Urdhva Mula

ऊर्ध्व मूलः

(Roots Upwards)

An inter-disciplinary journal focusing on women and related issues

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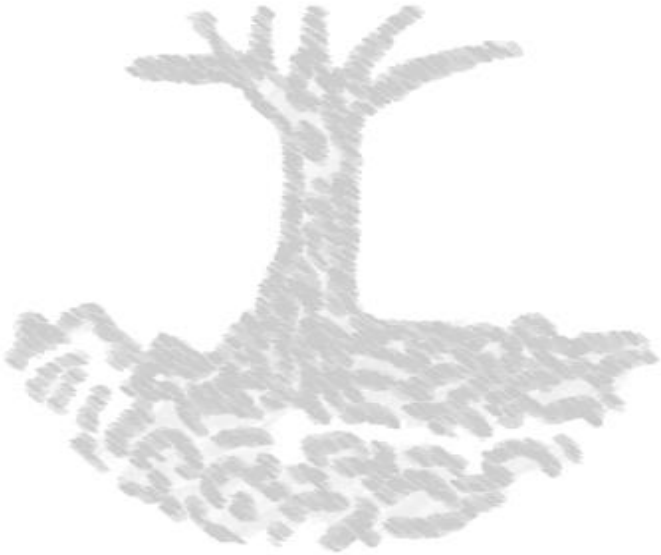

The motto "***UrdhvaMula***" i.e. roots upwards. Two simple words, which can instil hope and courage when one is faced with various challenges of life.
(from *The Bhagavad Gita*)

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EDITORIAL

This last year has been full of turmoil regarding the #MeToo movement in the worlds of journalism, academia, literature, film, classical dance and music, corporate industry, the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Though the movement started in the industrialised world, it has had a cascading effect on all parts of the globe – developing nations, middle-income countries and rich nations. The year 2018 also marked a century of women's suffrage for which the first generation of women's rights activists had fought relentlessly, at the cost of great personal sacrifice in the face of tremendous patriarchal resistance. Though the suffragist movement began with a striving for adult franchise for women as a fundamental right of all citizens; it snowballed into a struggle for the rights of women as paid and unpaid workers. During the last century, in spite of sustained collective actions in several parts of the North and the South, discrimination against women in the world of work still persists due to caste/race/ethnicity/sexuality/gender-based segmentation in the labour market and non-recognition of the unpaid care economy.

In the current issue of *Urdhva Mula*, we have focused on women's heath, reproduction and work. In each of these areas, women have often been silent, unregarded and invisible, with few rights and little decision-making power.

Nearly 85 % of women in the 45+ age group in India, irrespective of their class, caste, religious, educational backgrounds suffer from knee-joint pain. Dr. Bhavna Daswani's article on Osteoporosis explains the debilitating effect of porous bones. While Christa Wichterich deconstructs surrogacy in the context of Germany, Aishwarya Chandran critically reflects on surrogacy in India.

Dr. Diya Dutta's field-based study examines Unpaid Care Work for Women. Mr. Karan Peer throws light on the situation of women in urban

formal and informal labour with a detailed analysis of the garment industry in Bengaluru. Malinee Mukherjee's study of zari work unravels the crisis of the invisible craftswomen of the zari hub of the Bauria area in West Bengal. Jyoti Thakur's insightful article on Married Women in Urban Workforce in India draws on data from the National Sample Survey Organisation. The co-authored article by Ms. Celin Thomas and Mr. Abhishek Antony delineates unpaid care work done by Indian women that remains un-recognised and invisible in the official discourse on work. Later in the issue, a poem by Chitra Lele poignantly articulates the housewife's quest for dignity and personhood.

This issue has also included important statements issued by women's rights organisations.

The review of Stevienna De Saille's book *Knowledge as Resistance* written by Prof. Medha Rajadhyaksha has great significance so far as the interface between new reproductive technologies and the reproductive rights of women are concerned.

We invite authors to send their research-based articles, book reviews, statements, poems, etc. for publication in this peer-reviewed and globally-circulated journal.

Vibhuti Patel and Ananda Amritmahal

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ARTICLES

OSTEOPOROSIS: BIOCHEMISTRY & FRAX® IN A NUTSHELL

- Bhavna Daswani, PhD

Osteoporosis literally means porous bones. It is a silent thief which robs a person's bones making them fragile and prone to fractures. It is no secret that osteoporosis is more common in women than in men, and that too, in postmenopausal women. Menopause and estrogen aside, have we actually wondered why this gender bias? Don't men have small amounts of estrogen and do they undergo andropause? What is the biochemical basis of osteoporosis? Last year, I was bestowed my doctoral degree in the biochemistry of osteoporosis and since then, I would catch hold of my friends and family explaining its pathophysiology in the most passionate and enthusiastic tone. Most would listen to my biology jargon on bone cells out of sheer politeness and some would gracefully change the subject with or without an element of subtlety. A standard response was 'beta, you take your calcium and vitamin D supplements and a divine power takes care of the rest'. Then once it so happened at a dinner I asked "Do you know your FRAX® score?" as I remembered that I had done some research on FRAX® too. For the first time, I saw interested faces eager to know more. In a very excited mode, I started with describing the biochemistry of osteoporosis (which suddenly seemed fascinating to them), and then went on to explain FRAX®, and that is exactly the flow in this article too!

To begin with, there are two types of osteoporosis (based on the cause), firstly primary osteoporosis which is subdivided into postmenopausal osteoporosis (due to menopause) and senile osteoporosis (due to aging beyond menopause); secondly, a rarer form called secondary osteoporosis (due to side effects of drugs such as glucocorticoids).

Although senile osteoporosis can affect both the sexes, let's stop and wonder why there isn't a category on postandropausal osteoporosis. Andropause, as we know, is a very gradual process compared to menopause, if at all it does exist in the first place. Besides, males reach higher 'peak bone mass' than females in their young age which is a strong predictor of osteoporosis later in life.

To understand peak bone mass, we must understand the biochemical basis of the bone remodelling cycle. Bone is a complex dense tissue that consists of living cells embedded in a mineralized organic matrix. The adult bone is remodelled throughout life and in fact, we get an entirely new bone every 10 years or so. The purpose of bone turnover is to prevent accumulation of old bone, repair damage, and maintain calcium homeostasis. This process does not occur overnight; it occurs slowly in random microscopic areas throughout the bone. Remodelling means removing the old and replacing it with new, the job of two specialized cells in our bones called 'osteoclasts' and 'osteoblasts', respectively. In childhood, there is a steady increase in bone mass because there is an increase in number and activity of the bone making cells (osteoblasts) compared with the bone resorbing/removing cells (osteoclasts). This continues till the age of around 25 to 30 years wherein the bone mass remains stable because the osteoblasts and osteoclasts now work equally. This state is known as 'peak bone mass'. Now, coming back to our earlier question, women 'genetically' achieve a lower 'peak bone mass' than men. This means that we have less bone treasure whilst young naturally predisposing us towards lower bone density later in life. It is also true that not all women achieve the same peak bone mass. This is governed by genetics again and also nutrition and lifestyle factors. All these together affect the interplay between osteoblasts and osteoclasts, which is the underlying cause of high or low bone density. Osteoporosis is by far the most common metabolic disorder of the skeleton arising from abnormalities of bone remodeling[1].

As women reach their menopausal years, their ovaries start producing lesser amounts of the hormone estrogen, and finally menopause marks a dramatic decline of estrogen. This famous female hormone actually has bone nurturing effects and that is why it makes sense that osteoporosis can succeed menopause. Once more at this stage, genetics, nutrition and lifestyle factors play an important role.

Osteoporosis is a polygenic disorder (many genes are involved) and identification of susceptibility genes has been the subject of extensive research[2]. Twin and family studies have shown that between 50% and 85% of the variance in peak BMD is genetically determined[2]. In fact, one of the most important determinants of bone loss in women is estrogen deficiency after menopause and twin studies have indicated that age at menopause is also genetically determined[3]. Further, a parental history of fracture (particularly hip fracture) confers an increased risk of fracture that is independent of BMD[4]. Furthermore, a large body of evidence suggests that genetic variations in race/ethic groups contribute to differences in BMD in different regions of the world[5].

Notably, osteoporosis occurs in men too; usually after 70 years of age (mostly due to decreased activity of osteoblasts which is referred to as senile osteoporosis). Men have the hormone testosterone, and just like estrogen, testosterone has bone protective effects. Both these hormones help the bone forming cells (osteoblasts) and somewhat impede the work of the bone resorbing cells (osteoclasts). However, the hormone estrogen suddenly and dramatically decreases at menopause, whereas, there is a slow and gradual decline in testosterone in men as they age. Further, men also have small amounts of estrogen and women small amounts of testosterone and since both these are steroid hormones made from cholesterol, it is no brainer that persons with higher BMI (Body Mass Index) have higher chances of developing stronger bones[6].

Here, two chief players also deserve to be mentioned – calcium and vitamin D. So, what's the deal with calcium and vitamin D? To understand this, let's complicate things a bit. Vitamin D is required for efficient gastrointestinal calcium absorption and in case of vitamin D deficiency; calcium absorption is impaired leading to hypocalcaemia. The parathyroid glands can sense calcium levels in the blood and in case of hypocalcaemia they release parathyroid hormone that in turn increases bone resorption by osteoclasts, leading to mobilization of calcium from the bone to the blood. If this process persists it eventually results in decreased bone mass. A negative feedback mechanism by hormone calcitonin released by thyroid gland inhibits osteoclast activity and calcitonin stimulates calcium uptake by the bones. Overall, calcium homeostasis is primarily maintained by Vitamin D, in particular, 1,25-dihydroxyvitamin D (vitamin D2), is of critical importance to bone as it is the biologically active form of vitamin D. However, while estimating levels of circulating vitamin D in association BMD, 25-hydroxyvitamin D (vitamin D3) is usually measured as it is the major circulating form of vitamin D and is shown to exhibit stronger correlation with bone density[7].

The gold standard for measuring bone density, as also for the diagnosis of osteoporosis, is a bone scan called DEXA (Dual Energy X-ray Absorptiometry). The Bone Mineral Density (BMD) report categorizes our bones into any of the three categories – healthy, osteopenia (a stage before osteoporosis) or osteoporosis. The clinical symptoms of osteoporosis include pain, decreased body height, dowager's hump, respiratory disturbances, other than a fragility fracture itself which needless to say leads to severe morbidity and sometimes even mortality. We are all familiar with the phrase 'prevention is better than cure'. Indeed, our genes are not in our hands but our lifestyle certainly is, which means a well-balanced nutritious diet, vitamin supplements (if prescribed), a good amount of physical activity, no smoking and no excessive of alcohol. (Don't worry low to moderate levels of alcohol are found to be beneficial for your bones).

Besides following a good lifestyle, we can find out our FRAX® score! Developed by World Health Organization and University of Sheffield, FRAX® stands for fracture risk assessment tool[8]. It is a simple online tool which is meant for persons aged 40 to 90 years. It was established with an aim of providing thresholds of fracture risks for commencing therapeutic intervention[8]. The FRAX® tool recommends that an individual with a 10-year risk of a major osteoporotic fracture (including spine, wrist, shoulder or hip) of ≥20% or a hip fracture risk ≥3% should be given medical therapy[8]. FRAX® takes into consideration a cocktail of important risk factors such as age, sex, BMI, history of fracture and parental hip fracture, current status of smoking and alcohol, glucocorticoid intake, secondary osteoporosis and rheumatoid arthritis and BMD.

Although FRAX® scores can be calculated without BMD, our study published in 2016 showed for the first time that including BMD in FRAX® calculation generated better results in the study cohort (506 postmenopausal Indian women) [9]. In fact, nowadays, BMD reports may also contain FRAX® scores. If not, you can easily calculate it online and help your doctor make treatment decisions. Of course, this tool has its own limitations and time will tell whether it is really a hope or hype. For example, since it is country specific, the data used for computing the Indian output is based on average BMD from Indians in Singapore. Then again, India is the second most populous country in the world and is home to a very large population of osteoporosis patients. Recently, it has been estimated that 50 million people in India have low bone mass[10]. Therefore, we must be aware of newer developments and take steps towards reducing the burden posed by this disease and improve our overall bone health.

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2. Peacock M, Turner CH, Econs MJ, Foroud T (2002) Genetics of osteoporosis. Endocrine Reviews; 23(3):303-326.
3. Snieder H, MacGregor AJ, Spector TD (1998) Genes control the cessation of a woman's reproductive life: a twin study of hysterectomy and age at menopause. Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism; 83(6):1875-1880.
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9. Daswani B, Desai M, Mitra S, Gavali S, Patil A, Kukreja S, Khatkhatay MI (2016) Influence of bone mineral density measurement on fracture risk assessment tool® scores in postmenopausal Indian women. Post Reproductive Health; 22(1):20-24.
10. Mithal A, Kaur P (2012) Osteoporosis in Asia: a call to action. Current Osteoporosis Reports; 10(4):245-247.

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CARE EXTRACTIVISM AND CARE STRUGGLES IN THE RECONFIGURATION OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

- Christa Wichterich

Conceptual Framework

Care – care work, care economy and care ethics – has been at the centre of research and theoretical reflection of feminist political economy in the past decades[1]. Recently, the World Bank and national as well as supranational political institutions recognised care as a relevant micro-economic category when it comes to gender inequalities. This acknowledgement mirrors the ongoing transnational reconfiguration of social reproduction and its new quality. However, there is still a "strategic silence" on macro-economic level about care prevailing in neoclassical economics and even in critical international political economics.

My paper intends to contribute to an international political economy of social reproduction in the context of market authoritarianism, neoliberal adjustment and austerity policies. I want to explore the current re-organisation of social reproduction and of care work which ends up in a new transnational accumulation regime, the making of new labour relations, even new types of labour, and respective labour struggles. Going beyond the Marxian dichotomy of production and reproduction,

[1] Nancy Folbre: Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and Structures of Constraint. London, 1994; Isabella Bakker (ed.): The Strategic Silence. Gender and Economic Policy, London, 1994; Diane Elson: International Financial Architecture: A View from the Kitchen, In: femina politica,1/2002, pp 26-38; Sharah Razavi: The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context: Contextual issues, research questions and policy options, UNRISD, Geneva 2007; Nancy Fraser, Contradictions of capital and care, in: New Left Review 100, 2016

the notion of care stresses reproductive labour beyond the mere reproduction of the labour force.

I would like to suggest the concept of care extractivism to international political economics as a new accumulation regime, which includes social and more recently even biological reproduction. Care extractivism can be used as a space- and time-diagnostic tool to politicise care and analyse power relations in the organisation of social reproduction and care work. It marks the intensification and expansion of the ongoing economisation and commodification of labour and resources in arenas which were not commercialised until recently. Extractivism is a reckless and careless exploitation and depletion of resources assuming that they are growing naturally and are endlessly available. The concept of care extractivism with its focus on reproductive and affective work is an analogy to the concept of resource extractivism, however countervailing its productive and industrialist focus of value creation. From a perspective of neoliberal policies, strategies of care extractivism - like resource extractivism - are well suited to cope with crises situations of social and biological reproduction such as a lack of caregivers and teachers or an increase in infertility while not burdening the state with additional costs and social responsibilities. Through care extractivism care workers are constructed as entrepreneurial subjects and cheap workers in care markets along social hierarchies of gender, class, race and North-South.

My main theoretical assumption is that the driving rationale of the care economy and logic of the capitalist economy differ fundamentally from each other. The main goal of the economy of care and social reproduction is provision, satisfaction of needs and well-being while the overall objective of the capitalist market economy is accumulation of money, and its logic is informed by egoistic interests and competition for profit making. When care work is integrated into the labour market as waged labour and gets subjugated to the principles of efficiency and growth, the

care logic is the "other" to the capitalist logic and at the same time it is part and parcel of capitalist (re)production.

The leading questions of my paper refer to the contradicting rationales of the care and the capitalist economy from two perspectives: firstly, the paper analyses the new quality of the reconfigured regimes of care and social and biological reproduction through increasing commodification in national and transnational markets, and how care workers and surrogate mothers are created as neoliberal subjects. Secondly it explores how the contradiction between the two economic rationales results in care struggles and these labour struggles expose and contest the neoliberal nature of health and care systems. The focus is on transnational care regimes between Western and Eastern Europe, Europe and Asia.

Methodologically I would like to complement structural analysis with components of discourse analysis, and an analysis of agency and subjectivities. For this I will use in a cross-cutting way an intersectional approach which deconstructs power relations and hierarchies along interacting categories of social inequality. A feminist economics approach challenges the conventional separation between production and reproduction, market and non-market, private and public sphere, and lays emphasis on the entanglement of commodification and non-commodification, paid and unpaid work.[2]

Economic Rationales and Care Work

Due to the persistent drive for growth and profit, accumulation strategies by the capitalist economy ignore the actual limits to growth in human, social and natural resources, they neglect the need to reproduce the labour and consumption force and to also sustain natural resources. Thus,

[2] J.K. Gibson-Graham: A Postcapitalist Politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006; Viviana Zelizer: Circuits in Economic Life. In: economic sociology, Vol 8, No 1/2006, pp 30-36.

capitalism tends to deplete and destroy its own living foundations and causes itself a multidimensional crisis of social reproduction and environment. Neoliberal policies try to fix this fundamental contradiction of the capitalist economy and the multiple crisis in form of lack of care labour and resource scarcity, largely by resorting to resource extractivism and to care extractivism as modes of intensification of efficiency and competition in order to perpetuate growth. Thus, social reproduction is reconfigured, largely informed and steered by in value-setting and market principles, on a national and transnational scale.

Two countervailing strategies of care extractivism are adopted by states and markets which drive the new quality of care exploitation: economisation of care in markets as paid work and externalisation out of the markets as non-economic and unpaid. Firstly, care work is appropriated through the expansion of capitalist accumulation into earlier non-market, non-commercialised areas, which are socio-culturally constructed as private or even intimate spheres of family, household, friendship and neighbourhood social relations. When care provision gets included as waged work into the labour market along axes of social inequality and hierarchy, mainly gender, class/caste, ethnicity/race/colour, rural-urban and North-South it means a process of capitalistic conquering and penetration of "last colonies", or another form of "primitive accumulation by expropriation of women's unpaid labour" or "accumulation through dispossession"[3]. Commodification of care as personal services means that care gets subjected to the capitalist principles of competition, efficiency, growth and profit making.

[3] Maria Mies, Veronica Bennholdt-Thomsen, Claudia v. Werlhof: Women, the Last Colony, London 1988; Silvia Federici: Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation. NY 2004; David Harvey: The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession. In: Socialist Register 40, 2004: pp 63-87;

Waged care work asks for new analytical categories as it encapsulates and blurs categories of Marxist and neoclassical economics. It implies moral bonds and emotions, attentiveness and altruism, reciprocity and cooperation. The essentialist assumption that care work is deeply rooted in the female nature, women's natural skills, feelings and in care ethics serves as justification for low recognition and little payment. Additional to the feminisation of care, migration alongside class, race and North-South asymmetries reinforce the low valuation of care work[4]. At the same time, it is deemed to be unproductive and not value creating, as it doesn't create a commodity but a gain in seemingly non-economic values like well-being, personal development and social cohesion.

Care extractivism aims at the making of cheap reproductive labour, and a cheap and flexible reproductive labour force. A trigger for the further commodification of care work was the increased inclusion of skilled middle-class women into the labour market and their empowerment through employment propagated by many institutions like the World Bank and governments as "smart economy", and key to overall gender equality[5]. As capitalist markets have little appreciation of labour with no increase in productivity, they attribute low value and low payment to care work because it has its own speed and it is not possible to increase efficiency and productivity of feeding a baby or a demented person like an industrial process. Neither the commodification and professionalization of care work nor its trans nationalisation did change the global pattern of low valuation and underpayment of this kind of labour, manifesting itself in informal and precarious labour relations.

