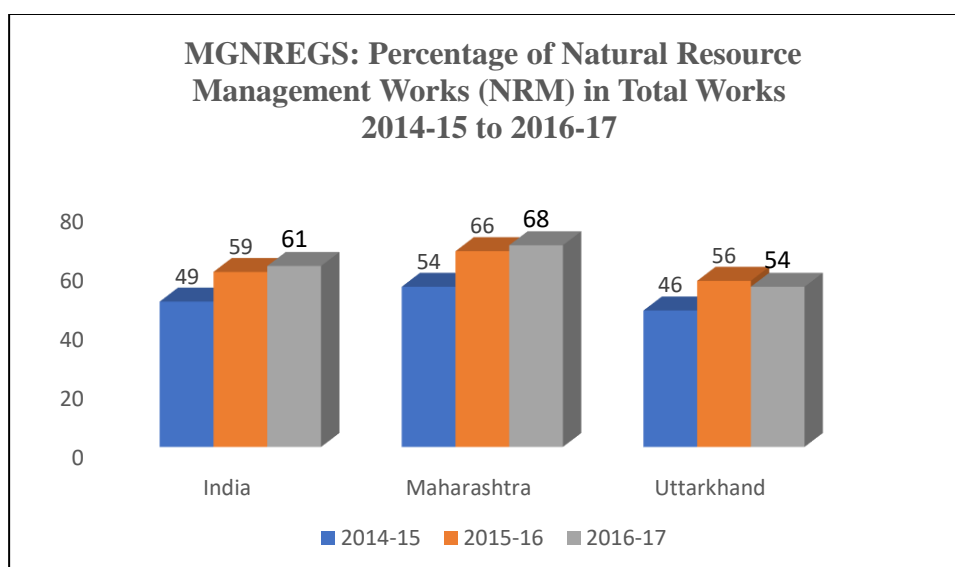


Source: [http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all\\_lvl\\_details\\_dashboard\\_new.aspx](http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all_lvl_details_dashboard_new.aspx)

Maharashtra spent increasing amounts over the last three years: Rs. 1608 cr in 2014-15, Rs. 1854 cr in 2015-16 and Rs 2096 cr in 2016-17, substantially more than the Central allocation, reflecting the significant contribution of the state. Utilization of Central funds was high at 99 percent in two of the three years. Participation of women as proportion of total employment (person days) stayed throughout the period at a modest 45 percent – lower than the All-India average and lower than corresponding figures for Uttarakhand, though much higher than the mandated 33 per cent (Exhibit 4.18; Appendix IV G. 2).

Maharashtra was permitted to give more than 100 days of employment to households in a year in view of the drought like situation in much of the last three years; it provided employment to about 12 to 14 lakh households, generating between 6.1 crore (2014-15) and 7.6 crore (2015-16) person days, with a slight decline to 7 cr person days in 2016-17. However, while the average days of work per household increased from 53 (2014-15) to 60 (2015-16), the fall has been the steepest in the last financial, to a low of 49 days. NRM focused on water conservation works like wells, farm ponds, bunding and desilting, in addition to drought proofing with afforestation, road side plantations, vermicomposting pits and building of IHHL (GoI, 2016d). These works went up steadily from 54 percent of total works in 2014-15 to around 66 percent in 2015-16 to 68 percent in 2016-17. Sericulture and horticulture are also being encouraged as alternatives to crop cultivation (Exhibit 4.19; Appendix IV G.3).

**Exhibit 4.19**



Source: [http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all\\_lvl\\_details\\_dashboard\\_new.aspx](http://mnregaweb4.nic.in/netnrega/all_lvl_details_dashboard_new.aspx)

Uttarakhand has a low outlay, with its contribution being only marginally higher than the mandated 10 percent. However, outlays have been growing steadily from Rs. 323 cr in 2014-15 to Rs. 725 cr in 2016-17. Also, at between 97 and 120 percent, the utilisation of Central funds has been consistently high. Women’s share in employment created is around 51 percent (Exhibit 4.19). However, employment provided is rather abysmal, the maximum being 43 person days in 2015-16; total employment generation ranged from 1.5 crore to 2.4 crore person days (<http://nrega.nic.in> as on May 7, 2017). In the current year, the state is prioritizing IHHL, farm ponds, anganwadi centres, vermicomposting tanks, roadside plantations (GoI, 2016d). NRM works as a proportion of total works is somewhat low in Uttarakhand, ranging between 46 and 56 percent (Exhibit 4.19).

## **Recommendations**

- Increase efforts and improve arrangements for dissemination of information on entitlements such as creche facilities, especially to women.
- Improve significantly implementation of creche on site. Eligibility conditions need to be made more attractive to women. Alternative arrangements for childcare can also be explored including care of children in one of the labourer's home with payment of wage to the carer; a mobile creche; and ideally, well run AWC which also functions as a creche. Alternatively make available better facilities such as sheds or portable tents for use as creches.
- Ensure participation of women in asset planning and in social audit especially of natural resource assets created.
- Initiate/encourage impact assessment of natural resource assets created through time based studies.
- Include Maternity Benefit as an entitlement.
- Encourage public and private works that can provide wage employment for the invisible and unpaid that women are already doing in farm-based, forest, horticulture, etc.

## **4.6: Intervention Specific to Construction Workers**

### ***4.6.1: Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1996 & Rules (1998)***

The Building and Other Construction Workers Act (BOCWA) came into force on the 1st of March 1996. The objective of the Act and the Rules based on it, is to regulate employment and conditions of service of building and other construction workers and to provide for their safety, health and welfare measures and other related matters (GoI, 1996a). The provisions and welfare functions mandated are administered by the Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (BOCWFB) constituted by each state government which also frames the rules, under the supervision of Central and State Advisory and Expert Committees. At least one member of the Board is required to be a woman. Each State BOCWFB constitutes a Welfare Fund, to initiate welfare schemes, funded by member subscriptions, collection of cess under the Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Cess Act (1996) (GoI, 1996b), grants and loans from the Central government and other permitted sources.



Workers between 18 and 60 years, engaged in any building or other construction work for at least 90 days in the past year are eligible for registration as beneficiary of the BOCWWB. He/she is required to contribute every month a sum prescribed by the state government, which they may also authorize the employer to deduct from wages and remit it within a fortnight.

The worker ceases to be a beneficiary in two situations –

- on attainment of 60 years or when not engaged in building and construction activity for 90 or more days in a year. However, a person registered as a worker for at least 3 years continuously before attaining 60 years is eligible for the benefits;
- when the registered worker fails to pay the prescribed contribution to the Welfare Board/Fund for a continuous period of not less than one year.

Every registered worker is given an identity card with photograph affixed, with the employer being obliged to enter the details of work done. The Central Act & Rules and State Acts and Rules prescribe in detail the various provisions for the safety, health and welfare of the workers, with the responsibility being divided between employer and the Board with the State having the role of funder (Central government) and overseer (state government), enabling and monitoring implementation.

Besides complying with rules of the state government regarding working hours, wages, overtime, compensation, maintenance of registers, safety and health measures the employer is obligated to provide specific facilities including the following:

- 1) Drinking water
- 2) Toilet facilities
- 3) Accommodation
- 4) Crèches
- 5) First Aid.

The Benefits from the Board are:

- 1) Accident assistance
- 2) Pension to those who have completed the age of 60 years
- 3) Loans and advances for house construction

- 4) Contribution towards premia for Group Insurance Scheme
- 5) Financial assistance for children's education
- 6) Medical expenses for treatment of major ailments of beneficiary/specified dependent
- 7) Payment of maternity benefit to the female beneficiaries
- 8) Other welfare measures and facilities.

The Board is also allowed to grant loan or subsidy to a local authority or an employer in aid of any scheme approved by the State Government for the purpose connected with the welfare of building workers and their family members within limits set by the Act.

### ***BOCWA and Unpaid Work***

Even a quick perusal of the Act reveals that the worker for whom the provisions have been defined is principally, male. Provisions for women appear to be more in nature of an after-thought. There is no recognition of the existing segregation of tasks between men and women in the industry or the wage discrimination that follows from such segregation. Similarly, there is no sexual harassment and grievance redressal mechanism whatsoever.

Of the provisions listed in the Act, two have direct connect to women's unpaid care work:

- i. Crèches.* Crèches for children under 6 years are to be provided by the employer wherever a minimum of 50 female workers are employed. Minimum standards are specified including that the rooms should (a) provide adequate accommodation; (b) be adequately lighted and ventilated; (c) be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition; (d) be under the charge of women trained in the care of children and infants.

The number of women required to be eligible for a crèche is very high on two counts: first, the minimum number of workers required for an establishment to be eligible is limited to 10. Yet 50 women workers are required for provision of crèche facility. Second, it is much higher than required by other Acts pertaining to other workers – in the Factories Act for example, 20 women are sufficient for the provision of a crèche. Considering the conditions and safety pertaining to construction sites, the minimum number of women ought to be much lower. In fact, child care provision is merited even if there is only one child on site. Specification of a minimum number of women workers as a precondition for provision of a facility usually

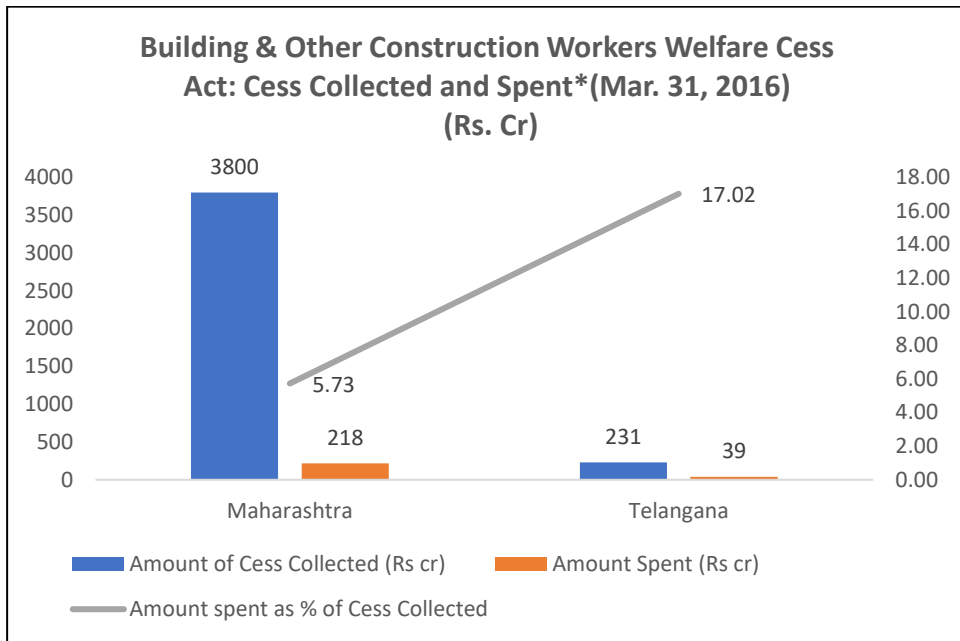
encourages employers to avoid their responsibilities with impunity in various ways such as, hiring one female worker less than the minimum number; refusing to hire women with children; harassing women with children so that they avoid bringing them to work and so on. Alternate ways of childcare provision and ways of making employers comply without jeopardizing recruitment of women need to be explored. The recommendation of the Shram Shakti Report mentioned earlier needs to be seriously examined.

ii. *Maternity Benefit.* Maternity benefit is envisaged as a monetary payment to be made to women workers, spouses of workers and daughters of workers.

The Act lists maternity benefit – clearly referring only to a monetary compensation – as one of the benefits to be provided by the Board/Fund. The Act does not elucidate on this matter: it does not specify a formula, eligibility, the terms and conditions determining payment. Nor does it talk about the leave component, guarantee of employment, medical expenses, hazardous jobs or nursing breaks – all of which go together to make up the concept of maternity benefit.

As of December 31, 2014, a total of 2.15 crore construction workers were registered across the country with these boards, estimated to be no more than 25 percent of total workers in the industry (Dubbudu, 2016), primarily due to a combination of factors: lack of awareness amongst workers, their migratory nature, lack of drive on the part of the Board to recruit workers and the predominance of petty contractors and sub-contractors as employers and the lackadaisical attitude of state governments. Further expenditure on welfare by the Boards has been dismal: as of March 31, 2016, expenditure amounted to Rs. 5685 cr or 21 percent of the total cess collected of Rs. 26962 cr. Bigger states such as Maharashtra are found to be especially poor performers both with respect to registration of workers and expenditure on their welfare (Exhibit 4.20, Appendix IV.H.1).

**Exhibit 4.20**



Note: \*Provisional

Source: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/mbErel.aspx?relid=147333>

#### **4.6.2: The Maharashtra Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Board (MBCWWB)**

The MBCWWB was constituted only in May 2011 (CAG, 2015), 11 years after the enactment of the Central Act. The Maharashtra Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Rules, 2007 were notified in February 2011. The constitution and appointment of the Advisory Committee (June 2012) and the Expert Committee (March 2013) were also tardy. In 2010, the state government started levying a 1 percent cess on construction cost of projects costing more than Rs. 10 lakhs.

The MBCWWB gives 16 types of benefits under as many schemes for education, disability, medical treatment and death of registered workers, their spouses and children (<https://mahakamgar.maharashtra.gov.in>). The educational assistance is available to the worker's spouse and up to two children; the medical assistance, in most cases covers the worker. The assistance on death of the worker is given to the legal heir or to the widow/widower (Appendix IV.H.2). Maternity benefit of Rs. 10000 for normal and Rs. 15000 for Cesarean delivery is available to the registered worker or the wife of registered worker.

For its size and level of activity, Maharashtra has only 3.3 lakh registered construction workers. The CAG Report (*op cit*) criticizes every possible aspect of the functioning of the State Board: delay in constitution of committees; tardy establishment of a mechanism for linking the government with local bodies and prospective employers; low registration of establishments and beneficiaries; non-issue of identity cards to beneficiaries; delayed or no assessment, collection and remittance of cess, as well as disbursement of benefits. The expenditure incurred by the Board on welfare schemes was Rs. 218 cr as against the total receipt of Rs. 3800 cr, or around 6 percent till March 31, 2016 (Exhibit 4.20).

Scrutiny by the CAG (*op cit*) of MCOBWWB accounts revealed that the maternity benefit scheme was riddled by disbursement to non-registered workers, lack of documentary records and delay of payment ranging from “22 days to nine months from the date of receipt of applications, thereby depriving the beneficiaries of timely assistance” (*ibid*). Other difficulties highlighted are the lack of awareness of the Fund amongst workers; the complexity of the registration process which inhibits workers from joining the Board; lack of portability from one district to another; and diversion of labour cess to other uses: the Bombay High Court was forced to direct the Maharashtra government not to divert labour cess for any other purpose other than for construction workers’ welfare (*ibid*). The system also makes it difficult for seasonal and migrant labourers to register and to avail of benefits.

#### **4.6.3: Telangana Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (TBOCWWB)**

The first TBOCWWB was constituted on September 17, 2014 (vide G.O.Ms.No.6 of LET & F (Labour) Dept, Ts, Dt.17-09-2014). Before this date, the Board had been in existence as the Andhra Pradesh Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (APBOCWWB) since April 2007, which had 20 lakh workers registered under it. The official site of the Telangana Board lists 54 categories of construction workers who are entitled for the benefits. The site also gives detailed information regarding benefits under the Act (Appendix IV.H.3), the conditions and procedure for registration and renewal, procedure for application for benefits under the

various schemes, and the process for sanction of benefits. The Telangana government levies a cess on construction establishments at 1 percent of the cost of construction.

The Board has two women specific schemes: 1) the Marriage Gift Scheme which offers financial assistance of Rs. 20,000 on marriage, to an unmarried woman registered worker and to two daughters of a registered worker and 2) the Maternity Benefit Scheme, which, offers financial assistance of Rs. 20,000 to a woman registered worker, the wife of a male registered worker and to two daughters of the either male or female registered worker, limited to two deliveries each.

The Telangana Board offers more than Maharashtra (Rs. 20,000) in terms of maternity benefits. However, as in the case of Maharashtra, so also in Telangana, the maternity scheme is merely a cash benefit. The TBOCWBB has been criticized for not having any representatives of workers and therefore ignorant of issues faced by workers (Rajita, S, 2016). Further, contractors who hire workers are short of resources and corrupt. Added to this is the fact that most workers are migrants.

## **Recommendations**

- Expand urgently coverage and reach of welfare measures under the COBWWBs. Special efforts must be made to increase awareness of the Boards and the welfare schemes/benefits available through these. Procedures for registration, application for and collection of benefits need to be simplified. Portability is important for benefits to reach footloose labour of this industry. NGO's can contribute significantly to this process through advocacy: creating awareness of entitlements as well mobilizing registration; helping workers complete procedures; giving feedback to government functionaries at all levels as also participating in planning and designing of schemes.
- Actively encourage workers to bring children to creche on site. The offer of creche facility should not be dictated by the number of women workers or children on site. Where viability of offering a creche on site is in question, alternative arrangements such as mobile creches need to be explored.
- Redefine Maternity Benefit to go beyond monetary compensation to including other constituents such as leave, including for miscarriage, illness connected to childbirth, protection from dismissal during pregnancy and childbirth, exemption from hazardous tasks during pregnancy, nursing breaks and so on. The Boards also need to lay down unambiguous terms and conditions for availing such benefits and avoid inclusion and exclusion errors.

#### 4.7. Policy Recommendations

Four laws, four policy documents and ten schemes have been reviewed through the unpaid work lens, tracking of the Central and state budget allocations, as part of the exercise. Budgetary allocations of both at the Centre and the states on the programmes and schemes reviewed have largely remained inelastic and unresponsive to the growing population on the one hand and income inequality on the other. In most cases they have declined during the study period. Summarized here are the salient policy recommendations emerging from the assessment of the selected interventions by sectors and constituencies.

**Energy.** The complete lack of gender and unpaid work perspectives in both the renewable energy policy (SPNRE) and the three household fuel supply schemes, PAHAL, PMUY and DBTL/K not only make them ill-equipped to reduce women's work burden and drudgery but also impede the fulfillment of their aim of shifting the country to cleaner energy. Recommendations, apart from the obvious need to incorporate gender and unpaid work perspectives into policy and interventions include: making available time saving appliances such as smokeless stoves with support to households for buying, repairing and replacing these; extending extra connectivity support to LPG consumers in hilly and inaccessible places; linking subsidies to LPG/kerosene prices; and increasing the supply of kerosene to poor households regardless of whether or not they are registered LPG consumers.

**Water.** In contrast to energy, water policy and the national rural programme for supply of drinking water (NRDWP) do explicitly recognize the links between water and women's work burden and have embedded features that promote reduction of unpaid work burden and drudgery such as 24X7, easily accessible water outlets, water quality norms etc. The problem here is one of slippages in service delivery in terms of both quantum and quality, as well as of course financial allocations. Thus, the most urgent need is to improve the delivery arrangements to achieve sustained coverage and expedite attainment of targets. The other major change required is to rejuvenate community participation with active roles for women in water management with processes suitably designed to avoid additional demands on women's time.

**Care.** The Maternity Benefit Act (MBA) and Programme (MBP) as much as the child care interventions are both gender specific and address women's role as care givers, yet suffer from limitations that prevent them from impacting women's unpaid care work. The limit on the number of children for eligibility and other conditions need to be scrapped in order for maternity benefit, which is an entitlement under the National Food Security Act, to reach women in need. Ways of involving fathers in child care such as paternity leave and training also need to be introduced. Universalization of maternity benefit is the need of the hour. Public provision of child care - the Early Care and Child Education Policy (ECCE) and institutions such as Anganwadi (AWC) and creches under the Rajiv Gandhi National Creche Scheme (RGNCS) also persist in putting the onus of childcare squarely on women by not providing for the participation of fathers. Upgradation of physical facilities, including educational supplies, sensitization and training of staff, and working hours tailored to women's needs are only some of the operational reforms required to increase retention of children and reduce women's work burden. The Anganwadi Worker and her Helper also deserve recognition as government employees (rather than volunteers) and the administration of their rights.

**Agricultural workers.** Awareness of women's unpaid work and its implications need to be incorporated in the new agricultural policy since the majority of female unpaid workers is in agriculture. All future design and execution of interventions that involve women in agriculture such as community management of water, extension and training must figure in their unpaid work burden.

Two measures that will make the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Gandhi Act and Scheme (MGNREGA/S) more unpaid work compliant are: better dissemination of information on entitlements, inclusion of provision for maternity benefit and drastic improvements to child care provision that will encourage women to use it.

**Construction Workers.** The Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Act (BOCWW) Act which lays down the entitlements of workers and the State Boards that implement it implicitly define the worker as male. The two provisions for women – maternity benefit and creche provision suffer from many limitations that prevent women from benefitting despite the huge financial resources of the Boards. Procedures for registration and application/collection of benefits need to be eased, taking into account the marginal status of such workers who are mostly migrants and often illiterate. Maternity benefits must be expanded to include other standard features of such measures such as protection from dismissal, linking compensation with wage, protection from hazardous tasks, medical aid, nursing breaks and so on. Eligibility criterion for creche provision needs to be made more flexible.



In general, government programmes, especially those targeting the poor, require the following measures to serve as effective vehicles for recognizing, reducing and redistributing women's unpaid work:

- Sensitization of government cadres to gender and unpaid work issues;
- Support to access digital process in view of the low literacy levels in the country.
- Creation of awareness amongst men, including government functionaries, regarding women's work burden and its implications.
- Overall improvement in implementation, monitoring, and evaluation machinery.
- Institutionalization of gender disaggregated statistics, particularly time studies for appraisal, monitoring and evaluation of programmes and for evidence based planning.

## Chapter Five

### Capturing the Gendered Work Continuum

#### 5.1: Introduction

The field based research undertaken is based on the conceptualisation of the very fundamentals of work, both paid and unpaid which includes care, and the continuum between the two which also relates at least partially to work that is under-paid. The gendered continuum, which comprises of these four elements, is a departure from perceiving each aspect in isolation. The focus therefore is on the distribution of time spent on the various and detailed activities as identified in the household questionnaire. The time distribution method captures the multiplicity and simultaneity of women's work, while at the same time examining activity distribution rather than mere duration. It is precisely for this reason that the Gendered Activity Participation Ratio (GAPR) has been formulated as well as the Gendered Time Burden Range (GTBR). As noted earlier, the GAPR calculates the extent of gendered engagement in a given activity – economic as well as extra economic. The GTBR estimates the minimum and maximum time dispersed by men and women on each activity and sub activity of all categories of paid and unpaid work including care. Such an approach additionally reveals and brings to the fore the intensity of work which is often determined by the gender based division of labour.

Furthermore, understanding of work extends beyond the gender divide, and hence the analysis relates to all forms of unpaid work for both women and men. Special emphasis has also been given to the most vulnerable of the marginalised groups – female headed households. Consequently, analysis is at two levels viz. all households and female headed households. Findings under each activity for both sets of households have been intertwined where necessary and separated where essential in order to highlight similarities as well as differences. In addition, the focus is specifically on those who are marginalised in terms of economic as well as extra-economic factors; in this sense, therefore, the research is clearly partisan. The major social groups interviewed are Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Castes, Minorities, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes and Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups.

Consequently, data are not 'presented' but analysed in the context of women and also men in relation to the nature of their labour and livelihoods which are focalized around their work and time burden, and located within the state of poverty and marginalisation they subsist in, connecting thereby to both the causes and effects of well-being as well as ill-being.

The essence of this chapter is centred around the results of the primary field survey conducted through the canvassing of 1560 questionnaires at the household level: 402 in Solapur, 393 in Pithoragarh, 373 in Hyderabad and 392 in Thane. Of these, 259 are specifically female headed households divided almost equally in the four survey areas.

The Household Questionnaire was canvassed over a period of seven months from May 2016 to November 2016 in order to average out lean and peak seasons. Before finalisation the draft was circulated to all field partners and enumerators for suggestions, and pilot surveys conducted. Training workshops were held, as well as repeated visits for monitoring data collection. The final survey was conducted in several challenging circumstances including drought, floods, and landslides (see Appendix V A: Household Questionnaire). Purely quantitative data of course does not capture all the nuances and subtleties of the reality, and therefore integrated at all levels are 'results' from case studies, focused group discussions, interviews with key informants as well as of course personal field observation.

This rather long chapter is divided into seven major sections, some of them containing several sub-sections. Section 5.2 gives a brief on how the data collected has been studied and what kind of gaps exists. Sections 5.3 to 5.6 cover the major findings. Section 5.3 is a crucial precursor to understanding the 'study findings': it focuses on the demographics of all households in the context of their concrete developmental realities, and lays the ground for understanding both the issues of work burden and time poverty located within and determined by macroeconomic policies. Section 5.4 deals with the time distribution pattern of all households in terms of the time spent on economic activity, associated economic activity, time spent on water, energy and care. Further, the time spent on each activity has been nuanced to take into consideration and highlight the roles and contribution of women (Primary Respondent Female (PRF) and Other Females (OF)) and men (Secondary Respondent Male (SRM) and Other Males (OM)) of the household for each of these groups of activities. Section 5.5 compares the pattern of time distribution across activities of general and female headed households while Section 5.6 discusses the activity participation ratios in both general and female headed households. Section 5.7 concludes the chapter. It should be noted that there is no

predictable summary of so called major findings; the crucial takeaways must be perceived in the context of theoretical and empirical understanding based on the integration of secondary and primary analysis.

The study areas selected for the primary field investigation are as follows:

Maharashtra: for Construction Workers –

- i. Ramabai Nagar, Ward 37, Ulhasnagar Taluka, Thane District
- ii. Shailesh Nagar and Uday Nagar, Ward 56, Mumbra Taluka, Thane District

Telangana: for Construction Workers –

- i. Karmika Nagar, Rahmath Nagar, Ward 102, Yousufguda, Circle 10, Khairatabad Mandal, Hyderabad District
- ii. Mudfort Basti, Mallapur Ward 3 Cantonment area, Secunderabad, Tirumalagiri Mandal, Hyderabad District

Maharashtra: for Agriculture Workers –

- i. Dongargaon village in Sangola (Sangole) taluka, Solapur District
- ii. Sonand village in Sangola (Sangole) taluka, Solapur District

Uttarakhand: for Agriculture Workers –

- i. Toli village in Dharchula block, Pithoragarh District
- ii. Kimkhola village in Dharchula block, Pithoragarh District
- iii. Baluwakot village in Dharchula block, Pithoragarh District

(for more details see Appendix V B: Selection of Village/Ward).

## 5.2: Data Interpretation and Data Gaps

Two clarifications are essential before proceeding with the analysis – the issue of data gaps and how to perceive the quantitative results. There are several data gaps that had to be contended with; these do not detract from the main findings, but need to be identified for purposes of clarity of particularly quantification. One, several households in rural Solapur did not report their caste affiliation: this is because community identification is a political issue at several levels, especially among Scheduled Castes who sometimes consider themselves as Buddhists. Two, as the household questionnaires have been canvassed by ground level activists, a few blanks remained in aspects such as whether the house is *kutcha* or *pucca*. Three, not all respondents gave information under the categories of ‘Other Females’ and ‘Other Males’, partly because they were unavailable in spite of repeated visits, or they found it difficult to demarcate as most work is done jointly and sometimes even collectively.