[4] Helma Lutz: The New Maids. Transnational women and the care economy. London/New York 2011

[5] The World Bank: Gender and Equality as Smart Economics. Action Plan 2007-2011. Washington, 2007; The World Bank: World Development Report 2012. Gender equality and Development. Washington, 2011

Secondly in the context of structural adjustment programmes and austerity policies, care work gets excluded from the market, externalised from the public welfare portfolio and shifted into the private sphere, household economy or community in order to reduce costs and responsibilities in a neoliberal way. Voluntary work in the care sector, including the famous welcome culture for migrants in 2015 in Germany upholsters the lack or the withdrawal of much needed public provisions. It is welcomed by neoliberal policies as kind of relief of the welfare strain.

Professionalisation of care work and the making of neoliberal subjects

Two striking features of the reconfiguration of social reproduction which shape its new extractivist quality are its professionalisation and its trans nationalisation.

In Western Europe, care work in the health sector, including care for the elderly, has been subjected to a modulization and standardisation similar to industrial labour. It gets fragmented, tailored and scheduled into time units. All activities have to be documented. In hospitals, the US accounting system according to 'Diagnosis Related Groups' classifies hospitalised patients and pays flat rates for standardised medical and care services. This is a mode of cost containment which measures and remunerates care labour like industrial piece work; secondly, it ensures control and transparency, and is a way of navigating the public-private-divide in a technocratic, productivist manner; thirdly, it is a form of disciplining care workers, forcing them to permanent self-control and evaluation.

The modulization of nursing in hospitals and of the care for elderly in old age homes and by ambulant services in private households is considered to be a professionalism and an indicator for quality in a growing and highly competitive market, mostly organised by commercial agencies.

These strategies of rationalisation dissembled care from social relations and propel competition while constantly intensifying care extractivist mode of accumulation. It constructs care workers as entrepreneurs of the self, as competitive neoliberal market subject. The key problem of modulization from a perspective of caring is that these schedules and modules don't leave any time for showing empathy and applying a human touch towards the patients. In case care workers spend time for a social relationship, this is unpaid work and time. Arlie Hochschild[6] coined the notion of "emotional work" for the specific nature of care work when she analysed the work of migrant nannies from the Global South taking care of children in the Global North. They are trapped in a contradiction between professionalism and affection, closeness and distance, private and public. The employers expect care workers to be rational and loving at the same time. However, the value added through empathy and affection does not count in wage calculations. Thus, paid care labour is organised in a way that it includes unpaid work, resulting in a systematic underpayment and in the construction of cheap entrepreneurs of care capacities and emotions as human and social capital.

In the case of ambulant services for the elderly, the modules of rationalisation and industrialisation put a tremendous pressure on the caregivers who drive in small company cars from one client to the next. Their services and car rides become a race against time and humaneness, with strains on the body, psyche and energy level of the caregivers. The actual conflict between the logic of caring and the logic of profit-making is downloaded to their body and mind. They have to manage the time constraints, the bureaucratic requirements of standardisation and

[6] Arlie Hochschild: Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value, in: A. Giddens/W.Hutton (eds.): On the Edge. Globalization and the New Millennium, London, 2000, pp 137-179; Rahel Salazar Parrenas, Servants of Globalisation. Women, Migration and Domestic Work. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001

documentation, and their inner conflicts between efficiency and emotional bonds.

Transnational care extractivism constructs reproductive regimes, which are based on a new international division of care work. Whether set up by nation states, by commercial recruitment agencies, partially legal, semi-legal or illegal, or by informal networks, they centre around cheap care labour, affordable by middle class households, and are organised along social hierarchies of gender, class, ethnicity, race and North-South. On the national level, migrant care workers from the Global South and East compensate for the acute shortage of caregivers for the elderly in the Global North. And on the household level, they cushion the employment and professional career of qualified middle-class women.

An unfolding form of care extractivism in Western Europe are 24 hours live-in services for the elderly with the highest possible degree of just-in-time availability and flexibility, mostly done by migrant workers from Poland and the Balkan states. A popular way of obscuring care extractivism is a discursive smokescreen of culturalization, namely that taking care of the elderly in "other" than the western individualistic cultures is a prestigious activity and the elderly are much more respected. However, for a number of migrants from Eastern Europe or the Philippines who got in their home country a professional training and qualifications, the employment in the care sector means a deskilling.
Many of these 24 hours services in private households in Germany are arranged through informal networks and not through commercial agencies. It is a semi-feudal form of care work, often without a proper contract, meaning that not 24 hours are paid because the care workers are supposed to enjoy a lot of leisure time. Thus, the boundaries between paid and unpaid are fluid resulting in an appalling underpayment of live-in workers.

These tensions and contradictions often result in conflicts between employers and care workers. Additionally, many migrant workers struggle with their multiple identities and multiple care responsibilities, vis-a-vis the children or elderly of the employer and vis-à-vis their own kids and the elderly in their own family. As entrepreneurs of their self they have to navigate between closeness and distance, a professional attitude and affection, manoeuvre between a multiple identity as wage worker and as caring mother, daughter, wife etc. The geographical separation, often for years, hampers the work-life-balancing. Practicing "transnational motherhood" aims at compensating for separation and psychosocial alienation by frequent IT-based forms of communication, and by material and monetary remittances.[7]

In the countries of origin, opposing narratives about care migrants are communicated: on the one hand, the migrant worker is constructed as a "heroine" who sacrifices herself, accepts the separation from her kids and family, and serves the development of her country by sending foreign currency as remittances. On the other hand, due to the geographic distance she is out of social control and is easily suspected to lead an immoral life[8].

Additionally, it has to be kept in mind that sending countries out of an interest firstly in reducing its large number of unemployed people and secondly in remittances sent back home in foreign currency, adopt, labour export policies ", the Philippines already since 1974, Indonesia since 1984.

[7] Rahel Salazar Parrenas, Children of Global Migration. Transnational Families and Gendered Woes. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

[8] Lise Widding Isaksen, Sambasivan Uma Devi, Arlie Russell Hochschild: Global Care Crisis. Mother and child's-eye view, In: Sociologica. No 56, 2008, pp 61-83

In the recent past, reproductive governance by European states include an increasing legalisation of migrant care workers. Regularly, Italy and Spain pardoned undocumented migrant workers and issued stay permits. Germany legalised shuttle and circular migration from Poland and partial provision of social security for these mobile EU-citizen care workers.

Transnational care chains and the shifting of crises

Care chains are care drain. Transnational reproductive networks and care chains withdraw care capacities and emotional work from the Global South shifting care energy from poorer to more affluent households, from poor to richer countries[9]. Thereby the local crisis of social reproduction is transferred from the Global North to the countries of origin of the recruited care worker. Due to care extractivism, care and emotional capacities are missing in the households and countries of origin. As a spatially and socially difficult form of work-life-reconciliation, the care worker from the Global South, as an entrepreneur of herself, has to cope with the care shortage caused by the care drain in her own family. Mostly, the care of her own children and of elderly family members is handed over to female relatives, or for a minimal payment to neighbours or migrant women coming from poorer regions or countries, e.g. in Poland to women from the Ukraine. Thus, the migrant care giver in Western Europe can also become an employer of a care worker in her home country. However ultimately, many care gaps remain unfilled und exert severe strains on the reproductive systems on the micro level of households and the national level. Care extractivism depletes care as a common in societies and families of the global South. This results in a transnational landscape of stratified reproduction, care inequalities and care shortages[10].

[9] Nancy Yeates: Globalizing Care Economic and Migrant Workers. Explorations in Global Care Chains. London 2009

[10] Helma Lutz/ Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck: Care Workers, Care Drain, and Care Chains: Reflections on Care, Migration, and Citizenship, In: Social Politics, Vol 19 (1), 2012, pp15-37; Lise Widding Isaksen, Sambasivan Uma Devi, Arlie Russell

Transnational care extractivism can be perceived as a manifestation of an "imperial mode of living" based on neo-colonial power relations, with which the global middle classes secure their level of production, consumption and own reproduction by recruiting, appropriating and extracting care capacities from less prosperous regions.[11]

Since a few years the German government took once again – after direct recruitment policies of South Korean and Keralite nurses as so-called "guest workers" in the 1960s - initiative to recruit care workers from the Global South and to normalise transnational care extractivism. GIZ (German International Cooperation) trains caregivers for the elderly in China, Philippines, and Vietnam, the Federal Agency for Labour recruits skilled care workers in Bosnia, Serbia, Tunisia and calls it a triple win, actually for the sending country, Germany and the individual worker. Again, in Germany, a legitimator discourse covers up the low valuation and remuneration of care work, namely that migrants are predisposed for the care of the elderly because in other cultures the elderly are highly respected. This is an ethno-racist, culturalist narrative which attributes care ethics to "other" women.

Surrogate mothers as entrepreneurs of their body

A new form of care extractivism is the transnational reconfiguration of biological reproduction with surrogacy as a metaphor for a new form of reproductive labour and new labour relations. The landscape of bioeconomic, fertility markets and reproductive tourism is largely mapped out by the laws, licences and bans by nation states and bio policies, navigating through the political dilemma between neoliberal

Hochschild: Global Care Crisis. A Problem of Capital, Care Chain, or Commons? In: American Behavioral Scientist, Vol 52, Issue 3, 2008, pp 405 - 425

[11] Ulrich Brand/Markus Wissen: Global Environmental Politics and the Imperial Mode of Living. Articulations of State-Capital Relations in the Multiple Crisis. In: Globalizations, Vol. 9 No. 4, 2012, pp 547-560

economy and ethical concerns. Due to ever new regulations there is a permanent restructuring of reproductive investments and markets along with a shifting and shuttling of various actors including commissioning parents and surrogate mothers, a kind of global fluid map of dos and don'ts for reproductive business.[12]

In February 2017, the first German fertility fair was organised in Berlin, called an information fair. It advertised reproductive services and clinics in neighbouring countries and abroad regardless of legal provisions and bans in Germany and invited potential customers and fertility tourists to foreign markets.

In order to get a much-desired child, commissioning parents enter a complex market and entrepreneurial actors' network, comprising a local and a transnational recruitment agency, value chains of the bio material, egg cells, sperm, stem cells that are transported deep frozen just in time by logistic firms, a reproductive clinic that provides a number of potential gestational surrogate mothers. The pharmaceutical industry delivers hormones and drugs in great quantities, the tourism industry offers hotel accommodation and sight-seeing tours. And lawyers offer legal advice with regard to the citizenship of the new-born and its possibilities to enter the home country of the genetic parents even if surrogacy is banned thereover.[13]

India functioned for more than a decade as a transnational hub for the reproductive industrial complex. The surrogacy business got a boost in the financial crisis 2009 when in the West Indian state of Gujarat many

[12] Catherine Waldby. Reproductive Labour Arbitrage: Trading Fertility across European Borders, In: Martin Gunnarson/Fredrik Svenaeus: The Body as Gift, Resource, and Commodity. Stockholm, 2012, pp 267-295.

[13] Sama Resource Group for Women and Health: Birthing a Market: A Study on Commercial Surrogacy, New Delhi 2012

employees particularly in the diamond industry lost their job and their wives had to look for some income. But in 2016 the hindu-identitarian government announced a ban on surrogacy and egg donation after years of laissez faire and of public debates on the transnational commercialization and industrialization of (re-) production. This ban, however, has not yet passed the parliament.

The commodification of surrogacy constructs the surrogate mother's pregnancy and delivery as waged labour, and the woman as a neoliberal subject. In order to do justice to the women's specific form of agency and subject positions, feminist researchers consider it as a form of productive labour and value creation broadening the Marxian and neoclassical concept of production and value creation[14]. The value created is life, a human being and according to the genetic parents' desire a "healthy" child.

Fragmentation into a tailored division of labour and splitting up of fertilization, pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood are core mechanisms to prepare for surrogacy and the outsourcing of reproductive labour. The legal framework for this work is a contract which stipulates a temporary class/caste, ethnic and neo-colonial compromise that materialises in a payment which is called compensation, not wage. This tailored and outsourced contract labour facilitates an extractivism of care, bio-resources and bodily energy. As per the contract, the surrogate mother acts as an entrepreneur of herself and her body, and rents out her unused uterus as a vessel for somebody else's baby. This work implies strong elements of strategic emotionality, demanding attentiveness towards the growing of a healthy embryo of somebody else in one's own body and accept the separation after giving birth. In particular the separation of the new born from the delivering mother who existed together for nine

[14] Kalindi Vora: Indian transnational surrogacy and the commodification of vital energy, In: Subjectivity, 28 (1), 2009, pp 266-278

months as an inseparable socio-physical entity is a new form of reification and alienation between producer and the body product which was ordered, is paid for and owned by its genetic parents.
As in most of the informal, tailored, outsourced forms of labour no social or health protection is stipulated in the labour contract. After a small first instalment paid after the successful nesting of the embryo, the agreed upon lump sum is paid only after the delivery of the ordered baby, the quality product. The women carry the full risk in case of a miscarriage or stillbirth. The lack of social protection and entitlements qualifies it as precarious informal labour.

In India, the accommodation of the women in hostels near the hospital is an entrepreneurial strategy of governance and disciplining, similar to the accommodation of export workers in dormitories adjacent to the factory what is very common e.g. in China[15] . With the signed contract the surrogate mother cedes her rights over her body and reproduction to the reproductive entrepreneurs, mainly the clinic. She gets subjugated to intensive medical interventions with hormones and other drugs, frequent quality control like ultrasound and prenatal diagnostics, and supervision including movements and diet. In case the embryo implantation is not successful, she has to accept further attempts as she has to accept also the abortion of disabled and "surplus" embryos. However, she is not allowed to stop the process herself[16].

The whole reproductive-medical process gets subordinated to the market rationale of efficiency and competition irrespective of the surrogates' rights to bodily integrity. Clinics compete with regard to the success rate

[15] Pun Ngai: Made in China. Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace. Durham 2005

[16] Amrita Pande: Wombs in Labour. Transnational Commercial Surrogacy in India, New York 2014; Sharmila Rudrappa: Discounted Life. The Prize of Global Surrogacy in India. New York/London 2015

of In-vitro-fertilisation (IVF) and nesting of the embryo in the women's uterus. In order to multiply the chances of an embryo to nest, normally five embryos are transferred after IVF, or embryos of one couple are tentatively implanted into two surrogate mothers. If several pregnancies occur the surplus embryos are 'reduced' according to the wish of the commissioning parents, often without informing the surrogate mother[17].

Responding to the omission of social protection and entitlements in the contract and in the whole process, some scholars proposed "fair trade" surrogacy with labour rights and social security and "reproductive justice" for the contract mothers[18]. However, this regulation makes for a normalisation of reproductive work and care extractivism.

The surrogates want their work and their subjectivities to be respected in a contradictory symbolic order that iconizes and glorifies motherhood, and devaluates care work. As they are often confronted with a whore discourse, which discredits the commercial usage of a women's body as prostitute in an economy of intimacy, surrogate mothers try to hide this work in the neighbourhood, fake a job as maid in another city or claim that the baby died after birth. After the return to the village some women experience stigmatization by the neighbours or even violence by their husbands despite earlier agreements. Pande sees this constant self-defense against the stigma of sex work and immorality as part of surrogacy labour between appreciation as saviour for an infertile woman and depreciation, between private and public.

[17] Kalindi Vora: Potential, Risk, and Return in Transnational Indian Gestational Surrogacy, in: Current Anthropology, Vol 54, Supplement 7, 2013, pp S97-S106

[18] Casey Humbyrd, Fair Trade International Surrogacy, In: Developing World Bioethics, Vol 9, No 3, 2009, pp 111-118; Sharmila Rudrappa: Discounted Life. The Prize of Global Surrogacy in India. New York/London 2015, p 173

In such complex intersecting power structures, surrogacy for these women is first of all an economic practice in a framework of multiple dependencies and subordination, exploitation, governmentality and outside control. However, it is important to recognize that surrogate mothers are not completely powerless objects or only a bodily resource in the context of neoliberal globalization as theorized by Floyd[19]. Rather, being agent and victim at the same time the women form new subjectivities through their agency, motivations, perceptions and dreams in these asymmetric power relationships and structures of inequality.

Surrogacy breaks up the hegemonic patriarchal reproductive regime in Indian gender relations and results in new subjectivities which are contingent and often ambivalent because the woman provides her body not for the reproduction of her own family but for strangers. She withdraws care and sexuality from her own family but returns home with a considerable income, up to ten times the annual income of a rickshaw-driver or a farm worker. This new role as breadwinner boosts their self-esteem and qualifies them as a 'good' wife and in-law in the family. Their key motivation to embark on this dubious job is care for their own kids: "I do it for my children", in particular for their education[20]. Ultimately, this maternal ethics of care confirms the prevailing stereotype of femininity, namely the woman as self-sacrificing and serving, as a vessel and instrument for others.

The Indian ban on commercial surrogacy reacted to public discourses which portrayed the women's womb as vessel with a price tag and the process as a reproductive assembly line where Indian women are

[19] Kevin Floyd: Leihmutterschaft – die neue Bioökonomie, Debatte Nr.30, 2014 http://debatte.ch/2014/10/leihmutterschaft-die-neue-biooekonomie/

[20] Vrinda Marwah: How Surrogacy is Challenging and Changing our Feminisms, In: Sarojini N/Vrinda Marwah, Reconfiguring Reproduction. New Delhi, 2014, p 271

exploited by foreign nationals. The identarian Hindu-chauvinist orientation and the claim of moral superiority of the current governing party have gained upper hand over their neoliberal economic interests. Feminist researchers criticised surrogacy ordered by foreigners and the implied care and bio-resource extractivism as reproduction with neo-eugenic elements. This results in a new stratification of reproduction on a transnational level, and reconstructs social inequalities between women.[21]

After the announcement of the ban, surrogate mothers protested because the ban would deprive poor women of a lucrative income option. The ban set another chain of care extractivism in motion: Reproductive entrepreneurs went underground, women are driven into illegality, mobile arrangements and even greater vulnerability[22]. Agencies and clinics set up branches in Cambodia and when a few months later Cambodia announced its own ban, they moved on to Laos and offered Ukraine as new hub of reproductive technologies and extractivism of bioresources and care energy.

Care struggles and politization of care

Care extractivism and the clash of the two differing rationales of the care economy and the capitalist market economy have recently been exposed and contested in a growing number of care struggles, protests and campaigns. An outstanding transnational campaign was the self-organised struggle of domestic workers for an ILO convention which

[21] Faye Ginsburgh/Rayna Rapp (eds): Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction, Berkeley 1995; Amrita Pande: Global reproductive inequalities, neoeugenics and commercial surrogacy in India, In: Current Sociology 4, 2015, pp 1-15

[22] Sarojini Nadimpally/ Sneha Banerjee/ Deepa Venkatachalam: Commercial Surrogacy: A Contested Terrain in the Realm of Rights and Justice. Sama Resource Group for Women and Health, New Delhi 2016.

resulted 2011 in the adoption of convention 189. Core of the convention is the recognition as 'normal' workers in order to secure labour rights, social security provisions and a right to organise. However, the adoption of the convention remains a kind of symbolic victory as long as only few countries ratified it: 24 countries in 2017 only.

In the recent past, a large number of labour struggles in Europe were organised in the service and care sector resulting in a trend towards a feminisation of labour struggles although women have always been considered to be reluctant to organise and go into conflicts. These labour struggles make two features of the mostly invisible care work visible: the little appreciation and renumeration it gets in the market economy, and its submission to a tremendous pressure exerted by neoliberal regimes. At the peak of the financial crisis in 2009, in Germany kindergarteners and caretakers in old age homes went on strike and protested not only against low wages and health hazards but also demanded more recognition highlighting the fact that no economy and no society can run without the work they do.[23] Many care workers articulated their concern that the quality of their work in the health and educational sector is torpedoed by the above mentioned care modules and industrial standards of efficiency and profitability in the corporate sector as well as by austerity measures in the public sector.

In Spain and Portugal, domestic workers and prostitutes participated in the explicitly non-union activities of the "Precarias de la Deriva", in order to create visibility. The Spanish association of cleaners, "Las Kerries" protested because they were - under the given regime of time pressure and lump payment - no more in a position to clean hotel rooms properly.

[23] Ingrid Artus, Peter Birke, Stefan Kerber-Clasen und Wolfgang Menz (Hg.), Sorge-Kämpfe, Hamburg 2017

The protests and strikes by the care staff and nurses at the Charité hospital in Berlin, Germany's largest clinic, were paradigmatic in terms of politicising care extractivism in a neoliberal system. They marked a shift of focus from payment to the quality of care. 2011 the trade union supported strike was successful in terms of an increase in salaries. However, the trade-off of this success was that the hospital management reduced staff causing an increase of the work burden for each individual care worker. The intensification of medical and nursing work permanently overtaxes and overburdens care workers, and results in 'burn out' effects. The clinic staff claims that the neoliberal principles governing the health system make care workers sick and render the provision of high-quality services impossible. Therefore, the key demand of the late strikes was to employ more staff so that quality care could be provided: "More of us is better for everybody."

This slogan actually corresponds with the labour conflicts at Polish hospitals. In October 2017 hundreds of young doctors went on a hunger strike for four weeks against the reckless neoliberal health system which is underfunded and understaffed. The indebted clinics reduce their costs by cutting salaries, and increase their revenue by unnecessary treatments, diagnostic methods and surgeries, as well as by clinical tests for the pharmaceutical industry. Patients have to wait months for appointments and operations. The doctors mostly work independently and take up several jobs in several shifts at several clinics to compensate for the miserable payment. Medical and care services are subjected to modulization and time-intensive bureaucracy. Following severe overwork, in 2017 some doctors died in Poland. Thus, the methods of rationalisation and professionalisation which were supposed to solve the financial crisis of the hospitals drove the clinics in an even deeper existential crisis, violating basic health rights of citizens.

Against this background, according to the Polish doctors' association, 10500 doctors, 2000 dentists and 17 000 nurses migrated to Scandinavian

and western European countries. Not to talk about thousands of caregivers of the elderly who work in informal arrangements based on circular migration. Therefore, apart from demands for better payment, the striking doctors asked for an increase in the overall health budget from 4,7 to 6,3 percent of the GDP as a precondition to improve their work situation. Stressing their care ethics, they claimed to go beyond egoistic group interests and to strike for the patients as well.

The demand for improved employee quota per hospital ward spread all over Germany and Poland and resulted in a "relief" movement in the health and care sector. Patients and ordinary citizens declared their solidarity with the striking nurses and doctors, and built a new alliance, jointly politicising the underlying crisis of social reproduction and the neoliberal care extractivism. Quality care, which sustains social and biological reproduction and healthy living conditions is perceived as a common good for the functioning of society and for a 'good life'.

The strikes of care workers represent a new conflict formation with new political subjects different from the industrial worker. They constitute a social movement of the Polanyian type that opposes the growing expansion of marketisation and commodification into non-marketized areas. The new coalitions of actors increase the power resource of care workers in their conflict with private and public employers. They jointly challenge the intensification of extractivism of care work and energies which depletes the very rationale of caring and social relations. Thus, they go beyond the conventional trade unionist topics of wage and work place conditions to policies of recognition and identity.

The German services trade union Verdi took up the slogan by striking caregivers of "revaluation" of care work and asks for a classification of care and education into a higher tariff group. This is necessary in the wake of further automatization, industry 4.0 and e.g. the introduction of robots in the health sector and in care for the elderly e.g. with a

robocoach, which trains and instructs physical mobility and exercises, with the seal pup Paro, a robopuppy or a roboteddy, which are able to communicate and to cuddle, or robobears, which can carry patients. Presently, particularly in Japan more carebots are in the process of being developed to cope with its aging population and the lack of caregivers. The robot producing industry expects a boost of sales with for more than 17 billion US $ in 2020. Therefore, it is even more important to fully acknowledge the value of the care work which cannot be substituted by capital.

From anti-neoliberal to post-neoliberal perspectives

Summing up the analysis of this paper I would like to flash briefly the main features of current care extractivism and of new transnational accumulation regimes of social and biological reproduction. Care work is increasingly shaped, informed and transformed by market principles like competition and speed, efficiency and productivity increase, in the private and in the public sector alike. Commodification and non-commodification of care work are entangled processes aiming at the making of cheap flexible reproductive labour and neoliberal subjects. Mechanisms of professionalization and rationalisation of care work made the boundaries between paid and unpaid work even more fluid. It ultimately leaves in a neoliberal way the burden to fix the contradiction between the care and the market economy and to reconcile the public and private sphere, paid and unpaid work to the individual care worker. This tends to undermine the very rationale of care with regard to provisioning, humaneness, altruism, attentiveness and the care ethics, and makes it impossible to provide quality care. It goes along with a depletion of care energies and care capacities due to permanent overtaxing of the care workers.

At the same time, the ongoing depletion of the quality of care work and the health of care workers sets in motion care struggles, the formation of new political subjects and a politization of care that contests care

extractivism. The policies of recognition deployed by the protesting care workers and the politization of care within neoliberal and market-authoritarian power regimes ultimately ask for another perspective on the economy, namely putting people's needs and rights before profit, and the care economy as a common good before care as a commodity. This anti-neoliberal perspective mirrors once again the opposing rationales of the care and the capitalist economy, and challenges market authorities and the hegemony of market principles over caring.

To politicize care means to discuss it - following Joan Tronto - as an issue of democracy, justice, and citizenship what implies a political resistance against care extractivism, marketisation, privatisation and industrialisation with a transformative perspective[24]. Presently, people in the Global North explore in a growing number of community-based projects such as housing cooperatives, urban agriculture, self-organised kindergartens and solidarity clinics the alternative and transformative economic potential of the care economy. This change of paradigm is not only anti-neoliberal; it is an eventual transition to a post-neoliberal economy based on the rationale of caring as the concept of care revolution suggests.[25]

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[24] Joan Tronto: Moral Bounderies: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care, New York 1993; Sherilyn MacGregor: From Care to Citizenship. Calling Ecofeminism Back to politics, In: Ethics & the Environment, 9 (1), 2004, pp 56-85.

[25] Gabriele Winker: Care Revolution. A Feminist-Marxist Transformation Strategy from the Perspective of Caring for Each Other. In: Walter Baier, Eric Canepa, Eva Himmelstoss (Eds.): transform! Yearbook 2016. The Enigma of Europe; London, 2015, pp 165-172

OUTSOURCING MATERNITY? WOMEN, LABOUR, AND SURROGACY

- Aishwarya Chandran

Background

India has been a booming market for commercial surrogacy for close to two decades now. In October 2015, India's medical tourism sector was estimated to be worth US$3 billion, and the Indian Council for Medical Research estimates $450 million of this to be from commercial surrogacy. The laws pertaining to commercial surrogacy in India have had a history of being ambiguous. The first instance of the government's recognition of commercial surrogacy was perhaps in the case of the landmark Baby 'M' trial in 2008. Baby 'M' was born to a surrogate mother through in-vitro fertilisation using the sperm from the intended father and an anonymous egg. A month before the birth of the child, the commissioning couple filed for divorce, leaving the fate of the child uncertain. The commissioning father filed for custody, but surrogacy was not legal in Japan at the time, and under the Guardians Act of 1890, a single man cannot adopt in India. Eventually, the child was handed over to her grandmother by the court, and was also granted a Japanese visa. The Indian court recognised the validity of the surrogate agreement and accorded the commissioning father the status of being the biological parent of the child.

Commercial surrogacy has been legal in India since 2002. It developed as a combination of IVF and egg donation. The Indian Council for Medical Research was the first to lay down a set of guidelines governing the practice of commercial surrogacy. It was published in 2005 as the National Guidelines for Accreditation, Supervision and Regulation of ART (assisted reproductive technology) clinics in India. This was later revised and prepared as a Draft ART (Regulation) Bill in 2008, and again in 2010. In all drafts of these guidelines, one thing was consistent – the proposal to legalise commercial gestational surrogacy. It laid down

regulatory criteria, such as the need to register clinics providing surrogacy services, the imperative to maintain confidentiality, the surrogate's right to exercise informed consent, etc. However, in 2016, the Surrogacy (Regulation) Draft Bill was proposed, in complete dissonance with the previous ART bills. Not only does this bill propose an unconditional ban on surrogacy against payment, but it also reduces the understanding of ART to surrogacy alone.

Most countries in the world prohibit commercial surrogacy, while they do permit altruistic surrogacy, or surrogacy done without a payment in return. Some of the common legal loopholes in the international surrogacy laws include the ambiguity on transnational surrogacy, questions of citizenship of the begotten children, and the status of parenthood. Therefore, a child born to a surrogate who is not of British origin but whose intended parents are, will be rendered stateless at birth and will have to apply for citizenship in the UK. Ukraine allows commissioning couples of other nationalities to enlist the services of surrogates within the country, but the service is not extended to same-sex couples. These inconsistencies in the law have been the cause of serious concern for activists and feminists alike, who believe disparities in international law are putting vulnerable women more at risk by forcing them to become migrants in an alien host country, alongside with being surrogates.

The Draft Surrogacy Bill proposed in the Parliament permits only childless heterosexual couples, married for at least five years, with a demonstrable history of infertility to get a surrogate. The surrogate has to be a 'close relative', must be married herself, and must have a child of her own. The surrogate must carry the foetus to term not against a payment, but merely for purposes of altruism. The Bill also bans transnational surrogacy, permitting only Indian citizens to engage in surrogacy within India.

I will attempt to explore two predominant themes in my paper. These are as follows:

- Attempting to understand how the binary of domestic labour and commercial labour is challenged through commercial surrogacy.
- To understand the way technology interfaces with women's bodies in the business of surrogacy. One of the questions I wish to address through this paper is whether technology has enabled, mediated, or produced the business of surrogacy, and the consequences that the intervention may have on women's bodies, particularly their reproductive capacities.

The understanding of women's childbearing and childrearing role as reproductive labour was first pushed forward by the socialist feminists in the 70s. Contesting the dominant binary that existed in classical political philosophy between productive and unproductive labour, feminists argued that women's engagement with domestic activities including childbearing was labour, and must not be couched under the rhetoric of feminine duty, or filial responsibility.

Most discourses on surrogacy begin by juxtaposing two evidently exaggerated images: One, a morally over deterministic rhetoric of motherhood, such as "mothering and pregnancy are acts of love", and "children are priceless". This is then pitted against the rather dystopian image of reproductive brothels, baby machines and baby farms. What is startlingly absent from these polarised opinions is the idea of surrogacy, and motherhood by extension, as labour. Paid mothering has existed in societies from long before, in the form of wet nurses, boarding mothers (temporary foster mothers to care for children in shelter homes), baby farmers (hired by parents to raise illegitimate children in secret), governesses, nannies, etc. Why then does surrogacy problematise the economics and politics of hiring maternal services?

Most countries in the world ban commercial surrogacy, but allow altruistic surrogacy without monetary compensation. Helena Ragone contends that the 'fiction of altruism' is a gendered narrative that is discriminatory in its nature. It feeds off of paternalism that is motivated by caste-based and race-based discrimination. Helene Ragone's book, *The Gift of Life*, speaks about the construction of altruism as an excess. As Gayle Rubin takes Marcel Mauss's idea of the gift forward by explaining how exogamy isn't practised for the purpose of reciprocation, but for the creation of kinship, similarly, Ragone says that altruism is the result of an excess where sacrifice and selflessness, construct the image of the surrogate as altruistic. Ragone's findings reveal that traditional surrogates are more likely than gestational surrogates to apply the metaphor of the gift to the embryos they carry. All surrogates, however, claim that the payment they receive is insufficient compensation for the service they provide and nine months of pregnancy. For Ragone, this claim illustrates the prevailing belief that "children are gifts and therefore priceless", a view that gives rise to societal censure of financially motivated surrogates.

In stark contrast, sperm donors, who routinely declare financial compensation as a primary motivation, do not face the same societal disapproval. Children are culturally considered priceless gifts and that idea permeates popular discourse as well. Jan Sutton, the founder and spokeswoman of the National Association of Surrogate Mothers (a group of more than 100 surrogates who support legislation in favour of surrogacy), stated in her testimony before an information- gathering session of the California state legislature in 1989: "My organization and its members would all still be surrogates if no payment was involved". The symbol of the pure surrogate who creates a child for love was pitted against the symbol of the wicked surrogate who 'prostitutes her maternity'. Once a surrogate enters a program, she also begins to recognize just how important having a child is to the commissioning couple. She realises that all their material success seems insignificant, as

their lives are emotionally impoverished because of the absence of a child. Thus, the surrogate's ability to bear children serves as a levelling device to equalise differences in material status. The surrogate starts seeing herself as a heroic figure who has the power to enrich their lives by filling a major void in it. The ideal of altruism is a discursive as well as social construction entrenched deeply in the politics of power structures as surrogates who typically women of colour, women without formal livelihoods, women from specific caste backgrounds, who are taught to romanticise their relative deprivilege. The imperative to altruism must also be read in conjunction with notions of the normative family. The family is often read as "the antithesis of the market relations of capitalism; it is also sacralised in our minds as the last stronghold against the state, as the symbolic refuge from the intrusion of a public domain that consistently threatens our sense of privacy and self-determination." Motherhood is a private affair, a matter of the private domain. If maternal labour must be outsourced, or if the process of maternity must be duplicated, it must only be substituted with a sister's or an aunt's or a cousin's labour. Labour, that though duplicates maternal labour, must be performed for free. The fear of the merging of family with the world of commerce can only be put to rest by constructing the ideal of altruism.

Altruism, therefore, is born out of a necessary excess that is created by the act of selfless maternal labour. Traditional maternal labour is rewarded with the gift that is the child, but an unpaid surrogate's labour, by virtue of it being unmotivated by financial desire, becomes altruistic. That the idea of altruism as a gendered concept has been taken further forward by Amrita Pande in *Commercial Surrogacy in India: Manufacturing the perfect mother-worker*. Drawing comparisons with the practice of organ donation, she says that in both phenomena, the act is encouraged when it's done for a member of the family and without financial compensation. Pande says, that a US study indicated that more than two-thirds of kidney donors were women. Another revealed that

while more than 30 percent of wives who were eligible and able, donated to their spouses; whereas fewer than seven percent of husbands eligible to donate did so. This becomes particularly critical in India, where altruism and gendered notions of familial duty, have often been forced onto female relatives, or those in positions of vulnerability, such as domestic workers.

In effect, altruistic surrogacy places on women the obligation to be meek reproductive gift-givers. By eliminating contracts and payments, a policy mandating altruism in surrogacy formally bolsters the age-old belief that women need not be compensated for their reproductive labour. In a surrogacy case, such a clause also fails to consider the reality of the labour involved in gestation, whereby women not only go through immense emotional and bodily pain, but also forgo other forms of livelihood during the months of pregnancy. There seems to be no discussion about such practicalities like maternity leave for surrogates, and at least a payment for the loss of income.

The language of the Law has been consistently dismissive of women's reproductive capacities as viable labour, in the case of surrogacy particularly. For example, in the Fasano case of 1998, the hospital's negligence brought about placing the wrong fertilised egg in Donna Fasano's uterus and resulted in her carrying to term and delivering a child that didn't belong to her or her husband. In a lawsuit that ensued, where the Fasanos handed over the child over to its biological parents but demanded visitation rights, the court dismissed Donna's role in the pregnancy as only "nominal" and denied visitation rights. The court's rejection of Donna's role in the process of childbirth simply because there was no intention to do so, or the process of childbearing and childbirth was brought on sans any love or emotional attachment directed to the child in the womb, devalues her gestational labour.

Amrita Pande posits surrogates as 'mother-worker subjects', where being a mother is constantly at odds with being a worker. The worker takes wages for their job and delivers the service/good/labour. A worker's detachment in delivering the good and moving on to the next task is directly at conflict with a mother's duty towards her child. The surrogate's role as both mother and worker threatens her claim to one or the other of these roles, no matter how religiously she attempts to fulfil both.

Feminists have had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with technology. When Shulamith Firestone first remarked that technology alone can liberate women from the tyranny of their bodies, it was a lauded idea. But over time, this neutrality of technology has been contested. Scholars like Judy Wacjman, in *Feminism confronts Technology* have pointed out how this rhetoric has pushed unsuspecting women into unverified medical trials and have also made medical establishments make guinea pigs out of women. The penetration of technology into the field of reproduction has caused women's bodies a medical project that can be perfected through technological intervention. Infertility is no longer merely a description of a condition, but is a problem needing to be fixed. One of the central themes in the context of assisted reproductive technology is the role of technology in the process. Some of the questions I hope to be able to address is does technology enable, mediate, or produce surrogacy? In addition to that, it would also be inevitable to wonder whether technology is independent of human intent, and attempt to unpack the professed neutrality of technology.

The understanding of technology as a phenomenon preceding science or industry as we know it has been a more or less accepted idea in academic discourse for some time now. Heidegger in his understanding of technology says that the essence of technology is nothing technological in itself. The essence of technology, therefore, is an enframing; the standing reserve. To be a standing reserve, for example, is not a matter

of possessing an aspect or trait such as "being always on call." Instead, it is to be experienced in terms of enframing – that is, in terms of the challenging forth that unlocks, exposes, and switches things about ever anew. Deleuze calls technology an assemblage; a network of human and non-human agents, of which, technology and equipment are only a part. Deleuze calls technology a rhizomatic structure. A rhizome is a lateral growth which has no apparent beginning, no end, or no origin. If you cut it, it continues growing from all directions. What Deleuze attempts to say, therefore, is that the teleology and etiology of technology are hard to separate. All that we are left grappling with is its ontology.

Feminists have had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with technology. When Shulamith Firestone first remarked that technology alone can liberate women from the tyranny of their bodies, it was a lauded idea. But over time, this neutrality of technology has been contested. Scholars like Judy Wacjman, in *Feminism confronts Technology* have pointed out how this rhetoric has pushed unsuspecting women into unverified medical trials and have also made medical establishments make guinea pigs out of women. The penetration of technology into the field of reproduction has caused women's bodies a medical project that can be perfected through technological intervention. Infertility is no longer merely a description of a condition, but is a problem needing to be fixed.

A cursory glance at the history of some of the most widely used technologies today would indicate that they were born out of anything but noble intentions. The forceps were used to deliberately medicalise the process of delivery so as to eliminate midwives from the economy of childbirth, the ultrasound was an inadvertent outcome of an acoustics project run by the MIT and funded by the military to detect underwater submarine movement, the speculum was invented for men to gain access to the reproductive systems of women's bodies.