The second issue is how to interpret the quantitative results. One, the analysis of time disbursed is described in terms of average hours per week. An average week is taken to mean seven full days without holidays and any “off”. This has been calculated in the statistical package R as well as in Excel. It is important to note that, in keeping with the accepted norm at the international and national levels, the numbers reported for hours of time expended on any activity as well as the average time spent have to be interpreted as follows:

0.25 would mean 15 minutes

0.50 would mean 30 minutes

0.75 would mean 45 minutes

Thus, for instance, if the time disbursed on any activity is 8.25, it should be read as 8 hours and 15 minutes. Likewise, if the time expended is 8.13, it should be interpreted as 8 hours and less than 15 minutes.

The analysis of time distributed is described in average hours per week, in the case of all households, and has been undertaken for those activities where the number of respondents exceeds 5 percent of the sample which works to a minimum of 20 respondents and above, and for female headed households, only when where the number of respondents is greater than 7 percent of the sample of FHH which works to a minimum of 5 respondents (Refer Table 5.1(a)).

Additionally, while the details of the range of time that is spent by respondents on an activity is captured under Min-Max in the tables in Appendix V.D, several of the crucial ranges have been integrated into analysis. Min would mean the least value or the minimum amount of time spent on an activity by respondents; Max would refer to the highest value or the maximum amount of time spent on an activity by respondents.

Besides, a comparative assessment of economic activity in Solapur and Pithoragarh (for agriculture) and Hyderabad and Thane (for construction) has been undertaken. For all other activities, a joint comparative analysis for all regions together is carried out so as to bring out the locational and geographical differences that can influence the pattern of time spent on different activities. Contrasting geographical terrains have

been deliberately chosen for their differential impacts on women's work, both paid and unpaid. Plains generally reflect more visibility of women's work, while regions that are forested and hilly tend to relatively de-visibility women's contribution to the family's well-being. This analysis is obviously conducted separately for females and males to understand the gender differences and similarities on the time disbursement pattern. For purposes of readability, all detailed tables are appended (see Appendix V C: Time Distribution Patterns of Solapur, Pithoragarh, Hyderabad, Thane (General and Female Headed Households)), with only the essential ones being incorporated into the text.

### **5.3: Demographics and Development**

A total of 2861 respondents were interviewed from a total of 1560 households (HH) including from 259 Female Headed Households (FHH); one of the major decisions taken before canvassing of HQs was that at least 60 households per area must necessarily be female headed. One Primary Respondent Female (PRF) from each household was interviewed, along with the Secondary Respondent Male (SRM), except of course in the case of almost all FHH. In order to capture the sharing and distribution of unpaid work between and within families, Other Females (OF) and Other Males (OM) were also interviewed.

The basic sample profile along with the demographic characteristics are presented in Tables 5.1(a) and 5.1(b). The levels of illiteracy emerge as a major factor across gender, particularly and surprisingly more in urban than in rural areas. Predictably, Female Headed Households report significantly lower levels of literacy, along with fewer holding bank accounts. Thus, there appears to be some positive connect between literacy and the levels of financial inclusion.

Landlessness is more prevalent in Solapur as compared to Pithoragarh, given that a little more than a quarter of the sample households have responded as landless in the former region as compared to a mere 6 percent in the latter. While landlessness is obviously not relevant in the urban constituency, the point of differentiation can be taken as being registered under BOCW or not; the number of registered workers is higher in Hyderabad at 199 as compared to merely 13 in Thane. Besides, of those registered in Hyderabad, women accounted for more than half at 53 percent. What is rather heartening is that the very process of data collection has increased awareness amongst both the ground partners and the respondents

themselves: in Thane a campaign was undertaken by SALAH and the number of female registered workers rose from a one-digit figure to cross over 200.

**Table 5.1(a)**  
**Basic Sample Profile of Field Sites**

	SOLAPUR	THORAGARH	HYDERABAD	THANE
Sample Size (HH)	402	393	373	392
No. of FHH	61	66	61	71
5% of Sample	20.1	19.7	18.7	19.6
No. of HH Involved in Agriculture/ Construction	398	302	373	392
Landed HHs	284 (70.6)	323 (82.2)	NAP	NAP
Landless HHs	110 (27.4)	25 (6.3)	NAP	NAP
Landed + Landless	394 (98)	348 (88.5)	NAP	NAP
Land Ownership Not Specified	8 (2)	45 (11.5)	NAP	NAP
Registered Workers	NAP	NAP	199	13

Figures in parentheses refer to percentage of Households. The percentages and number of households may not add up to 100 percent and the sample size respectively given the lack of response from respondents.

Not Applicable

**Table 5.1 (b)**  
**Basic Sample Profile of Field Sites**

		SOLAPUR				PITHORAGARH				HYDERABAD				THANE			
		General		FHH		General		FHH		General		FHH		General		FHH	
<b>Illiteracy</b>																	
	Females	210 (52.2)		41(66.13)		148(37.7)		44(66.6)		327(87.7)		56(91.8)		311(79.3)		55(78.6)	
	Males	99 (24.6)		0 (0)		41(10.4)		1(1.5)		233(62.5)		10((16.4)		170(43.4)		1(1.4)	
<b>REGS/BOCWA</b>		MGNREGS								BOCWA							
		Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint
	Females	11(2.7)	50(80.6)	6(9.7)	0 (0)	45 (11.5)	261 (66.4)	18 (27.3)	29 (43.9)	105(28.2)	14(23)	7(1.8)	1(1.4)				
Males	3(0.7)	46(74.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (2.8)	252 (64.1)	1(1.5)	21 (31.8)	94(25.2)	4(6.6)	6(1.5)	0 (0)					
<b>Bank A/C</b>		Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint	Single	Joint
	Females	78(19.4)	247 (61.4)	40 (64.5)	4 (6.5)	248 (63.1)	88 (22.4)	54 (81.8)	2(3)	168 (45)	2 (0.5)	33 (54.1)	1 (1.6)	74 (18.9)	28 (7.1)	20 (28.6)	3 (4.3)
	Males	82(20.4)	237 (59)	1(1.6)	1 (1.6)	236 (60.1)	88 (22.4)	28 (42.4)	2(3)	153 (41)	0 (0)	4(6.6)	0 (0)	131 (33.4)	44 (11.2)	00 (0)	1 (1.4)



Each region shows a considerable degree of homogeneity in terms of social groups (Table 5.2), Hindus being the dominant religious group, Muslims existing only in Solapur at about 11 percent. Buddhists accounted for more than one-fourth of all households in Thane, conforming to the data of Census 2011. Also, corresponding to Census data, Ulhasnagar taluka had the highest proportion of Scheduled Caste population at 17.3 percent which is also corroborated in the sample where almost 94.4 percent of the respondents in Thane belong to this category.

In the social structure of the sample, every region sees the presence of either one or two dominant social groups. While Scheduled Castes (SC), as discussed above, are the dominant group in Thane, almost 63 percent in Solapur belong to Nomadic Tribes (NT) and Other Backward Castes (OBC) respectively at 33.8 percent and 29.1 percent. SCs constitute approximately two-thirds in of the sample households in Pithoragarh, apart from the 14.75 percent who are Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG). On the other hand, Scheduled Tribes (ST) at two-thirds and OBCs at about 28 percent are the dominant social groups in the Hyderabad sample. It is indeed important that several marginalised and vulnerable groups comprise the households interviewed. The Raji tribe is rarely researched even in a gender-less context. Neither are the smaller social groups of Yerukula, Madiga, Vaddera, Lambada, and Gavara in Hyderabad, a fact pointed out by Naresh, a local resident and leader of Karmika Nagar who was interviewed.

**Table 5.2**  
**Caste & Religion**

CASTE				
	SOLAPUR	PITHORAGARH	HYDERABAD	THANE
SC	68 (16.9)	251 (63.9)	23 (6.2)	370 (94.4)
ST	0	8 (2.04)	245 (65.7)	1 (0.25)
NT	136 (33.8)	0	0	1 (0.25)
PVTG	3 (0.01)	58 (14.75)	0	0
OBC	117 (29.1)	1 (0.25)	105 (28.2)	5 (1.3)
General	18 (4.5)	46 (11.7)	0	15 (3.8)

<b>total</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>392</b>
<b>RELIGION</b>				
indu	347 (86.3)	363 (92.4)	371 (99.5)	276 (70.4)
uslim	44 (10.9)	0	0	9 (2.3)
ristian	0	0	2 (0.01)	0
ddhist	8 (0.02)	0	0	107 (27.3)
<b>total</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>392</b>
Figures in parentheses refer to percentage of HHs. The percentages and number households may not add up to 100 percent and the sample size respectively given lack of response from respondents.				

The average family size is 4 members (see Appendix Table V.C.1) with the exception of Pithoragarh which averages a little more at 5, males out-numbering females; this is quite the opposite of what the Census recorded for Pithoragarh. Interestingly, this region also reported the largest proportion of population in the age group 0-6 years at 36.4 percent, as compared to about one-fourth in all others; it would be interesting to link up this aspect with that of utilisation of crèches and anganwadis.

Gendered income distribution and deprivation are evaluated through average monthly income (see Appendix Table V.C.2); the results are predictable with the average monthly income of women being lower than that of men. This gendered income gap is the widest in Pithoragarh and the least among the construction workers of Hyderabad. Also, rural income represented by Solapur and Pithoragarh is lower than the urban income of Hyderabad and Thane.

The least income as well as the highest gender gap is seen for Pithoragarh women who reported earning a shocking low of Rs. 900 per month, that is, 30 percent of male income. One possible reason could be their dependence on common property resources, the implication being that several of their household maintenance and consumption needs are met outside the realm of exchange-value, and hence neither recognised nor recognisable, neither quantified nor quantifiable. Economic deprivation in the marginalized communities can be observed in both the rural and urban settings, being more evident in the former. Not surprisingly, Pithoragarh has the highest proportion of households at 36.6 percent with an income lower than Rs. 25,000/- per annum, followed by Solapur at almost two-fifths. On the other hand, Thane reported

not even 4 percent, and Hyderabad none at all. Another dimension to economic deprivation is the prevailing inequality in the distribution of income. Almost 93 percent of Solapur households had an annual income up to Rs. 1,00,000/-, compared to about 78 percent in Pithoragarh. Huge differences are seen in the urban areas too; Hyderabad had only 37 percent of households with income of up to Rs.1,00,000/-, Thane being much higher at over 84 percent. Hyderabad also records the maximum share of households in the Rs. 1 to 2 lakhs per annum bracket at 60.3 percent. Although, Pithoragarh had the highest percentage of its households with income levels less than Rs. 25,000/- per annum, it also had a substantial 13 percent with income greater than Rs. 2,00,000/- per annum – a plausible reason could be a larger number of males being employed both formally and informally in the army and border forces.

The ownership and size of land holdings is relevant only for Solapur and Pithoragarh. Appendix Table V.C.3 indicates that land ownership is pre-dominantly male in both regions. Further, almost half of the holdings are in the marginal and small farmer category.

*The Talathi of Dongargaon village in Solapur was quite open in her criticism of the patriarchal mind-set which does not permit women to own land. Also, the local authorities have apparently only recently started issuing ration cards with woman as a family head. In an FGD held in Sonand village in Solapur, several single women complained that even of the few of them who had land rights owned a maximum of an acre; also, the land is uncultivable and lies barren; land owners are thus compelled to eke sustenance as agricultural labourers.*

The ownership of dwellings is pre-dominantly male in Solapur, Hyderabad and Thane. Pithoragarh again emerges as different as it has substantial female ownership which has been facilitated through access to the housing scheme of Indira Awas Yojana; this however does not mean that they 'own' the house, but merely that it has been issued in their name. Pithoragarh also has the highest number of people living as tenants and even tenancy is female dominated. The main complaints are against the feudal mind-sets and local socio-political structures which impede the implementation of the Indira Awas Yojana.

*The majority of the 40-odd participants in an FGD in Sonand village in Solapur implored us to help them get ownership rights over their house: as they put it so poignantly, "we just want to see our names on the doors of our homes".*

Decent housing and homelessness emerges as a major issue for female-headed households and especially so for single women. The rural-urban divide is stark in relation to type of dwelling; 73 percent in Solapur and 43 percent in Pithoragarh live in pucca houses, while three-fourths in Thane and all but one single household in Hyderabad are condemned to reside in kutcha houses (see Appendix Table V.C.4). The implication is clear: that the character of cities today is overtly anti-poor, and that the current process of urbanisation negatively impacts the housing status of those who are marginalised and vulnerable.

*40 year old Laxmibai Vijay Thokle is a landless agricultural labourer of Sonand, and lives with her three children in an utterly dilapidated room in the corner of a house that is virtually collapsing; she has applied several times for a house under the scheme, but her appeal is always rejected on several grounds, including the fact that she has two sons, even though they are minors.*

*Reshma and her two minor children moved to her widowed mother's house after being deserted; both are landless labourers and have to subsist on whatever this irregular work fetches them in an area that is perpetually drought prone. The house they live in is in a shockingly decaying state, so much so that they have pleaded with community members to permit them to stay in Dongargaon's Samaj Mandir (community centre).*

Most households in each of the regions are dependent on multiple sources of water and energy, even though a single source may be 'major' (Table 5.3). 44 percent of households in Solapur depended largely on taps in the dwelling yard, followed by common well (27.9 percent) and hand pump (13.7 percent). Pithoragarh again emerges as different, with 92.4 percent depending on flowing water from streams and rivers; the benefits of having unlimited and fully accessible water – even maybe though not located close by – is a boon for the women in the region, added to the fact that it is, as of now at least, quite clean and unpolluted. Closeness to a water source is obviously a major issue; 42.5 percent used public taps located closer to their homes, and one-third accessed tap in dwelling yard.

*In Thane the water authorities of Ward 37 informed us that water is released twice a day; women in our FGD did not deny this but questioned the timings – at 2 am in the middle of the night. This results not only in sleeplessness but also raises issues of gender safety.*

*The non-accessibility of water in Karmika Nagar poses a serious problem and a major dilemma for 55-year-old Venkatamma. The choice before her, as before many other women, is either to collect the water herself*

*and thus not enter the labour market, or to go to work and earn but only by denying education to her granddaughter who has to replace her as the water provider.*

The trade-off between paid and unpaid work is thus clear, as is the rather direct interconnect between macroeconomic policies, the withdrawal of the State from the public sphere, and the gendered continuum, combined with the issue of the well-being of the girl-child and the worker of tomorrow. Proximity to source of water, accessibility, full-time availability and its purity are critical factors that determine the extent and amount of burden that women have to additionally bear as part of their unpaid work, given that water collection is historically perceived as ‘woman’s work’.

**Table 5.3**  
**Major Sources of Water (Percent of Households)**

	LAPUR	THORAGARH	HYDERABAD	THANE
Tap Inside Dwelling	6.0	16.8	0.5	22.4
Tap in Dwelling Yard	44.0	33.3	0.3	56.1
Public Tap	9.7	42.5	98.9	21.2
Common Well	27.9	2.3	0.27	0.5
Hand Pump	13.7	8.4	21.2	2.3
Flowing Water/Stream/River	1.2	92.4	NAP	NAP
Purchase from Shops/Vendor	0	0.25	4.3	0.25
Water Carrier/Tanker	2.2	0.25	0.5	0
Others	14.7	0	0	0.8
Percentages may add up to more than 100 percent as a result of dependence on more than one of water				

The public tap was the foremost source of water in Hyderabad for 99 percent of the households, followed by the use of hand pump at a little above one-fifth. Tap in the dwelling yard was the major source of water (56.1 percent) in Thane, tap inside the dwelling and public tap being almost equal at a little above one-fifth. It is pertinent to note that access to water through a tap inside the dwelling was the highest in Thane at 22.4

percent, followed by Pithoragarh at 16.8 percent, and the least in Hyderabad at a mere half percent. Interestingly, the 'Others' category which accounts for almost 15 percent of Solapur includes the 'borrowing' of water from neighbours.

These results relating to water source must be viewed in the context of the level of infrastructural development priorities and allocations, or the lack of them, to fulfil the needs of urban marginalised sections. Little investment in the water needs of the slum dwellers has taken place; most of what is available has been 'informally' created by the residents themselves. In Thane, small plastic pipe connections have been made on the main water pipes, and the water so accessed then diverted to common spaces and sometimes also houses. This form of infrastructural development appears to be in keeping with the on-going massive decrease in public investment in formal structures at varying levels across both time and space: we term this as 'infrastructural informality'.

Mudfort hutment in Hyderabad is an interesting case, reflecting as it does typical urban contradictions. Built on defense land and therefore categorised as irregular and illegal, few of the middle and upper-class residents including officers residing in nearby apartment blocks are interested in its demolition or eviction, primarily because this slum fulfils their requirement of domestic workers. There are no minimum basic facilities like provision of drinking water, electricity line connections, sanitation, toilets, etc. Huts are made of asbestos and cardboard sheets, which sometimes have tin roofs. Toilets have been created by putting up bamboos and hanging old saris and dhotis as walls.

*Chittemma's house is probably the worst in the entire basti; a widow at 20 with a toddler to support, she barely ekes out a living as a construction worker, and has no money whatsoever to replace her plastic sheet walls and roof with asbestos or aluminum. "Permanently unsafe" is how she describes her status.*

What is really shocking is that these houses have no windows. As electricity is not legally provided, the residents have cut connections from existing street light cables, and put up one single light in the house. Minimal voltage bulbs are used and all walls sealed so that no light filters out of the house, not even a glimmer; being caught 'stealing' would imply eviction and demolition of these tiny holes that are euphemistically called 'houses'. The impact of these windowless homes is the worst for women and

children: children who cannot study and women who cough incessantly having to cook in smoke-choked hovels.

*We interviewed some members of the Secunderabad Cantonment Board as well as corporators of the ward; the answers were predictable and condescending: “we will give these poor people water and electricity connections after we are elected again”; “this is defense land and they are encroachers: so what if they have lived here for over two decades, and so what if more than half of them have ration cards?”.*

Information related to energy has been collected for the several different purposes: for lighting, for cooking, and for heating during winters in Solapur and especially Pithoragarh during the freezing climes of winter when snow covers the entire region (Table 5.4). Only about half of all households in each region have access to electricity, indeed a sorry state of affairs. Even in Thane where over 84 percent use electricity for lighting, the supply is so erratic that more than two-thirds have to depend on candles, similar to the other urban region of Hyderabad. Yet another illustration of the overt impact of macroeconomic policies on the labour and livelihood of women.

*Motibai Bhim Chavan is a single woman working in the construction sector in Thane; with no financial support from her married children, she used to supplement her income by stitching. Irregular electricity has compelled her to give up this source of livelihood: Motibai says, “I cannot take orders for stitching petticoats and blouses anymore. My old eyes do not cooperate with the dim light of candles and kerosene lamps”.*

Irregular electricity is also a problem in rural areas. A shocking 90 percent of Solapur homes are forced to resort to candles. In Pithoragarh, two-fifths of households use candles and 63 percent coal. Wood and residue are also used in Pithoragarh at almost one-fourth, with Hyderabad surprisingly reporting this source even though at a low of 5 percent.

**Table 5.4**  
**Major Source of Energy (Percent of Households)**

	DLAPUR	ITHORAGARH	HYDERABAD	THANE
<b>Fuel – Lighting &amp; Heating</b>				
Electricity	52.0	56.0	56.8	84.2
Coal	0	62.6	0.5	0
Kerosene	1.9	8.8	28.7	0
Wood / Residue	0	23.9	4.56	0
Wood / Residue (Heating)	0	75.6	1.34	0
Candles	89.6	39.7	64.08	67.3
Solar (Lighting)	0	26.6	11.26	0
<b>Fuel – Cooking</b>				
Cylinder Gas	35.3	68.6	12.3	27.8
Coal	0	20.1	1.9	12
Kerosene	26.4	13.3	3.2	61.0
Animal Dung	1.5	4.3	1.34	0
Wood / Residue	80.1	75.9	94.37	50.5
Solar	0	0	0.54	0
(i) Percentages may add up to more than 100 percent as a result of dependence on more than one source of energy. (ii) Percentages may not add up to 100 percent at times given the lack of response from respondents.				

Households use more than one source of fuel for cooking such as cylinder gas, coal, kerosene, and wood and residue. Not surprisingly, use of cylinder gas is the lowest in Hyderabad at barely 12.3 percent, the overwhelming majority of over 94 percent using wood and residue from plastic and other waste. Thane, on the other hand, depends largely on kerosene (61 percent of households) followed by wood and residue (50.5 percent), cylinder gas (27.8 percent) and coal (12 percent). Pithoragarh has the highest access to cooking gas at 68.6 percent. In addition are used wood and residue by more than three-fourth of the households, followed by coal at 20.1 percent and kerosene at 13.3 percent. The pattern is quite similar in Solapur – cylinder gas (35.3 percent) and wood and residue at four-fifth and a rather high dependence on kerosene at 26.4 percent.



In Pithoragarh LPG is generally used either during an emergency or when less cooking has to be done, e.g. preparing tea or cooking for 2 people. Several reasons have been put forward during FGDs – the cost is high; the cylinders are too heavy to carry up hills; that there is no certainty of refill; that digitalisation is difficult for them to understand; that they get messages regarding refilling on their cell phones but that they cannot read them due to illiteracy.

*Surmati from Kimkhola says “the price of kerosene has been increasing. Earlier we used to get 5 liters per family per month, now its 1 liter and that too not regularly. It was easy to kindle the wood but now as kerosene is expensive villagers use pine tree inner bark called chilka/shula. The wood burns easily but emits a lot of smoke and also turns the cooking vessel black. If the chilka is not readily available, then polythene paper and wrappers are kept to light wood.” Polythene catches fire easily but emits toxic gas; its impact on health is deep and long-lasting.*

Women during FGDs held in several places complained that with the withdrawal of subsidies on kerosene, its price has been rising continuously from Rs. 18 to 25 per litre, and thus they are forced to use polythene. An important issue raised was that single women are often unable to collect kerosene from the PDS centre because the timing of their work and the shop timing clashes, and because as single women they generally have no family support there is no option but to use firewood to light the choolah. Additionally, collection of firewood, apart from entailing long walks on difficult terrains, makes women susceptible to violence. This is so particularly for single women who have to earn a living and hence are compelled to gather fuel in the early mornings or late nights. Also, that kerosene has become inaccessible and unaffordable due to change in rules and the removal of subsidies.

Several care and health amenities of concern to the households such as anganwadi, crèche, primary and secondary schools, primary health centres and government/municipal dispensaries along with sanitation facilities have been considered in terms of their availability, accessibility and utilization in Table 5.5; the former meaning availability of the facility to the respondents, whereas applicability is indicative of the extent to which the facility is being used by the respondent.

Knowledge among households about the availability of anganwadis was over 90 percent in Solapur and Pithoragarh, marginally less in Hyderabad (85.1 percent) and a surprising low of 68 percent in Thane. With such high awareness, it therefore appears contradictory that the applicability of this facility is quite low, with only about a fifth using it.

The apparent contradiction between availability and applicability of anganwadis within the sample households is resolved if the data of Table 5.5 are correlated with that of the number of households with 0-6 age population (Table V.C.1 of Appendix). On an average about 20 percent of households reported using anganwadis; this needs to be seen in the context of the fact that again on an average less than 30 percent of households have children below the age of 6 yrs. In this sense therefore, the usage of anganwadis is fairly high in the four field sites, the difference being barely 5 percentage points in all regions except Pithoragarh. In Pithoragarh, although 36.4 percent of households reported having 0-6 children, only 20.6 percent reported usage. It also needs to be mentioned here that the urban areas reported lower levels of availability with Thane at a low of 68.1 percent. On the other hand, crèches are virtually non-existent in terms of availability and applicability.

The reasons for the non-optimal utilisation of anganwadis and creches are several.

One, non-access is due to non-availability.

Two, migrants are generally, whether deliberately or unconsciously, kept out of amenities and benefits.

Three, single parent households especially those that are female headed do not have family members to take the children to the centres and sometimes even to school. As single mother Rama put it, "our children grow up unsupervised".

Four, the problem of lack of proximity; the ICDS in Hyderabad and Thane are located at quite a distance from the slums. Crèches do not exist anywhere, except for a single one in Thane, and that too located at some distance and reachable only by crossing roads with heavy traffic.

Five, the centres are open only between 10 am to 3 pm, while the work hours of the parents are 8 am to 6 pm, not counting the travel time.

*Mudavath Khali, a single woman from Mudfort, is not able to avail of either the anganwadi or the crèche facility for her two sons, primarily because her work and travel hours at the construction sites extend late into the evening.*

As a result of inaccessibility and non-availability of crèches, women have evolved structures of what are often termed as 'social capital' but are in fact a tactic of the strategy of survival in the face of a State that does not care about care work.

*Shantibai Rathod is a young widow with a 3-year old daughter living in Thane. She has no access to a crèche and does not want to take her child to work due to issues of safety. She feels it is better to leave her in the slum where elderly people and homemakers can keep an eye on her.*

Pithoragarh has the highest awareness and also utilisation levels of health facilities like primary health centres and government dispensary at 94.5 percent and 87.9 percent respectively. Thane represents the other end of the spectrum, the lowest level of availability at just a little above half with barely 26.5 percent of the households able to access them. It would be interesting to examine the gap between availability and applicability or use for such an essential service as it indicates both the accessibility and dependence on public health care. The two rural areas show diametrically opposite results: the gap is the least in Pithoragarh at 6.6 percent and the highest in Solapur at 37.8 percent. The two urban areas of Hyderabad and Thane average around 35 percent. The gap clearly indicates the sizable dependence on the public health care system in Pithoragarh, while in Solapur, Hyderabad and Thane there is a substantial reliance on private health care.

In the two Solapur villages, the health centres are managed by untrained staff that does not have the expertise to even give injections. There is thus no treatment possible for pregnant women or children requiring vaccinations. In Hyderabad, the respondents have not been given *Aarogyasri* cards as most are migrants. Also, ASHA workers are not appointed and hence the children are not immunized. Among the more important reasons for reduction in dependence on public health care pointed out in the FGDs conducted in all the areas are distance, rise in user fees, shortage of staff, inconvenient timings, outdated equipment, rude attitude to migrants. The first and immediate impact is on the health status of girls and women, priority being given to the males in the household, whether adults or boys. The existence of this gap between availability and accessibility is thus additionally widened by issues of affordability, and highlights clearly the urgent need to improve public health care facilities from the view of public policy.



**Table 5.5**  
**Care & Health Amenities: Availability & Applicability**

	SOLAPUR	PITHORAGARH	HYDERABAD	HANE
<b>Anganwadi</b>				
Available	91.54	95.5	85.25	68.1
Applicable	19.40	20.6	20.91	20.9
<b>Crèche</b>				
Available	17.16	0.8	0.54	3.6
Applicable	0.25	0.0	0.27	0.5
<b>Primary School</b>				
Available	93.28	96.0	92.76	69.1
Applicable	28.86	28.1	45.04	39.3
<b>Secondary School</b>				
Available	91.29	91.5	88.20	57.1
Applicable	29.60	31.4	38.07	25.0
<b>Health Centre/ PHC</b>				
Available	76.62	94.5	72.12	51.5
Applicable	38.81	87.9	45.58	26.5
<b>Private Bath</b>				
Available	56.72	42.2	4.56	69.1
Applicable	53.23	34.2	3.75	67.9
<b>Private Toilet</b>				
Available	31.1	55.5	2.9	24.5
Applicable	21.4	45.0	1.9	24.0
<b>Public Toilet</b>				
Available	2.5	2.5	31.9	71.9
Applicable	1.0	2.0	24.9	69.9
<b>Open Defecation</b>	66.42	41.95	65.15	3.57

Another important dimension from a gendered public policy perspective concerns sanitation and its intricate relation with open defecation. Intriguingly, the findings reveal that open defecation and the existence of

toilets both private and public can exist simultaneously. The availability and use of public toilets is rather inconsequential in the rural areas of Solapur and Pithoragarh. Households in Pithoragarh are divided equally between use of private toilets and open defecation. In Solapur while about 30 percent of households reported availability of private toilets, usage was much lower at 21 percent primarily due to lack of water: consequently, two-thirds of households are condemned to open defecation.

Two-thirds of the households in Hyderabad defecate in the open. Even this open space is under threat now, as the defense personnel have fenced off the ground that was used. Almost all the residents complained of the shame they felt at open defecation: timings have now been fixed, gender differentiated of course. Men go during daylight hours and women only in the darkness.

*Rathamma, a single woman, complained bitterly of the sexual harassment she and other women face during open defecation from men even within their own slums.*

Thane, reporting the least open defecation at not even 4 percent, is an interesting instance of how the private sector fills the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the State from providing decent living to its citizens. Ward officials informed us that they had applied for funds under Swachh Bharat Abhiyan and the Municipal Corporation constructed common toilets; the residents however complained that their local Corporator made them fill forms under the Abhiyan, but that nothing has come of it. Meanwhile, several enterprising individuals with both money and clout have constructed toilets in the common spaces for which they charge user fees: thus a new category has emerged – privately owned public toilets. The monthly usage charges range between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250, with an extra Rs. 10 for second usage. Gendered differentiation of course is maintained, women being charged more than men on the pretext of them having to use more water, or stating that women tend to sneakily wash clothes inside toilets.

Availability and applicability of private baths was the least in Hyderabad which is not surprising given that 98.7 percent of the households have *kutch*a houses. It was the highest in Thane where households used the private '*mori*' which is the norm among the slums in the region. More than half the households in Solapur had reported having a private bath, which is in reality also a *mori*: a *mori* is a small corner of the room which is walled up to a height of about 2 feet so as to provide privacy for bathing, and which is also used for

washing vessels and clothes. Pithoragarh is a different issue, the streams and rivers with tree cover permitting open bathing for both women and men.

#### **5.4: Gendered Time Spent Pattern**

This section examines the details of the time disbursement and distribution pattern of females and males in all households, inclusive of female headed households, from the lens of unpaid work in the focus areas of energy, water and care in the four regions where primary field survey was conducted. All activity carried out by women and men have been classified into the following categories all of which incorporate travel time (for specifics of activities see Appendix V A: Household Questionnaire)

##### 5.4.1 Economic Activity

5.4.2 Associated Economic Activity, namely, the time disbursed on Household Processing & Repair

##### 5.4.3 Energy

##### 5.4.4 Water

##### 5.4.5 Care of Children, Ill, Elderly & Challenged

##### 5.4.6 Household Management & Maintenance

##### 5.4.7 Public Provisioning and including Care

##### 5.4.8 Personal Care

##### 5.4.9 Government Schemes: Awareness & Beneficiaries

##### 5.4.10 Redistribution of Free Time.

#### **5.4.1 Economic Activity**

##### ***(a) Cultivation***

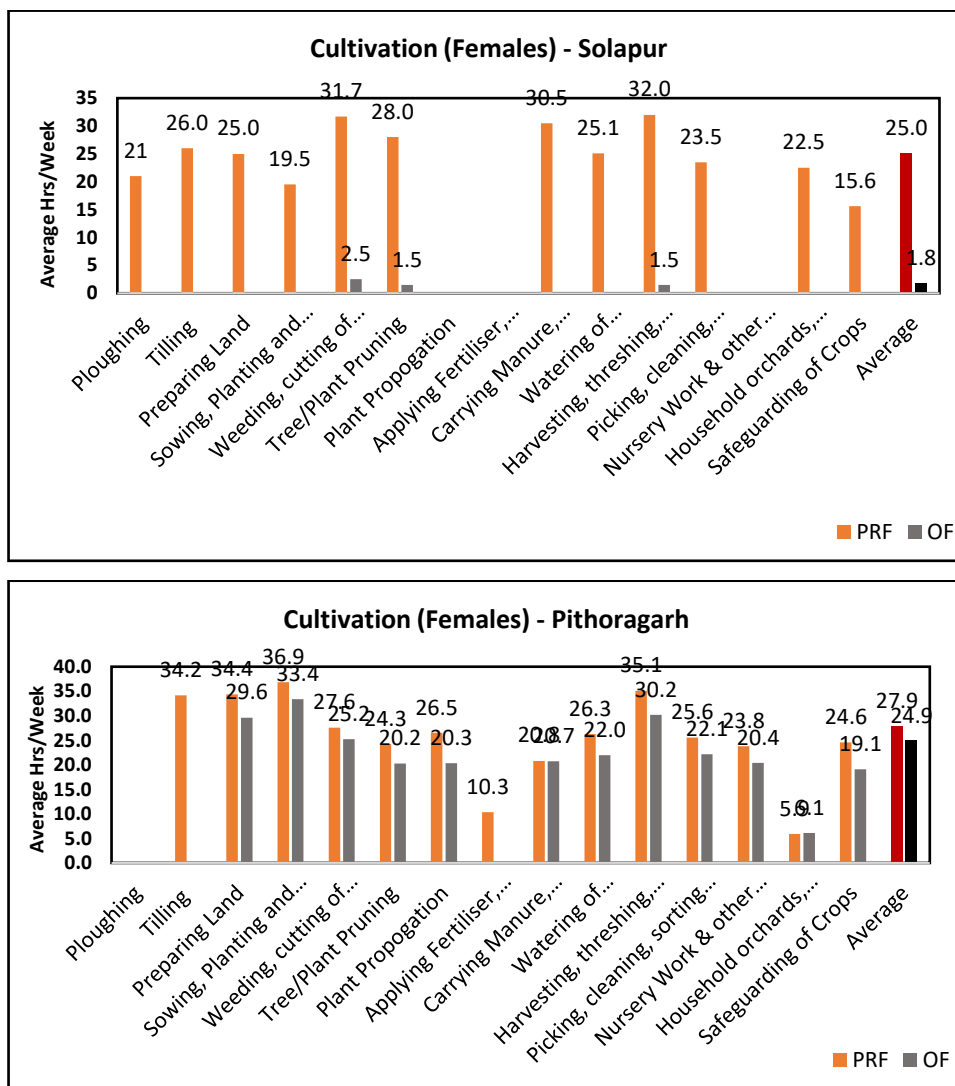
Exhibits 5.1 and 5.2 and Appendix Tables V.D.1 and V.D.2 show the time expended by all women in the household (PRF and OF) and all men in the household (SRM and OM) on various activities associated with cultivation.

Women in Pithoragarh are engaged in a slightly wider range of activities than those in Solapur, despite a similarity in the average time expended per week on cultivation – 25 hours/week in Solapur and 27.9 hours/week in Pithoragarh. The involvement of the OF is much higher in Pithoragarh than in Solapur; 24.9

hours/week in the former, 1.8 hours/week in the latter. Further, the participation of OF in several activities under cultivation in Solapur is miniscule and less than 5 percent of the sample.

Regional variations in the gender-based division of labour are rather interesting: ploughing in Pithoragarh is done only by men, whereas in Solapur 48 women undertake ploughing for about 21 hours a week; the hours however range between a minimum of 10 hours to a maximum of 35 hours, implying that women who do the ploughing often spend at least 5 hours per day on this activity in an average week. On the other hand, only in Pithoragarh do women undertake fertiliser application, plant propagation and nursery work, and that too in substantial numbers.

**Exhibit 5.1**





Prominent activities in cultivation which witness a large participation of women both in terms of hours per week as well as in terms of numbers are weeding and cutting of undergrowth (women spend between a minimum of 7 hours/week and maximum of 70 hours/week in Solapur and between 7 and 56 hours/week in Pithoragarh), carrying manure, cow dung etc. to the fields (7 to 49 hours/week in Solapur and 3.5 to 63 hours/week in Pithoragarh), and harvesting, threshing, winnowing and stalk clearing (7 to 56 hours/week in Solapur, ranging between 7 to 63 hours/week in Pithoragarh).

Although the average time spent per week by males in cultivation is marginally higher than females in both Solapur and Pithoragarh, the difference lies in the nature of activity they are engaged in and consequently therefore the time expended on various activities. For instance, males spend an almost equal amount of time in ploughing in both Solapur and Pithoragarh, averaging 29 to 30 hours per week, while women in Solapur average much less at 21 hours/week. As another illustration, tilling in Pithoragarh is solely a female activity.

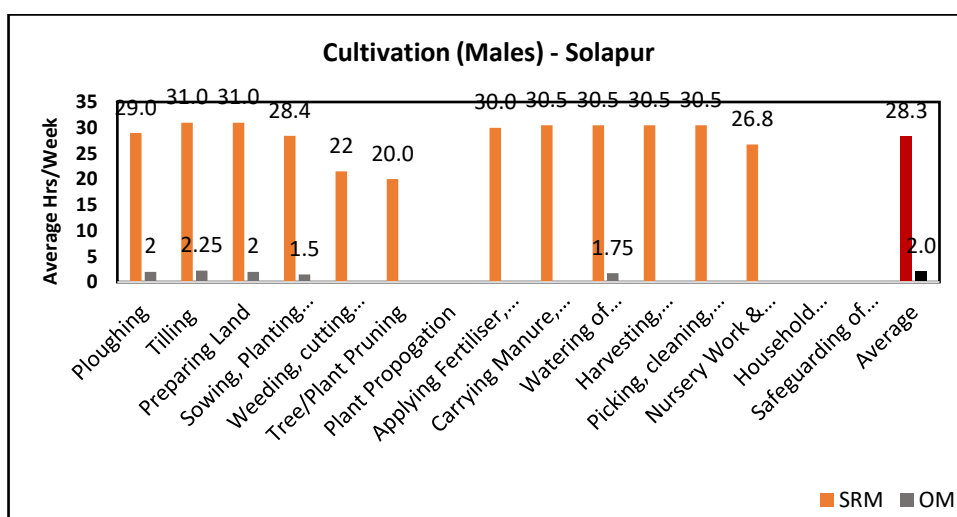
Preparing land is done by both men and women in both regions. However, it is only in Pithoragarh that the OF also actively participates averaging 29 hours/week. Other cultivation activities done exclusively by women in both areas are Household Orchards and Kitchen Gardening. While safeguarding of crops from wild boars appears to be purely a female activity in Solapur, PRF and OF in Pithoragarh put in almost double the time taken by SRM. OM seems to be missing in the majority of activities in both regions except during Pre-Cultivation and Harvesting.

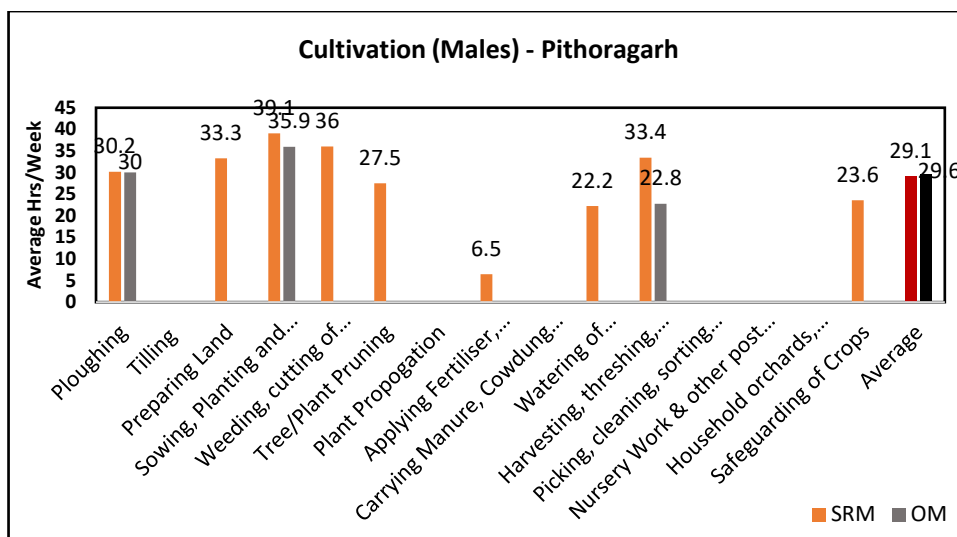
The larger number of OF helping out the PRF can be explained by a rather unique form of work culture that exists in most of the villages in the hilly region of Pithoragarh. *Alta-Palta*, meaning literally give and take, is a form of collective sharing and exchange of work exclusively carried out by women, and appears to both empower them as well as subvert their exploitation in the open labour market. The sharing of work and exchange of labour-power is carried out by one woman from each family who goes to the other family's field to help. The plan is made jointly and the rotation of work is carried out, applicable to cultivation, firewood collection as well as grazing and fodder gathering.

Women who practice *alta-palta* told us that the tedious and back-breaking work of continuously sowing and transplanting paddy for hours at a stretch while standing in knee deep water is made somewhat more bearable under this arrangement. They gather at the home of the pre-specified family of the day early in the morning, and then set off for work. The food consisting of millet bread, vegetables and buttermilk is prepared for the entire group by the women of the host household. The group returns several hours later, “our work completed faster, more easily, and with at least some enjoyment”. For those who cannot join the group on any particular day due to family and health constraints, the group collects enough firewood and fodder to help out, having full confidence that there will be an equivalent return.

This practice appears to be devoid of caste and class divisions in a broader context, exchange of labour-power being carried out across communities and size group of holdings. The ‘only’ differentiation that exists is that while the upper castes also go to work in the fields of Dalits and other lower castes, they bring their own food. Landless women too participate in *alta-palta*, and are given the prevailing market wage as they do not own any land for the landed women to return the labour that has been put in. Songs are sung, news exchanged, counselling conducted, support given, and, as they explained, “our ties remain strong both to our land and between us women.”

Exhibit 5.2





The prevalence of marginal holdings as well as the dominance of landlessness results in subsistence being sought in the open labour market. In Dongargaon in Solapur, farm labour is the major source of livelihood for especially women. They are involved in multiple tasks including planting, transplanting, weeding, cutting of undergrowth/ shrub tree, plant pruning, applying fertilizer and manure, applying pesticides both organic and inorganic, watering of plants, harvesting, threshing, winnowing threshing, stalk clearing, preparing of crops, fruits, vegetables etc. However, livelihood within the village is available only for two to three months twice in the year. The mode of employment is peer to peer reach out.

### **(b) Animal Husbandry**

Animal husbandry is the other major economic activity that concerns both women and men. It is predominant in Solapur as more than a third of the respondents belong to the nomadic '*dhangar*' community which is traditionally associated with goat and sheep rearing. Exhibits 5.3 and 5.4 along with Appendix Tables V.D.3 and V.D.4 show the time expended on this activity in Solapur and Pithoragarh respectively.

Livestock Husbandry is a heavily feminized activity. In both regions, in all the six activities that constitute Animal Husbandry, including Grazing, Feeding, Shelter cleaning, Collecting, Storing, Safeguarding, etc., the range of time that the PRF spends consistently exceeds that of the SRM. This is so especially in Pithoragarh

where the PRF and OF put in an average of more than 16 hours/week compared to the 12 of SRM; also to be noted is that just 61 SRM's reported involvement in livestock compared to 379 women. Interestingly, both regions record either minimal or an almost non-existent contribution of other males. Women (PRF and OF) spend marginally longer hours/week as compared to males in Solapur, whereas in Pithoragarh females spend substantially longer hours/week as compared to the males.

Among the various sub-activities associated with animal husbandry, most time spent is on grazing of animals and livestock: PRF at 18.8 hours/week in Solapur ranging between a minimum of 1 to 49 hours per week; PRF in Pithoragarh expend an average of 11.6 hours per week, their range varying between 2.1 hours/week to 35 hours/week. The other major sub-activities are washing and watering of animals (women in Solapur spend an average of 13.5 hours/week with the range extending between 2 to 35 hours/week while in Pithoragarh it averages to nearly 10 hours and 45 minutes/week and fluctuates between 1 hour and 45 minute to 42 hours/week); the cleaning and maintenance of sheds (averages 16.25 hours/week in Solapur and spans between 4 to 35 hours/week, and in Pithoragarh it averages about 7.12 hours/week and extends between 2.1 and 35 hours/week). Safeguarding of animals also sees a substantial involvement of women both in terms of numbers and hours: in Solapur, the 235 PRFs devote 19.75 hours/week safeguarding animals from jackals and wolves from a minimum of 2 and maximum of 42 hours/week, while the 317 PRFs in Pithoragarh spend a lower average of 12.4 hours/week reporting a huge variation in the time spent from 2.1 to 75 hours/week.

### **Exhibit 5.3**

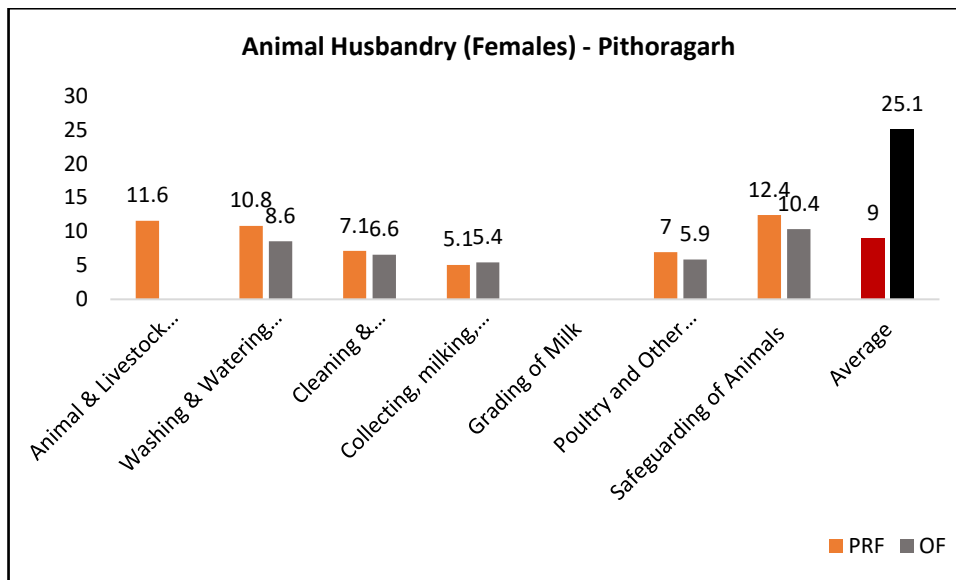
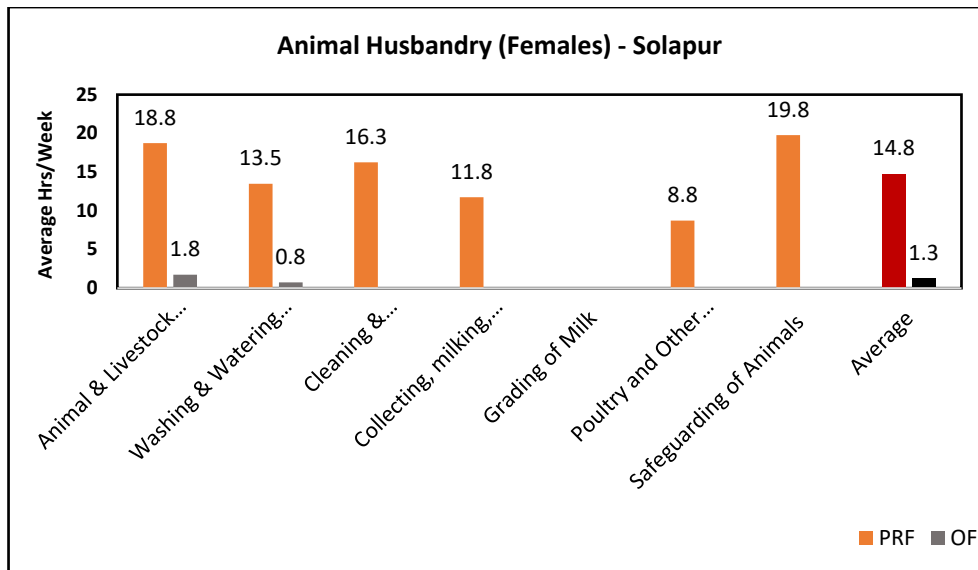
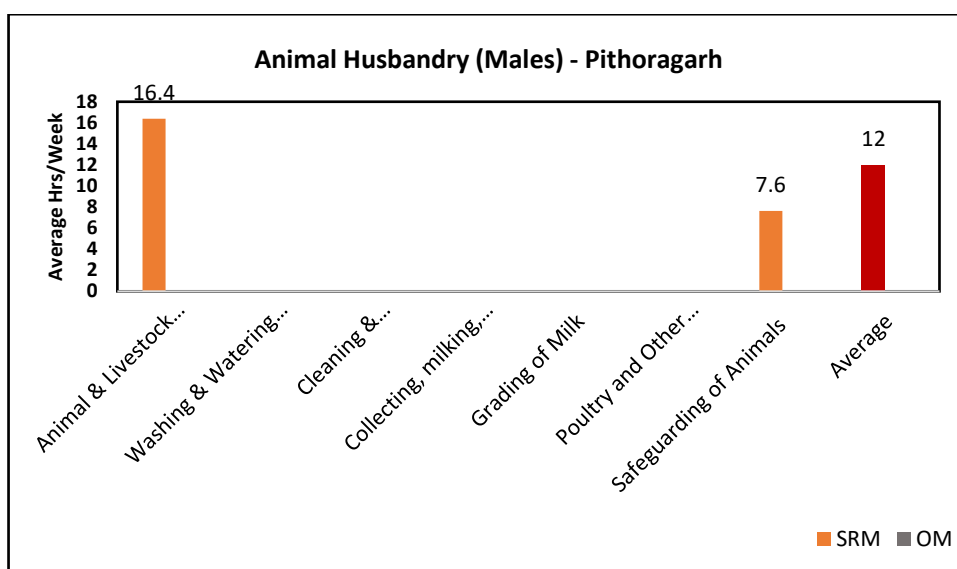
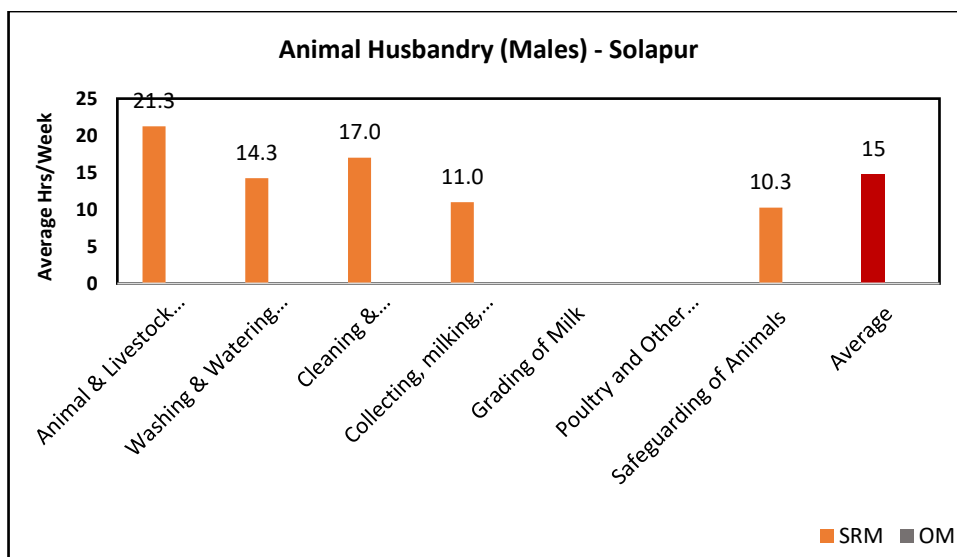


Exhibit 5.4 presents the association of males, minimal as it is, with animal husbandry. Solapur men, similar to women, are involved in a wide range of sub-activities while in Pithoragarh males are involved with only two major activities, namely, grazing and safeguarding of animals. The SRM in Solapur spends 21.3 hours/week (ranging between 7 to 42 hours/week) as against 16.4 hours/week (spanning between 2.1 to 42 hours/week) in Pithoragarh. In poultry too women dominate in both Solapur and Pithoragarh in terms of numbers as well as time, strengthening the assertion that livestock in all forms and activities is essentially a female centric activity.

**Exhibit 5.4**

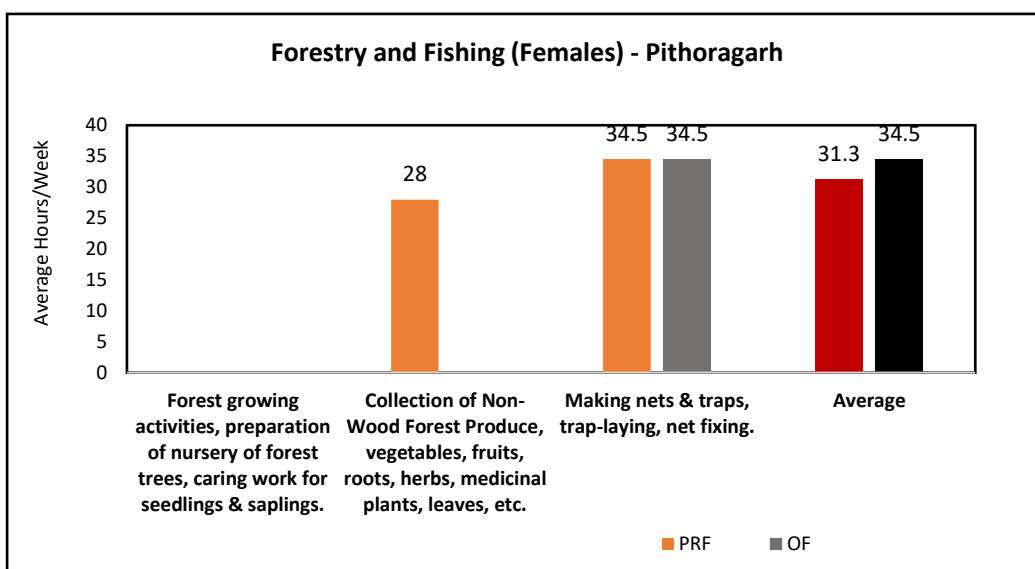


**(c) Forest and Fishing**

This activity is undertaken only in Pithoragarh given its hilly location; however, neither fishing nor forestry appear to be a prime economic activity as less than 60 respondents both men and women are involved. Within forestry and fishing, PRF are engaged with only two activities viz. the collection of non-wood forest produce and making of net and traps; the time spent on each of these activities is approximately 28 hours/week and 35 hours/week ranging from 3.5 to 42 hours/ week and 14 to 56 hours respectively. The participation by the men, mainly the SRM, is solely in the making of nets and traps where they spend about 26.5 hours/week ranging from 7 to 63 hours/week. The involvement of the OF and OM is almost non-existent (Exhibit 5.5 and Appendix Table V.D.5).

The low level of involvement in both forestry and fishing appears rather contradictory in the context of the fact that the field villages in Pithoragarh are located amidst forests. As FGDs and discussions revealed, there are several reasons for this apparent non-involvement. One, the extremely problematic issue of roads that have begun entering higher parts of the hills; as some said “roads are both our enemies and our friends”. Two, the technology being used for construction. It is indeed rather surprising that blasting is still the major method utilised in an area which is known to be prone to landslides. Three, the fear of forest and other officials, as well as the rumours abounding that all those who practice their age-old forest rights now stand to lose them due to on-going amendments in forest laws.