The feminist faction has also been largely divided on the question of technological mediation of reproduction. Whether technological intervention de-romanticises motherhood, or if it further enforces essentialist notions of motherhood has been a point of contention. Christine Crowe says that technology makes 'desperate consumers' out of infertile women. Maria Meis argues that technology, in its very foundation, looks at nature as a resource that can be manipulated for human benefit. It's not only anthropocentric, but also androcentric, and it's naive to look towards technology for answers to the women question. Feminist scholar Michel Stanworth says that it is simplistic to reject technology and look at women who avail its services as merely blinded by science. It is denying them their agency in making these choices, and pegs them as passive subjects of social conditioning. 'Feminist responses to technology have a tendency to confuse masculinist rhetoric and fantasies with actual power relations, thereby submerging women's own to reproductive situations in the dominant and victimising masculinist text', she says. But perhaps the most pertinent critique on technology comes from Rosalind Pollack Petchesky in *Abortion and Women's Choice: State, Sexuality, and Women*, where she says that assuming women to be a homogenous analytical category, and arguing whether they benefit from technology, is an exercise in futility. It fails to realise that women and technology are embedded in the specificities of the socio-cultural milieu they inhabit. What would be a productive discussion to have instead, is attempting to understand how different women interact with technology differently. She proposes that feminists attempt to unpack the politics of how women of colour interface with technology vis-a-vis how white women experience technology; how queer women are affected by technology as opposed to how heterosexual women interact with technology, and so on. That any discussion of technology without locating it in political relations is counterproductive. Petchesky's critique of technology perhaps appears to be the most edifying, as it recognises the power dynamics that come to play when

women negotiate with technology, and actors that enable this access to/mediation of technology.

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NO WORK IS EASY! NOTES FROM THE FIELD ON UNPAID CARE WORK FOR WOMEN

- Dr. Diya Dutta

"The knowledge of cooking doesn't come pre-installed in a vagina. Domestic work is a skill both men and women should have. It is also a skill that can elude both men and women"

- Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

Introduction

Oxfam works to fight poverty and injustice in all its forms, through development projects, humanitarian responses, and campaigning. Central to Oxfam's approach is women's rights and gender equality, acknowledging that many of the challenges faced by women and communities are structural and rooted in complex systems of power, social norms and macroeconomic and environmental contexts that can entrench poverty and inequality. One of the most universal and persistent barriers for women and girls to achieve economic equality is the exclusion in economic policy making of unpaid work including unpaid care and domestic work. This type of work, often backbreaking and time consuming, is essential to the human economy, yet disproportionately undertaken by women and girls, especially those in poor and marginalised communities.

Two opposing trends have been witnessed in India since the beginning of the millennium. Since 2004-05, India's GDP scripted its highest growth ever, since the economic reforms began in 1991. At the same time female labour force participation declined sharply. In India, women comprise half of the population, but less than a quarter of women-22.5% (EUS data in NSSO) participate in the labour market. Between 2000 and 2005, 60 million jobs were created, but women lost out as 14.6 million of those jobs were attributable to a rise in rural female unpaid family workers in the agriculture sector.

Economic growth is gender blind and while it has, in the past, created some employment opportunities, these opportunities were superimposed on a social fabric that was gender unequal and indisposed towards women. Unpaid domestic work (care and non-care unpaid work) falls within this ambit of gender inequality leading to unequal opportunities for women in the labour market. The term 'unpaid care work' describes the direct care provided to children, the elderly, ill and disabled people at the household and community level; as well as domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, washing and fetching water or firewood that facilitates this direct care. It is unpaid because it emerges out of societal or contractual obligations, and it is work because engaging in it has associated costs in terms of time and efforts (Elson 2000). Care is integral to the health, wellbeing and survival of the society and economy. However, its benefits are often not recognized, and its responsibilities and associated costs continue to disproportionately fall on women, who spend two to 10 times more time on unpaid care work than men (Ferrant et al. 2014). This limits their time to spend on personal care, paid work, leisure, social and political activities (Karimli et al. 2016; Ferrant et al. 2014). This in turn has implications on women's time poverty, depletion in their health and well-being and fundamentally undermine their human rights (Sepulveda Carmona 2013).

Through this paper, Oxfam conceptualises and asserts the establishment of a human economy which is sustainable, equitable and based on social justice as the ultimate goals accounting for both monetized and non-monetized forms of work. Rather than believing that economic growth alone will deliver progress, we argue that a holistic and inclusive economy benefits women and men equally without harming the planet; closes gaps between women and men's enjoyment of rights; challenges instead of reinforcing discriminatory social norms; and recognizes and values both paid and unpaid contributions to the economy.

Working Hypothesis of this Paper
Background

Specifically, this paper is part of a larger study comprising of quantitative survey and qualitative field study in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh covering the social categories of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Muslims. This is part of the research for the upcoming Oxfam India Inequality Report 2019—The State of Employment in India. It is also part of an Oxfam confederation-wide multi country study on women's economic empowerment specifically looking at women's unpaid care work.

This paper is based on an argument put forward by Santosh Mehrotra and Sharmistha Sinha (2017) in the *Economic and Political Weekly* explaining the reasons behind low female labour force participation. High burden of domestic unpaid care work is cited as one of the main reasons why women are dropping out of the work force.

The authors cite cross-country data to show that female labour force participation is high in low-income countries and upper middle-income and high-income countries; whereas it is relatively low in lower middle-income countries. This creates a U-shaped relationship between a country's national income and female labour force participation (Psacharapoulos and Tzannatos 1989; Schultz 1990; 1991; Pampel and Tanaka 1986; Kottis 1990). In low income countries, uneducated women are engaged in large numbers in the labour force primarily in agriculture and low productivity work. As the country's economy improves, women gain education, move out of the workforce and rejoin at a higher level of national income when there are opportunities for high paid and higher skilled jobs for women to undertake (Mehrotra and Sinha 2017).

There is enough evidence to demonstrate that high female labour force participation rate is good for overall prosperity of the country—the realisation of the full economic potential of women's productive capacity

boosts the growth rate; and for obvious reasons makes the economy inclusive. Female employment is critical not merely because it has a positive effect on the quality of life of women themselves; it also significantly improves the living conditions of the entire household (Subbarao and Raney 1993; Drèze and Sen 1989). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) calculations show that in India, raising the participation of women in the labour market through pro-growth and pro-women policies can boost the national growth rate by 2 percentage points over time (OECD 2015 cited in Mehrotra and Sinha 2017).

India has witnessed a consistent decline in female labour force participation rate in rural and urban areas since the 1970s. In more recent times, this is particularly striking and stark because since 2004-05, India has scripted a steady 7 and above GDP growth rate which is very impressive. While it has lifted millions out of poverty, women, the poorest of the poor are still a long way from realising their economic potential and asserting their equal rights and citizens of this country. Within this wave of steady decline in female labour force participation rate in India, in the rural setting between 1999-2000 and 2004-05, there was evidence of an increase in female labour force participation rate. Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) explain this spike as follows: of the total 60 million jobs (male and female combined) that increased during 2000-05, 14.6 million was attributable to a rise in female unpaid family workers in the agriculture sector. This was therefore a not a positive development, but in fact, a retrogressive development which went against the basic tenets of women's realisation of their economic potential and human rights.

The women acted as a reserve labour force. During this period, the agriculture sector was in the throes of distress which pushed large numbers of the male rural population out of the villages and agricultural work into cities and other sectors of work. But agricultural work had to

be continued, and women were therefore forced out of the home to work in the family land. While they undertook backbreaking work, because it was family owned land, they were not compensated monetarily nor was their work recognised nationally. In a few years' time, with policies that increased Minimum Support Prices (MSPs) for farmers and a minimum wage was enforced, the male labour force returned to the villages and consequently, the women withdrew from the labour force. And so, just like that, they silently moved in and out of the labour force without any support or recognition of their work. Working on the family farm constitutes women's double burden and cannot be perceived as a source of either independent income or working outside the home, which are the real sources of empowerment.

There was another spike in female labour force participation rate, between 2005 and 2010. This period saw the implementation of various public sector initiatives such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA) from 2006, and the construction of all-weather rural roads thus improving connectivity between remote villages and highways and towns. There was also the national rural housing scheme. A fallout of all these schemes was that wage work in construction sector increased. The huge increase in rural female employment in construction shows up in the share of female workforce in this sector rising from 1.8% in 2005 to 5.6% in 2010 in rural areas (Mehrotra and Sinha 2017).

The Hypothesis

There are three aspects of the rationale for declining female labour force participation in India in the Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) paper that form the working hypothesis of this study.

First, Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) argue that post 2005, there has been a significant increase in enrolment in India, higher for girls both in the age group of below 15 years and 15-19 years. Since 15 is the legal age for

working, their participation in school had a dramatic impact on female labour force participation rate. Enrolment rates for girls in elementary school and secondary school both rose dramatically. One factor, driving female labour force participation down the U-shape across countries as per capita incomes rise, is increasing enrolment of girls in school. In other words, there is a U-shaped relationship of female participation with education and household income.

We therefore hypothesise that: *Due to the success of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009—The RTE Act 2009, girls are now spending substantial amount of time in schools during the day. They are therefore no longer available to help in household work such as child minding. Therefore, as an unintended consequence of the success of RTE Act 2009, there is increased burden to perform domestic unpaid care work by adult women of the household.*

Second, Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) observe that the decline in female labour force participation rate is highest in the age cohorts of 30-34 years followed by 35-39 years. This indicates that there is some reason beyond the success of universal education that is prompting women to drop out of labour force (Sinha 2014). The authors argue that domestic duties (unpaid work) and unpaid care work and the ideology of marital household govern the entry to and withdrawal of women into the labour force. Specifically, in rural India, the share of domestic unpaid care and non-care work for women increased from 51.8% in 2005 to 59.7% in 2012.

Thus, we hypothesise that: *Over a 5-year period, women's domestic unpaid care and non-care work has increased manifold which is preventing them from participation in the labour market for income generating work.*

Third, is the phenomenon of greater nuclearization of families, whereby there are fewer adult women to provide support for household unpaid care and non-care work in families. The authors argue that consequently, women are constrained from joining the labour force even if they have the necessary qualification (Mehrotra and Sinha 2017). Further, India's gender chore gap, the difference between the amount of housework performed by women and men is the highest in the world indicating the huge burden of unpaid care work that women shoulder (Hausmann et al. 2012). OECD (2012) estimates reveal that in that in India women spend an approximately 351.9 minutes or 5.865 hours in a day on housework as compared to men who spend a mere 51.8 minutes or less than an hour on similar activities. In contrast, in Norway, men spend 210 minutes as opposed to women spending 180 minutes on housework, Denmark 242 minutes for men and 186 minutes for women, etc.

Thus, we hypothesise that: *Due to increasing nuclearization of households, there are fewer adult women in a household to lend support to unpaid care and non-care work, putting greater pressure on single/fewer women to perform these tasks.*

Further, studies in India have also demonstrated that collection of fuelwoods and drinking water are the most time consuming unpaid domestic chores for women. As per NSSO (69th Round, 2012) only 46.1 percent households in rural India got drinking water within the premises of their house. When drinking water had to be fetched from a distance, female members did this work in 84.1 percent of rural households and male members only 14.1 percent (rural India). In urban India, women performed this task in 72 percent of the households and male members a mere 23.5 percent. Thus, on an average, in rural India, women spend 35 minutes in arranging drinking water for the household while their urban counterparts spend 31 minutes.

Similarly, in collection of fuelwoods, women spend approximately 374 hours every year collecting firewood in India. Women with improved cook stoves save 70 hours per year, which means 1 hour 10 minutes every day when using a clean cook stove. The study (Gender and Livelihoods Impacts of Clean Cook Stoves in South Asia) found that households with clean cook stoves reported sending their children to school more often. *Through this field-based study, we will assess how fiscal policies—public spending through the government sponsored Ujjwala Scheme and NRDWP (National Rural Drinking Water Programme) could help achieve gender equality and improve women's labour force participation in India or contrarily ease their burden on domestic unpaid care and non-care work.*

Literature Review

Feminist economics championing the cause of equitable gender distribution of economic entitlements, rights and social norms, stemmed from a critique of neoclassical economics and its preoccupation with perfect markets. Neoclassical economics is based on the assumption that self-interested, autonomous and rational individuals making decisions largely based on their preferences rather than social determinants and coming together to engage in efficient production or exchange of goods or services in the public sphere (Parvez Butt et al. 2017). Feminist economists have expended the boundaries of the neoclassical framework exploring inequalities in class (between capitalists and workers) to demonstrate how gender inequalities permeate all economic activities. Further, they argue that these economic activities take place outside traditionally conceived boundaries of 'the market'. This implies that the conceptualisation of the economy is limited to monetised markets is itself flawed, reflecting and generating gender inequality (Palley 2016; Seguino 2013). Usually, the economy excludes the domestic and voluntary sector which is considered to take place within the 'private sphere' of the home (Elson 2002). In particular, feminist macroeconomics emphasizes unpaid care and domestic work,

predominantly carried out by women, which, despite contributing significantly to the health and well-being of families and the wider society and sustaining the economy through cultivating a thriving populace, is excluded from mainstream economic models and macroeconomic analyses. As such, macroeconomic policies, monetary and fiscal policies embedded in such a model are inherently gender-biased even when they appear or are intended to be gender neutral (Cagatay, Elson and Grown 1995).

Feminist economics explore the interlinkages between fiscal policies and gender equality through three broad streams: The first stream originated in the analysis of the impact of macroeconomic stabilization and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on gender equality and well-being. Specifically, they explore the impact of austerity drives on women and their increased work burden of unpaid care work and paid work. Examples from Jamaica and Dominican Republic show that such austerity drives meant that women were 'working even harder, eating and spending less and migrating more' (Beneria and Feldman 1992). In Egypt, educated women saw their employment levels fall in the 1990s as public sector employment comprised a higher share of their total employment than men's; once displaced from that sector, they found little demand and poor working conditions from the private sector (Kabeer 2015). The lack of government jobs, pushing women to consider other, often precarious forms of work, was also noted in Ethiopia, Uganda and Côte d'Ivoire (Appleton, Hoddinot and Krishnan 1999). While trade liberalisation and growth of labour-intensive export-oriented manufacturing rendered benefits to women in the form of increased wage employment (especially in garment and textiles sector) (Standing 1989), the quality of employment for women was seen to suffer (Kabeer 2015). As a result of deregulation of the labour market meant that women were often trapped in low-wage, informal and insecure working conditions.

The second stream that explores the interlinkages between fiscal policies and gender equality is through the care economy. Researchers have documented the heavy workloads and unequal care responsibilities of women, particularly those living in poverty, and their implications for women's time-use, health, and participation in other areas of life, agency and societal and economic well-being. The literature has acknowledged that recognizing changing patterns of unpaid care and domestic work is critical for gender equality but also crucial in its own right for achieving women's rights, as well as being a key entry point for reducing gender inequalities in other outcomes (Parvez Butt et al. 2017).

A third stream of interrogation explored how fiscal policies may interact with social norms and power relationships within households. Feminist economists have criticized how neoclassical economy theory treats households as a single unit where needs are collectively maximised. Feminist economists counter this argument by demonstrating the different levels of (male) privilege and power within households and the social norms that govern who has control over labour and resources (and how these are negotiated and allocated), leading to gendered differences in well-being outcomes (Seguino 2013; Kabeer 1994). Women, though typically responsible for managing the household budget and ensuring spending on the needs of the family, are often not the ones in control of the finances and other resources (Beneria and Feldman 1992). Further, strong evidence of the presence of gender norms on the notion that unpaid care and domestic work as 'women's work' and, in many cases, men's power over women's labour (Parvez Butt, Garber and Walsh 2017) results in women doing the majority of unpaid work and finding it difficult to negotiate an equitable or relatively equitable distribution of unpaid work with men in the family. This is so even when women engage in paid work (Kabeer 1994). In times of economic and financial crises, this means that women adapt coping strategies that are harmful to their health and well-being, cutting down on leisure and rest time and opting

for more flexible and informal work on less pay to manage both paid and unpaid work responsibilities (Beneria and Feldman 1992).

Oxfam GB study in Uganda (Parvez Butt et al. 2017) shows that unpaid care work emerges as a tool for maintaining unequal power relations between men and women and keeping women ill-equipped to take on income generating labour market opportunities. Drawing on feminist economics literature, studies have shown that unpaid care and domestic work is a key area where fiscal policy has a significant impact on gender equality (Seguino 2013; Cagatay, Elson and Grown 1999). The work is disproportionately carried out by women—requires long hours, which limits their opportunities to engage in income generating economic, political and social activities (Elson 2000). Differences in time-use at home between men and women, differences in education and skill level, social norms, access to productive inputs, compositely lead to inequalities in decent work participation particularly for women (Mehrotra and Sinha 2017). Studies have also shown that public spending and investments in key services have the potential to reduce and redistribute the time women spend on unpaid care work to public and private sector actors (Agénor et al. 2010).

Cagatay, Elson and Grown (1995) demonstrate that macroeconomic policies have distributional effects with implications on gender equality even when they are intended to be gender neutral. Current macroeconomic policies focusing exclusively on GDP growth and reduction in inflation, have in many cases, undermined the achievements and contributions of women's rights and in turn perpetuated economic and gender inequality (Parvez Butt et al. 2018). The need is to formulate macroeconomic policies that deliver much more than narrow economic growth. Policies need to be based on priorities and evidence from the entire labour force, thus making visible, unpaid care work and products and services arising from such work which are currently excluded from economic policy making. Further, to push the limits of such policies,

these policies need to meet not only women's practical gender needs such as promoting female employment, access to resources etc. but also strive to meet strategic gender needs in terms of equality in power relations and decision-making and the fulfilment of human rights by challenging social norms and public investments in areas which specifically benefit women such as water infrastructure (Elson 1992).

Feminist economists argue, that when governments fail to recognise and therefore provide physical and social infrastructure in terms of health, childcare, education, transportation; unpaid care work steps in to subside the public sector. In an ideal world, it should have been the other way round. Because the costs of care are borne by the provider (her inability to participate in income generating labour market activities, inability to take care of her health, etc.) rather than the wider economy, which nonetheless benefits from this service, the market economy profits from the subsidies that unpaid care and domestic work provides (Antonopoulous 2009).

Observations from the Field

While the larger study will involve a quantitative survey and a qualitative field study in Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh covering the social groups of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Muslims, we present here the field observations from qualitative focus group discussions held with SC, ST and Muslim populations in Bihar and Jharkhand.

The sample was selected based on access to Ujjwala and NRDWP schemes in villages and Ujjwala in urban wards of Kishangunj municipality. A total of 10 FGDs were conducted in Lohardaga in Jharkhand and Madhubani and Kishangunj in Bihar.

Introduction

On an average, women stay up for 17-19 hours in a day of which they spend 6 hours at outside paid work, and the rest viz. 11-13 hours, they spend entirely on domestic unpaid work. This is almost double of the estimation presented by Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) but similar to the findings in another study by ISST and IDS (see Zaidi and Chigateri 2017). There is often no scope for leisure or rest for the women. The main domestic unpaid care and non-care tasks that women engaged in included cooking, cleaning the house, washing dishes, washing clothes, child minding, preparing lunch for the men to take to their work and school-going children, preparing smaller school-going children for school, shopping for essential items and food items for the household, cattle rearing, work in the family farm land, helping children with their studies and others. In Kishangunj, this also included all the work related to shifting to higher ground when floods arrived.

I travelled across Jharkhand and Bihar, covering some very remote tribal villages in Lohardaga district in Jharkhand, to Dalit and Mahadalit villages in Madhubani and Muslim municipalities in Kishangunj, Bihar.

Reasons for High Burden of Domestic Unpaid Care and non-Care Work for Women

Across the board, women's domestic unpaid care and non-care work burden is very high—in several instances, they have to work even when they are ill—in one urban ward in Kishangunj, the women resume domestic work, a day after giving birth to a child.