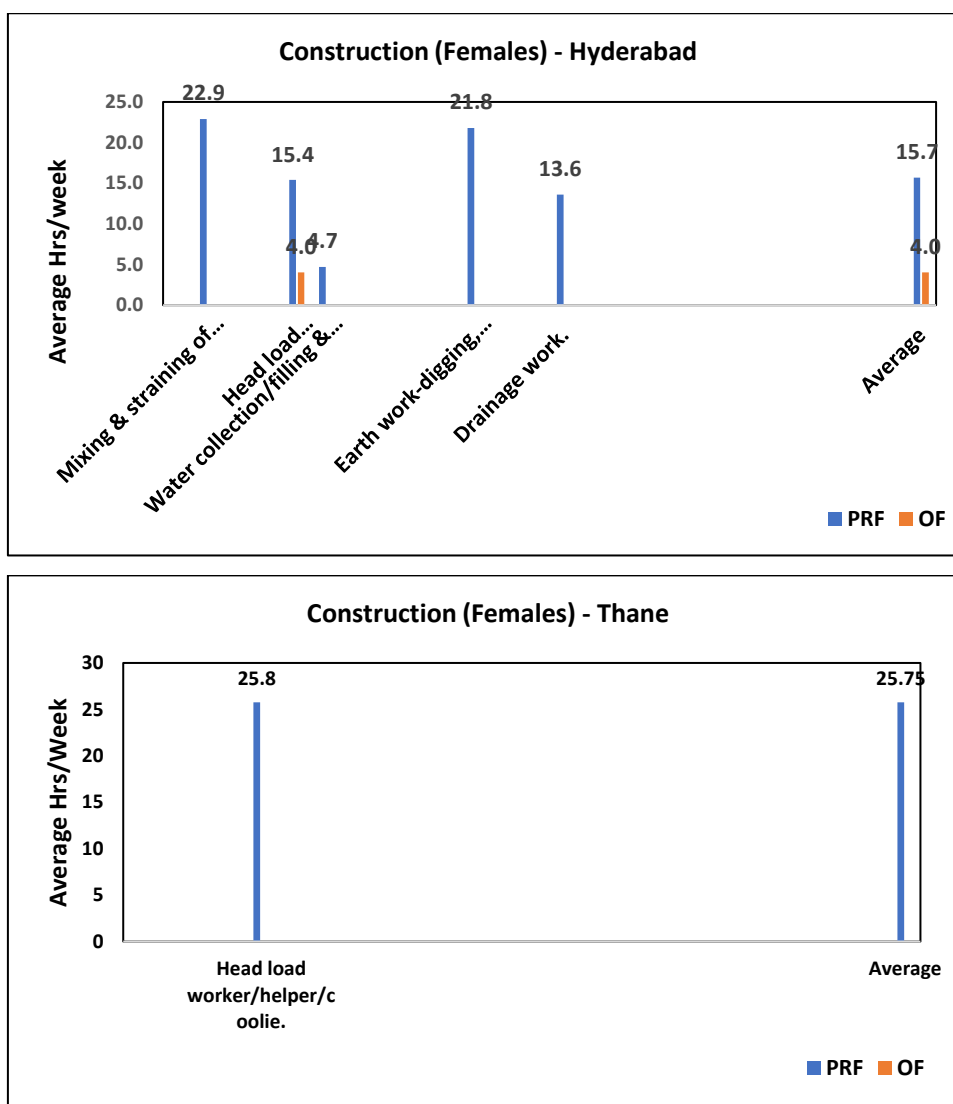
**Exhibit 5.5**



**(d) Construction**

Although Construction encompasses a wide spectrum of sub-activities, the analysis reveals that both men and women in both Hyderabad and Thane are employed in only a few (see Exhibits 5.6 & 5.7 and Appendix Tables V.D.6 & V.D.7).

Exhibit 5.6



Women construction workers in Hyderabad are associated with a wider set of sub-activities than their counterparts in Thane. In the latter, women workers are employed only for one activity, as head loaders, helpers and coolies; yet they spend substantially higher time on construction activity than their counterparts in Hyderabad: an average 25.8 hours/week as against 15.8 hours/week. However, women construction workers in Hyderabad are not constrained to work only as helpers: they spend between 5 to 63 hours/week mixing and straining of mud; 4 to 45 hours/week as head loaders; 1.5 hours to 32 hours/week on earth digging. Water collection and watering of walls, floor etc. appears to be solely women’s work, taking up 1 to 16 hours/week. Interestingly, in both the regions there is a no involvement of other women members of the household in construction activity.



The pattern of male involvement in activities under construction is similar to the female workers in both regions. The SRM on an average works for 18.9 hours/week which is slightly higher than that of the female worker. Exhibit 5.7 graphs the time distribution of the male construction worker on economic activity in Hyderabad and Thane. It would be important to note that OM workers engaged in construction exist only in Hyderabad, the time expended by them being much higher than SRM. Like women construction workers, male workers in Thane are pre-dominantly engaged as head load worker/helper/coolie. The average is 32 hours/week ranging from 4 to 70 hours/week, which is almost 1.6 times higher than the average hours put in by the counterparts in Hyderabad which is 12.8 ranging from 2 to 30 hours/week.

Though both genders do head loading, the number of women is much higher in both areas; women in Hyderabad spend 15.4 hours compared to 12.8 hours of their male counterparts. Also, both their minimum and maximum ranges of hours per week are higher, 4 to 45 for women and 2 to 40 for men. The same pattern follows in Thane with more female head loaders reporting the upper range i.e. difference of 7 hours. It is necessary to note that the hours/week indicated for the Hyderabad workers are possibly somewhat understated given that a substantial number of responses in Hyderabad were qualitative.

Most women in Hyderabad do only mauling, that is, mixing cement, sand and concrete, and carrying of head loads of bricks. They, and a substantial number of men too, help the masons; all are treated and considered as unskilled. Yet gender-based wage differentials are quite high: women receive a maximum of Rs 300 for a 10-hour day, and men about Rs 500 in Hyderabad, and surprisingly much less at Rs.150 for women and Rs. 250 to 300 for men in Thane.

The 'dying dynamics' of the construction sector need to be linked to the larger context as well as the irony of its decline given that infrastructural development is so central to growth today. The demand for construction workers has reduced rather sharply due to several reasons: mechanisation of labour-intensive jobs; lack of water due to drought; in seeming contradiction untimely rains; over-supply of labour; increased migration from rural and peri-urban areas; agrarian distress; declining employment rates; increased informalisation. Consequently, job opportunities in this sector have fallen, much more sharply in the post-demonitisation phase of course, and the large crowds of men and women clamouring for work at *addas* and

*nakas* have increased and also become somewhat more desperate, often resulting in not only lesser days when work is available but also a reduction in absolute wages for both men and women.

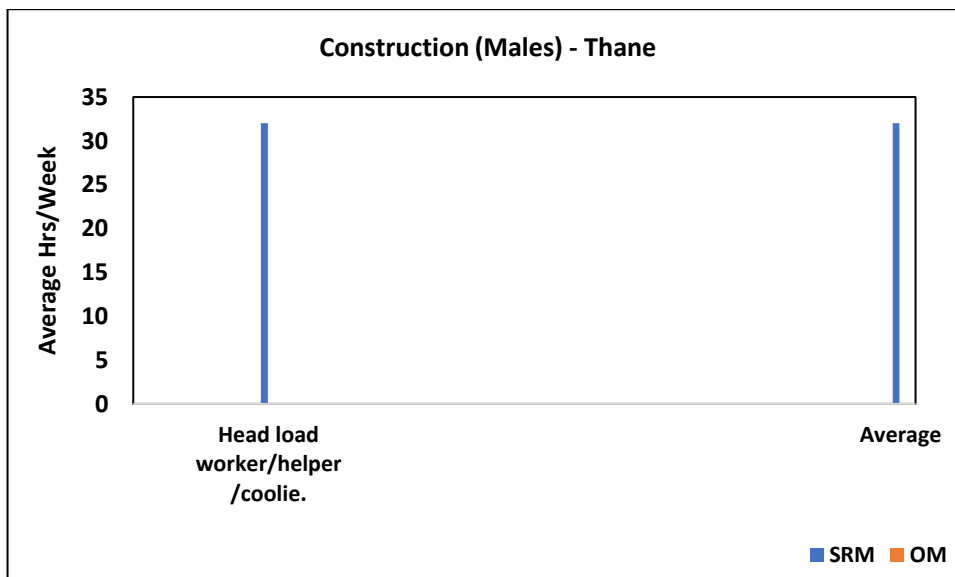
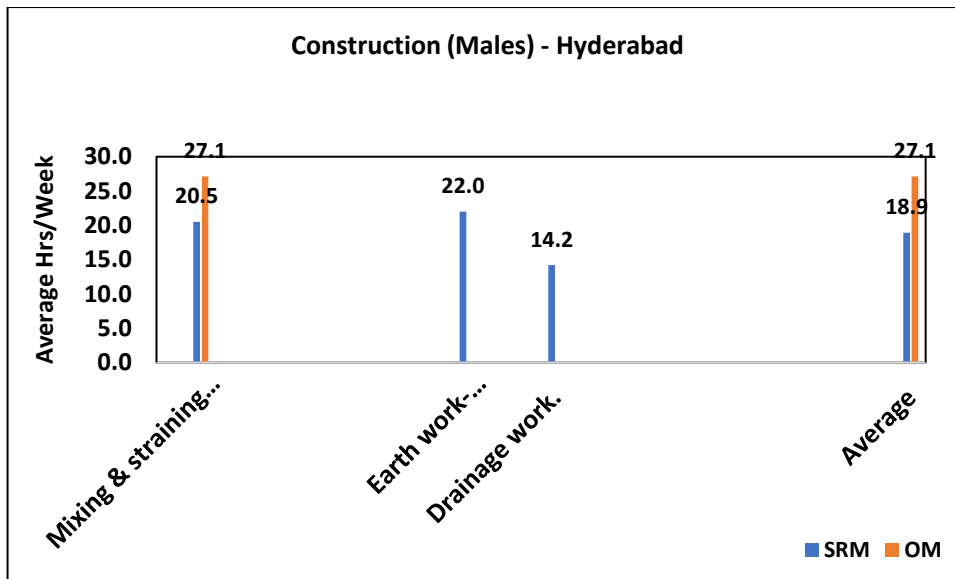
Construction workers, both men and women, throng the *addas* and *nakas* from early morning, in the hope that some contractor will employ them even if for only a day. The men tend to return home after an hour or two of waiting, while the women who are relatively poorer and in more urgent need hang around for a little longer. Women also have begun accepting what they call 'half-work', meaning that they will accept employment even if for only part of the day or even for a few hours; most of them, needless to say, are single women and female heads of households.

There are two extremely important issues that need to be emphasised here. Fundamental to both is that women's multiple recognised as well as unrecognised responsibilities in a patriarchal economy and society intertwine production, consumption, distribution and maintenance.

One, that women more than men appear to bank on construction work as a source of livelihood. Even this sector therefore appears to have embarked on the process of becoming feminised, in terms of both numbers and hours spent, at least in the instance of this present research. This is not to say that men have voluntarily moved out due to better job opportunities in other sectors via 'pull' factors, but that few other job opportunities are open to women, and therefore they are compelled to hang on, so to say.

Two, the insidious and simultaneously overt inclusion of sexual exploitation into labour contracts. We were repeatedly told, and in not so hushed voices or whispers, that "now days only the younger and healthier women are hired by the contractors". This insistence on sexual subordination is apparently becoming increasingly rampant and forms part of the unwritten contract. This 'conditionality' is not discussed behind closed doors, and is now openly talked about, but certainly not condemned. Women and the community at large have apparently come to terms with this new proviso, and do not denounce either the new clause or the woman. This unquestioning internalisation of gender violence speaks volumes for the very fundamentals of economic and social structures that characterise especially the on-going nature and process of development and growth.

#### **Exhibit 5.7**



***(e) Non-Agricultural & Non-Construction Earning Activities***

As activities under this head would normally be undertaken by both men and women, the analysis extends to all regions. Interestingly, most respondents in Solapur and Hyderabad are not engaged in substantial numbers in non-agricultural and non-construction earning activities (Appendix Tables V.D.8 to V.D.11). In Solapur, only 35 men reported working as casual labour, averaging 25.5 hours/week, spending a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 49 hours per week; most of them are employed in the bigger village centres and a few as drivers.

In Pithoragarh, on the other hand, a little more than one third of PRF workers (136 respondents) worked as casual labour averaging to 48 hours/week with min-max of 3.5 to 56 hours/week. Pithoragarh women, as probably in most hilly regions, work in substantial numbers as loaders and head carriers, apart from vending. A sizeable number of male workers (228 SRM and 26 OM) were also involved in casual non-agricultural activity and on an average spent 50 hours/week. The main areas of non-agricultural economic activity for men are as coolies for the defense forces, in shops and stores in the village and taluka centre of Dharchula, marketing, hawking, tailoring, etc.

*40-year old Sundari Devi lives in the hamlet of Balmara, Gram Sabha Toli. She owns a tiny plot of land on which she manages to eke a living, growing crops which fulfil her consumption needs for barely 3 months. Though she receives a widow's pension of Rs. 800 per month, it is highly irregular. She has since taken up a job in the village primary school as a Bojan Mata (food mother) where she cooks for 3 hours every day for 10 months in a year, and gets wages of Rs. 1500 per month. Though she is a Dalit, she does not face any problems because, as she puts it succinctly "we are in the majority in Balmara".*

Less than 5 percent of men and women together are engaged in non-construction activities in Hyderabad. While the men work in the tiny cigarette kiosks that dot the main road, women are predictably employed as domestic workers. Several single women have left the construction sector due to sexual harassment and become domestic workers in the newly constructed apartment blocks in the neighbourhood.

*Being both illiterate and single, Sreejana faced the usual constraints in the job opportunities open to her. After the death of her husband, she decided to take up the same work that he had done, and thus became a construction worker. However, she has since given up her job and taken up employment as a domestic worker. She said bitterly "It's a curse to be young and single. I will not work with contractors anymore."*

*For Sheela, the reason for joining domestic service was very simple, and a clear indictment of the prevailing gender-blind macroeconomic policies relating to water and care – "my madam lets me bring my baby to work, and she also allows me to take 2 cans of drinking water from her house every day".*

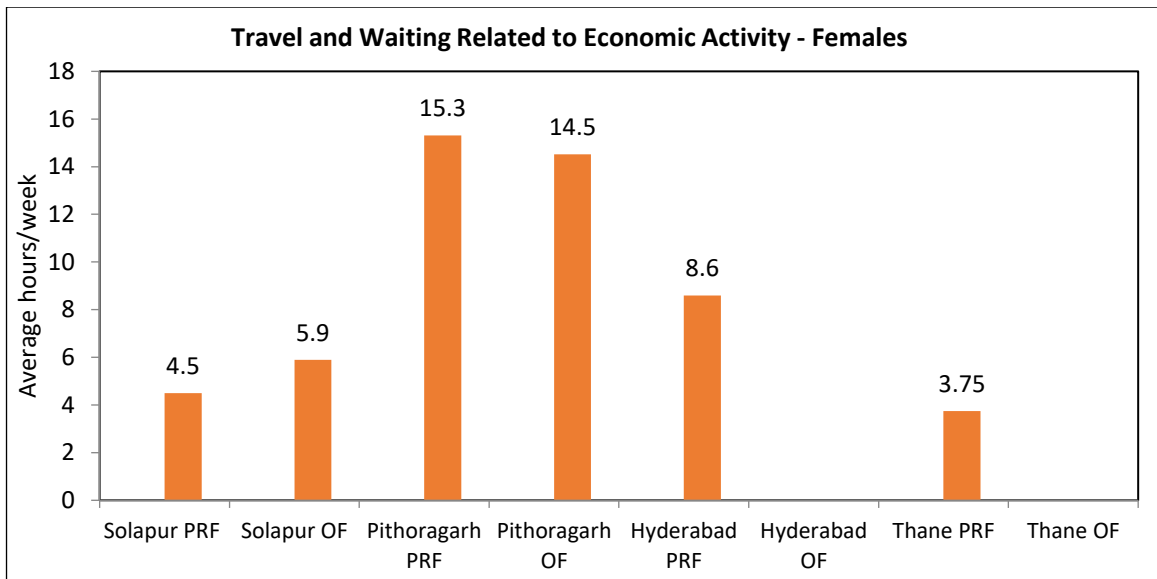
In Thane 55 PRF (i.e. 14 percent) respondents are involved with casual work and spend an average of 22 hours/week ranging from 2 to 32 hours/week. There are also 22 home based women workers and 8 women

domestic workers. Apart from carrying of loads, digging of roads etc., a new source of employment has opened up for women. The quality of especially rice that has been coming into the Public Distribution Shops is so bad in recent times, that cleaning at home is not enough. The rice has to be cleaned, washed, dried, cleaned and then sold. In keeping with gender stereotyping, women are employed for a few hours twice or thrice a week for which they are paid about Rs. 150 on a daily basis. The major home based economic activity is that of making plugs and fuses. Contractors come directly to the homes of the women and deliver the raw material: plastic boxes, wires, nuts etc. All the women in the family are involved in assembling, including girls below 7 years of age – the standard argument of sharp eyes, nimble fingers and historical gender expertise. A few women also reported sewing and gumming sparkles on sarees and suits.

***(f) Travel & Waiting Related to Economic Activities***

In Pithoragarh all the three activities of Fishing, Fodder and collection of Non-Wood Forest Produce are heavily feminized, with men playing a negligible role both as SRM and as OM. The longest amount of time taken was to reach the grounds for fodder in both Solapur and Pithoragarh, an average of 10 hours/week in the former and expectedly a much longer average of 22.5 hours/week in the latter. 40 OF's in Solapur also participated in this activity spending a not un-similar time of 9.3 average hours/week, though their maximum range of 28 hours is significantly less than the 42 hours/week maximum of PRF. The pattern of OF in Pithoragarh is almost identical to that of Solapur. The other major time consuming sub-activities particularly relevant for Pithoragarh was to reach the forest for collection (average of 24.7 hours/week) and fishing (average of 10.3 hours/week), the maximum for both being 42 hours/week. Around 30 OF's also reported spending an average of 9 hours/week on fishing activity (see Exhibits 5.8 and 5.9 and Appendix Tables V.D.12 to V.D.15).

**Exhibit 5.8**



Time to reach the worksite was almost 4 times longer in Pithoragarh (9.4 hours/week) as compared to 2.5 hours/week in Solapur. Also, waiting for work in the labour market especially as agricultural and casual workers was almost 10 times more in the former. In the urban areas of Hyderabad and Thane, the travel time related to economic activity of the OF is negligible at below 5 percent, probably because they provide care support to the family, especially to the primary women earners.

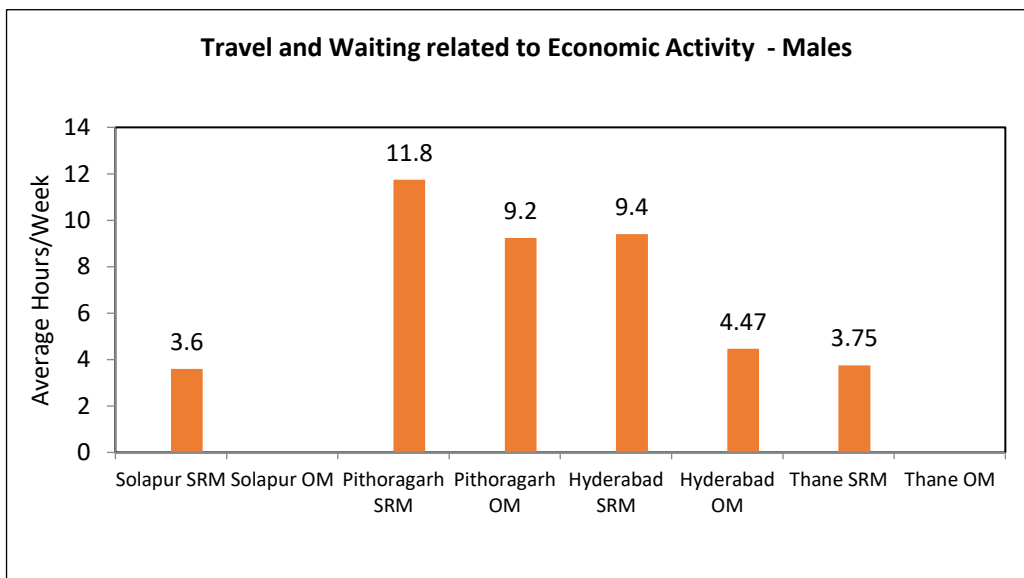
PRF in Hyderabad spend a higher average time of 13 hours/week waiting for work and about 4.4 hours/week to reach the site, whilst in Thane both the wait for work (average of 5.1 hours/week) and travel time to the work site (2.5 hours/week) is much lower. Women in Thane told us that they waited for work on an average for about an hour and a half every day at the *naka*, while men tended to leave a little earlier. The results appear to be rather on the higher side in Hyderabad. The maximum time to reach the worksite for PRF and SRM is up to 60 hours a week; also, the maximum range for waiting time is reported at 150 hours/week for SRM. It is possible that these figures are somewhat exaggerated, and this is precisely why the average worked out per week should be taken as a better indicator.

The time spent on travel and waiting related to economic activities by males (SRM and OM) follows a pattern similar to that of female workers but the average time is lower in Pithoragarh (11.9 hours/week by SRM and 9.2 hours/week by OM) and Solapur (4.8 hours/week), while it is marginally higher (9.4 hours/week) in Hyderabad and identical (3.75 hours/week) in Thane. A comparison of the male construction workers revealed that the time spent waiting for work is 3 times higher in Hyderabad as compared to Thane,

and the time to reach the work site was also longer (4.5 hours/week in Hyderabad as compared 2.75 hours/week in Thane).

The issues of time spent waiting for work and travelling to work site are quite complicated, and the results can be perceived in a distinctly opposite and contradictory manner. The time spent depends on where the work site is and if work is available at all. A worker can wait for hours for work which is located close by. Alternatively, less work availability can imply less waiting time. The worker can also leave soon without waiting for too long for work: as noted earlier, women wait longer than men in the hope of getting some work at least, given that she has the consumption and maintenance roles to perform. Generally, the workers selected by the contractor are transported to the worksite; more often than not, they are left to fend for themselves when the work is over and have to return home on their own. This obviously has an impact on the time these workers spend on traveling to work and back, thus extending their working day, though this component now becomes what is termed as 'unpaid work', applicable to men as well as women.

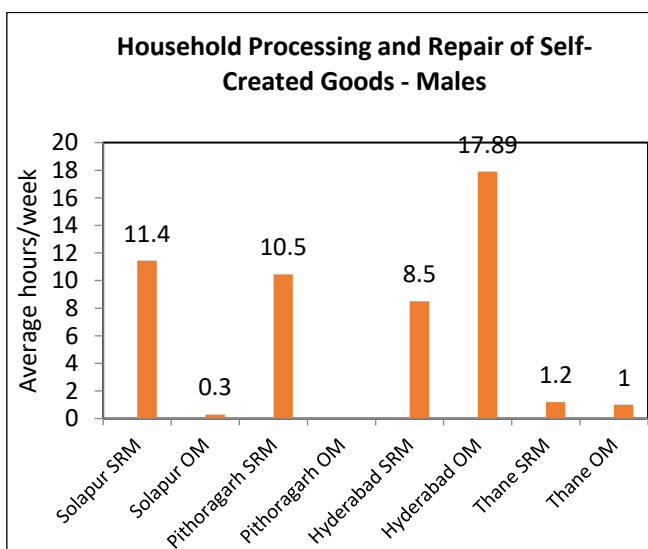
**Exhibit 5.9**



**5.4.2 Associated Economic Activity**

The System of National Accounts extends the normal definition of work and includes several activities within the production boundary, most of which have been classified by us under the head 'Household Processing and Repair of Self-Created Goods'. While the average time spent by the female and male cohorts may be similar or only marginally different, the former is involved in a much wider range of activities, rural women expending more time than their urban counterparts (Exhibit 5.10 and Appendix Tables V.D.16 to V.D.19).

**Exhibit 5.10**





Women are heavily involved in the processing, cleaning, washing and drying of grains: the ranges are between an average of 16 hours/week in Solapur, 23.9 hours/week in Pithoragarh and less than 2 hours/week in Hyderabad and Thane. The maximum hours/week spent on processing of food grains is highest in Pithoragarh at 63 probably because it is from own farm, 35 in Solapur but much lower at 3.5 in Hyderabad and 12.5 in Thane. Women in Dongargaon in Solapur complained that they spend at least half a day cleaning 5 kg of wheat. The processing and preserving of milk, meat, fish etc. is the next major processing activity and the time taken varies from a high of 13.76 hours/week in Pithoragarh to 3 hours/week in Solapur, to 2.6 hours/week in Hyderabad to the least of 1.2 hours/week in Thane. This aspect of time again can be impacted by two opposite situations – that either the quality is so good that there is no need to spend time cleaning it, or that they cannot afford to eat meat and fish and hence do not spend any time whatsoever.

Opposite to popular belief, a substantial number of women are also involved with the maintenance and repair of dwellings in all regions except Thane, averaging 12.23 hours/week in Pithoragarh to 15.3 hours/week in Hyderabad, and barely 2 hours/week and 1.2 hours/week in Solapur and Thane. Many women also take care of the homestead, kitchen garden and yard especially in Solapur and Pithoragarh where they spend 1.75 hours/week and 5.5 hours/week. Urban women predictably report merely 2 hours/week in Hyderabad and 1.1 hour/week in Thane respectively.

Again, contrary to popular mythification, women appear to have a major role to play in technology. A huge number of women (259 respondents) in Pithoragarh repair their self-owned agricultural tools on which they spend close to 9.81 hours/week. In fact, the women seem to be more responsible than men, with only 78 males being involved in this activity.

In other regions, however, a majority of male respondents are involved with the repair of self-owned agricultural and construction tools, and the time spent varies between 21 hours/week in Solapur, 1.2 hours/week in Hyderabad (276 SRM's) and 1.3 hours/week in Thane. The least time spent on maintenance of repair of dwellings, is in Thane at merely 1.1 hours, on account of the semi-*pucca* nature of the dwelling as well as the fact that most are tenants. For other regions, it is 2.3 hours/week in Solapur, 16 hours/week in Hyderabad and 14.6 hours/week in Pithoragarh. However, in Pithoragarh double the number of women than men are involved. The long hours in Hyderabad can be attributed to the existence of *kutcha* houses which

require frequent repair. Men and women both are equally involved with almost identical times. In Pithoragarh too men spend almost 15 hours/week on repair and maintenance which can be on account of the weather conditions and the semi-*kutcha* nature of houses.