There are several reasons for this -

There are clearly demarcated gendered division of labour between domestic work and outside work—men are supposed to do income generating work outside the home while women are supposed to take care of all domestic work. Even where women work outside to earn an income, they are still the only people responsible for looking after

domestic duties at home. At no cost, will the men help out with unpaid care work. This gender inequality is so deeply entrenched that even young boys, especially within the Muslim community in Kishangunj, refuse to help their mothers with domestic work, even when their mothers are ill.

This is contrary to other findings from some other studies. In 2017, Oxfam Great Britain conducted a qualitative study in Uganda which revealed networks of care where men played a significant and increasingly transformative role in domestic unpaid care and non-care activities, therefore taking some of the burden off the women. The Rapid Care Analysis revealed that 'Sons primarily help in livestock-keeping and cultivation, and less in domestic work. But where their sisters are too small or have left to live with their in-laws, they take on considerable care responsibilities' (Parvez Butt, Walsh and Garber 2017). Further, men play an important role in care responsibilities when their wives or children are ill.

Similarly, in a study conducted by ISST and IDS in 2017 in Udaipur and Dungarpur in Rajasthan and Indore and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh, it was revealed that men, while not willing to undertake domestic unpaid care work such as fetching water and fuelwood, they were nevertheless willing to help with child minding (Zaidi and Chigateri 2017).

I spoke to a few men too in Lohardaga district, and they flatly refused to share any of the domestic unpaid care work burden arguing that since they were engaged in paid work outside the home, they should not be expected to help out with unpaid care work at home.

An extreme repercussion of this attitude among men is witnessed among the Muslim community. Men marry a second and even third time simply because they don't want to take part in household domestic unpaid care work. Because the Muslim women have several children, they are

indisposed for some time when they are pregnant. Their health suffers too from multiple pregnancies and they become weak as a result. If a woman is unable to undertake domestic unpaid care work, then the man will bring in a second or a third wife to take care of domestic work and the cycle then repeats itself. This is a vicious cycle and detrimental to the well-being and rights of a woman.

The fallout of this is, that women, adjust by waking up earlier and going to bed late to juggle both their domestic work as well as paid work outside. They have no time for leisure or relaxation and no scope to fall ill and be indisposed.

Besides gendered division of labour, there is an age-wise division of labour among women too. In some villages, older women relegate all domestic work onto their younger daughters and daughters-in-law and they are free to work outside for money. In other instances, the younger daughters and wives work outside, while the older women take on the responsibility of household work including looking after younger children. In households with fewer adult women, the adult woman has to take care of both outside paid work and internal domestic unpaid care work without any help from others. Even, in extreme situations, where they do seek help, it is always other women in the family or neighbourhood who help out with the domestic unpaid care work, never a man. Among the Muslim community, the neighbourhood is made up of relatives, who help out with domestic unpaid care work, if the woman needs help. The only instances where men help out are in small families, when the woman falls seriously ill and is indisposed to undertake work.

Second, while it was heartening to see the success of the Right to Education Act, with all school going girls enrolled in schools; it has an unintended fallout as well in the form of increased unpaid care work burden on women. Earlier, girls stayed at home and helped out with domestic work for their mothers. Now girls remain in school 6-7 hours

in a day during which time they are unavailable to help out their mothers at home. Nonetheless, due to the gendered division of labour, school going girls help out with domestic work before and after school hours and have no respite from the same. At the same time, adult women are faced with increased work burden at home because now they have to prepare food for the girls as well as get them ready to go to school—tasks which were not needed to be done earlier.

Third there is the twin issue of increasing family sizes with more children in the household who require child minding, prepare lunch for them to take to school, look after their studies, etc.; and the issue of smaller households consisting of husband, wife, children and sometimes an older in-law. Yes, it was revealing to note that nuclear family units are now a reality even among remote tribal villages and Dalit villages. The exception being Muslim households which are very large consisting of 7 to 22 members!

So, when these households say they have grown, they mean that earlier they were unmarried or just husband and wife unit and now a few children have been added to the household. The question was asked keeping in mind the traditional practice of several brothers and their wives and children living together along with their in-laws and whether things have changed from that. From the responses I received, I can safely extrapolate, that the situation is vastly different now. Each brother has set up his own independent household unit—several sisters-in-law no longer reside together. In many cases, even the in-laws didn't reside with the couple and their children. The households that I captured through the FGDs were conspicuous by the absence of more than one adult woman. This puts an increased burden on the woman managing domestic unpaid care work.

Fourth, in Kishangunj, a flood prone area, women rued the fact that in the last 5 years their domestic unpaid care work burden has increased

manifold because of the increase in flooding. They say that the regularity of flooding is a recent (within the last 5 years) phenomenon. Further, the men do nothing to help the women deal with the flood situation. The women have to do everything from moving from their flooded homes, to removing their valuables, to drying out wet clothes and bedding, to finding a higher ground for cooking to finding clean drinking water for their family members. Some stay in wet clothes for days as they are unable to remove themselves to dryer and higher ground.

Added to this is the burden of corn cultivation among the rural parts of Kishangunj. The women say that the majority of work related to corn cultivation is done by women—this constitutes unpaid work in the family. The men do minimal work related to corn cultivation but on the pretext of doing paid work in the farm, they refuse to help with unpaid work or domestic unpaid care work. Coupled with cattle rearing responsibilities which are solely on women, the women have to double up their efforts to work harder and complete domestic unpaid care work in time to tend to the corn fields as well as to herd their cattle.

Fifth, is the issue of fuelwood collection and drinking water collection. While most rural households have access to the National Rural Drinking Water Programme (NRDWP), the cooking gas scheme (Ujjwala) while implemented everywhere, is, nonetheless, elusive and most resort to fetching fuelwood or preparing dung cakes for cooking purposes. It is a time-consuming activity and takes anything between 5 to 7 hours to fetch viable fuelwood from the forests. It takes 15-20 days to prepare cow dung cakes and these are entirely female activities. Across the rural parts of Bihar and Jharkhand, I came across instances where the entire family went hungry for a day if the woman was unable to collect fuelwood for cooking. And this was a regular feature in many poorer households. In urban areas in Kishangunj, they buy fuelwood from the market at INR 700 per quintal. About 1-2 quintals are needed to last for a month. But urban areas, despite the presence of Ujjwala scheme, households are

spending much more on accessing privately sourced cooking gas—in some wards within the Kishangunj municipality, the families of women interviewed spent as much as INR 8000 to secure a double cylinder gas connection. Some households have accessed the government scheme called Ujjwala but that is not free either. A refill costs anything between INR 800 to INR 1000 per cylinder which is an expensive proposition for such poor households in the slums of Kishangunj and elsewhere.

Among rural areas, some villages in Jharkhand mentioned that they spent INR 900 to INR 1000 securing the Ujjwala scheme and subsequently pay INR 880 for a refill. No subsidy has been paid into their bank accounts. Other villages in Jharkhand (tribal and Dalit) and Bihar (Madhubani district) mentioned that while they did not pay for securing the Ujjwala connection, they pay anything between INR 820 and INR 980 for a refill with no or erratic subsidy paid into their bank accounts. Because of the high cost, women and their families save the cooking gas and use it sparingly. They therefore continue with traditional methods of fetching fuelwood or preparing cow dung cakes at home which, as mentioned below, is a time-consuming task. All women, with exposure to cooking gas, expressed that it was helpful in terms of timesaving to have access to cooking gas scheme of the government. But, because of the high cost, it was not a feasible alternative. On an average, with cooking gas, women save 1 to 1.5 hours of time from use of traditional fuelwood or dung cake sources. Further, in flood prone wards of Kishangunj municipality, cooking gas allows women to remove the cooking source to higher grounds and continue to cook food for the family when the areas are flooded. Traditional earthen chulhas are washed away in the floods and have to be constructed all over again which takes time and is difficult in the midst of floods. With access to piped water in the villages, women save as much as 2 hours a day on an average from domestic unpaid care work.

I encountered local politics in the villages of Madhubani where the local Mukhiya was preventing women from accessing government sponsored cooking gas and drinking water schemes. While tube wells are available within household premises, the quality of drinking water is poor and dirty. Women have no other source of clean drinking water within the vicinity and consequently they and their family members are prone to waterborne diseases often.

Other observations

Where husbands migrate out of the village for work, there is no question of men helping out with domestic work. This situation, coupled with smaller household sizes consisting of a nuclear family with a single or few adult women in the household, the woman of the family faces extreme pressure to perform household unpaid care work all by herself. In such situations, women are also responsible for tending to family cattle as well as work in the agricultural fields. This put added burden on the women. In many villages, women said that they had small kids and no one to look after the children (those that are not school going age yet) and they find it very difficult to juggle unpaid care work at home and unpaid work in the fields. In the absence of any income generating source, women are solely dependent on the men in the family which subverts their position within the family. Anganwadi centres in some villages are poorly stocked and under-staffed. As a result, they cannot provide cooked meals to young children every day. So, the nutrition of young children also suffers.

In many villages and urban wards of Kishangunj municipality, women are forced not to leave their marital home for too long to visit their parents' home. In fact, they travel only for a day and return the same day because of the burden of domestic unpaid care work in their marital home. In those instances where, women travel for a few days, they take their entire families with them to their natal home so that the marital home is not left without someone to help with domestic unpaid care work.

This shows that women never get a release from the drudgery that characterises their poverty-ridden life. They have no respite from their unpaid care work and no time to rest.

On being asked whether men should help out with domestic unpaid care work, the opinion was divided. Some women said that men should help out but mostly when women are seriously ill and indisposed to carry out their domestic duties. In no other situation should men help out. Another group of women said that men should never, under no circumstances help out with unpaid care work. These women typically have other women in the household or neighbourhood to help out with their unpaid care work. The response, stems from deep rooted social conditioning where there are clear gender demarcations on what men and women should do.

Social and gender norms are also critically shaped by and in turn perpetuate unequal power relations, whereby men are considered to be superior to women. In situations where women are not allowed to visit their natal home for more than a day because of their domestic unpaid responsibilities, it presents of the mindset where men assert their right to their wife's labour (Parvez Butt, Walsh and Garber 2017).

Just because men are engaged in paid outside work, they are never expected to help with unpaid domestic care work. This is despite the fact that many women also undertake paid and unpaid work outside the home; yet, they are expected to manage both domestic unpaid care work and outside paid and unpaid work. This means, typically women remain awake for much longer time—they get up early and they go to bed last—and they are constantly working for as long as they are awake. The unfortunate part is, that among the Muslim community, the young boys are also conditioned to thinking like that and they refuse to help out with domestic unpaid care work, even when their mothers are unwell and indisposed.

Young girls going to school is a heartening change from before. Of all the 10 villages and urban wards that I visited, all school-going girls go to school for 6 to7 hours in a day. But don't be fooled by the success of RTE in these villages and urban centres. The deeply entrenched gendered division of labour means, that young girls get up early in the morning, help their mothers with domestic responsibilities, go to school, come back and help with more unpaid care work and then sit down to study when there is electricity at home in the evening. So, the girls have no respite either. There is a similar observation from the ISST and IDS study (see Zaidi and Chigateri 2017). The study says that 'Gendered norms infused the social organisation of care, with girls being trained to do household chores from an early age of five and six' (Zaidi and Chigateri 2017: 6). Only very young girls are not expected to take part in unpaid care work. But if the mother falls ill, then even small girls are expected to fetch water, look after younger siblings and sometimes even do nominal cooking work such boiling rice, making tea, cleaning the house etc.

Further, across these villages and urban centres, girls are not married before the age of 18 years. The success of running awareness raising campaigns in many of these villages and Muslim urban centres have raised the marriageable age of young girls to 18 years now. In some villages, the school nearby is till standard 8. For further studies they have to walk miles across the National Highway to reach the school. Worried of the safety of girls, families withdraw girls from education beyond standard 8. They are 14-15 years of age at that time. From then till they get married at the age of 18 years, they remain at home helping the mother with unpaid care work.

As an aspiration, adult women, hope that their daughter when they grow up and get married will not be confined only to housework but also engage in income generating work. But when asked, whether they would want the husbands of their daughters to help out with domestic unpaid

care work, they say that husbands cannot help or it is the husband's family's decision. They did mention, however, that when girls are educated, they are more aware and have the confidence to assert their rights within the family. This leads to a situation of relative gender equality and they may be able to negotiate with their husbands to help out in the home with unpaid care work.

The issue with MNREGA is erratic. In some villages in Lohardaga, especially the remote ones, women worked under MNREGA a few years ago but their payment has been pending for 2-3 years. Similar incidences were reported from the research sites of Zaidi and Chigateri (2017). Consequently, they now concentrate on unpaid agricultural work in their family fields and don't engage with MNREGA. In other villages in Lohardaga, they have been paid in time and they engaged as daily wage workers.

In Madhubani, MNREGA work is available but few and far between and seasonal for a month at best. Payments have been erratic but women are mostly confined to the home because there is not enough work available. This brings me to a deeper question. Studies on female labour force participation and women's unpaid care work (specifically referring to Mehrotra and Sinha 2017 paper in the EPW) make a causal link between high domestic unpaid care work burden which ostensibly prevents women from undertaking paid labour. While this reasoning runs as an undercurrent, there are two realities that need to be factored in. One, the reasoning by Mehrotra and Sinha (2017) assumes that there is enough paid labour available for women to undertake. In reality, this is not the situation. Village after village and ward afterward in urban centres, it was evident that there were no income generating work available that women could do. While the women have the will to do income generating work, they are unable to find productive work to be engaged in. This was even the situation in those localities where the young girls have received higher education. Due to lack of job opportunities, these highly educated

young girls are sitting at home idle, helping out their mothers with domestic responsibilities.

Second, those women who engage in paid work and unpaid care work, are willing to sleep less, restless and work harder to balance both kinds of work. So, in reality, however difficult the burden of unpaid care work may be in a poor woman's life, she is willing to compromise on her well-being to undertake paid work. So, the question of unpaid care burden preventing women from participating in paid work is not entirely true. It is true that this will have long term adverse effect on a woman's physical and emotional well-being but women are not deterred by their unpaid care work responsibilities to undertake paid work.

A corollary to this, is the fact that women-friendly income generating work would be home-based activities such as pickle making, papad making, soap making, chatai (mat) making, tailoring etc. Women I interviewed, across the board were of the opinion that this kind of work would play the dual role of giving women some leisure time as well as allowing women to earn some income sitting from home (see also Zaidi and Chigateri 2017). There was tremendous demand and interest in this kind of work for which they require technical training and expertise and some also require financial support. But a lot of women were weary of loans as the pressure of repayment is high. They would pool in their savings and start such entrepreneurial work but it would help them to be trained in this kind of work.

Women across social categories are willing to take up this kind of work. Only in one ward of the Kishangunj municipality predominated by Irani Muslims, the women said that their community prevents them from stepping out of the home. So, while, they are interested in home-based income generating work, if that work involves going out of the home to sell, then they will not be allowed to undertake such work. In other communities, such work will be allowed, so long as women are able to

undertake all their domestic unpaid care work responsibilities. There is no one to help out with the domestic unpaid care work, and no compromise on that front will be accepted for women to do any other kind of work.

I asked the question, that if they have free time, what kind of work would they like to do at that time more unpaid care work, income generating work or leisure time. Unanimously all women said that they would like to engage in income-generating work as their husbands' income was not sufficient to run the family. But in many instances, because of the lack of opportunity to undertake paid work, women do nothing and rest at home for some time. This is not desirable.

On the question of if they received help with unpaid care work, which kind of work would they take help for which would help them be more productive, opinions were divided: some said that child minding would ease some time for them to undertake other unpaid care work. Others said that cooking and associated job of collecting fuelwood was complicated and time consuming. So, help with that would ease some time for them to do other unpaid care/non-care work. A few others mentioned that cattle rearing was solely a woman's job but stole her away from the home where a lot work was pending. So, they would like to see men help out with cattle rearing responsibilities.

I also asked them which types of unpaid care work were more challenging and conversely easy. The question almost assumed a rhetorical tone as women unanimously across all 3 social categories said that "no work was easy at home"!

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Poem by Prof. Chitra Lele (Originally in Marathi)
English Translation by Prof. Vibhuti Patel

तुझ्या घरात तुझ्या सामानाची आवर सावर करताना जाणवल आवर सावर म्हणजे फक्त साफसूफ करून परत जागी ठेवायच मला काही काढण्याचा अधिकार नाही सगळं तुझं आणि फक्त तुझं आपलसं काही नाही, त्याच तुझ्या पसार्यात मी ही एक नुसत्या जमवलेल्या आवरून सावरून ठेवलेल्या सारखी तू त्याला काहीही म्हण अडगळ, भंगार, कलेक्शन,अ्ँणटिक मला त्यांचा भाग बनून राहणं मान्य नाही	In your house, While cleaning and arranging your personal belongings And keeping them properly where you wanted them to be kept; I realized that I have no right to decide to dispose them off. Everything is yours and only yours Nothing is ours. In your paraphernalia I am also the properly kept thing You may call it useless, worthless, collection, antic. To be part of that is not acceptable to me.

WOMEN IN URBAN FORMAL AND INFORMAL LABOUR: A CASE OF GARMENT INDUSTRY IN BENGALURU

- Karan Peer

With the rise of globalisation and subsequent trade liberalisation, cross-border flow- of goods, investments, jobs, workers and information has increased drastically and created new social, political and economic patterns, regionally and globally. Post 1991, after India underwent liberalisation, its policy of employment has adopted a neoliberal economic approach, according importance to labour market flexibility (Papola, 2011). Meanwhile, Countries and businesses have become more closely linked and interweaved in a complex web of Global Value Chains (GVC). In a GVC, different stages of the production process are located across different countries. Under GVC, there is a huge change from manufacturing-based production system to that of flexible, outsourced and logistics-based system for retail sale. The speed, flexibility and incessancy of market activity have replaced the scheduled rhythm of the factory floor (Smith, 2005). Garment industry in India is also part of huge Global Value Chains (GVC), with fabric being produced in different parts of the country and the final product i.e. Ready-made Garments (RMG) being shipped across the globe. The phasing out of Multi Fibre Agreement (MFA) and the system of bilateral quotas on January 1, 2005 enabled the buyers to source any amount of apparel from any country subject to only a system of tariffs and safeguard measures (Tewari, 2005). In this era of globalisation and trade liberalisation, developing countries have undergone structural change. This has not been beneficial for these countries as prices of the basic manufactured goods exported by developing country such as textiles, fell relative to the advanced products exported by developed countries (Todaro & Smith, 2017). On top of that, elimination of quotas made low wage countries in Asia such as China, India and Bangladesh haven for garment exports. India is the sixth largest

apparel exporter in globe with 3.8% share of global RMG export in 2016 (AEPC, 2016-2017).

As per Annual Survey of Industries (ASI) 2015-16 data, Tamil Nadu has the highest share of apparel production, accounting for 30.84% of the national production and Karnataka stands at second place with 15.32%[26]. Karnataka's capital Bengaluru is by far the fastest growing RMG source with a robust fabric feed from textile centres like Coimbatore, Salem and Erode (Kalhan, 2008). With 1200 garment factories, Bengaluru is one of the main garments producing hub in the country. Most of the leading multinational brands like GAP, H&M, Tommy Hilfiger, ZARA and C&A source from Bengaluru. RMG formed 3.44% of the state's exports in 2014-15 (MSME-Development Institute, 2015-16) and the state is responsible for 8% of the national exports in the garment sector. Though the state's export grew by 4.5% from April 2016 to January 2017, but the wages are meagre and remain stagnant (Mohan, 2017).