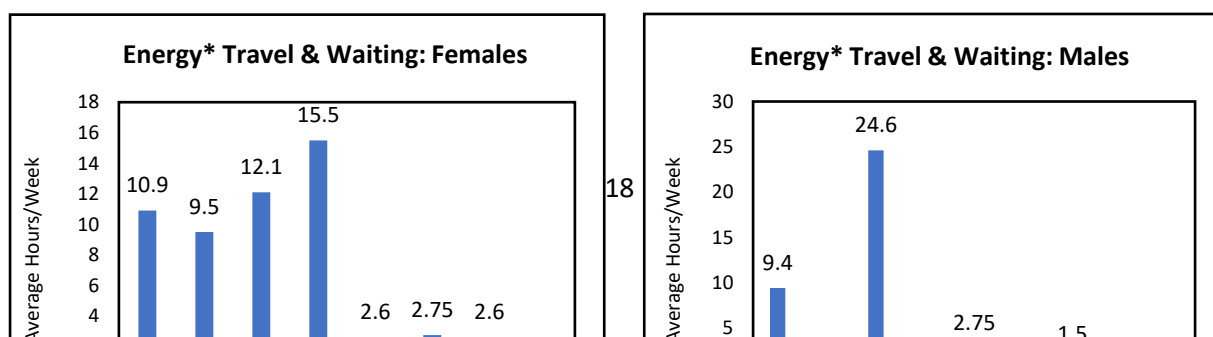
### 5.4.3 Energy

Energy covers a wide range of activities from collecting firewood and animal dung to the time taken to light a *choolah* and the time spent to obtain kerosene and a personal gas cylinder. Since waiting in queues for kerosene and collecting gas cylinder is not a daily activity and the frequency is less, these two activities have been excluded from the calculation of the average time spent.

Although on an average both women and men spend similar hours on energy collection, the gender centricity of the engagement can be seen in the number of respondents and the time associated with each activity under energy collection (Exhibit 5.11 and Appendix Tables V.D.20 to V.D.23).

Firewood collection, as is well documented, is perceived as primarily a woman’s job; the results are therefore not surprising, with more than 70 percent of the female respondents in each of the four areas reported being engaged in the collection of firewood, rural women predictably spending longer hours than urban women. In Solapur and Pithoragarh, women contribute 20 hours/week and 27.6 hours/week, with the OF in both areas helping substantially. The situation is quite different in Hyderabad and Thane which report 2.6 hours/week respectively. Both in Solapur and Pithoragarh only about one-third of the male respondents are involved, those engaged spending marginally less time (17.2 hours/week in Solapur and 24.6 hours/week in Pithoragarh). Animal dung is used largely in Pithoragarh, the PRF reporting 4.3 hours/week. Again, not surprisingly, lighting of *choolah* is perceived as women’s work. They spend approximately 2 hours/week on this activity in Thane and Solapur, and a little more at 3 hours/week on an average in Hyderabad and Pithoragarh where paper and plastic are used.

**Exhibit 5.11**

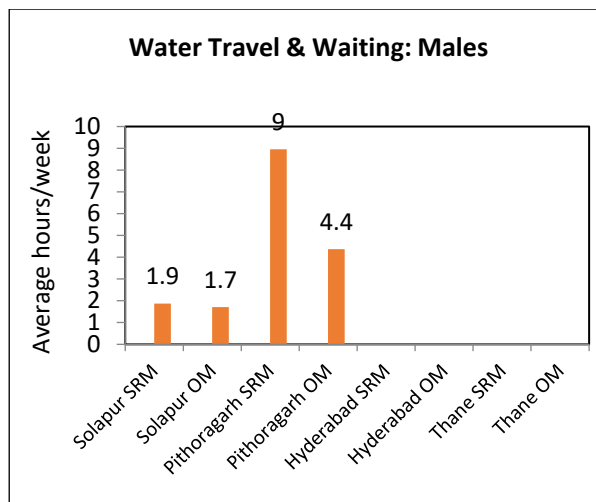
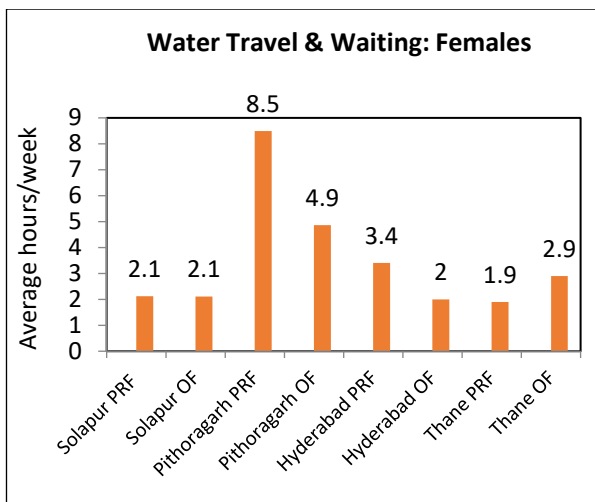


*Sonabai Nagappa Torne is a 48 year old widow from Sonand who works as an agricultural labourer. She did not have cooking gas and cannot always afford to purchase kerosene, and therefore collects firewood for cooking and heating. She recently lost her left eye from falling off a babul tree while trying to reach the higher branches: she since applied and managed to get a gas connection, but cannot always afford to refill it as the price keeps increasing. She is now back to collecting firewood.*

#### **5.4.4 Water**

The results from this study break at least partially from the standard gendered distribution pattern of collection of water where it is generally presumed that only women are involved in this activity. The findings reveal that a considerable number of male respondents are also involved in varying degrees both for irrigation as well as domestic use, although regional differences do exist. Exhibit 5.12 shows the average gendered distribution pattern which is predictably the maximum in Pithoragarh due to the extensive reliance on streams as a source of water (refer Table 5.3 above).

#### **Exhibit 5.12**



Women and men in urban areas collect water solely for domestic use including bathing/washing, cooking and drinking (see Appendix Tables V.D.24 to V.D.27). Although more than 80 percent of women (PRF and OF) spend between 2 to 4 hours/week on this activity, one-third of men in Hyderabad, mainly SRM, are also active in the ratio of 1 to 3, 1-3 hours/week. In Thane, however, one can see the complete absence of men; this difference could arise because in Hyderabad there is a substantial dependence on public tap and hand pumps whereas in Thane water is on tap in the dwelling yard which is much closer in distance as compared to the public tap.

*Availability of sufficient water is a perennial issue in the urban areas. The stress and burden on women is best exemplified by the experience of Rathlavath Lachali, a young a widow living in Mudfort, Hyderabad. With two children in school, her water requirement is rather high primarily because, as she puts it, “uniforms have to be regularly clean and washed”. As water is released only three days in the week, she has to abstain from her income-earning activities for these days and stay at home. Precautions are taken in advance for fetching water; she has to keep her bucket in a queue the night before, and gets her number in queue only the next evening. All women in the slum are permitted to collect only 4 buckets at a time, and if more water is required, the queue has to be joined again. Water cannot be stored as it often gets stolen when family members are away. Rathlavath has recently made an exchange arrangement with her neighbour who is also a construction worker. They now go to work on alternate days, so that the other can stay home, and thus not only collect water for each other but also safeguard it.*

In rural areas water is also collected for irrigation and for livestock. Solapur witnesses a substantive participation by both women and men, although the number of men is half that of women. In terms of time

too, though women spend marginally more, men do not report significantly less: together they average between 1 to 3 hours/week; maximum is 14 hours/week for all categories of water collection, except for the predictable cooking and drinking water where the range for women is double that of men. In Pithoragarh water collection is pre-dominantly a women oriented activity and they, both PRF and OF, spend about 20 hours/week collecting water for irrigation and about 4-5 hours/week collecting water for other purposes such as livestock, drinking, cooking and washing. Women in Pithoragarh take their livestock along with them and combine the activities of collection of firewood, washing and cleaning of livestock. All this is done near the many streams and therefore reduces the demand for water within the households. The distance to these streams, however, is rather long.

The problem in Pithoragarh relates mainly to drinking water, especially in the summer months. The water supply does not reach the houses that are built on the upper side of hills, and is in any case most irregular. Also, the water pipes are not maintained or covered, and there have been several cases reported of them bursting both in the summer and also in the winters when the pipes freeze.

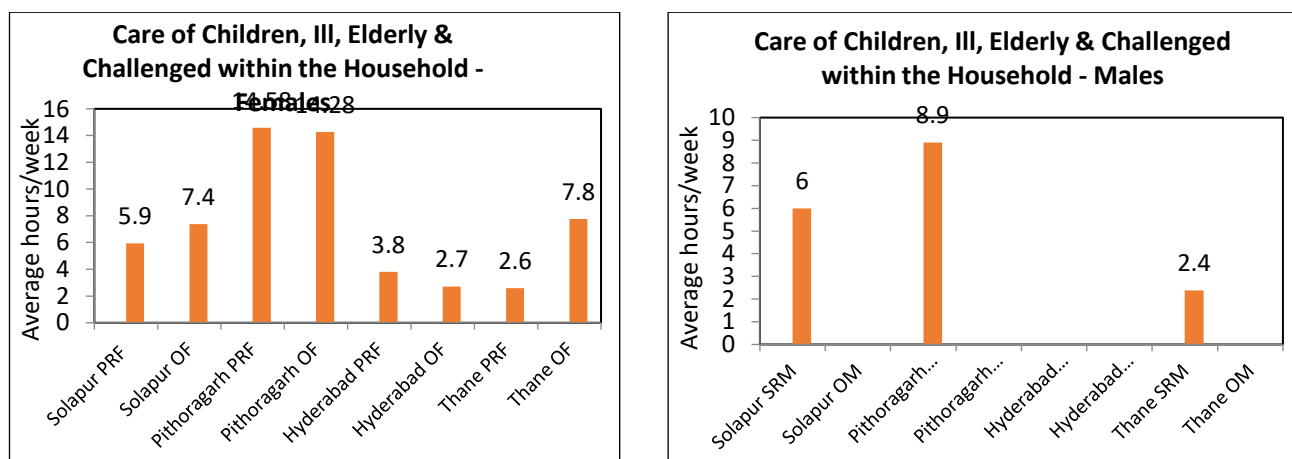
Non-availability of water is a major issue in the drought prone region of the plains, especially as common property resources have been severely depleted; well water has turned salty and the water table is very low. Water tankers come every five days during the summer due the huge demand in this region. Even when there is no drought, fetching water takes 2 hours including walking and filling of pots. The one single hand pump in Sonand village is too tight and requires the combined strength of 3 persons to make it work. A major problem is that of fodder and water for the livestock: the major community being that of the nomadic tribe which depends for its livelihood on animals, water scarcity severely impacts income levels.

The issue of water scarcity therefore needs to be perceived in multiple ways: availability, accessibility, timings, distance, and of course, the impact on women's paid work, and time burden as well as the drudgery involved that keeps especially the marginalised in a state of continuous dependency and deprivation.

#### **5.4.5 Care of Children, Ill, Elderly & Challenged**

Care encompasses a wide spectrum of activities from general child care to medical care of children, the sick and the elderly. As in every other activity, the involvement of women in providing care is much greater both in number of providers as well as in the range of care-giving activities.

**Exhibit 5.13**



Women in Pithoragarh, both PRF and OF, appear to bear the greatest burden of care activities of more than 14 hours/week. The contribution of the OF is higher than that of the PRF worker in Solapur and Thane, both of them about 8 hours. However, the number of OF is much less in Thane, the major responsibility for all care activities being taken by the PRF. The situation in Solapur is somewhat different; medical and health care for children appears to be the primary responsibility of OF while all other care is provided by PRF who spends about 6 hours per week (Exhibit 5.13)

There is a complete absence of the OM from care related work in all regions without exception. Whatever little is done by men is solely by the SRM, and even though the time spent may be similar to that of women, there is a major difference in the number of respondents involved. For instance, in Pithoragarh 35 SRM reported spending an average of 8.9 hours/week, but only on the one single activity of general child care. As expected, the involvement of women is seen in almost all categories of care (Appendix Tables V.D.28 to V.D.31).

Among the various activities under Care, general child care dominates: for women it is 13.7 hours/week in Pithoragarh, 10.25 hours/week in Solapur, and significantly lower in the urban areas at approximately 5 hours/week in Hyderabad and Thane. For men, the distribution varies between 9.3 hours/week in Solapur, 8.9 hours/week in Pithoragarh, 4 hours/week in Thane and 2.8 hours/week in Hyderabad.

Medical and health care across all categories is provided almost entirely by women. Under this category the largest demand is that for children, though the pattern varies greatly, from 15.4 hours/week in Pithoragarh to 3.5 hours/week in Hyderabad, and in the range of just about 1-2 hours/week in Solapur and Thane. Except for Pithoragarh, men are also involved in the medical care of children and they spend between 1 hour/week in Solapur to a maximum of 3 hours/week in Hyderabad.

Medical care for elderly is done almost entirely by women in Solapur, Pithoragarh and Thane; Hyderabad men do take some responsibility even though for a shorter duration. There were a total of 25 cases recorded of physically and mentally challenged individuals who required medical and health care: this too is a heavily gendered activity, with 18 women caregivers reported as against 7 male respondents.

Further, with the exception of Pithoragarh men and Thane women, both genders are involved with teaching and tuitions, and also homework of children, averaging a rather substantial 12.25 hours/week in Solapur to a rather insignificant 2 hours/week in Hyderabad by SRM. Women in Solapur, both PRF and OF, appear to take equal responsibility and spend 10.5 hours/week. Hyderabad is the least at just about 1 hour/week. This is one of the few categories in which more men are involved. This maybe the result of the fact that literacy levels among men is higher in all the four regions. The low level of Hyderabad men in tuitions can be directly linked to the fact that two thirds of them are illiterate.

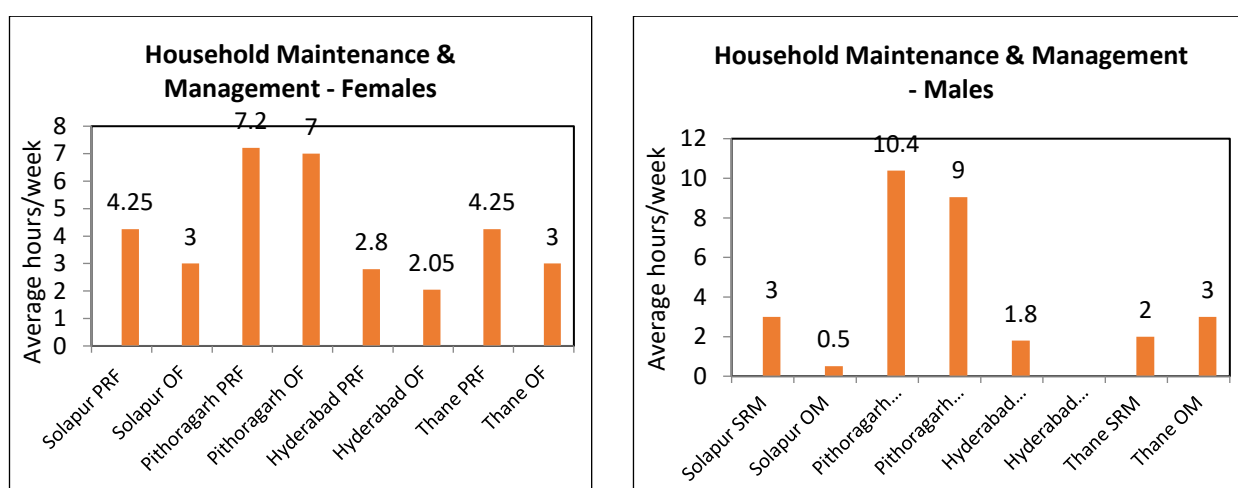
#### **5.4.6 Household Maintenance & Management**

There is a clear gender based division under the wide array of activities covered under household maintenance and management, women dominating in Solapur, Thane and Hyderabad (see Appendix Table V.D.32 to V.D.35 and Exhibit 5.14). Pithoragarh is an interesting case: there is a substantial participation of men even though their burden is less; however, this needs to be interpreted with caution. Apparently household work is undertaken by men for a fixed number of days in a month given the strict cultural and religious milieu which cannot be reflected in quantitative data. It is a historical tradition in this region that women are not allowed to enter the kitchen during menstruation.

As expected, there is a greater participation by women (PRF and OF) as they are involved with every activity and also for longer duration. The largest proportion are spent in cooking, serving and cleaning up after meals, and is exclusively women’s work done mainly by the PRF and supported by OF though in smaller numbers. This activity takes up more time in rural areas: 14-15 hours/week in Solapur and Pithoragarh, the maximum sometimes reaching 49 hours/week depending on the size of the family, the number of children, and the number of times the food has to be cooked. Thane and Hyderabad averaged significantly less at 9.2 hours/week.

In quantitative terms, the third highest burden is of washing and drying clothes, varying between 13.7 hours/week in Pithoragarh to 19.5 hours/week in Solapur, and expectedly less at an average of 6 hours/week in urban areas. Washing and drying of vessels took the longest at 7.7 hours/week in Pithoragarh, and about half in other three areas. Pithoragarh again emerged as the region spending the highest amount of time in shopping for consumables: 17 hours/week, with Solapur recording the least of 2 hours/week. The long hours reported for Pithoragarh is not only because of the hilly terrain but also because of extremely poor roads and lack of transport. Women in Pithoragarh also spend a considerable amount of time in sewing, darning etc. (7 hours/week) and repair of household goods (10.9 hours/week). An additional 5 hours/week are spent by women in Solapur and Pithoragarh on boiling and heating water.

**Exhibit 5.14**





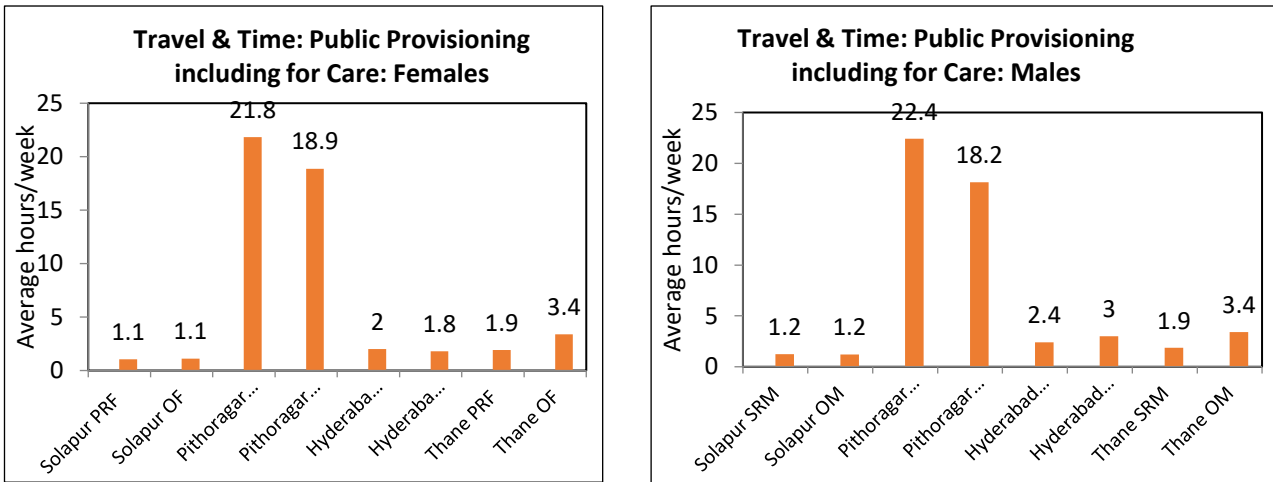
The male contribution to household maintenance and management is restricted to few activities in Pithoragarh and Solapur. Common to both regions are repair of personal and household goods (8.3 hours/week in Pithoragarh and 1.5 hours/week in Solapur) and shopping for consumables (16.25 hours/week in Pithoragarh and 2 hours/week in Solapur). Besides, in Pithoragarh, about 60 men reported helping in washing clothes (18.4 hours/week) and boiling and heating water (6.7 hours/week). The largest number of male respondents contributed in making and picking of bed.

Activities common to men in both urban regions include the boiling and heating of water (between 2-3 hours/week), recycling of garbage (1 hour/week), repair of household and personal goods (1.3 hours/week) and shopping for consumables (1.5 – 4 hours/week). Urban men are minimally involved with most other activities. All major household maintenance and management activities are in the exclusive domain of women: washing and drying of vessels; indoor cleaning; washing and drying of clothes; toilet and bathroom cleaning; recycling and disposing of garbage; sowing, stitching, darning, etc.

#### **5.4.7 Public Provisioning including Care**

Several of the activities under public provisioning are occasional and hence the time spent on these activities, albeit important to the workload, cannot be included in the everyday or weekly time distribution pattern of respondents. It is apparent that women's involvement in occasional as well as daily activities under public provision is higher than that of men in all the four regions, especially Pithoragarh (see Appendix Tables V.D.36 to V.D.39. and Exhibit 5.15).

Exhibit 5.15



The activities listed under Public Provisioning include access to toilet (with water), bathroom facility and visit to anganwadi's, crèches and schools (see Appendix tables V.D.36 to V.D.39). The distribution pattern relating to toilets and bathrooms for both men and women is quite identical, ranging between 1-3 hours/week in Solapur, Thane and Hyderabad. However, most houses have a bathroom facility or at least a *mori* within the premise and hence waiting for access is zero. In Pithoragarh a few households have toilets within the premises; there are no community or public toilets, and most resort to open defecation in the forest. Toilet and bathroom is an even more major issue for urban residents, both men and women. Predictably, women of course take longer, often spending an hour a day just for accessing toilet facilities or for hunting for a safe and secluded place for open defecation.

*The issue of open defecation was taken up during the process of data collection by the local partners, ARPAN in the village of Toli. An application was prepared; signatures of all families were taken and submitted to the Panchayat. The budget has now been sanctioned and work is to begin after plot selection.*

Travel time to visit anganwadi, crèche and school is relevant only for Solapur PRF, who spend about an hour/week. The occasional activities comprise of visits to the health centre/dispensaries, banks and post office for direct benefit transfer payments, access to the public distribution system, paying of bills, and waiting for public transport, which range between 1 to 1.5 hours whenever undertaken for both men and

women in Solapur, Thane and Hyderabad. In Pithoragarh, the time taken for each of these activities was obviously much higher.

What is most fascinating is the result relating to use of public transport, with more women than men utilising it; yet another myth appears to have been broken. This is true of every single area studied, women averaging a slightly higher time than men. Women are not necessarily constrained to local markets and situations, and have begun widening their horizons probably at a rate faster than men did. All participants in all FGDs held across all the four regions raised issues of affordability and regularity of transport services. A critical infrastructural issue thus emerges – that of greater investment in more affordable and better transport and road systems that takes into account gendered and differential needs.

*Women from Toli village complained bitterly about unregulated fares and merely one daily service and that too erratic from Dharchula to the district headquarters in Pithoragarh. Women from Khimkola rued the decreasing public transport and the undue dependency on private jeeps that charge exorbitant amounts.*

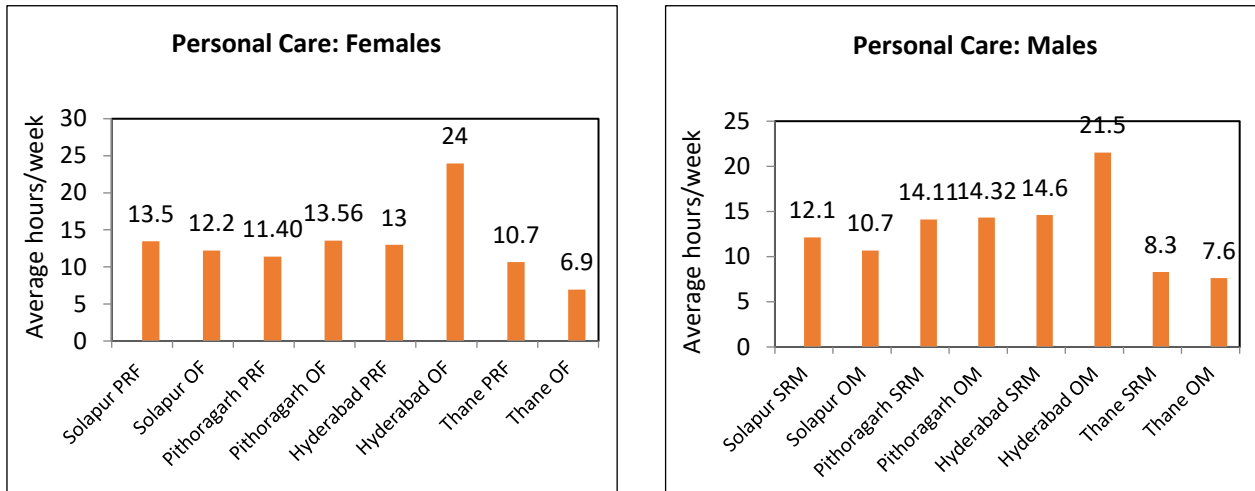
Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) is much more applicable in rural areas. Gendered patterns are extremely instructive: more women than men in all regions except Thane reported having a bank account. Also, more women in Pithoragarh received DBT, while the opposite is true of Solapur. Also, to be noted is that a significant proportion of DBT's come into the post office accounts, signaling that this often ignored but ubiquitous facility can prove to be an asset in increasing financial inclusion rather than banks which are known to be unfriendly to women and insensitive to their needs especially if they come from marginalised sections.

#### **5.4.8 Personal Care**

Personal care is an umbrella activity and spans a wide spectrum: sleep, personal hygiene, medical care and rest and relaxation. PRF give relatively less importance to personal care than SRM in Pithoragarh and Hyderabad. The respective averages are 11.4 hours/week for the PRF and 14.1 hours/week SRM in the former, and in Hyderabad 13 hours/week and 14.6 hours/week. The opposite holds true in Solapur and Thane. In the former, the PRF spends 13.5 hours/week and the SRM 12.1 hours/week, whereas in Thane the

PRF and SRM comparative averages are 10.7 hours/week and 8.3 hours/week. Analysing across regions and for all women whether PRF or OF, Thane women spend the least amount of time on personal care (see Exhibit 5.16).

**Exhibit 5.16**



The single most crucial indicator as well as result of the huge burden of unpaid and also paid work that a woman bears is the lack of sleep. This cuts through all regions and sectors. Pithoragarh PRFs sleep for the least amount of time, averaging merely 5.5 hours per day. In other regions, the PRF on an average sleeps for about 46 to 50 hours/week. Solapur and Thane report a somewhat similar pattern for both genders, while in the other two areas PRF sleep less than SRM (see Appendix Tables V.D.40 to V.D.43). The other major concern under personal care deals with the amount of rest and relaxation. In Solapur, Thane and Pithoragarh women and men spend somewhat similar amounts of time, albeit with some regional variations, whereas in Hyderabad there is a marked difference between PRF and SRM patterns, the former resting for not even half the time of the SRM, the comparative average times being 7.2 hours/week and 15.2 hours/week.

Also, an important activity is the time spent on personal hygiene and care where both PRF and SRM across regions spend between 4 - 5.5 hours/week. The min-max range too is rather similar, except for Pithoragarh where the upper range is significantly higher at 28 hours/week.

There were substantial differences in the timings given by several women in all areas, especially in relation to bathing. The longer time taken is basically due to distance and hunting for safe secluded spaces, as well as

combining bathing of self with that of children and also washing of clothes. Some women also reported a 5-minute bath; wondering how anyone could manage in such little time, we were informed that many women, especially those with smaller children, have what is locally termed in Maharashtra as a '*kauva-bath*', meaning literally a 'crow bath', implying only the pouring of water without any time to apply soap and wash it off.

These high-low variations are also discernable in the time taken to eat meals. At a broad average level women and men spend about 5 to 6 hours/week, except in Solapur which reported a high of 16 hours/week. Several women in all the regions explained the issue of either too much time or too little time taken for meals. One, that often they spend more time serving others than eating. Two, that they have to feed children along with themselves. Three, that they have no time to sit down to a meal, and combine eating with other activities including looking after livestock, collecting water, etc.

#### **5.4.9 Government Schemes: Awareness & Beneficiaries**

The two major schemes that impact the two selected constituencies of agricultural workers and constructions workers are MGNREGS and BOCWA. After evaluating the implementation of these two is examined other specified government schemes which impact all, irrespective of constituency. Results are presented in actuals, proportions and also ratios.

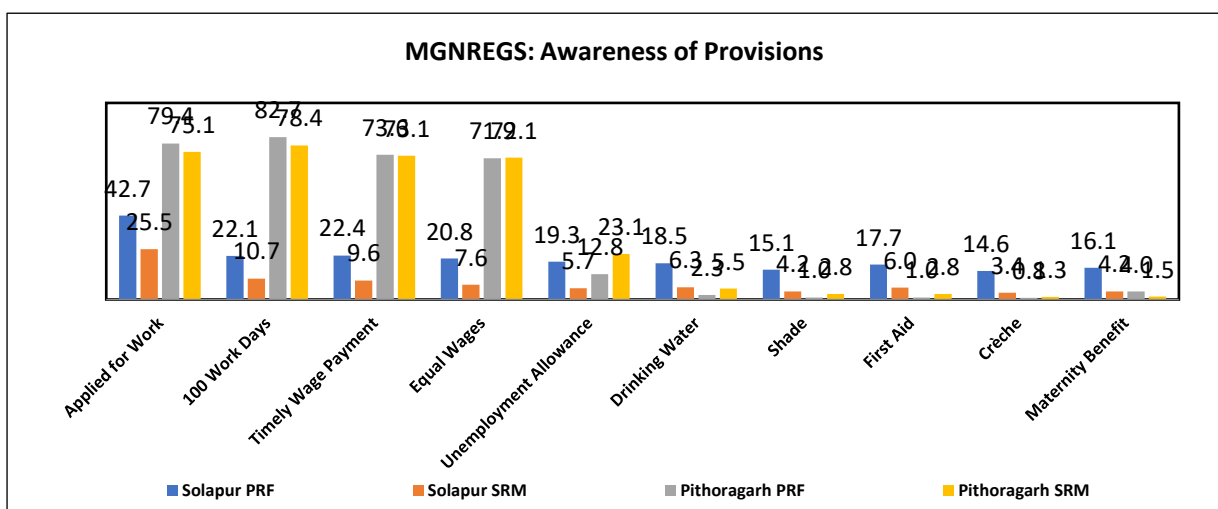
The gendered differences in the extent of awareness and benefits of MGNREGS are immediately apparent from Exhibit 5.17 and Appendix Tables V.D.46 and V.D.47. The knowledge of the different provisions of MGNREGS is higher among female workers in both regions. However, awareness does not appear to guarantee benefits: in terms of implementation, a greater percentage of males in Solapur and more women in Pithoragarh benefitted. The plotting of the benefit to awareness ratio highlights the wide gaps between male and female agricultural workers in Solapur, and the greater benefits enjoyed by females in Pithoragarh (Exhibit 5.17).

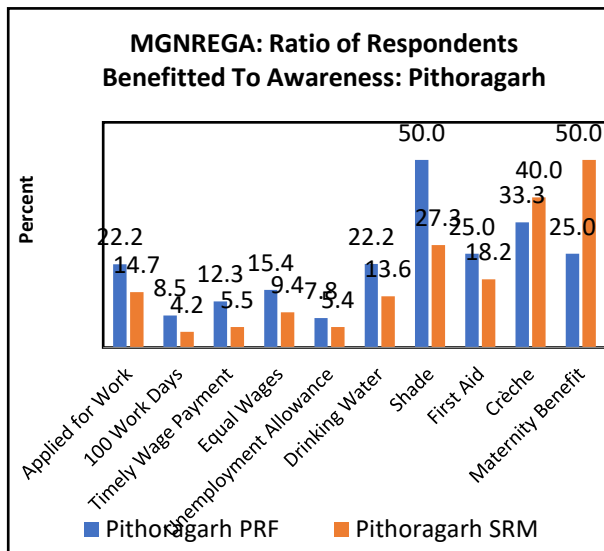
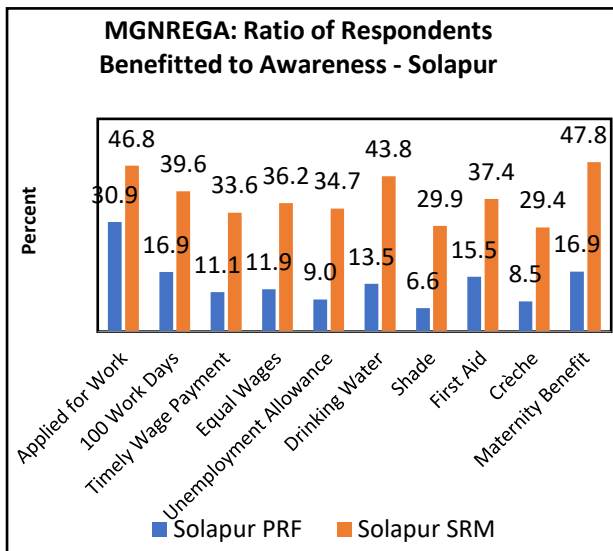
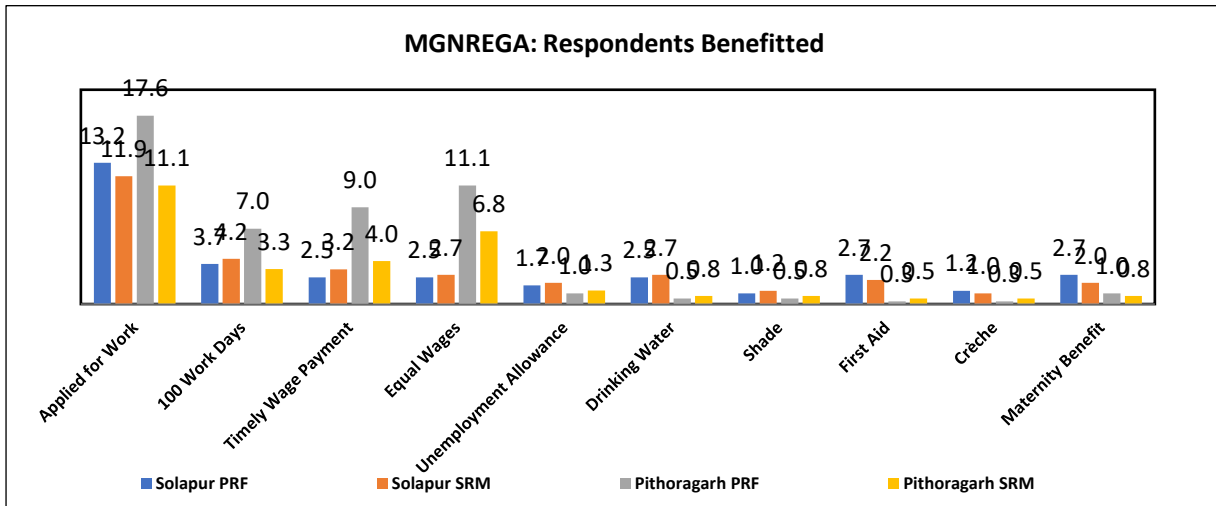
That women in Pithoragarh and Solapur identify more closely with MGNREGS than men is clear from the fact that more of them have got cards: 306 women in Pithoragarh as compared to 263 men; 61 women in Solapur as opposed to 49 men. Ten provisions of MGNREGS have been taken for special evaluation. Only

about 15 percent of all women and 5 percent of men in Solapur and barely 5 percent of women and 8 percent of men in Pithoragarh are aware of six of these: Maternity Benefit, Crèche, First Aid, Shade, Drinking Water and Unemployment Allowance. The only somewhat well-known provision in Solapur is ‘Applied for Work’ amongst women at 42.7 percent of women and one-fourth of men. About one-fifth of women and a shocking low of about 7 percent of men know about Timely Wage Payment, 100 days’ Days Work and Equal Wages. Beneficiaries, both men and women, do not cross the 10 percent mark in terms of benefits of any of the provisions, except 13.2 percent of ‘aware’ women and 11.9 percent of ‘aware’ men getting work under MGNREGS. In all other categories of provisions, the proportion of men and women benefitting is a shocking low of 2 percent who got Drinking Water, Shade, First Aid, etc. Crèche facilities and Maternity Benefit has been accessed by one single woman.

Though awareness of the several provisions is higher in Pithoragarh, the ratio of beneficiaries is lower. Almost 80 percent of all PRF and 75 percent of SRM are aware that application for work is necessary, but only 17 percent of the women and barely 11 percent of men have benefitted. Also, while awareness regarding 100 Days’ Work is extremely high at about four-fifth of both men and women, barely 7 percent of women and 3 percent of men have received the full number of days. More than 72 percent of men and women know about Timely Wage Payment and Equal Wages, but not even one-tenth have benefitted.

**Exhibit 5.17**





Implementation of MGNREGS in Solapur appears to be ‘controlled’ and, as the Dongargaon Village Sarpanch put it, ‘it is not required and therefore limited’. Solapur is among the largest suppliers of cane cutters to the numerous sugar factories that dot the entire region. An alternate source of employment would reduce the need of the agricultural labourers to migrate out; also, not ‘acceptable’ to the Village Panchayat is the concept of equal wages; this, the Sarpanch claims, is the major reason why men do not apply for work under MGNREGS.

*Jayashree Gorakh Kutte, a single woman from Dongargaon, Solapur has a simple reply: “don’t give us equal wages; give equal rice or wheat in kind form”. She had been a MGNREGS worker two years ago when she got work for 15 days, at the rate of Rs. 100 per day; since then she has been repeatedly asking for work but has not been given work even for a day, nor did she get the unemployment allowance.*

*The Sabhapati of Sangola in Solapur admits that implementation of MGNREGS is poor, but puts the blame on the ‘multiplicity of work’, and that village functionaries find it difficult to monitor. She is aware that few of the provisions are given at the few sites where construction work has been carried out, certainly not women-specific ones such as crèches.*

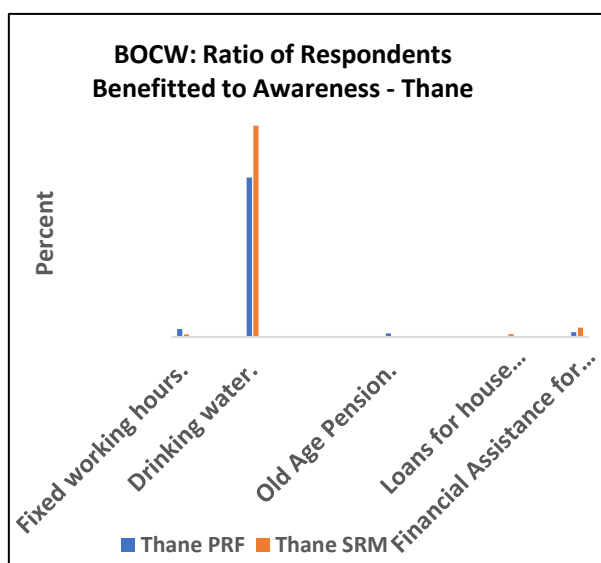
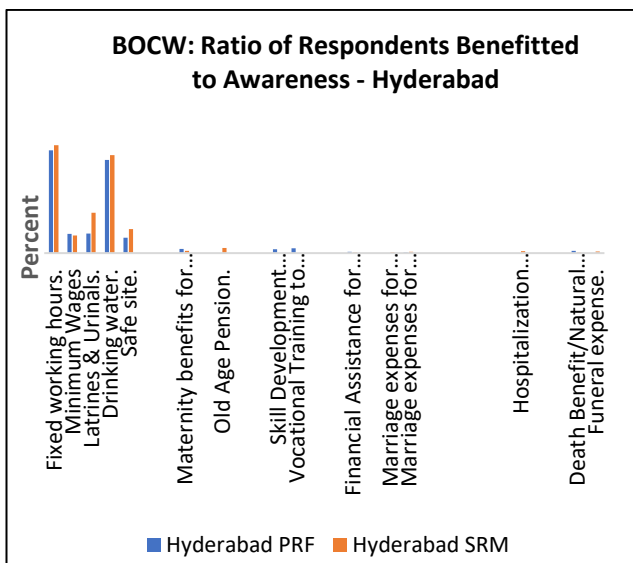
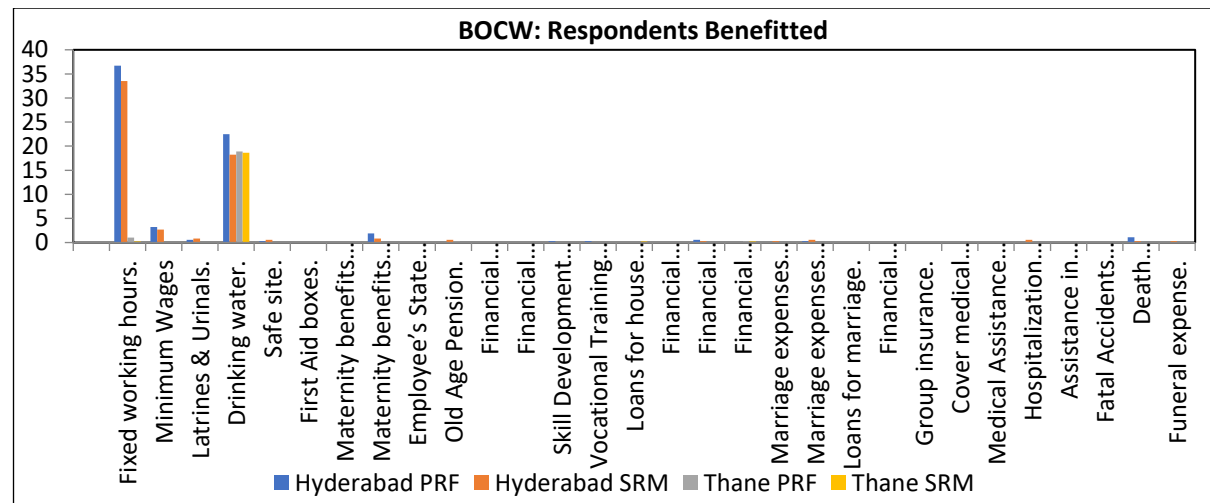
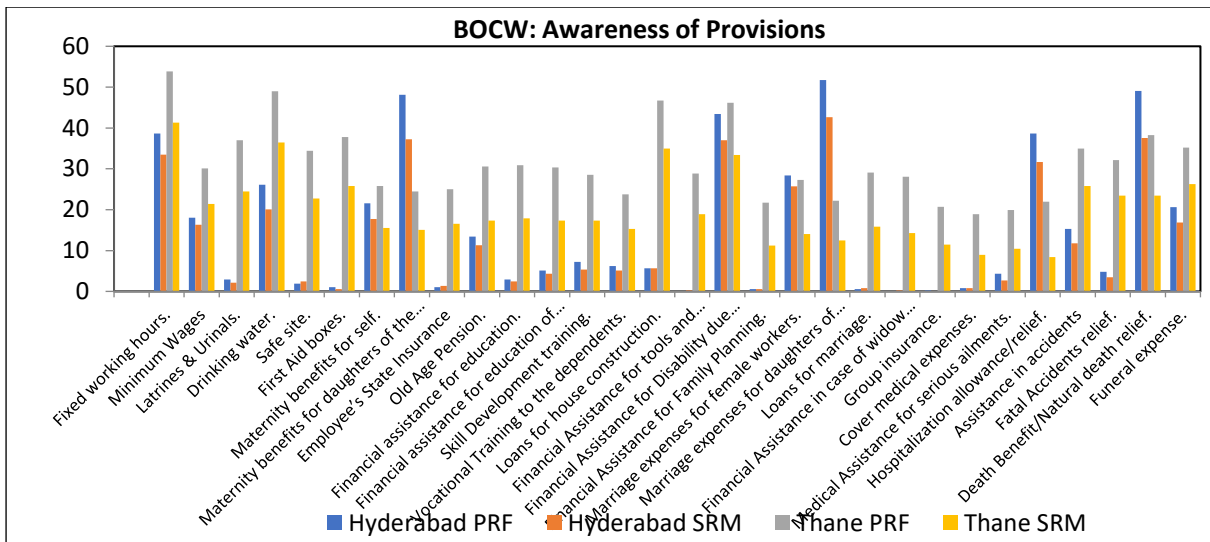
Apparently 7 wells have been dug and a half-completed road constructed under this scheme in Sonand village since 2011. In all, a total of 84 workers benefitted, though not necessarily one-third of them were women. The village functionaries insisted that all provisions were made including shade under trees, that all were given job cards, and that bank accounts were opened for them, assertions which the women totally deny. Another problem focused on by the respondents and also village and taluka officials is that of musters, E-rolls and the insistence on Aadhaar cards instead of MGNREGS cards.

Beneficiaries of Toli village in Pithoragarh informed us that no provisions are given at the worksite, not even water. Contractors refuse to employ women who bring their children along, and the anganwadi centres are not useful because of the limited timings. Several complaints were also made in relation to the violence they faced especially from the contractors, and demanded a sexual harassment cell as a MGNREGS provision, stating that these contractors should be barred from getting contracts in the future.

Construction workers are among the most vulnerable segments of unorganised labour in India. The nature of their work is temporary and mostly involves casual labour. Consequently, the relationship between the employer and the employee is temporary and working hours uncertain. Details of awareness and benefits are presented in Exhibit 5.18 and Appendix Tables V.D.48 and V.D.49.

#### **Exhibit 5.18**





It is important to note that, like in MGNERGS, women construction workers are more aware of the provisions under BOCW than the male workers especially in Thane. A total of 30 provisions had been listed by us in the Household Questionnaire – Thane women were aware of every single one of them although in

varying proportions from a minimum of 22 percent to a maximum of about 54 percent. In utter contrast, male construction workers knew of only that relating to Drinking Water, and that too at a low of 20 percent.

Awareness levels are comparatively much lower in Hyderabad and also more limited in terms of provisions. Further, this knowledge has a stronger patriarchal bias which also reflects women's reality than that of women construction workers in Thane. For instance, the highest proportion of awareness among women relates to the provisions of Marriage Expenses for Daughters of Workers and Maternity Benefits for Daughters of Workers. Not even one worker, however, has benefited under these two categories. This contradiction is indeed ironic: what is most desired by the women workers is precisely what is denied to them. Yet the women workers in Hyderabad, while they may have lost on marriage and maternity benefits, have benefited, not insignificantly, from other provisions relating to implementation of minimum wages, fixed working hours, availability of latrines and urinals, drinking water and safe site.

There are several possible reasons for greater awareness among women workers. One, that women construction workers are generally more aware of their rights as workers: after all, crossing the threshold between unpaid and paid work requires both urgency and desperation. Two, that these women are apprehensive that their life struggle will be extended beyond the household and therefore that they need to be armed with knowledge. Three, that women have closer social ties and hence learn from the experiences of their peers. Four, that men generally tend to take workers' rights for granted, and hence are blasé about complicated issues of awareness and benefits.

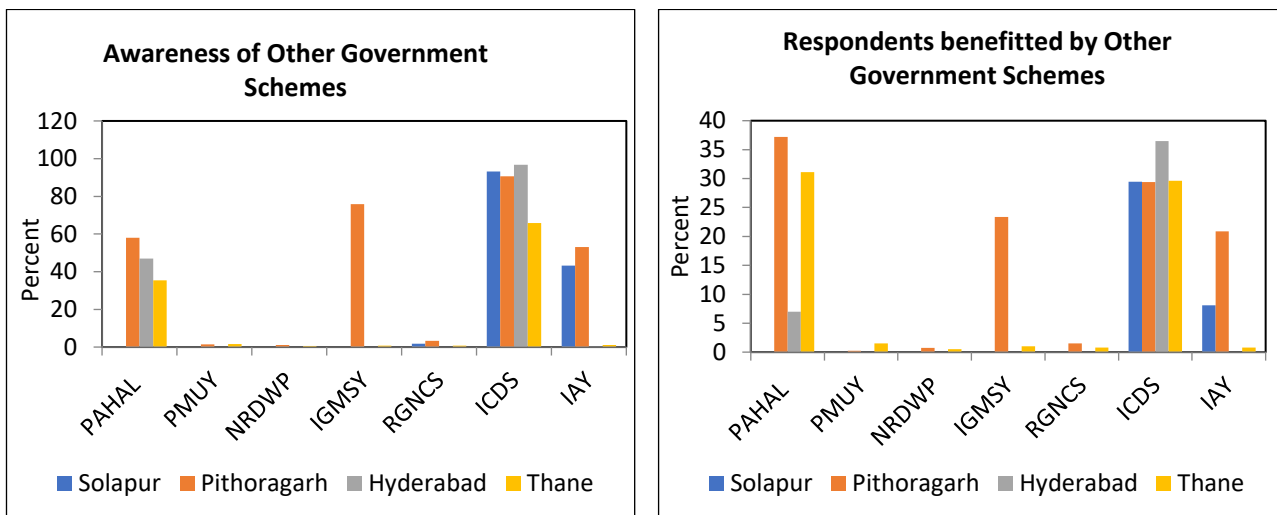
Predictably, the rather low level of fulfilment of BCOW provisions is blamed on the workers themselves. Interviews with key functionaries and implementing authorities were full of blames, complaints, and platitudes: workers are illiterate; workers drink too much; domestic violence is high; they cannot keep their surroundings clean and garbage free; they fight over water; they are undisciplined; they go beyond their given status – this last phrase confused us a bit till we realised that what was being referred to is caste and community affiliation.

Several other schemes were also evaluated in the context of this research, findings of which can be seen in Exhibit 5.19 and Appendix Table V.D.45. Expectedly, the most widely known scheme is the ICDS, averaging

over 90 percent except in Thane where it was two-thirds. Benefits too are rather similar, being 29 percent in all regions except in Hyderabad where it is a bit higher at 36.5 percent. These proportions of benefits relate somewhat directly to the respective proportion of children in the applicable age group in the family, and mainly to issues of accessibility, availability, timings and distance.

Indra Awas Yojana – the rural housing scheme – is not strictly part of the primary context of research but proved to be an extremely central component of women’s perception: the right to a house of one’s own. Though more women in Solapur stressed on this in the FGD’s, more in Pithoragarh had succeeded in availing the provisions, the benefit ratio being almost 50 percent. Benefits are the highest in Pithoragarh, both in terms of knowledge of the scheme and of benefits. PAHAL is known by its name in all regions except Solapur, even though about 12 women here had received the gas subsidy. The proportion of households getting the subsidy is highest in Pithoragarh at 37 percent followed by 35.5 percent in Thane. As expected, only 7 percent of the unauthorised residents in Hyderabad slums received the subsidy. Only one other scheme was recognised – IGMSY – and that too again in Pithoragarh, with three-fourth aware and about one-fourth benefitting. In other schemes such as PMUY, NRDWP and RGNCS, the proportion of households aware as well as benefitting is insignificant.

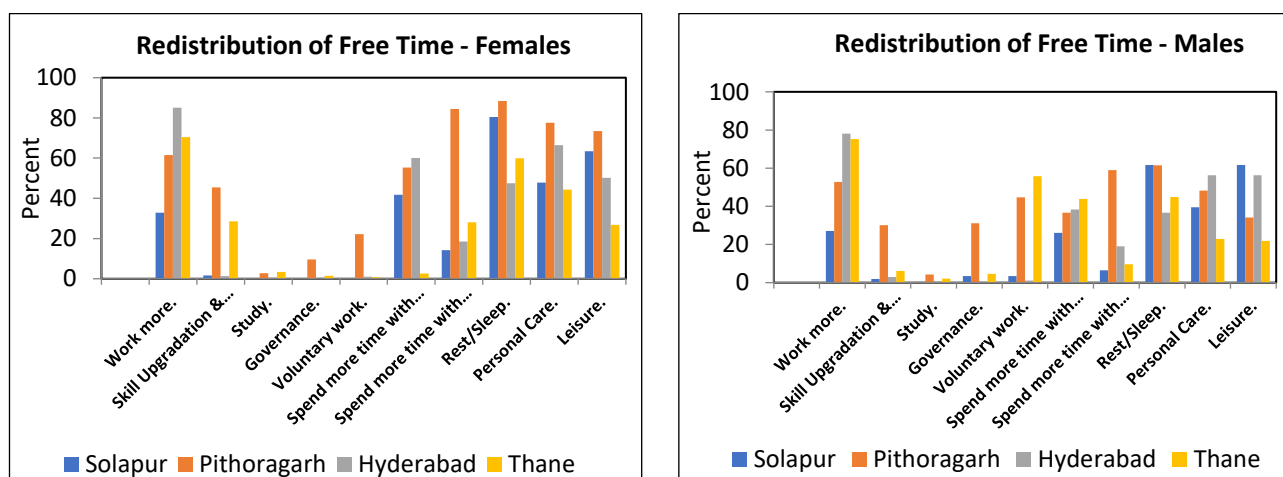
**Exhibit 5.19**



**5.4.10 Redistribution of Free Time**

The issue of redistribution is central to this action research, and this section was especially designed to capture what is the reality of these women and men in the context of the burden they face and the time poverty they experience, and to what extent and in which direction can their desires be translated into a more equitable pattern. The re-distribution of free time addresses the normative goals and thoughts of the respondent. In other words, it concerns the activities on which time would be spent if the work burden is reduced or re-distributed. Interestingly almost similar patterns emerge from both male and female respondents in each region albeit with variations in priorities across regions (Exhibit 5.20 and Appendix Table V.D.44).

**Exhibit 5.20**



Major activities that women and men would like to spend their time on encompass rest and sleep, leisure, work more, and personal care. 80 percent of women and men in Hyderabad would prefer to work more while 80 percent of the women and 60 percent of the men in Solapur and Pithoragarh would prefer to rest/sleep; after all, men also have to bear part of the unpaid burden, even though to a rather lesser degree than women. More than 60 percent of the respondents, male as well as female in Solapur would prefer to have greater leisure. A sizeable percentage of female and male respondents preferred spending greater time with children and also friends. A very miniscule percentage of both male and female respondents indicated their preference to study, be associated with governance and/or engage in voluntary work. Preference for skill upgradation has been indicated only by women in Pithoragarh, and by both men and women in Thane.

Each of these figures has a story behind them, and it would be fascinating to unravel them. The primary wish in terms of what they would do if there had more time is clearly more sleep for rural women – 80.5 percent for Solapur and 88.4 percent for Pithoragarh. For rural men too sleep is a priority as they also share the unpaid work burden, though significantly less by 20 percentage points. Solapur men are equally keen on sleep and leisure: this is rather interesting as several told us that they wanted to spend more time in the saloon, a wish not a single woman expressed, except for a teenager in Thane.

The priority for urban women and also men appears to be work. This aspiration needs to be understood in relation to the conditions of work prevalent in the informal sector and the chronic insecurity of guaranteed employment. The correct interpretation of over 75 percent wanting to work more in reality means more remunerative work: after all, it is not the hours of work but the payment of decent wages that keeps poverty entrenched. In the ultimate sense, wages are to be perceived in both absolute and relative terms, and not only as factor-income but fundamentally as factor-share.

Social interaction emerges as an important component, especially if seen in simple terms, 'Spending Time with Friends'. Pithoragarh emerged as a truly distinct region; this category got a resounding yes from over 88 percent of women and 59 percent of men, the second most important priority for them after Rest/Sleep. Another crucial finding is that almost as many men as women wanted to spend more time with their children. In Thane in fact the proportion of men far outweighed that of women. This aspect needs to be more nuanced and clarified through appropriate strategies of advocacy and action.