Feminisation of Labour in Bengaluru's garment industry

The city's garment factories employ about 5, 00,000 workers, of whom 80% are women (Peepercamp, 2018). Feminisation of jobs in the garment industry of Bengaluru began after the late 1980s. Prior to that, garments were produced mostly by male homeworkers or 'Darji' hailing from Maharashtra at piece rate. It was the establishment of Global garments, a subsidiary of Gokaldas exports pvt. ltd., in 1986 that paved way for batch production of garments and thereby feminisation of labour in the industry began. So, garments which were produced by skilled male workers, with advancement of technology and machinery, have resulted in production of garment in large scale by unskilled women workers with the help of advanced machinery. With the advent of 'technological revolution' based on micro-electronics which, among other things, has

[26] Annual Survey of Industries 2015-16, Summary results for factory sector, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

permitted a wider range of technological-managerial options in working arrangements; cost considerations of alternatives have thus become increasingly significant determinants of allocations and divisions of labour (Mathew, 2006). More women found themselves in jobs traditionally taken by men or certain jobs could be changed to acquire characteristics associated with women's historical pattern of labour force participation. These characteristics, as explained by Guy Standing, include the type of contract, the form of remuneration, the extent and forms of security provided, and the access to skill (Standing, 1999) Looking at the garment industry of Bengaluru, all the characteristics of the job have weakened with increase in women labour force participation. The factories do provide women workers with contracts, but the female attrition rate is still high in the industry due to lack of provision of maternity benefits, work pressure or sexual harassment at work place. The remuneration is low and the legal minimum wage is that of a helper/packer was between Rs 6,447 to Rs 7,475 per month in the financial year from April 2016 to March 2017 for the city of Bengaluru (Peepercamp, 2018). Job security is low and firms close down when they incur losses and the skilling is less, with males still taking up the supervisory job and women mostly occupying lower rank jobs like that of a packer or helper. This study looks at women workers of garment industry in Bengaluru and describes following issues faced by them:

- Sexual harassment at work place
- Poor childcare facilities in factories
- Informal linkages of the garment industry and lack of social security in such enterprises
- Emerging trends of migrant women workers in the garment industry
- Barriers to unionisation and therefore constrained freedom of association.

This paper explores the everyday politics of labour in the city's garment industry. The daily struggles of women workers, the challenges faced by them at work and their striving to earn a good living.

Methodology

Data for this study was collected through both desk research and field research using questionnaires for individual interviews. The field work was carried out in Bengaluru in the month of March and April 2018. Desk research was done using secondary data sources. Macroeconomic figures and the overall profile of the industry were understood through Annual Survey of industries (ASI) 2015-16 report, various reports by Multi-Stakeholder Initiatives (MSI) and Civil Society Organisations (CSO), who are working on labour issues. Academic papers, web-based information and electronic media formed other sources of secondary information.

10 workers employed in 4 factories, including two migrant workers were interviewed which formed the main source of primary data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with activists and leaders of two trade unions. A journalist working on labour issues in garment industry was also interviewed. Two informal workers working in the garment industry were also interviewed to understand informal linkages of the industry. An Audit Supervisor of Fair Wear Foundation (FWF), a Multi Stake-holder Initiative which works with factories, brands, trade unions, NGOs and sometimes government, to improve workplace condition for garment workers was also interviewed.

Sexual Harassment at work place Act 2013 – a short introduction

The constitution of India guarantees "equality of status and opportunity" for all its citizens under Article 14. Furthermore Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Indian Constitution ensure a person's right to equal protection under the law, to live a life free from discrimination on any ground and to protection of life and personal liberty. Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination composed of two forms of behaviour: quid pro quo harassment and hostile environment harassment. Quid pro quo harassment involves sexual threats or bribery that are made a condition of employment or used as the basis for employment decisions. Hostile

environment captures those behaviour, such as sexual jokes, comments, and touching, that interferes with an individual's ability to do her/his job or that create an "intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment" (Welsh, 1999). These two primary forms of workplace sexual harassment has also been identified by International labour Organisation (ILO). ILO Convention No 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention addresses discrimination in employment on a number of grounds, including sex, and requires that ILO members States declare and pursue a national policy designed to promote equality of opportunity and treatment with a view to eliminating discrimination. This convention has been ratified by India along with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in June 1993 which emphasises protection of women against sexual harassment and their right to work with dignity. In 1997, the landmark case of Vishaka vs. State of Rajasthan, the Supreme Court of India set out for the first time a legal definition of sexual harassment in the workplace and guidelines for its prevention and redress. The Vishaka guidelines have been translated into legislation through the Sexual harassment of women at workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. The act defines following behaviour as sexual harassment:

- Physical contact and advances; or
- demand or request for sexual favours; or
- making sexually coloured remarks; or
- showing pornography; or
- any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature;

The definition of workplace includes any department or organisation owned, controlled and financed by government, private sector organisation, industries, hospitals and nursing homes, sports complex, transportation provided by employer and even a dwelling place or house.

Even unorganised sector comes in the purview of workplace. The act clearly mentions that 'no woman shall be subjected to sexual harassment at any workplace'. The act defines the following circumstances to majorly amount to sexual harassment:

- Implied or explicit promise of preferential treatment in her employment; or
- implied or explicit threat of detrimental treatment in her employment; or
- implied or explicit threat about her present or future employment status; or
- interference with her work or creating an intimidating or offensive or hostile work environment for her; or
- humiliating treatment likely to affect her health or safety;

The act also prescribes employer to form an "Internal Complaints Committee" with the senior most woman employee at the workplace as "Presiding Officer" consisting of minimum two members from workplace preferably people with experience of social work or legal knowledge. The committee should also have at least one member from a Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) working for cause of women. At least one half of the total members nominated should be women. Though Government of India introduced the act in 2013 but it has not supported implementation with either significant resources or effective sanctions.

Abuse and sexual harassment of female garment workers

Women workers in the garment industry undergo severe abomination at workplace. Violence and harassments in garment factories take place in the form of shouting, hitting, hair pulling or ridiculing a worker with sexual remarks. In a survey conducted in Bengaluru by Munnade, a local NGO providing social support to women garment workers, it was found out that 14% of women workers had been raped or forced to commit a

sexual act and 7% had experienced Physical violence[27]. Verbal abuse, humiliation and violence threats are a common place. All the 10 women workers interviewed said that they were humiliated and abused verbally by their male supervisors. The main reason for these atrocities is high daily production targets. The minimum daily production target was 40 pieces and it went as high as 100-120 in some factories. Under such repetitive job, workers tend to make mistake and that is when they are threatened, humiliated and shouted at by the supervisors. All the workers interviewed felt that scolding, shouting and abusing is normalised behaviour that they have to undergo as garment workers. Several instances of sexual harassment faced by women workers were revealed by Rukmini VP, President, Garment Labour Union (GLU), the only women led garment worker union in Karnataka.

Though the workers don't speak up openly about sexual harassment, recently 10-15 women from a factory complained to me for harassment by same person. In 2017, we received 6 complaints in writing. In the same year, we registered a police complaint against an employee of Gokuldas Images Pvt. Ltd. Migrant women workers also face the problems of harassment. I received a complaint from a young girl who is a migrant worker that one of her colleagues in the factory has taken room near her hostel and calls her in the evening from a bar after getting drunk. Sexual harassment is very much prevalent in the industry.

There are three main reasons for prevalence of sexual harassment. Firstly, male workers think that they have right to harass women. Secondly, senior management never punishes the supervisors or managers who harass women. Thirdly, the victims of sexual harassment and violence are threatened by perpetrators to stay silent. These reasons can be linked to theories of sexual harassment. The thinking of male workers that they

[27] Sisters For Change & Munnade, Eliminating Violence Against Women at Work, 2016

have the right to harass women can be linked to sociocultural model which posits that sexual harassment is a product of culturally legitimated power and status differences between men and women (MacKinnon 1979, Farley 1978). Sexual harassment is perceived to be an outgrowth of gender socialisation process and is a mechanism by which men assert power and dominance over women both at work and in society (Tangri et al, 1982). Second reason can be linked to organisational model which emphasises how inequities in structural or formal power in organisations lead to harassment. Individuals with formal organisational power, such as managers, may use their position to harass subordinates (Benson & Thomson 1982, Mackinnon 1979). Though the third reason emphasises the role of men supervisors to threaten the women workers from reporting the incidents of sexual harassment, but there are situautions which make the women to ignore the harassment. In these sexually charged work cultures, degrading and sexual behaviours become an "institutionalized" component of work, and thus may not be considered sexual harassment (Williams, 1997). Same is the case for verbal abuse. All the women workers interviewed, revealed that they treat verbal abuse by the supervisors as their normalised behaviour and is thus "institutionalized" in the process. Moreover, women do not report harassment for a variety of reasons ranging from a fear of retaliation or disbelief to a fear of losing one's job or making the situation worse. For example, in many garment factories, young migrant adolescent girls from other Indian states live in dormitories owned or leased by the employer. Some are vulnerable to sexual harassment and abuse from agents, management or security guards in the dormitories and are unable to complain because they fear they will lose their accommodation and jobs (Morris & Pillinger, 2018). There are other theoretical reasons as well which make the workplace hostile for women. Technical organisation of work such as task characteristics, interacts with social organisation of work. Alienating work conditions, such as physically demanding or repetetive jobs, may be partly responsible for women's experiences of sexual harassment in male-typed jobs. Also, physical nature of blue collar work promotes a

"physical culture", resulting in more aggressive forms of sexual harassment (Ragins & Scandura, 1995).

There are no remedies to prevent sexual harasmment in Bengaluru's garment industries. Among the 10 factory workers interviewed, only one worker spoke about presence of a Internal Complaint Committee (ICC) to redress complaints of sexual harassment. Rest of them were unaware about presence of any such committees. The awareness of Sexual Harassment at work place Act 2013 was not there among the interviewees. Women don't know where to go for redressal. The freedom of association is also constrained in the city's garment industry. There are no unions in the factories and the workers are discouraged to join trade unions. And in union-hostile factories there are often no sources of support or advice for women experiencing sexual harassment or violence (Morris & Pillinger, 2018).

Consequences of Sexual Harassment

In terms of job consequences, sexual harassment is found to result in lowered morale, absenteeism, decreased job satisfaction, decreased perception of equal opportunity and damaged interpersonal work relationships. Some victims are forced to quit or lose their jobs. One such case was shared by Rukmini VP, President of Garment Labour Union (GLU), where in the aggrieved woman worker on reporting sexual harassment to the factory management was disbelieved and made to quit her job. There are psychological and physical health consequences of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is linked to anxiety, depression, sleep disturbances, nausea, stress and headaches (Crull, 1982). There have been cases where women garment workers in Bengaluru committed suicide. In 2007, 18-year-old Renuka, a garment factory worker killed herself at her residence in Peenya on October 12, following alleged harassment at her workplace by her superiors (The Hindu, 17th October 2007). Factories also pay a price for harassment in terms of lost productivity and high attrition rate of women workers. Verbal abuse leads

to a decrease in the productivity of a worker, affecting overall business performance and the meeting of production targets (Rourke, 2014). The high attrition rate does not affect the suppliers much as there is presence of surplus labour. But the recruitment, screening and training costs of new workers have to be borne by them. Heavy financial and social costs are actually borne by these women workers. Some move to new factories and lose out on social security benefits like gratuity and others get discouraged to work in the industry and end up entering the unorganised sector. Yashoda, executive committee member of Garment Labour Union (GLU), explained.

Sexual harassment meted out to the women workers is one of the main reasons for their high job turnover rate. You cannot find a women worker who has worked in the garment industry for more than 15 years, it is very rare. Eventually they get discouraged from the industry and enter the unorganised sector. There are cases where women workers quit their jobs to become vegetable seller, domestic helper and street vendors.
This migration of women workers from organised to unorganised sector further increases the share of unorganised sector, which already accounts for a staggering 93% of the employment in the country.

Childcare and the garment industry

Safe affordable and accessible childcare is a core component of women's right to livelihood and equal opportunity for socioeconomic advancement as enshrined in several national and state policies and laws. Quality childcare is equally important as an adaptation of children's right to protection and education that various legislations seek to reinforce. Factories Act 1948 in Chapter V pertaining to welfare insists on provision of crèche by factories employing more than 30 women for day care of children below 6 years of age of women workers. The Karnataka Factories Rule 1969 (2002 amendment) goes a step ahead of Factories Act 1948 by prescribing the following standards:

- The crèche facility should be away from any part of the factory where obnoxious fumes, dust or odours are present, or where excessively noisy processes are carried on.
- There should be 1.86 m^2 of floor area for each child and proper ventilation.
- Provision of cot or bedding for each child. There should be one chair or equivalent seating accommodation for use of mother while she is feeding or attending the child.
- At least one basin or similar vessel for every four children in the crèche along with a supply of water provided, if possible, through taps from a source approved by a Health Officer. The source of water should supply at least 23 litres water a day for each child.
- An adequate supply of clean clothes, soap and clean towels is mandatory for each child while they are in the crèche.
- At least 400 millilitres of clean pure milk (2 glasses) should be available for each child every day. The mother of the child must be allowed two intervals of at least fifteen minutes during the course of her daily work to feed the child.
- A woman-in-charge and one female attendant for every 20 children attending should be appointed for each crèche. There should be at least one sweeper and the woman-in-charge should possess a Nurse's qualifications.

The Government of India approved the National Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) Policy in 2013. The Policy caters to all children under 6 years of age and commits to universal access to quality early childhood education. The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) is the nodal department for ECCE. Proper care and education during the first six years of life lays for human development. Convention No. 156 of the International Labor Organisation (ILO) addresses collective responsibilities toward working parents. The Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156), aims at creating equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, requires

national governments: "(a) to take account of the needs of workers with family responsibilities in community planning; and (b) to develop or promote community services, public or private, such as childcare and family services and facilities".

Despite the presence of these laws, policies and conventions, provision of childcare facilities in Bengaluru is in abysmal state. An estimated 95% of the factories lack functional crèches. A study of garment factories conducted by Karnataka State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (KSCPCR) in 2012 brought out the ground condition of childcare facilities. Out of 118 factories surveyed, 8 didn't have crèches at all and were in violation with law (KSCPCR, 2012). Out of the 10 factory workers interviewed, 3 women workers had children up to 6 years in age. Only one of them was availing the crèche facility and the remaining two had kept their children in their native village. One of the women said that she was not provided crèche facility in her factory as she was a helper and crèche facility in their company was provided to women who were holding designation of tailor or above. Therefore, she was forced to keep her 4-year-old toddler at her village. This kind of preferential or selective treatment displays the apathy of the factory owners towards workers. The other women preferred to keep her child at village as the crèche facility in her factory was not good. Only Nagarathna, who works as tailor at Shashikar exports pvt. Ltd. was availing the crèche facility. Nagarathna described the condition of crèche in her factory with dismay.

I have two children aged 6 years and 1.5 years. I am not allowed to bring both of them to crèche and the facility is available for one child only. The crèche doesn't provide milk and only tea and biscuits are given once in a day. There is only one caretaker and there is no teacher and teaching aids. I am not allowed to feed the child during my shift and I attend my child only once during lunch break. There is no provision of clean clothes if the child spoils them. I am asked to clean up if my child spoils the crèche area by excretion. There is no water provision and I bring water from

home only. The crèches don't admit children less than 1 year in age. I had to take a break of total 3 years from work when both the children were born.

Nagarathna's case is a clear example of horrible condition of crèches and negligence of factory owners towards childcare facilities. Proper childcare during first six years of children's life helps in boosting their nutrition and immunity to preventable diseases. The lives and the rights of women and children are intertwined in the first six years of life, and children's health is intimately connected with the conditions under which their mothers work. As per the lived experience of Nagarathna, there are no breaks to breast feed the child twice a day which is mandatory as per law. This can have detrimental outcomes on child health as breast milk is the first most important weapon in the fight against malnutrition and disease. This is a grave concern which can have impact on children's health and may have outcomes in the form of high infant mortality rates as well. The provision of good child care facilities in factories can also help in achieving Goal 3.2.1 of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) chartered by United Nations in 2013, which is to reduce Under-five mortality rate (U5MR) to 25 per 1,000 live births by 2030 globally. As per National Family Health Survey (NFHS) – 4 (2015-16), U5MR was 32 per 1,000 live births for Karnataka. Since women in the reproductive age of 18-35 years make up the most part of workforce, ensuring utmost care to their children is also responsibility of the factory owners as well as the government.

Absence of good childcare facilities is a huge financial loss for the working mothers as well. They have to move out of the labour force during the pregnancy and first year of the child's birth, thereby losing out wages and social security benefits Employee State Insurance (ESI), Provident Fund (PF) and gratuity. Lack of proper childcare facilities also takes a toll on productivity of the women workers. The findings of the Report of the National Commission on Labour (2002) show that the

provision of childcare facilities results in up to 50% enhancement in the productivity of the mother as well as in lower morbidity and better growth for the child[28]. Absence of good childcare facilities reduces the productivity of the women workers.

Informal Employment in the industry

The garment industry in Bengaluru mostly comprises of organised sector and most of the production takes place in big factories. But there is an unabated growth of small-scale units situated at the outskirts of the city. These units employ less than 10 people and have precarious work conditions. These units come under unorganised sector and have informal terms of employment. According to National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS), informal sector 'consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale and production of goods and services operated on proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers'. NCEUS (2007), p.3. Casual work is also categorized under informal employment. Casualization of the workforce becomes complete when almost all privileges/benefits, except the wage attached to the work, are denied (Mathew, 2006). Such workers are deprived of entitlements such as dearness, house rent, and medical allowances; bonus if any; types of eligible leave and benefits attached to each type of leave; retirement benefits including pension, gratuity, provident fund, commutation of a portion of the pension etc.; definite norms regarding the age of retirement and provision for extension. A large number of women workers are employed in these small garment units at the periphery of the city. They come from lower socio-economic conditions and are subjected to all kinds of exploitation, economic, sexual, emotional and social to mention a few (Venkataramanappa, 2016). They have the least bargaining power as they are not allowed to unionize and unions show reluctance to organize them, unlike the organised sector. The women workers face

[28] Report of the National Commission on Labour, 2002. P. 973

violence and discrimination at work, have poor access to maternity rights and child care facilities, have no job security, work overtime, lack social protection and living wages and have limited unionization. GLU activists when asked about unorganised sector in the industry, said that there were very less units in the city and they have no membership from such units. Pushpa Achanta, a Bengaluru based freelance journalist, who has been working on the city's garment worker from many years, explained.

There are many such small units located at the periphery of the city. They are mainly located at Bommasandra, Hosur and Mysore road. These workers hesitate to speak and move to their homes with their heads down. You can see them walking in groups from the factories in the evening. The workplace conditions are very pathetic, the payment is meagre, they have no social security benefits, no job security and work on piece rate basis. These units don't even follow safety and health standards.

The reason for the existence is low wage paid at the factories. As a result, some women prefer to work under contractors as piece rate workers instead of joining factories. The wage that can be earned on a particular day by doing piece work is usually in the vicinity of Rs 500. This can be even higher, depending on the number of pieces. More money on one hand and poor working conditions in factories motivate such workers to join informal employment in the industry. Dr Naveen Ramesh, Audit Supervisor for Fair Wear Foundation (FWF), when asked about informal employment in the industry said.

Apart from Fair Wear Foundation, our Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) department from St John's medical college, Bengaluru, works with other brands and factories. We conduct audits for them. Generally, the units that we have visited are bigger in size and employ 250-1000 workers. We once visited a washing unit. Some garments are washed before ironing and then they reach the store shelves. The type of washing depends on brand and style. I once visited a small washing unit, which

employed less than 10 people. The washing was done manually. More male workers and less female workers are employed because the nature of the work is manual. There are many labour violations. These units operate 24x7 so there is a 12-hour night shift too. The workers get no leaves, no overtime and no social security entitlements. In a quarter only, they exceed the excess working hours limit.