### **5.5: Time Distribution Patterns: Women Workers in General and Female Headed Households**

Among the most marginalised and vulnerable sections are Female Headed Households; it would be instructive therefore to understand whether and to what extent they face greater time poverty, whether they have to bear a greater burden of unpaid work, whether their work allocation patterns differ, whether they undertake unpaid work differently from 'general' households, and whether their 'single-ness' is reflected in the nature and extent of work they do as well as in the gendered continuum applicable to their reality. Consequently, are compared situations in general households vis-à-vis female headed households (FHH) (see Table 5.6 and Appendix Tables V.D.50 to V.D.75).

There appears to be no major difference in cultivation patterns either in Solapur (24.5 hours/week in FHH) or in Pithoragarh (28.4 hours/week in FHH). The differences arise not in terms of time spent so much as in terms of the nature of agricultural activities that women from general and women from FHH are involved in, or, possibly are permitted to do in a specific patriarchal-cultural milieu.

FHH are not engaged in the ploughing of land. Likewise, women in FHH are not engaged in sowing and carrying of manure to the field, whereas women in general households are not engaged in applying of fertiliser and nursery work. The major work burden of women in both general as well as FHH relates to weeding and cutting of undergrowth, and harvesting and related activities where the time spent is more than 30 hours/week. Besides, women workers in FHH like their counterparts from general households in Pithoragarh are engaged in a wider range of sub-activities under cultivation as compared to women workers from FHH in Solapur. Similar to the pattern seen for general households in Pithoragarh, even in FHH, the contribution of the OF is significant across all sub-activities under cultivation, and on an average the time spent by the OF matches that of the PRF in Pithoragarh. Intriguingly, in Solapur there is a complete lack of involvement of the OF in activities under cultivation.

As in the case of cultivation, animal husbandry responsibility of the PRF in FHH is not vastly different from their general household counterparts in both rural areas. There is, however, a substantially high and significant amount of time spent (14.6 hours/week) by the OF in FHH in Solapur although the only activity the OF was associated was animal and livestock grazing. Even in Pithoragarh, among the FHH, the contribution of the OF was markedly higher in collecting and storing milk (10.5 hours/week) and safeguarding of animals (16.3 hours/week). A mere seven female respondents in FHH in Pithoragarh are involved in forest and also fishing activity, engaged solely in making nets and traps which is similar to the activity undertaken by male respondents from general households. Like in general households, this activity is not undertaken by respondents in Solapur.

Differential patterns of work burden and time distribution emerge in the construction constituency, in both Hyderabad and Thane. The PRF of FHH in Hyderabad spends longer hours, 18.3 hours/week which is higher than that of the PRF (15.7 hour/week) in general households, but the range of activities under construction

that the PRF worker (FHH) is associated with – mixing/straining of mud, head load worker and earth digging – is less as compared to her counterpart in general households. On the other hand, in Thane, the PRF (FHH) spends an average 17.3 hours/week which is much lower than the female worker (25.75 hours/week) in general households. Also, the only activity even the PRF in FHH is associated with is being employed as a head load worker similar to those in general households. A feature common to both urban areas among FHH is the complete absence of the OF worker.

The relatively lower amount of time spent on construction activity by women in Female Headed Households can be explained by several factors.

One, sexual harassment at the workplace, which is built into the 'labour contracts'. A significantly large number of women complained repeatedly about the rise in sexual violence. Being single, they are considered as being available: several single women have now started avoiding getting into construction work altogether. This is true of both Hyderabad and Thane.

Two, lack of child care support for single women who are the primary earners. A few households have other women to help out including older daughters, but few of even these OF can afford not to earn.

Three, there are relatively more opportunities for self-employment and home-based work in Thane, so fewer prefer to go to work in construction on a daily basis. In Thane, a new job opportunity has opened up: that of washing and cleaning of PDS rice. Similar to the situation observed in general households, even in FHH not much participation can be seen by female workers in non-agricultural and non-construction earning activities. In Solapur and Hyderabad not even 5 women were involved in these activities. In Pithoragarh, half the FHH workers were engaged as casual workers and on an average spent 46.3 hours/week, while in Thane a substantial number were associated with home based enterprise spending 20.5 hours/week on an average, 10 respondents working for an average of 15 hours/week as casual workers.

#### **Table 5.6**

**Average Time Distribution Pattern of Women in General & Female Headed Households (Hours/Week)**

Activity	Hour PRF	Hour OF	Pragath PRF	Pragath OF	Prabhad PRF	Prabhad OF	PRF	OF
<b>General Households</b>								
Cultivation/Construction	25.0	1.8	27.9	25.2	15.7	4.0	25.75	0
Domestic Husbandry	14.75	1.25	9.0	7.4	0	0	0	0
Agriculture & Fishing	0	0	31.3	34.5	0	0	0	0
Non-Agricultural Non-Construction Living Activities	0	0	48.1	0	0	0	22	0
Travel & Waiting Time for Economic Activities	4.6	5.9	15.3	14.5	8.6	0	3.75	0
Household Processing & Repair	9.25	4.9	13.0	9.1	4.5	0	1.4	1.8
Travel & Waiting Time for Energy*	10.9	9.5	12.0	13.0	2.6	0	2.6	2.75
Travel & Waiting Time for Water	2.1	2.1	8.5	4.9	3.4	0	1.9	2.9
Care of Children, Ill, Aged & Challenged	5.9	7.5	14.6	14.3	3.8	0	2.6	7.8
Household Maintenance & Management	4.25	3.0	7.2	7.0	2.8	2.0	2.9	3.5
Travel & Time for Food Provisioning	1	1.1	21.8	18.9	2.0	2.4	1.9	3.5
<b>Female Headed Households</b>								
Cultivation/Construction	24.5	0	28.4	28.1	18.33	0	17.25	0
Domestic Husbandry	12.3	14.60	9.7	10.3	0	0	0	0
Agriculture & Fishing	0	0	39.0	28.0	0	0	0	0



n-Agricultural n-Construction ing Activities	0	0	46.25	0	0	0	17.75	0
& Waiting Time r Economic Activities	5.4	4.8	15.25	20.2	8.01	0	3.25	0
hold Processing & Repair	4.75	3.0	12.9	13.0	4.58	10.67	1.1	2.0
& Waiting Time or Energy*	5.11	7.8	10.6	9.9	2.13	0	1.75	0.3
& Waiting Time for Water	8.5	4.9	9.5	4.8	3.60	2.17	1.1	0.5
of Children, Ill, y & Challenged	3.5	12.3	15.8	16.5	3.71	0	1.5	0
Household aintenance & anagement	3.3	3.2	6.7	7.3	2.71	2.87	1.0	1.0
el & Time for c Provisioning	1.15	1	22.3	23.6	2.01	2.61	0.75	0.5

Travel and waiting time patterns related to economic activities is very similar to that observed in general households for both men and women, being the highest in Pithoragarh and the least in Thane. In Solapur, PRF and OF spend an average of 7 hours/week on reaching the ground for fodder while it takes 3.7 hours/week to reach the work site. In associated economic activity such as household processing and repair, the PRF in FHH reported 4.75 hours/week and the OF 3 hours/week in Solapur which is only about half of that in general households. In Pithoragarh, the PRF in both type of households records similar patterns; however, the OF in FHH average 13 hours/week which is much higher than the OF average of 9.1 hours/week in general households. The contribution of the OF in FHH in Hyderabad is substantial, averaging 10.67 hours/week, while in general households the OF are not engaged in this activity.

Interestingly the time distribution patterns for energy in FHH, with the exception of Hyderabad, is lower than that in general households. The reasons for this would be rather simple: one, there is no male demanding '*chule ki roti*' (bread cooked on firewood which apparently tastes best), and two, that FHH tend

to cook less often sometimes even once a day. However, the patterns for water in both households are similar for Pithoragarh and Hyderabad. On the other hand, in Thane the water burden of FHH women is much lower, whereas in Solapur it is more than double compared to their counterparts in general households.

*This apparent contradiction between women in FHH expending double the time than women in general households on water in Solapur was explained in an FGD: it appears that a significant number of single women stay in the houses of their brothers, where they are given a place to sleep and sometimes meals; in return, they have to pay with their labour-power by helping the women of the house to reduce their unpaid burden, especially the collection of water and also firewood.*

The dependence on OF for care work related to children, old and ill in FHH is greater than in general households in all regions. The care burden on PRF ranges between a maximum of 15.8 hours/week in Pithoragarh to a minimum of 1.5 hours/week in Thane, that on the OF being 16.5 hours/week in Pithoragarh and 12.3 hours/week in Solapur. In the urban areas, there was no substantive involvement of the OF in Care activities. Further, of the various activities within Care, the maximum time was spent on general child care followed by medical care for the children and elderly.

Additionally, OF emerge as a strong support system for household maintenance and management which are headed by women. The burden of the PRF in FHH is lower than that of the PRF in general households, that of the OF ranging from a maximum of 7.3 hours/week in Pithoragarh to an hour/week in Thane. Activities under household maintenance and management, common to all four regions, on which women spent most of their time include cooking and cleaning up after meals, washing and drying of clothes, washing and drying vessels and shopping for consumables. There is no major difference observed in public provisioning including care. Among FHH the largest burden is on women in Pithoragarh at about 3 hours a day and the least in Thane. The pattern of time spent on overall personal care by women in FHH is not significantly different from those in general households. Under personal care, the major concern however, is the lack of sleep specially in Pithoragarh; PRF in general households get an hour less of sleep per day than their counterparts in FHH.

Awareness of the various provisions under MGNREGS like in the general households is higher in Pithoragarh than in Solapur, but this awareness is limited to only a few provisions in Pithoragarh for FHH. For instance, women in Pithoragarh are not aware of provisions under MGNREGS such as drinking water, shade, first aid

and crèche facilities whereas those in Solapur are aware of these provisions and have also benefitted, albeit marginally. A major benefit denied to FHH in Solapur is the payment of equal wages, which is received by those in Pithoragarh. Likewise, awareness of the various provisions under BOCW is higher among the women of FHH as in general households, while the benefits received like in the case of general households have been few in both Hyderabad and Thane. A major difference in Hyderabad for women FHH vis-à-vis general households is that women workers from FHH are not paid minimum wages. The main benefit obtained by FHH women in Thane is that they are ensured fixed working hours apart from other benefits like old age pension and drinking water. As regards other government schemes, the pattern of awareness and benefits in all four regions for FHH is similar to that observed in general households.

Women in FHH in all four regions similar to women in general households preferred to spend their free time on rest/sleep, leisure, socialising with friends, and in Hyderabad also working more. An interesting difference is that a sizeable percentage of FHH respondents both in urban and rural regions also desired to spend more time on personal care (Pithoragarh 72.7 percent, Solapur 26.2 percent, Thane 62 percent and Hyderabad 68.9 percent).

## **5.6: Gendered Activity Participation Ratios**

In the final analysis of estimating the distribution pattern of both paid and unpaid of women as well as men in order to capture the gendered continuum, we have constructed a Gendered Activity Participation Ratio.

The Gendered Activity Participation Ratio (GAPR) indicates the participation rate of males and females in each major activity, economic as well as extra-economic. This ratio is computed as follows – under any given major activity there are several sub-activities, and the sub-activity in which the participation is the highest in terms of numbers of respondents is defined as the maximum. This maximum number has been divided by the total respondents for that region in the age-group 14-60 to arrive at the Activity Participation Ratios; this has been done separately for females and males in order to obtain the Gendered Activity Participation Ratios. For instance, in Solapur there are seven sub-activities under animal husbandry. Of them, the maximum number of female respondents (235 respondents) is involved with safeguarding of animals. The Gendered Activity Participation Ratio of women who are involved in animal husbandry has been computed as 235 female respondents divided by the total number of female respondents (589) in the age-group 14-60,

thus the GPR working out to 39.9 percent. This has been done across all sub-activities for all major activities even if the number of respondents has been less than 20 as the purpose is to determine the activity rate. Such an approach is suggestive of the intensity of participation of females and males in economic as well as extra-economic activities, paid as well as unpaid.

The single most important result is that the Female Activity Participation Ratio (FAPR) is much higher in all regions and in almost all activities. The Male Activity Participation Ratio (MAPR) in several activities is less than half of the Female Activity Participation Ratio. These huge gendered differentials also apply to what are considered as 'purely economic' categories. Under the classification of economic activity, the maximum intensity is in the main activity of cultivation and construction where FAPR is greater as compared to the MAPR across all regions (see Table 5.7). This would imply that the number of women working under cultivation and construction is higher than the number of men participating. Consequently, there is a huge Gender Gap – which can also be perceived and termed as a Reverse Gender Gap in keeping with standard definitions of sex ratio – in the Activity Participation Ratio exceeding an average of 20 percentage points in Cultivation in both the rural areas as well as Construction in Thane, only Hyderabad showing a relatively smaller gap of 8 percentage points. The (Reverse) Gender Gap in APR is an astounding 50 percentage points for Pithoragarh, and only a little lower in Solapur at 30 percentage points. The ostensibly intriguing results for Pithoragarh needs to be viewed in the context of both situation and location. Less than one-third of those interviewed reported themselves as working, and that too earning extremely low income. The reasons are several. One, obviously, the fewer number of employed and self-employed women. Two, that women in this richly forested area derive sustenance and subsistence for their households from Common Property Resources on which they are heavily dependent, and that the very fact of non-ownership veils the work they do under communal ownership and community rather than private property. Three, that sale of labour power in the labour market is open and visible, with immediate and tangible rewards even though in the form of extremely low wages. Four, and this is an extremely fascinating form of subversion of exploitation in the open labour market, that of the community exchange of labour outside of the market sphere.

The Gender Gap in APR remains high even for associated economic activities in all areas without exception. For Household Processing and Repair it is almost identical at 47 percentage points for both rural areas, and even higher at 69 percentage points for Thane. Hyderabad remains an exception at 6 percentage points, probably due to quantitative data gaps. Travel and Waiting Time for Economic Activities reports a Gender Gap of 33 and 45 percentage points for Solapur and Pithoragarh respectively, and Thane somewhat less at 27 percentage points. Travel and Waiting Time for Energy too records a wide gender gap especially for rural areas at 46.4 percentage points in Solapur and 39.3 in Pithoragarh; the gender differential is slightly lower in

urban areas, 33.5 in Thane and 29 percentage points in Hyderabad. Travel and Waiting Time for Water too is heavily gendered towards women, the gap averaging 55 percentage points for the rural areas, and an amazing 75 percentage points for Thane. The Gender Gap in APR is almost identical at about 49 percentage points for both rural areas for Care of Children, Ill, Elderly and Challenged; urban areas report a relative low at 31 percentage points and 20 percentage points respectively for Thane and Hyderabad. The FAPR is also higher than the MAPR for Household Maintenance and Management; the pattern here changes somewhat, with Hyderabad reporting the highest gap at 48 percentage points, followed by Solapur at 42.5, Pithoragarh at 36 and Thane at 31 percentage points. Travel and Time for Public Provisioning has the lowest Gender Gaps amongst all categories of activity, lowest for Solapur at less than 3 and highest for Thane at 17 percentage points.

Thus, gender-based division of labour emerges strongly in all sectors of all activities, except in Non-agricultural and Non-construction activities in both rural areas and in Hyderabad where differences exist between FAPR and MAPR. Also, in Pithoragarh, there are no major disparities in the Activity Participation Ratio of males and females in forestry and fishing.

**Table 5.7**

**Gendered Activity Participation Ratio: General Households (Percent)**

	FEMALE RESPONDENTS				MALE RESPONDENTS			
	apur	horagarh	ane	derabad	apur	horagarh	ne	erabad
Activation/ Construction	78.1	60.7	74.7	41.2	58.5	37.2	55.8	34.2
Household Maintenance & Repair	45.0	61.5	NAP	NAP	14.7	11.2	NAP	NAP
Forestry & Fishing	NAP	10.4	NAP	NAP	NAP	9.8	NAP	NAP
Non-agricultural & Non-construction Activity	2.7	22.9	11.9	0.5	5.1	40.1	3.4	0.1
Travel & Waiting	82.7	73.2	86.6	47.0	35.1	25.9	17.8	41.0
Travel & Waiting	46.2	49.5	75.5	42.8	13.3	4.7	48.4	43.4

or Economic activities								
Travel & Waiting Time for Energy*	75.9	68.3	56.1	44.3	29.5	29.0	22.6	15.3
Travel & Waiting Time for Water	88.3	75.3	80.2	45.9	36.4	17.8	4.8	14.0
Care of Children, Ill, Elderly & Challenged	63.5	55.4	62.3	33.2	15.5	6.3	31.2	12.7
Maintenance & Household Management	86.9	79.4	92.3	70.1	44.4	42.7	61.2	21.9
Travel & Time for Provisioning	65.0	54.4	89.0	29.0	62.7	42.7	71.9	24.6
NAP – Not Applicable. * - excluding the time spent on waiting for Kerosene and gas cylinder								

Importantly, variations emerge in the Activity Participation Ratio of female workers in Female Headed Households and of women in General Households (see Tables 5.7 and 5.8). In Solapur, the former ratio is lower for most economic activities. However, the APR of women workers from Female Headed Households is higher for Travel and Waiting Time for Economic Activity where a greater percentage are associated with grazing and take longer hours to reach the grazing lands. Their APR is much higher for Household Processing and Repair, Household Management and Maintenance, Travel & Waiting Time for Energy, Travel and Waiting Time for Water, crossing the 90 percent threshold in most of these activities in Solapur.

The Activity Participation Ratio of the female worker in Pithoragarh in FHH is either lower or comparable to their general household counterparts in most activities except in Non-Agricultural and Non-Construction earning activities where substantial number of women participate as casual workers. An evaluation of the APR in the urban areas reveals major differences between these two regions. In Hyderabad, the Activity Participation Ratio of female workers from FHH is much higher than their cohorts in general households. On the other hand, in Thane considerable equivalence can be observed in the APR in all economic activities; it is lower for Household Processing and Repair, Travel and Waiting Time for Water and in Public Provisioning, while it is higher in Household Maintenance and Management and Energy. Among the most significant difference that has fundamental policy implications is the lower intensity rate of female workers from FHH in the Care activity in Solapur, Pithoragarh and Thane. The lowest is in Solapur at not even 21 percent, the other areas reporting more than double but still less than that in General Households.

**Table 5.8**

**Activity Participation Ratio of Women Workers in Female Headed Households (Percent)**

Activity	bolapur	boragarh	chane	derabad
Cultivation/Construction	40.3	52.9	75.6	52.2
Animal Husbandry	41.7	52.9	NAP	NAP
Forestry & Fishing	NAP	7.8	NAP	NAP
Non-Agricultural & Non-Construction Earning Activity	2.7	33.3	12.2	3.3
Travel & Waiting Time for Economic Activities	61.1	37.3	77.7	58.9
HH Processing & Repair	97.2	68.6	81.1	75.6
Travel & Waiting Time – Energy*	86.1	67.6	58.9	64.4
Travel & Waiting Time – Water	88.9	72.5	76.7	72.2
Care of Children, Ill, Elderly & Challenged	20.8	41.2	48.9	51.1
Household Maintenance & Management	98.6	79.4	97.7	77.8
Travel & Time for Public Provisioning	65.3	70.6	83.3	63.3
NAP – Not Applicable. * - excluding the time spent on waiting for kerosene and gas				

**5.7: Conclusion**

The focus of analysis of the data obtained from the primary survey was twofold – one, to estimate the time distribution patterns by women and men on various economic as well as extra-economic activities and two, to study the extent and intensity of participation or involvement of men and women. Several activities undertaken by women workers in rural areas especially related to self-consumption in agriculture as well as the activities they undertake to fulfill the macroeconomic gaps ought to be considered as economic activity and within the production boundary as it adds to the economic well-being of the household.

On an average, male and female workers in a given region spend almost similar amounts of time on an activity. Yet, gender gaps in activity participation rates cut across all categories of activities. Further, men and women spend almost 60 percent or even more of their time on economic activity; and if the extended definition of economic activity is used to include household processing and repair in order to compare with activities specified as economic activities under the System of National Accounts (SNA), then the time spent on this category of work rises to 70 percent and above.

The above needs to be perceived in the context of the fact that multiplicity and simultaneity dominate the pattern of women's work, unpaid, care, and even paid. Additionally, women are engaged in a wide range of sub-activities under every major category; men participate in fewer activities especially under care and household work but they spend longer hours on those activities: consequently, the average hours spent for men and women tend to be similar. Also, the intensity of participation is not very high among males. For instance, although they do undertake some responsibility for the tasks that constitute the household management and maintenance, their numbers are much less as compared to female respondents. Differences also exist between the intensity of participation of the urban and the rural male, the former engaged in a wider range of activities and at times spending as much time as the urban female worker.

The major findings of this survey have to be perceived holistically within the broader context of marginalisation and vulnerability, as well as in relation to prevailing patriarchal norms and structures. Integral is that the fundamentals of the gendered continuum between unpaid work and paid work are based on the multiple, intermixed and interconnected recognised and unrecognised roles that women perform in production, reproduction, maintenance, consumption and distribution.



## **Chapter Six**

### **A Conclusion in Continuum**

#### **6.1: Introduction**

This evidence-based action research integrates the macro and micro via the meso at all levels via both a vast secondary data base and primary analysis undertaken at the level of the household, with an analytically conscious comprehension of all inherent variations, contradictions and differentials. Consequently, this study has been perceived primarily as a process integrating research, advocacy and action, located deliberately in the context of subsistence based livelihoods which are not only highly gendered, but are intrinsically interconnected to especially resource ownership and control patterns, both individual and common.

This 'conclusion' therefore is not a typical summary of results that lists out a series of recommendations; rather, it focuses on unraveling and visibilising the fundamentals of the gendered continuum between the Unpaid and Paid Work Sub-Economies that have emerged from the analysis of both secondary and primary data in the concrete economic and extra-economic reality of women and men, and the nature of their labour and livelihoods perceived through macro, meso and micro interconnects that often operate in a dialectical and also exploitative and oppressive manner.

We begin by locating the concept of women's work within the overall macroeconomic scenario, followed by the critique of identified policies and schemes via both secondary and primary information based evidence. The analysis then focusses on the feminization of the gendered continuum, issues of sustainability and sustenance, linkages between paid and unpaid economies. The culmination of the entire study are the conceptual and methodological learnings.

## **6.2: Macroeconomic Context of Women's Work**

The definition of Unpaid Work, which incorporates Unpaid Care Work, extends beyond the domestic domain to unrecognised and hence unquantified work. It represents a continuum of work across various thresholds, and, in the ultimate sense, reinforces the patriarchal interlinks between State, Market, Community, and Family particularly in nations that are in the process of attaining development. This process of development is often and increasingly characterised by multiple polarities both economic and extra-economic, these several forms of contradistinctions operating across gender, class, social groups, communities, regions, sectors and sub-sectors. Integrated with the morphology of production and reproduction are the opposite yet apposite interconnects between various structures including the formal and informal, the organised and the unorganised, the rural and the urban. Central to understanding the issues of the connects and disconnects between paid, underpaid, unpaid and care work is the location in the system of production, reproduction and ownership of resources, and hence of the analysis of the gendered continuum as well as concatenation.

The gendered continuum between paid, underpaid, unpaid and care work in a developing and increasingly differentiated society must, of necessity, be examined in relation to the fact that the primary motive force of entering the domain of production – whether recognised in all its forms or not – is subsistence and survival, located within a sustainable economy and livelihood framework.

The concepts of production and also of work that is central to this understanding therefore incorporate exchange-value as well as use-value, including the intermeshing of the two that lie at the cusp, so to say. This is so especially for women who work at the threshold which characterises the space between the private and the public domain. Women's work therefore has to be perceived at three levels – that within the walls of the home, that outside the walls of the home, and the shadow work which lies on the doorstep (*dehleez*) between that which has an exchange-value and that which has a use-value. This conceptual

approach critically and additionally underlies the gendered continuum between all the four categories of work and hence forms the fulcrum of the interconnects between recognising, reducing and redistributing unpaid work, containing within itself the redefinition of work. Fundamental to this continuum is that the economy of a country, particularly one that is developing, rests on both paid and unpaid work, with two simultaneously functioning interdependent sub-economies – the Paid Work Economy and the Unpaid Work Economy.

The very nature of women's work has undergone significant modifications in recent times, particularly since the reshaping of the macroeconomic fundamentals of the economy. The past few years have witnessed rather dramatic changes in the nature of vulnerabilities characterising the livelihoods and the labour of poorer women and also men. These transformations are closely connected to the several decisive and defining processes that have come to characterise the neo-liberal phase.

One, the withdrawal of the State from the public sphere especially that pertaining to where the majority of Indians and especially women live and labour.

Two, the macroeconomic context of declining investment in public provisioning of basic essential rights as well as welfare goods and services that have a direct impact on labour and labour power, especially the unpaid and paid work of women.

Three, the resultant creation of institutional and macroeconomic structures and policies, including privatisation of public goods, which in fact violate civic and civil rights including the right to work, to safe water, clean energy, care, sanitation, etc.

Four, that of visibilisation and de-visibilisation of women's work in the context of their perceived decline in contributing to the nation's economy.

Five, the altered equation between capital and labour as well as the forms of surplus extraction, with appropriation extending beyond individually 'owned' property to that which is 'collectively owned' and accessed.

The benefits to these colluding structures at all three levels of macro, meso and micro are many and myriad, and operate through several interlinked ways and methods –

- By depending on women's underpaid work and unpaid work to fill gaps in public expenditure and 'genderless' macroeconomic policies
- By subordination of women within the productive and also reproductive process via their non-empowerment in the sphere of production
- By limiting the definition of production to that which is visible, recognisable and hence quantifiable
- By neglecting to recognise the existence of unpaid work and hence the need to reduce and redistribute it
- By upholding a particular form of family which ensures cheap reproduction of labour power with women as a reserve army
- By extending the oppression of women via supporting a form of household in which they provide unpaid services
- By taking advantage of gender norms that put responsibility for both unpaid work and also unpaid care work on women
- By remaining silent in the face of increase in gender violence in the economy as well as the society.

### **6.3: Policies: Evidence-based Critique, Evaluation and Articulation**

The detailed evaluation of the 4 laws, 4 policies and 10 schemes that has been carried out reveals the almost total negation of the recognition of the Unpaid Work Sub-Economies, perceiving women primarily as reproductive rather than economic agents. Before critiquing each policy individually, it must be stated that the lack of gendered disaggregated information permeates all layers across both time and space, at both national and regional levels. There appears to be little concern regarding quantitative information especially in relation to gendered benefits. In spite of MIS, reporting by especially state departments is not only low on accuracy but also considerably lagged, with no perceptible effort to monitor data and to rectify lapses. Timely and accurate data is indispensable for monitoring, utilization and reach of funds as well as benefits.

#### *Energy:*

There appears to be a dramatic boost in budget allocations in 2016-17; however, the gross budgetary outlay for 2017-18 is only Rs. 15 crores. Furthermore, women specific allocation as percentage of total MNRE budget has fallen from 27.85 percent in 2014-15 to a pathetic 2.47 today. State level analysis shows that while Maharashtra outlays have increased, the total is a mere Rs. 171 crores. In Telangana, not even 10 percent of the Rs. 241 crores has been utilized; no data exists for Uttarakhand. The original two thirds of the

Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas budget allocated to PAHAL have been halved. The PMUY and the DBTK are miniscule schemes that account for respectively no more than 1.5 per cent and 0.5 per cent of the budget today.

*Water:*

Allocations for Swachh Bharat Abhiyan have exceeded that for NRDWP, reflecting a clear shift in State priorities and an increasing and worrying disconnect between water and sanitation. Maharashtra outlay is now one third of what it was three years ago, with Uttarakhand also reflecting a decrease. Both states also appear to have a common problem of utilization of central funds.

*Care:*

The implementation of the Maternity Benefit Act appears to have been an utter failure throughout the country, with only 35,035 women benefitting a total of Rs. 60.63 crores as of 2014. Regional implementation is virtually non-existent: Maharashtra Rs. 28 crores to 2078 women, Telangana Rs. 3 crores to 604 women, and Uttarakhand Rs. 0.02 crores to 2 women. The Central allocation of Rs. 2700 crores to IGMSY in the 2017-18 budget was found insufficient for the estimated 53 lakhs beneficiaries and hence eligibility has been restricted to one child. What this implies for the future child sex ratio is an issue of deep concern. No funds have been released so far to states under the MBP. Maharashtra has slashed its budget estimate within the last one year alone from Rs. 30.09 crores to Rs. 5.39 crores. The BE of Telengana was increased to Rs 30.19 crores in 2015-16, following a not too little AE of Rs. 13.58 cr in the previous year; there is no data after that. Uttarakhand data varies between an expenditure of Rs. 5 crores in 2014-15 and the utilization of Rs. 3 crores a year later.

Allocations to ICDS, one of the most renowned schemes that has a direct impact on women's work both paid and unpaid, has been increased in the current budget after a three-year period of decline. Even so it has dropped as a proportion of the total MCWD budget from 88 percent in 2014-15 to 80 percent today. While the number of operational AWC's increased by about 3000, the number of children in PSE have fallen by 5 percent. All three states show a sharp fall: Maharashtra to 42 percent of BE, Telangana to less than one crore; Central funds to Uttarakhand have been halved.

RGNCS seems to be in a state of virtual collapse: its share of the MWCD budget has been consistently below one percent; fall in number of functioning creches by more than one fourth; decline in beneficiaries from 6 lakhs to 1.6 lakhs. This model based on partnership with NGO's and the private sector does not appear to be working well at all. The state level scenario is equally alarming. The allocation in Maharashtra today is just about a crore distributed to about 5000 persons. Uttarakhand has sanctioned Rs. 73 lakhs benefitting 2600 persons, with Telangana reporting 4152 beneficiaries.

It is only in MGNREGA that women are recognised as individual farmers. Using this specific programme, ASVSS in Solapur conducted a series of campaigns and street plays to make MGNREGS work more flexible, and also to focus on asset creation more appropriate to women. ARPAN in Pithoragarh is also focusing on MGNREGS and has held a series of meetings to strengthen women's collectives and to demand a full 100 days' work.

Most schemes and programmes have several eligibility conditions, all of which contravene the very principle of benefits as rights and entitlements, thereby further excluding the majority of the already excluded. Narrow and 'specified' definitions of beneficiaries go against the democratic concept of universalization: illustrations of this are many – omission of rural women; one live-birth; visits to medical centers; counseling; identification through the ubiquitous card culture, etc. All these protocols put the onus on women when often material, financial, administrative and staff shortages prevent the fulfillment of conditions.

The success of a scheme and the reach of its benefits, no matter how limited and limiting they may be, are determined by availability, applicability, accessibility and affordability. The less than optimal utilisation levels of anganwadi centres in all the four regions surveyed is explained by several factors: distance; timings that do not take account of the fact that especially poorer women are also workers and that the childcare support that they require extends beyond the standard 3 to 4 hours, and, of course, the fact that the unpaid work burden is never taken into account. Other problems do exist: poor infrastructure; erratic electricity; no drinking water and toilet facilities; ineffective teacher training; irregular monitoring and supervision; low levels of community engagement; lack of ownership. An additional concern is that of Anganwadi workers and also ASHA workers and their helpers being perceived as volunteers, and also overburdening them with the numerous tasks they are expected to perform. This gender stereotyping appears to have become even more widespread through the job titles used in schemes, extending to two new categories of 'women

volunteers' we discovered during fieldwork – *Pashu Sakhi* in Solapur (woman-friend of animals) and *Bhojan Mata* in Pithoragarh (food mother).

The facility of crèches under the BOCW Act is applicable to establishments that employ only ten workers; yet 50 women workers are required for this provision in order to get the benefit. Also, the maternity benefit under this law provides for only monetary compensation. There is no clarification relating to the formula or to the eligibility criteria, nor are there any terms and conditions determining payment. The women beneficiaries do not get leave and nor is there any guarantee of employment on return. No medical expenses are given and neither are nursing breaks, while there is no clause relating to avoidance of hazardous jobs.

New concerns voiced by the majority of respondents in all four areas of research, both urban and rural, relate to digitisation, to mobile banking, to the linking of Aadhar cards with benefits, to registration of construction workers. There are several realities especially in the context of marginalised groups that have been overlooked.

One, the high levels of illiteracy that exist, particularly for women. These proportions exceed 87 percent of female respondents in Hyderabad, 79 percent in Thane, 52 percent in Solapur and 38 percent in Pithoragarh. When asked what their biggest problem was in relation to schemes and DBT, women identified 'digitisation'. SMS messages are sent on mobiles and illiteracy does not permit them to access the information; nor can they talk directly to anyone on the phone because of recorded messages; call centres keep them on hold for long; network connectivity is extremely poor; erratic electricity means that charging cell phones is not always possible; and, of course, that their unpaid work often takes them into far-flung fields where there is no signal.

Two, the emergence of the ubiquitous 'card culture' and the linking of Aadhar cards to avail of most benefits, including that of registration of Construction Workers under BOCWA. The Hyderabad Regional Office of ActionAid Association and the ground partner SALAH in Thane have begun a campaign for overcoming this challenge, and consequently registration drives specifically for women construction workers were conducted, increasing the number by over a hundred and from 11 registered workers to over 200

respectively. As a result, in Hyderabad 98 workers were facilitated in getting bank accounts opened, while 10 women got maternity and marriage benefits. In Thane about 100 workers were supported in getting registered under the medical insurance scheme of Janshree Bima Yojana. Three, the central issue of migration and the fact that portability of rights does not exist. This has deprived hundreds of migrant children from availing of basic benefits including food, midday meals, immunization, schooling. Also, with Aadhar cards often dependent on 'proof of address', migrants are unable to get ration cards or evidence of their stay particularly in so-called unauthorised slums.

There are two urgent issues that have emerged from the evidence generated at the field level: though not within the 'scope' of the objectives identified in this research, both have a crucial bearing on the lives and labour of especially the marginalised women. One, that of houselessness which goes beyond the pale of homelessness directly to destitution. This is the reality of a significantly large number of female headed households with their 'illegally' deserted women members. Two, that of deserted parents. We confronted this 'new' phenomenon in the urban slums of Thane; old parents who have been left to fend for themselves after they have either been maimed in accidents at the worksite or have become too old to earn their keep, so to say. These two rather desperate issues are being raised specifically at the request of our 'respondents', in the hope that schemes relating to housing, pension, and social security become more responsive and humane.

However, most of scheme and programme issues have to be perceived in the context of the on-going process of amalgamation of 44 Labour Laws into 4 Labour Codes. The first Labour Code on Wages covers existing laws including Payment of Wages Act; Minimum Wages Act, etc. The second Labour Code on Industrial Relations subsumes the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, Trade Unions Act, 1926, and the Industrial Employment Act, 1946 among others. The third Labour Code on Social Security & Welfare of March 16, 2017 is currently under debate: it subsumes a total of 15 laws including Maternity Benefit Act, Payment of Gratuity Act, Employees Compensation Act, Unorganised Social Security Act, Welfare Funds/Cess.

#### **6.4: Feminisation of Unpaid and Paid Work Activities**

Probably the single most startling of results is the extent of advancement of the process of feminisation of all activities in all sectors and subsectors as well as in constituencies. Feminisation in terms of both numbers



and time spent extends over all activities including construction, cultivation, animal husbandry, collection of non-wood forest produce, fishing, collection of fodder, energy, water, household management & maintenance, travel & time for public provisioning, and undisputedly, care. This is not to say that men do much less work, but that, in the main, the number of them involved and as well as their share of the work burden is significantly less in terms of both hours and ranges.

The number of hours women spend and the maximum ranges they put in often go beyond the number of hours that a week contains. The gendered continuum between unpaid and paid work therefore is characterised by not only the multiplicity of women's work but also its simultaneity. For example, grazing and watering of livestock is combined with collection of firewood and cow dung, as well as with cultivation activities. Similarly, personal care is combined with general care of children, as is supervising children while carrying out not only unpaid but also paid activities.

The FAPR is much higher than the MAPR in all regions, the maximum intensity being in the two major activities of agriculture and construction. The GTBR in cultivation for women often extends beyond 55 hours for an average week. In animal husbandry, the difference in GAPR in Solapur is 30.3 percentage points, with Pithoragarh exceeding 50 percentage points. The travel and waiting time expended for fodder collection is about an average of 10 hours in the plains of Solapur, more than doubling to 22.5 hours in the hilly regions.

The construction sector too appears to have embarked on the process of becoming feminized in Thane and Hyderabad, the GAPR differentiation being 18.9 and 7 percentage points respectively. The implication is not that men have voluntarily moved out due to better job opportunities in other sectors via 'pull' factors, but that few alternate job opportunities are open to women, and therefore they are compelled to hang on, so to say, even if for being employed for what we term as 'Half Work'. In this context therefore, the GTBR becomes an important tool, in that the min-max ranges between 4 to 77 hours.

Women however appear to have been kept out of non-agriculture and non-construction earning activities especially in rural areas, the male GAPR being 17.2 percentage points higher in Pithoragarh, even though one third of PRF worked as casual labour with GTBR ranging between 3.5 and 56 hours. On the other hand, a

little more than one tenth of PRF in Thane are homebased and domestic workers, both activities being predictably stereotyped.

Predictably, both GAPR and GTBR are much higher for women, although at varying levels in rural and urban areas, the former being almost identical at a little above 47 percentage points. The urban areas are a total contrast, with the tenants in Thane reporting almost 70 percentage points GAPR for women, and a miniscule 6 percentage points for the migrants in Hyderabad. Somewhat similar patterns prevail in most of the other activities and sub-activities. The Female GAPR breaches the 80 percent threshold for household maintenance and management as well as for water, the average being 3 hours/day in all the four regions. To this must be noted the fact that an additional of 5 hours per week are spent by rural women on heating and boiling of water. The gender gap in GAPR for energy is the higher in Solapur at 46.4 and the lowest in Hyderabad.

GAPR relating to Care for both urban and rural women is obviously higher. The gender gap is just a little below 49 percent in rural areas, the lowest being in Hyderabad at 20.5 percentage points. The issue here is not only the higher intensity of participation in activities and sub-activities relating to care, but also the GTBR which appears to be lower than “expected”. It must be remembered in this context that the centre of our enquiry are the marginalized, who can ill-afford to take off time to look after their children and provide the necessary quality and care particularly in the absence of State support.

The burden of both unpaid and paid work emerges as being at least partly more onerous for female headed households. Their participation in the open labour market is even more determined by the gender-based division of labour and by inequalities. For instance, single women are culturally not permitted to do ploughing; the land is the feminine mother and the plough is the masculine father. They also do not do sowing and carrying of manure to the field, whereas women in general households are not engaged in applying of fertilizer and nursery work.

Additionally, they are often not given either equal wages or even market wages in agriculture and also in construction. Single women have begun accepting what they call ‘half-work’, meaning that they will accept employment even if for only part of the day or even for a few hours. ‘Single-ness’ and being out of a

designated patriarchal slot is reflected in the nature and extent of work done as well as in the gendered continuum applicable to their reality.

### **6.5: The Stress Burden of Sustainability and Subsistence**

The concept of livelihoods is among the most textured and diverse, particularly if fused with it is, as it must be, sustainability. The most simplistic working definition for livelihoods comprises the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living even if at the subsistence level. Concomitantly, a livelihood becomes sustainable when it can combine three essential components – the development of the capacity to manage ‘stresses’ and ‘shocks’; when it can at the least maintain its assets; and when it does not degrade the natural resource base. Consequently, sustainable livelihoods, in what we have termed as a primitive definition, amalgamate the following five metaphors.

- Natural capital from which it is possible to derive resource flows and ‘useful’ services.
- Economic capital in all its manifestations which is essential for the undertaking of livelihood strategies.
- Human capital including capacity of labour-power in both quantitative and qualitative terms.
- Extra-Economic capital which fills in macroeconomic policy gaps and simultaneously subverts exchange-value.
- Relational capital defined generally as network-resources which people seek the help of in the process of pursuing livelihood strategies.

The rather erroneous dichotomy between private property ownership on which women have extremely limited control, and access to common property resources and informal infrastructure on which they are hugely dependent, determines to a large extent the division of women’s labour-power as well as labour-time into work patterns and allocations that are separated into paid, unpaid, and care. This rather false separation of women’s labour undermines their contribution to the two sub-economies of Paid Work and Unpaid Work. For instance, the restriction and also denial of age-old forest rights due to on-going amendments in forest laws tend to increase a woman’s unpaid work burden.

Deriving sustenance and subsistence from common property resources combined with non-ownership rights veils the work women do under communal ownership and community. Non-recognition of women's dependence on informal infrastructure as well as common property resources consequently tends to de-visibility their contribution to the family's well-being and to sustainable livelihoods in all forms and all ways. Disregarding the involvement of women in filling the vacuum created by the ongoing process of increasing unsustainability reinforces patriarchal rigidities and structures at all levels of the State, the market, the community and the household.

We would like to add one of the major manifestations of the extent of stress and sustainability in a woman's life: the lack of sleep. This is probably one of the most problematic impacts of a woman's time and work burden in that she does not have either the time or the peace of mind to sleep, and which affects not only her as a woman and worker, but also emerges as a major obstacle in the fulfilment of her fundamental human rights. There are of course other nuances to the overall impact including mental stress that would require a different kind of research to evaluate. We have used the term 'sleeplessness' as a quantitative indicator to measure the gendered impacts of a worker's burden: the overwhelming majority of women at 80 percent in all areas categorically expressed their desire for sleep. For rural men too sleep is a priority though at 20 percentage points less: after all, they too share the burden of work, paid and unpaid, even though to a lesser degree than women.

## **6.6: Unpaid Work Economy and Paid Work Economy**

India appears to be, as possibly are most developing countries, characterized by two simultaneously functioning sub-economies – the Paid Work Sub-Economy and the Unpaid Work Sub-Economy, the latter subsidizing the former in multiple and myriad ways which are not necessarily measurable and calculable. The nature of this subsidizing support structure has to be perceived in the context of the prevailing interdependence of macro, meso and micro factors and processes within the framework of the fundamental and on-going changes in the macroeconomic and financial architecture which questions the very concept of a welfare State. An increasingly exclusive and exclusionary market and macroeconomic policies that are occlusive to the existence of unpaid work, combined with the non-fulfillment of the essential needs of especially the marginalised and the limited implementation of schemes at the ground level, have given rise to what we term as Extra-Economic Capital.

Extra-Economic Capital incorporates several components that have emerged in order to at least partially cope with the non-attainment of specific essential needs required for at the least a subsistence level of survival. Extra-Economic Capital extends beyond coping and survival strategies, and contains three core elements, each characterised by heavily gendered informality and de-development: the partial filling of the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the State from at least public provisioning; an escape from the market and subversion of market forces; the staying out of the exchange-value conundrum. We illustrate these in the special context of the three identified sectors that impact women's work, paid and unpaid, and the continuum between the two.

Marginalised groups especially women are, more often than not, excluded from formal structures of infrastructural development, and because of the livelihood constraints they face, are compelled to opt out and create their own 'informal infrastructural alternatives'. In Thane water is not only restricted but also limited to 3 days a week. The residents have therefore taken illegal pipe connections from the main water pipes, and the water so accessed has been diverted to common spaces. This form of infrastructural development appears to be in keeping with the on-going massive decrease in all formal structures at varying levels across both time and space: we term this as 'infrastructural informality'. The argument put forward by the women is simple: "the State does not invest the money it takes from us to fulfill our needs, so we are doing it ourselves and creating our own capital".

'Informal Infrastructure' has evolved in Hyderabad too. With no electricity connection on the grounds of being an unauthorised slum, street lights have been tapped to provide at least some light in the homes. The zero-watt bulb is used behind sealed doors and boarded windows, for fear that they may be caught and possibly evicted from the tin hovels they call home. That the impact is the worst on women is obvious, cooking on firewood as most of them do.

The burden of Unpaid Work is made even more onerous because of the lack of gender-sensitive macroeconomic policies; the impact of this is directly on the extent and amount of Paid Work that a woman can do, *ceteres paribus*. Women have been compelled to stay back from work even in a situation of financial desperation in order to fill water; working outside the home in the sphere of recognised production does not reduce her role in maintenance and consumption. These women have now created an alternate mode which

cannot of course resolve the issue but helps to at least partially fulfill their multiple roles: going for work on alternate days, and filling water for each other on the days they stay back.

The trade-off between paid and unpaid work is evident at all levels. It is thus strongly suggested that time surveys be carried out before and after the setting up of and investing in public provisioning. This form of gender budgeting, what we have termed as Gender Sensitive Public Provisioning Appraisal, must be applied at all possible layers and points of time including pre and post project phases, and also integrated in monitoring and evaluation systems.

Of urgent requirement is the implementation of energy policies sensitive to women's work is reflected in all four field areas both urban and rural, given that a minimum of 50 percent of households extending up to 80 percent use wood for cooking, heating and lighting. The issue of energy is rather problematic, impacted as it has been in two ways: positively by new schemes, negatively by reduction in and the withdrawal of subsidies especially on kerosene. For one, LPG is not used for all meals all the time, or for heating and boiling water for fear of not getting refills easily. Firewood is used for part of the cooking, as well as for heating and boiling. Second, the permission to purchase kerosene is withdrawn from PDS shops once the consumer has been granted a gas connection. However, the continued dependence on firewood and the rising price of LPG implies that kerosene continues to be required for especially lighting the choolah. In the wake of reduction in subsidies, women are now compelled to use plastic wrappers and waste to light the choolah: the impact of this highly toxic dioxine on the health of the women was already visible in all the regions. Women in Pithoragarh undertake what is called '*alta-palta*', a form of exchange labour historically restricted to cultivation but now extended to energy. For those women who cannot collect firewood due to either over-work or illness, firewood is gathered in the unspoken assurance that the labour-power expended will be returned in a similar form whenever required.

Schemes relating to energy have a huge potential, if properly implemented, to reduce the time burden at least partially. However, the complexities are huge: migration; portability; digitilisation; 'card culture'; distance; availability; cultural traditions that insist that bread tastes better if baked on firewood. Other specific impediments include the patriarchal practice of women often changing their names after marriage, and thereby becoming non-recognised beneficiaries and non-identifiable bank account holders.

A large proportion of women's time is absorbed by what is called 'care', and yet few macroeconomic policies recognise this. Two areas of immediate and urgent concern are the increase in user fees in hospitals, and the non-availability and non-accessibility of crèches. The non-affordability of public hospitals subsequent to the rise in user fees has led to two immediately apparent results: that of not taking the girl-child or the woman for treatment, and that of turning to quacks. Yet another off-shoot is the increased burden of unpaid work that women now have to bear on the early discharge or even non-admittance of patients, due to rising costs of healthcare.

Among the most debated of components of care work is that of looking after children. Several intriguing issues have emerged. It appeared rather surprising that a relatively little proportion of the woman's day is devoted to child care. Also interesting was that men do tend to share child caring activities even though for a lesser period of time. An additional aspect is that of the limited benefits to children arising from the provisions of the relevant schemes, including those of non-availability, distance and timings. Yet again an alternate system of informal support has emerged. Women construction workers in Thane leave their children with elderly and often disabled neighbours, dropping the child off along with a lunch box so as not to add to the burden of the 'caretakers' who are as marginalised as them. In Hyderabad, the women left their younger children under the supervision of unemployed youth. As women in Solapur put it, "our children grow up just like that, on the roads and the streets". What this does to the quality of our future workforce is another issue altogether.

There are several major learnings. One, that all women need crèches, as all women are working; whether her work is recognised or not is the problem of policy. Two, that men too share somewhat in child care; hence the inclusion of paternity leave becomes essential in helping redistribute the care burden. Finally, the need to view child care additionally from a class perspective based on issues of subsistence and survival rather than an exclusive gender perspective, thereby isolating and marginalising women yet again.

There are two important myth that are broken. One, that women do not travel beyond their local horizons: this study reveals that more women than men used public transport. A central infrastructural issue thus emerges – that of greater investment in more affordable and better transport and road systems that takes into account gender differentiated needs. Two, that women do not have and do not want technological

knowledge. The results of the study show that there is general non-recognition of this fact. In the main, households are perceived as basic production and consumption units, with no recognition that women play important roles including in maintenance and distribution. Consequently, ignored are gender dynamics within households that do not allow women decision-making power, not even over their reproductive rights

## **6.7: Conceptual and Methodological Learnings**

The nature of functioning of the gendered work continuum in developing countries has to be evaluated at several interdependent levels, reflecting as it does the interconnected components of what is the work of a woman especially in a situation of marginalisation; of vulnerability; of patriarchy and the norms and forms that it undertakes; the on-going struggle between capital and labour; the 'integration' of the economy both formal and informal under the impact of deeply penetrative global forces; the extension of privatisation: all located in the ongoing process of the increasing abdication by the State from fulfilling its stated objective of a 'just and equal society' irrespective of gendered social and economic divides. Identified below are the major methodological and conceptual learnings that also at least partially explain how this research is different and distinctive in capturing the myriad nuances as well as the broadbrush contours of time and labour structures.

### ***One: Synchronicity of Research Methods and Analytical Tools.***

In keeping with the very concept of a continuum, knowledge collection and analysis too has been constructed as a continuum. Consequently several simultaneous methodological 'tactics' have been used: literature critique feeding into desk review of policies; pilot surveys reconfirming as well as refuting assertions; interviews with key informants who pinpointed especially administrative challenges; labeling and listing methodological gaps with the purpose of overcoming statistical 'obstacles'; field discussions identifying ground level urgencies; policy analysis resulting in identification of gaps. Among the many of the several challenges faced was therefore gathering information relating to the reality of particularly the two selected constituencies of agricultural workers and construction workers. The Household Questionnaire thus had to be designed carefully and meticulously in keeping with the uncharted territory of viewing the linkage of macroeconomic policies with the Unpaid and Paid Work Sub-Economies in order to unravel the gendered continuum. This challenge was overcome not only by wading through existing literature, but also



because of the very nature of this study that is based on integrating academics, advocacy and action. The experience of the ground partners enriched the sensitivity of the analysis in various ways: through responses, reactions, debates, arguments, and consistent and committed connect with the areas and the people they have been working with. Probably the greatest commendation to the designing of the Household Questionnaire came from an enumerator in the Hyderabad Regional Office of ActionAid Association India who confided in us that he remembered his mother every single time that he filled in a questionnaire. In all 4 regions the ground partners organised a series of community meetings to popularise the concepts as well as the research over a period of several months, a process that continues even today to strengthen advocacy and action for the purposes of reducing and redistributing unpaid work. This non-linear and concurrent strategy created for this action research will hopefully contribute significantly to further research methodology.

### ***Two: Methodological Approaches and Estimators***

Our assertion that work is fundamentally a continuum implied that the existing methodologies were not sharp enough or deep enough to provide either a correct estimate or capture all the myriad components of all forms of women's work. Methodological challenges emerged at every point and at every level of analysis and evaluation. The defining characteristics of the gendered work continuum are multiplicity, simultaneity, clustering, combining, agglomeration, aggregation, and synchronicity; the work continuum is multidimensional and hence the methods of estimation must necessarily be constructed to capture all the dimensions and dimensionality that constitutes the continuum.

It is in this context that we have formulated new conceptual-based methodological approaches and estimators that go beyond perceiving any form of work including and especially unpaid work as a category that is isolated, disassociated, individual, and therefore to be estimated and measured 'separately'.

- The construction of the ***Time Distribution Method (TDS)*** in order to estimate the unpaid burden and capture the multiplicity and simultaneity of women's work.
- The formulation of the ***Gendered Activity Participation Rate (GAPR)*** which indicates the extent and intensity of involvement of males and females in a given activity – economic as well as extra economic; recognised and unrecognised.

- Creation of the ***Gendered Time Burden Range (GTBR)*** which estimates the range of hours that women and also men expend at a minimum as well as at a maximum on various activities and sub-activities.
- Formulation of ***Gender Sensitive Public Provisioning Appraisal (GSPPA)*** approach to unravel the relatively unexplored connection between fiscal policies and women's unpaid work, both that has a shadow value and also that which is termed as 'care'.

### ***Three: Expansion of the Care Diamond***

In another methodological departure, the Care Diamond has been expanded to incorporate the role of caste and community that are increasingly influencing the central issue of women and work. In this context of the interdependence between the two sub-economies of paid and unpaid work is consequently suggested a restructuring of the Care Diamond. For one, the community is not neutral; it is heavily partisan and increasingly so especially in the context of caste and religion which generally tend to impede support particularly to those who are already marginalised and vulnerable. Two, there is an urgent need to recognise and incorporate the informal support systems that have been created by those who are marginalised in an attempt to fill the vacuum created by gender-blind macroeconomic policies. Three, the need to examine the impact of the role and nature of non-governmental organisations that have been coopted to deliver public goods and public provisioning including via the implementation of schemes and programmes which the State earlier provided directly.

### ***Four: the Fourth R of Redefinition***

Additionally and importantly, our analysis of the functioning of the gendered work continuum has led us to add a fourth R to the 3 R's that had been developed particularly and specifically for unpaid care work – that of Redefinition of the concept of unpaid work itself.

### ***Five: 'Undefinable' and 'Unquantifiable' Unpaid Work***

Here we would like to raise several concerns and challenges relating to the calculation of unpaid work. Four illustrations are provided. One, that when the data shows that no time or less time is taken for, say,

preserving meat & milk, it may be either because fresh items are bought every day or it may be because there is no money to afford meat and fish. Two, the issue of waiting time: the dying dynamics of the construction sector are such that when waiting time is recorded as being less, it could imply either there was no work and therefore there was no need to wait, or that work was found immediately and hence there was no waiting required. Three, the need to include boiling water to unpaid work in the specific context of the nonfulfillment of the guarantee for safe and clean drinking water.

Four, and this is being separately emphasised because it requires urgent and immediate intervention: sexual exploitation which goes beyond being a conditionality for obtaining work. Several questions thus emerge: Is this an economic or allied economic activity? Is it located within the domain of Time? Or should it be added also to the concept of Burden? Is this paid work or unpaid work? This issue is being raised separately precisely because it is becoming rampant, it is being openly embedded within labour contracts, and it is being unquestioningly internalized by women workers and also the men in their families.

Several critical factors emerge: that the Paid Work Sub-Economy especially in the context of the prevailing market systems and structures cannot sustain itself without the support of the UnPaid Work Sub-Economy; that the unpaid and paid work continuum cannot be understood in isolation from macroeconomic policies and strategies; that women are increasingly shouldering the responsibility of not only the proverbial double burden but also the macroeconomic vacuum burden; that the several gender differentials and also similarities that have emerged need to be located in the concrete lived reality of marginalisation and vulnerability; that women participate in and often dominate the three strategies of survival that determine an economy that is still developing – income earning, income augmenting and income saving; that women are increasingly responsible for sustainable subsistence-based livelihoods that go beyond the private property domain; that the multiplicity and simultaneity of women's work restricts in multiple and myriad ways their full participation in the economy and society, and acts as constraints on their struggle for emancipation, equity, empowerment and equality.

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