Though only fewer women are employed in washing units, but deep down the Global Value Chain (GVC), there are labour right violations for women. The other informal linkage of the garment industry is another finishing process – embroidery on shirts. Uma worked for M/s Color creations, a small unit employing four people for doing embroidery work on shirts. This unit was located in a cramped street of Banaswadi area in Bengaluru. She was earlier a garment factory worker and had lost job due to closure of the unit. She was 40 years old and had a working experience of 15 years in the industry. She seemed content with the nature of her employment.

I get Rs 7000 as monthly wage. We do embroidery work on shirts. We mainly supply to local market. There are no ESI/PF benefits, but we have full year of work. All toilet and water facilities are better here. I get two leaves per month and our owner pays us even if there is no work. I have no issues working here.

Clearly the wage is less and there are no social security being provided to Uma, she is content working in unorganised sector than the formal employment in factories. Arpita, a 21-year-old migrant worker from Assam, was an informal worker in a formal factory. She had come to the city four years ago through a training and recruitment program conducted by IL&FS and Assam Oil India Ltd. They were promised a monthly wage of Rs 12,000 excluding food and accommodation. She was imparted tailor training and was recruited by Unitex exports limited. She earned only Rs 9000 per month and deductions were made for food and stay.

After the firm underwent closure last year, they were moved out of hostel and she was working as informal worker for Rupa fashions. She explained "we were promised a higher pay when I completed my training. I was getting Rs. 8000 in hand, after deductions for ESI, PF, food and accommodation. When our firm got closed, we were thrown out of the hostel with help of police. My PF settlement is still pending. I am taking help from GLU for my settlement. Now I am working for Rupa fashions for Rs 9000 monthly wage. I have myself opted out of ESI and PF because I live in a rented accommodation. I pay Rs. 5500 for food and stay. I get no salary slip and I don't have an appointment letter. I barely save anything to send some money home."

Arpita's case is very rare; she claims that her factory produces for brands like Benetton and Park Avenue. But her nature of employment is very flexible and she can be fired at any time as she doesn't have a contract letter. This is a pure example of informal employment in organised sector. Though the brands claim that they buy from suppliers who do not violate labour laws, but there may be a huge number of informal workers producing garments for them. There are many such migrant workers flocking to the city from rural areas of Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh. The next section discusses in detail the problems faced by them.

Emerging trends of migrant workers in the industry

Arthur Lewis in his paper "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour" envisages the capital accumulation in the modern industrial sector so as to draw labour from the subsistence agricultural sector. Same has been the trend with garment industry in Bengaluru, which drew migrant labour from rural areas of Karnataka or neighbouring states like Tamil Nadu. Recently, workers from long distant states such as Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Bihar are drawn to Bengaluru's garment industry. They are predominantly from Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), or Other Backward Class (OBC)

communities, lack much formal education, and are generally unskilled. Trade union leaders from the Karnataka Garment Workers Union (KGWU) and the Garment Labour Union (GLU) estimate that between 15,000 and 70,000 migrant women from northern states are working in the Bangalore garment industry. These workers are lured by mediators or agents on false promises of high living wages.

Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Conditions of Service) Act 1979, states that establishments employing migrant workmen must provide basic data to the labour department of the state from which an inter-state migrant worker is recruited, and in the state where the worker is employed, within fifteen days from the date of recruitment. The act also stipulates that a contractor must issue to each migrant recruited a passbook with a passport-sized photograph of the workman affixed, and indicating in Hindi and English languages (also in the language of the workman if needed) basic data like the name and address of the employer, period of employment, wage and deductions. Furthermore, the Act mandates the agents to pay a displacement allowance. The act also mandates the contractor to pay a displacement allowance equal to 50% of the monthly wages. Majority of these workers are women in the age group of 18-20 years and a few in their early twenties. Bimla, a 20-year-old migrant worker from Mirzapur, on asking about her experience working in the city's garment industry, explained.

I came to Bengaluru 1.5 years ago and work for Bombay rayon fashions pvt. Ltd. I was given training for tailoring under Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushal Yojna (DDUGKY). I was not paid any displacement allowance. I worked first two months for a wage of Rs 4000 per month. Currently I earn a monthly wage of Rs 8800 after ESI and PF deductions. I was promised free food and accommodation by the contractor in my village. But an amount of Rs 800 is deducted from my salary as hostel charges and I cook my own food for which I incur an average monthly expenditure of Rs 1200. In my training under DDUGKY, free food was

provided for two months and I was also promised a training certificate, which I never received. The hostel condition is very bad. I share room with three other girls. There is water leakage problem during rains in the rooms and the sanitation condition is poor. We are restricted to go outside from the hostel after 7:30 pm. My shift ends at 6:00 pm and my factory is at walking distance from hostel. I buy my groceries while returning from factory. I can't even go out on Sundays for movies as we are allowed to go out only after 2 pm and have to return before 7 pm. GLU members ask us to come at 11:00 am on Sunday, but I can't come due to restrictions. At work, I am hurled abuses in Kannada by supervisors, if there is any deviation from work. I am unable to understand it. Sometimes my male co-workers also tease and taunt me in Kannada.

Bimla's condition paints a horrid picture of migrant workers condition. Displacement allowance is not paid to them; instead they are made to work for less than minimum wages. The Interstate workmen act also mandates the contractor to pay journey allowance to the worker for both onward and return journeys. But none of the migrant workers interviewed spoke about being paid any journey allowance. They are not even registered as migrant workers with the labour department because they are recruited as trainees under various programs of Government of India's Skill India Initiative. Apart from Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushal Yojna (DDUGKY) they are also recruited by skill development agencies such as Gram Tarang, which is a Skill India Initiative. All such government schemes are being used for the detriment of workers. They are lured on false pretext of free accommodation and stay. None of the workers had passbook issued by the contractor as per the law. As seen earlier in the case of Arpita, who was also a migrant worker, was not getting ESI/PF benefits. The accommodation provided to them is shabby and dirty. They are constantly subjected to harassment and abuse on their linguistic differences. Even their movement is constrained and freedom of association is a far cry. The main rationale in recruiting migrant workers is that local workers are no longer willing to

work for low wages, and are, in many cases, organised as members of unions. By contrast, it is much harder to unionise young long-distance migrant workers, who are isolated and lack social capital in Bengaluru.

Barriers to unionisation

Freedom of association is an economic and political right as well as social and cultural right. The freedom of association is realised through Trade Union Act 2016. As per the act "Trade Union" means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen, or between employers and employers, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more Trade Unions[29]. The act thereby permits people to organize and bargain collectively for their rights. Freedom of association is also enshrined in ILO convention C87- Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, whereas collective bargaining is rooted in convention C98- Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949. Freedom of association in India is a fundamental right, as it flows from clause (1) (c) of Article 19, Freedom of speech. The clause proclaims that 'All citizens shall have the right to form association or unions.

The scenario in the garment industry of Bengaluru is quite different. The factory management is strictly anti-union. None of the four factories, to which the interviewed workers belonged, encouraged union activities or had a union inside their factories. The workers are demoralised from joining Trade Unions, as Nandini, a 25-year-old worker from Karnataka explained.

I am working for Shashikar Exports pvt. Ltd. Our Human Resource Department discourages us from joining Trade Unions. They scare us by

[29] The Trade Unions Act, 1926

saying that if we unionize, our factories will meet the same fate as that of textile mills of Mumbai and will be shutdown. On demanding wage hike, they say us that profits margins are low and demand for high wages can make them shift the unit to places where cheap labour are available. The workers who join external trade unions are noted and fired out on false pretext to demoralise other workers from unionizing.

The workers thereby fear to join unions. Activists of Garment Labour Union (GLU) are not allowed to address or meet workers outside factories. Saraswathi, Treasurer of GLU explained.

Workers, especially women workers have a very busy schedule. There shift ends at 5:30-6:00 pm and then they are in a hurry to reach their homes for their chores. We conduct campaigns outside the factory gate, when the shift ends, to educate the workers regarding labour laws, that is the only time we can approach them. The factory management does not allow us to address them. They threaten us time and again.

The discouragement of management for organizing and the inability of unions to reach the worker is a big lacuna for workers in the path to unionisation. GLU claimed a membership of mere 3000 members. But it is very small compared to the size of workforce. Garment and Textile Workers Union (GATWU) claimed a membership of 10,000. But if we quantify the number of people who renew their membership yearly, thereby indicating their active participation, the actual union members count would go down. Generally, workers approach union for remedy to their grievances, join the unions during redressal and then don't actively participate in future union activities. GLU also runs a Self-Help Group (SHG), which lends money to women workers. Migrant women workers are unable to organize due to lack of knowledge, language barriers and restriction on movement imposed in hostels. Still GLU has managed to provide membership to them. GLU has engaged with government, factories, brands and Civil Society Organisations (CSO) to organise

garment workers and protect their rights. GLU even organised a rally of garment workers on 1st May 2018 which had an attendance of 1000 workers. Though as such union participation might be less in the industry, but in April 2016, over 1.2 lakh women workers who led the demonstrations over restrictions on provident fund withdrawals were not members of trade unions. The government's move acted as a rallying point for workers to organise and protest against it. So, there is hope that workers can organise themselves under unions and defend their rights.

Conclusion

The condition of women workers is miserable in Bengaluru's garment industry and to blame and condemn the factory owner solely is not the right thing to do. Global brands should be blamed equally as they pursue policies to maximise profits and minimise the risks of not meeting the consumer demand in time. The profit margins are generally less for the supplier and thus majority of manufacturers, work with unpredictable and fluctuating orders, making the recruitment of a regular labour force highly problematic and the provision of social benefits largely unaffordable (Neve, 2009). There is evidence that when buyers enter into a more collaborative, mutually beneficial, and long-term relationship with suppliers, working conditions do improve (Saxena, 2018). A shared responsibility sourcing model must be explored and direct as well as long term buying relations must be established with the factories by brands to protect the labour rights of the workers in the global value chain.

From government side, labour ministry should ensure that all the factories not only meet legal compliance but have all the provisions and mechanisms functional for enhancing labour rights. For example, Government should ensure through inspection that factories provide good quality childcare facility to all without discrimination. They should ensure that factories have functional Internal Complaint Committee (ICC) to remedy the aggrieved woman workers in case of sexual harassment. The factories pay the workers minimum wages, which is not

a sufficient living wage in a city like Bengaluru. All the workers interviewed were unsatisfied with the low payment they receive. The state government should ascertain that garment workers get a living wage which is 2.5 to 3 times the minimum wage. Migrant women workers should be duly registered with the labour department as per the law and state government should enforce this. Settlement of Provident funds of employees of the factory which undergoes closure should be done on fast track basis.

From workers side, unions should proactively campaign and educate people about labour laws and their rights at work. The benefits of organising and collective bargaining must be explained to them. Trade unions should work in collaboration with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) for protecting workers right. The unions should ensure that they have members in all the factories and those members should spread more awareness about labour rights and the right to organise. These union members should bring to the management's notice if any labour right violation is happening at the shop floor level. Trade Unions should engage with state government and labour ministry to put forward the workers' demands in front of them. Unions should also address the problems of workers in unorganised sector of the industry as well. The city has so many women workers in the industry, which should have led to their empowerment. But due to a range of factors such as limited resources, infrastructural needs, adverse disposition towards protective labour standards and dominance by male workers at workplace, they have become weaker and more vulnerable.

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Her eyes keep searching for something.
They seek answers to everything.
Hiding her own feelings, taking care of everyone,
Converting every pain into smiles and moving on.
Embracing the destiny of those around her.
She would soar high to aim for the stars- Only in her dreams!
And yet making the most of every opportunity,
She fulfills her aspirations, solely on her own strength.

- **Sabah Sidiqqi**

FROM ZARI WORK TO ZERO WORK- UNRAVELLING THE CRISIS OF THE INVISIBLE CRAFTS WOMEN OF THE ZARI HUB OF BAURIA AREA OF WEST BENGAL

- Malinee Mukherjee

One of the most puzzling paradoxes of the economic trend in the recent years of India is the falling participation of women in the labour force despite the country's educational and economic growth. According to the current ILO estimate, the LFPR for women aged 15 and above shows a gradual decline from 31.2% in 2011- 12 to 31.1% in 2013-14 before falling to 27.4% in 2015-16. Though there have been multiple explanations on the causality of these steep decline, some as positive some as negative, but this macro data reveals a hidden truth that somewhere, somehow there is a disturbing shift in the labour position and labour identity of the women of our country just like their male counterpart. And when this crisis of underemployment, unemployment or more correctly the crisis of livelihood that is embedded deeply in the daily domesticity of a so-called home maker, comes into play then it problematizes the intermingling notion of their labour, class and gender identity. The present paper, is based on the concrete micro study of the lives of the particular group of home-based women zari workers who have a specified location in the geographical, political, religious and economic stratum. More specifically it posits on a small scale in depth empirical study based on the primary observation of the purposively selected 52 households of women workers from the locality of Zari hub of Bauria area of Howrah, West Bengal.

Objectives- Based on the narratives and the everyday realities of the women workers, two-fold objectives have been framed that have an empirical as well as theoretical and political approach. The first objective is a feminist understanding of the trajectories of livelihood concern of the

women zari workers of the Bauria area from post globalization to post demonetization. It will look into the effect of the market change and market failure not only on the overtly visible parameters of well-being index but on the intimate contours of household relationship, kinship pattern, of power positions, of inner subjectivities and consciousness. The gender dimensions of household study of zari workers when situated in the larger structural analysis of livelihood crisis of piece rate zari industry have unleashed numerous labyrinths of power relations that are beyond the essentialized notions of third world women's economic marginality.

The second objective is to look into the invisibility and unrecognition of the women zari workers in comparison to the male workers. It is a feminist critique of the impact of women's consciousness towards the craft that fits seamlessly in their everyday household chores of cooking, cleaning, washing and child caring. It will look into women's agency, entitlement and bargaining power, and women's own perception towards their contribution in the household.

The politics of the domesticity of women's labour has been polemically dissected by Maria Mies, who showed that the social definition of women lace workers of Nasarpur as dependent housewives result in clubbing of the productive lace work in the casual parlance of leisure time activity, accounting for their dual exploitation by patriarchal and capitalist forces. While Mies has studied the interface between the dynamics of global capitalism and patriarchal ideology, my concern has been with the consciousness of the women craft's worker about their labour identity which ironically gets reaffirmed in the present livelihood crisis. These women can interestingly be called 'shadow workers' or the 'pseudo workers' those who remain silent in the darkness of domesticity invisible in the market far away from the active public male domain of mobility, collectivity and bargaining. They are not taken seriously in the official statistical record of informal workforce. Ironically, they themselves

consider them as home makers, but who contribute substantially in pulling their household out of poverty. The question of a separate labour identity and labour position of these women opens a very problematic discourse of feminist interpretation. As it is the men of the house whose work gives the identity to the entire household, including the women. In case of households based on zari work, it is the men who are taken as the official household head, as it is the men who are visible as working in a semi organized basis doing the craft of zari work, it is the men who work on a collective basis. It is the men, whose loss of livelihood results in newspaper headlines and scholarly debates. In this junction of visibility vs invisibility when comes the all-encompassing crisis of livelihood loss, the binaries of male and women workers gets somehow diluted. One of the primary areas of intervention of the present work, is to highlight on the strategic change of the labour position of women zari workers compared to the male workers in the wake of retrenching zari work and diminishing wage. While men can opt for alternative livelihood like low skilled manual labour, or migrate elsewhere women in the 'patriarchal bargain' fail to do so. Both are the losers of the wake of market failure, but men are identified, while women are not.

Theoretical lens - The present paper offers a seismic shift from the conventional neo classical understanding of labour behaviour as a utility maximizing factor which proclaims that individuals behave in similar manner in family, market and state rationally pursuing their self-interest and that sexual division of labour as a simple outcome of rational choice and economic efficiency. Though recent neo classical theories suggest that varied social institutions mediate these individual choices, the present paper presents a break from the economic explanation of labour behaviour and the impact of unemployment on well-being index. There have been multiple economic and psychological studies on the non-pecuniary costs of loss of job, but the Feminist narratives of unemployment of the home based so called third world women' workers are a relatively unexplored terrain of studies. The theoretical lens through

which the present paper is based on is Socialist Feminist analysis that will look into the livelihood crisis of women not merely as an economic reality, but as a cultural, ideological materiality that operates through multiple power grids. It looks into the women workers and the household as the complex web of relations, where the individual entitlement and subjective position of each and every member gets refabricated over the time, presenting a departure from the Beckerian concept of household as a unitary, welfare maximizing economic unit. The gender relationships, the well-being and happiness index and the relative contribution of each and every member will be examined through the prism of materiality of livelihood crisis. This analysis will be situated with wider debate of the interface between symbiotic link between capitalism and patriarchy raised by Heidi Hartmann, Maria Mies and Nancy Folbre to name a few. Sylvia Walby's notion of public and private patriarchy in conjunction with Maithreyi Krishnaraj's work on Women Craft Worker's will add on the critical appreciation of the paper.

Methodological note – The present paper is broadly based on feminist epistemology, which aims to look into the lived experiences and the phenomenological aspects of the women zari workers from Feminist Standpoint perspective. As Sandra Hardings has pointed out of the 'epistemic privileges' of a marginal group in picturizing the nuances of their realities, the methodological aim of the present endeavour is to bring forth the 'own account' deliberation of the women workers as blatantly as possible. The present work being a Feminist analysis of the livelihood crisis in the context of women workers poses structural analysis of power, control and contestation that are mediated through multiple forces of immediate and outside control. The paper is based on 'testimony based' hypothesis testing. In other words, rather than relying on statistical correlations to support or reject the hypotheses about women's marginal labour position here an attempt is made on asking women for their own accounts of how the change in their labour positions are made and the impact it had on their lives. Based on semi structured in depth interview

of 52 households of women zari worker that are purposively selected on the basis of snowball sampling along with the interview of male zari workers, survey of the area and visits to development agencies like the Municipal corporation, NGOs, and lastly on the basis of the meta-analysis of the literature survey the Feminist understanding of the livelihood crisis of zari industry and its reconfiguration on the intra household dynamics are found out. Based on the women respondent's narratives about the change in their economic contribution in the household along with the shifting economic position of men, the theoretical account of their lived realities is made by taking the note from Feminist Standpoint perspective. The subjective interpretation of the 'lived experiences of each respondent along with other household members helps in framing a myriad set of interlocking variables that influences the lives of women directly and indirectly.

The 'perception' of women respondents is correlated and contrasted with the perception of other significant family members to explore the underlying configuration of factors that gave rise to the opportunities and constraints that the women workers considered important like market forces, values, beliefs, norms, kinship pattern, family structure, stages of life cycle, educational background, mobility and access to market and public places, religious factors to name a few. Consequently, along with women's personal testimonies, secondary information which helps to illuminate the deeper level of analysis was undertaken.

The changing discourse of women's labour identity along with the livelihood change in Bauria

The economic profile of Bauria presents two vital livelihood profile one is the household based zari work and the other was the work in jute Mills. These two livelihood sectors may apparently appear to be distinctly separate where the zari work presents a traditional substance based informal livelihood and the jute industry marks the symbol of Bengal's colonial industrialization. But, an interface between these two livelihood

patterns gets reflected in Bauria where the loss of male livelihood in the formal jute industry refabricates the labour identity of women. How the closure of jute mills, a predominantly male employment sector transforms the erstwhile home makers into wage earners (predominantly zari workers) opens up a very intriguing aspect of research.

Intersectionality between male unemployment in formal sector and women's engagement in informal household-based craft work in Bauria- Mills and Women's Zari work of Bauria - A large generation of men in Bauria had been working as mill workers, in Kanoria Jute Mills and the other adjoining jute mills. There was a pattern of patriarchal inheritance visible in mill work, where after the retirement of father, their sons were engaged in the job. Mill employment had been deeply patriarchal, where the engagement of women was almost negligible. Only in case of any accidental death of the workers, their widows were employed. Women in the households of jute factory workers were mostly the home makers, whose engagement in any wage work was limited. However, since past 20-25 years the condition of jute mills became palpably weak. Most of them were incurring losses that lead to retrenchment of jobs, some mills were forced to shut down while others worked with bare minimum workers. Thus, over time, the unemployment, under employment, job loss and casualization of former permanent jobs of mill workers has ransacked the entire livelihood landscape of Bauria. It is in this backdrop of loss of employment of male bread winners, the former home makers took the responsibility of wage earning. Since most of these women were not professionally trained in any particular occupation, some of them opted to learn zari work informally from their neighbours or relatives as home-based work gives respectability than engagement in any public wage work. In the absence of any formal training, women were mostly concentrated in low skilled, less intricate zari work that gave bare minimum wages. They toiled all through the days integrating their wage earning with the reproductive chores. Though most of them were not categorized as zari workers in the official data, nor as the principal

economic contributors of the household, but they played a significant economic role in preventing the household from dipping into extreme pauper hood.

The trajectories of zari work (the dwindling wages of zari work) from post globalization to post GST

The zari industry of west Bengal is about 600 years old originating in Mughal times. The zari hub had been around Panchla, Uluberia, Bauria, Sankrail, Bagnan, Domjur, Udaynarayanpur, Shyampur, Amta and Jagatballabhpur since historical times.

It presents a unique kaleidoscope of gender, religion and caste. Both Hindus and Muslims, men and women are part of this livelihood. The zari workers were adept in stitching up precious metal- and stone – laden velvet suits for royalty and orders came from Delhi. Gradually their fame spread and orders came even from Lucknow and Murshidabad along with other members of the nobility who started getting their clothes stitched by these workers. Most of the workers were Muslim men and women did not appear as skilled craftsperson since the early times. The intricate craft of Zari work is mostly a home-based work where small entrepreneur-cum-middleman known as the *ostagor*, organizes production of embroidered saris/ lehengas in the locality by contracting out small orders to individuals. The *ostagor* is proficient in the craft and has money to invest. Each family owns a wooden frame locally named 'daddha' for mounting the cloth which is embroidered. The pattern of design is stencilled on the piece of cloth which then tightly fixed with dadha is embroidered upon. The contractor or the *ostagar* supplies materials, patterned clothes or designs for zari or silk embroider. Payment is at piece-rate. The *ostagor* procures order for supply of zari and embroidered cloth from the businessmen in the wholesale market of *Barrabazaar* in Kolkata and collects the pieces from individual *karigar* or worker in the village.

Karigar has no direct access to the market. An alternative to bypass the *ostagar* would mean selling the product in the wholesale market. But in the wholesale market most of the time his payment is deferred and he has to make a deposit of Rs.20,000 for each piece with the buyer before he can procure a supply order for the next lot. It is virtually impossible for the labourers to arrange for such sum for each piece of work. Thus, the *karigars* or labours used to depend on the *ostagar* for work assignments and payments which is more or less regular.

The location of women zari workers in this entire discourse of zari craft presents a complex paradox. On one hand they are atomized, poorly paid, unorganized labour force the majority of whom have the rudimentary zari skill, who are synchronizing the zariwork into the everyday chores of domesticity, most often remaining obscured as official zari worker and on the other hand, they are the over-burdened work force those who pull their family out of brutal penury. This point of contention will be analysed theoretically in the later end of this paper.

Women learn the craft of zari work in an informal basis, from their family members or from close neighbours. Though women like men are not professionally trained, the craft of handmade zari work has been internationally acknowledged and has been a part of the global market as well. With its popularity, zari work became a major source of employment for both Hindu and Muslim population in the area of Howrah. There have been approximately 10 lakh zari workers spreading across 10 police stations in Howrah. In the aftermath globalization, around 1995 to 2010- there has been a spectacular boom in the zari industry where a huge volume of zari work entered into global market. There was an exodus of zari work in the international market that ushered prosperity not only to the exporters and businessmen but also tricked down to the labourers.

Advent of zari machines and reduction of labour demand

However, since the past 10 years the hand crafted zari work, especially the work that is crafted on silk materials got a major setback with the advent of zari machines. The machines can more or less replicate the intricacies of handmade zari work and it is economic and gainful for the investors. The advent and popularity of zari machines, gave a major shock to the hand crafted zari work, as a zari machine can easily outpace the amount of work hand crafted by the zari workers. The booming industry that gave secure livelihood not only to the men, but economic agency to women showed a major pitfall over the years. The income procured from zari work slowly dipped down and there has been a weakening in the bargaining position of zari karigars. Still the zari based households continued with their traditional occupation with reduced income as there are zero alternatives for zari work and the job market is already over saturated.

Zari work in the phase of Demonetisation and GST

In the recent time, two major macro-economic policies of the country namely Demonetization and GST had literally disarrayed the household based zari industry, Bauria being a part of it. According to industry estimates (TOI 27th November 2018, Jhimli Mukherjee Pandey) the approximate amount of loss of zari craft is more than Rs 6000 crores. Since most of the transaction of zari trade is done through cash, demonetization had literally stagnated the zari industry from the month of November to April. There have been literally no orders during the season of festivity of Eid and Durga puja, the time when workers earn their fortune for the entire season.

As the tremors of demonetization subsided, within a few months from 1st of July the introduction of GST dismayed the zari workers affecting the lowest rung of karigars the most. There used to be 4, 00,000 labourers and 1,051 *ostagars* in the area before demonetisation. The number of

karigars have almost been reduced to one third of the original numbers. (Jhimli Mukherjee Pandey| TNN | Nov 13, 2017, 06:12 IST)

Earlier, zari embroidery was considered to be a cottage industry and was exempt from VAT and sales tax. Post-GST, when an 18 % tax was imposed on zari embroidery the supply of raw materials that entirely come from wholesalers has dried up. This extra payment of 18% GST on all raw materials associated with the zari industry had hike up the price of the finished products. The *ostagars o*f Bauria collect orders from the wholesale markets of Burrabazar and Metiabruz area of Kolkata and deliver finished goods after a fortnight. The wholesalers provide them textiles, while the other decorative items that are sewn in are bought by the *ostagars* themselves. The wholesalers are facing issues registering for GST accounts and have stalled all orders till GST registration. Since most of the *ostagars* are inept in handling the sophisticated system of GST registration, they have to rely on the lawyers to get themselves registered, a process that has further delayed the business. My interaction with the present jobless zari workers revealed a sense of despair and disdain, mixed with a sense of hopefulness that the current crisis will soon be subsided. In my study of 52 zari based households, where both the men as well as the women members were engaged in zari craft, sudden joblessness has re fabricated the entire discourse of their labour identity. The male zari workers could opt for alternatives like doing odd jobs like masons, vegetable vendors, farm labourers, looking for jobs in the neighbouring mills, women zari workers on the contrast are left entirely redundant.

Contesting the unemployment of women zari workers- While the entire nation has been roaring with the after effects of GST and Demonetisation, in the unorganized sector, the current joblessness of women zari workers has newly discerned their ‘lost labour identity’ and labour position.

The unemployment and underemployment of women zari workers, has brought about the realisation that women have contributed in more than significant ways for the wellbeing of the household through their craftsmanship. Their work has been much more than a spare time activity. Over time it has elevated the quality of life and well-being of the entire family besides giving women their economic agency. The loss of zari work has not only caused income loss for the women, but has rocked the entire identity position of the household. In the present study of the women zari workers, women's perception of their labour identity as zari workers became especially apparent in the aftermath of job loss. Even male workers felt that the women of their house had played an active life as zari workers by synchronizing it with their daily domesticity. This perception of women and significant others towards household-based craft especially in the context of increasing joblessness is one of the critical areas of contestation of the given paper.

Maria Mies in her work on women lace workers in Nasarpur area is a useful starting point for the present work as it deals with the conceptual dimension of the invisible leisure time craft of the lace makers. She has shown how the social definition of women workers as housewives result in their dual exploitation by the patriarchal and by the world capitalist forces. The problem area of the present body of work is to move beyond the mystification of home-based work and to re define women's work, their joblessness, under employment, and unemployment in the backdrop of market retrenchment.

There has been a stream of studies on the exploitation of third world women in the unorganized sector. (Indrani Mazumdar, Naila Kabeer, Maithreyi Krishnaraj, Nirmala Banerjee to name a few.) The focal area being primarily the debate of exploitation vs empowerment of poor women by the interplay of capitalist and patriarchal forces. What remains relatively unexplored in the discourse of poor third world women workers are the threat to their labour identity, labour position, their inner

subjectivities, consciousness, bargaining power, and fall-back position in the backdrop of increasing precarity of livelihood crisis. The following section of the paper will look into the myriad aspects of the work life of the women zari workers of Bauria, the gender asymmetries of zari industry, the impact of livelihood crisis on the lives of women workers and their families, the entitlement failure of women workers in conjunction to the market failure, the patriarchal bargain of women in the context of increasing poverty and precarity.

The ontology of women's zari work in Bauria

Zari work has been an integral chore in the lives of most of the women of Bauria since generations. A traditional craft that fits seamlessly in the daily domesticity without breaking the patriarchal dictum has been a primary economic activity of women of all ages. Especially for Muslim women whose mobility and involvement in the public sphere is still deeply restrained there the sole economic endowment has been the home based zari work. Though the feminist study of the nature of zari work produced by women in comparison to the male zari workers shows a skewed gender pattern, still zari work continues to be the ordinate means of sustenance for women, integrated in their everyday household chores.

Gender disparate Zari industry

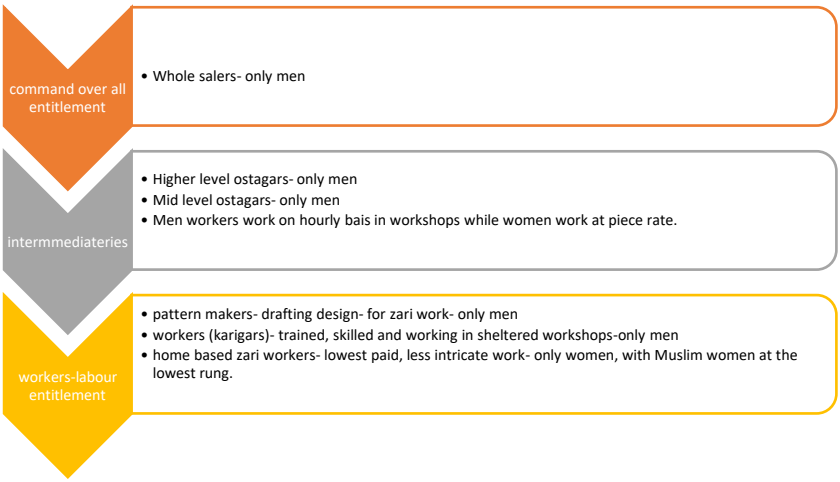
The zari industry offers a unique ground for studying gender hierarchy. As both the men and women mostly of the same household are engaged in the trade as karigars (artisans), the dissonance in the level of income and skill between the two becomes apparent. While women work in the house, men are mostly seen working in sheltered workshops. Without any formal training girls and women of all ages master the craft informally from their immediate family members, from their kith and kin or from their neighbours. Unlike men who gain superior craftsmanship over time, women remain stagnated in low skilled, less intricate work that are household based. There are varied levels of craftsmanship involved in the trade where interestingly the hierarchy of expertise and payment is purely

gender based. The low skilled job that involves stitching of shimmers on coarse pattern and rudimentary embroidery gives a meagre payment. Only in very exceptional cases, do women gain superior craftsmanship like men. Women get the pattern, the zari thread, and the embellishment from the *ostagars* who collect the finished product within a stipulated time and pay women their wages. For each pattern in a cloth there is a fixed rate of payment, which differs from Rs 5-12 depending on the level of work. Women workers over here have the least of negotiating power. Whatever price the ostagar decides, they have to accept it as there is no dearth of workers. Shaheda Begum, (name changed) a zari worker from ward no 9 of Bauria recollects that, 'If I do not accept the work at reduced wage, there are hundreds of others to do it. How can I even dream of refusing the work when my children are left hungry?'

Women are the atomized, segregated, highly individualized worker, having the least of bargaining power. They are mostly concentrated to subsistence oriented, non-mechanized, home based work. The home-based women worker do not get high priced, intricate work orders as the infrastructure in the home cannot match to that of workshops. They go to the neighbouring *ostagars* to get orders that have become highly sporadic in recent times. The wage rate has been decreasing like anything and they are bound to either take it at reduced price or leave the work. Women unlike the male workers do not have any choice in looking for alternate jobs. Neither can they migrate elsewhere, nor can they leave their reproductive chores. The reason behind this stagnation of women can be explained by the symbiotic link between patriarchy and women's acculturation. Maithreyi Krishnaraj (1992) in her seminal work on women craft workers in Western coast of Maharashtra has shown that women's craft work in the traditional sector embodies pre-capitalist characteristics where caste and family kinship structure determine women's entitlements. She has further shown that traditional craft families encourage men to migrate to wage labour jobs while women tend to remain relegated to craft on a subsistence basis.

This pattern of women remaining stagnated in low remunerative, less skilled home-based work is found in the work of Sayantani Jafa (2003). There the author has shown that a synergetic relationship exists between patriarchy and home-based work in a feminized craft like patriarchy.

The gender hegemony in Zari industry of Bauria is presented schematically below



The above diagram polemically picturizes the relative position of men and women in the zari industry. The overtly visible hierarchy starting with the wholesalers who earn maximum profit in the industry are men. They have entitlement over market, raw materials, capital and labour. Next to them are the higher level *ostagars* who act as the intermediaries between wholesalers and mid-level *ostagars*. They too have entitlement over capital. Then comes the mid-level to lower level *ostagars*, which again is purely male oriented role, descending to male pattern makers and male karigars working in sheltered workshops. The final residue of the zari livelihood are the women- the home based, atomized, low skilled, workers having the least of wages working on less intricate patterns. While the men workers work in hourly basis in workshops, women workers work at piece rate. Women workers again cannot be bracketed

into one homogenous whole, as there is huge disparity in the skill level based on their religion, age and health, and family endowment.

Heterogenous Endowment sets of women zari workers

Women zari workers of Bauria are much beyond the essentialized monolithic imagery of poor third world women. Though they are segregated in the lowest rung of the zari industry, all the women workers cannot be identical. There are varied level of endowments and structures of constraints affecting their productivity. By applying the livelihood framework model, the following sets of endowment are listed down.

1. Personal endowment (age, religion, educational qualification, marital status)-The anthropometric study of 52 households of Bauria reveals that young unmarried girls have greater vitality and productivity than their married counterparts. Married women, especially with young children who are bogged down by domestic responsibilities, suffer from time poverty to balance zari work. One of the respondents, during her early years of marriage accounted that she used to stay up late at night for zari work after her three young babies went to sleep. Increase in the education level of women has a positive effect on their bargaining power. Women who have crossed the secondary level of education can negotiate with *ostagars i*n a better manner than neo literate women. The religious background of the women workers is interestingly related to their skill level. In my study of 52 households, where 40 were Muslim women and the remaining 12 were Hindu, the later were found to have higher skill and earning potential than the purely domesticated Muslim women. Muslim women generally have curbed mobility and least interaction with the male members. Even within their kith and kin grown up Muslim girls maintain a respectable distance from men. Since there are least of opportunity to get formal training in zari work women, specially the Muslim women remain concentrated in low skilled jobs.

2. Family endowment (number age and occupation of family members)- The composition of the household, namely the number of young children, aged, ill, family members increase the work load of women workers.

3. Health endowment (disease and disability)-Most of the women zari workers suffer from eye ailments. As zari work strains the eyes. A large section of workers also suffers from back pain and shoulder pain. These are the common health incumbents that lowers the output of the workers.

4. Relational endowment- The women zari workers get their orders from a known set of *ostagars*. The relationship between *ostagars* and *karigars* is one of client patron. As the women workers do not work in a semi organized manner like the male craftsmen, they have to singularly depend on the *ostagars*. There are a set number of *ostagars* in a locality and in times of crisis, if one ostagar fails to give the orders, women ask for work from the other ostagar.

5. Skill and craftsmanship- Though the majority of the women zari workers remain concentrated in low skilled jobs as the home-based workers do not get the chance to augment their skill, but the proficiency, skill and the speed of doing the work within the stipulated time frame determines their productivity. Women who get the opportunity to master intricate art of crafting have higher earning potential than the women who work on coarse work.

Livelihood loss of zari women- explained by Amartya Sen Model of Exchange Entitlement Failure

While analysing the livelihood loss of the women zari workers of Bauria, Amartya Sen's entitlement approach of studying poverty and starvation seems to be the most pertinent one. Sen (1981) in his study of Poverty and Famine (study of entitlement and deprivation) defines ownership relationships as the basis of entitlement relations. The four types of entitlement as shown by Sen are 1. Trade Based Entitlement, 2.

Production based entitlement, 3. Own labour entitlement, and 4. Inheritance and transfer entitlement. Own labour Entitlement is where one is entitled to one's own labour power and is related to trade based and production-based entitlement. Sen has elaborated that a person's ability to avoid starvation will depend both on his ownership and on exchange entitlement mapping, i.e. the ability to use one's endowment. The exchange entitlements faced by a person depend on his position in the economic class structure as well as the modes of production in the economy. What he owns will vary with the class that will determine the actual exchange entitlement. Sen added that in understanding general poverty, or starvation it is necessary to look at both ownership patterns and exchange entitlements and at forces that lie behind them. This requires careful consideration of the nature of modes of production and the structure of economic classes as well as their interrelations.

In the present study of the exchange entitlement failure of the women workers of Bauria, apart from looking at the nature of production and women's class position, there is an additional element of consideration. It includes the gender structure, kinship pattern and cultural and social construct. The mode of production is a pseudo capitalist mode where women are placed in the lowest rung of production having only one mode of exchange entitlement that is their labour power. Neither do they have the resources at their command, nor do they have the entitlement over the finished product. Ironically the command of the labour power remains at the disposal of the middlemen of the business which again is controlled by the wider market forces. No *Karigar* has direct access to the market. They do not have the capital to directly procure the raw materials, get the designs and sell the finished product to the whole sellers. In understanding the exchange entitlement mapping and its failure for women workers it is found that there is production entitlement and labour entitlement failure of zari workers. They are unable to get any work as the production got lopsided, thereby debunking their labour power. The gender constraints of patriarchal structure that lays underneath the daily

domesticity of family, market and community plays an additional role in exchange entitlement failure.

The home based zari work presents an interplay of 'private and public patriarchy' (Sylvia Walby) where the private sphere of reproduction gets subordinated in the public sphere of production.

Repercussions of livelihood loss of women zari workers

Women zari workers who used to work substantially about 10 years back before the advent of zari making machines enjoyed visible economic autonomy. With medium level of intricate patterns, women back then used to earn about Rs 250- 300 per day on festive time, sometimes at par with their male spouses. This income not only had a positive resurrection in the well-being of the household, but also gave women the basic economic freedom. Most of them asserted control on their income where the male members of the household could not intervene. The money they earned had a mercurial effect on their own lives, and on their family's wellbeing - economic, relational and inter-generational well-being. Apart from contributing to the everyday household needs, giving support to parental families in times of emergency, saving a portion of the income, buying stuffs for their children, contributing in their educational expenditure, some of these women also contributed in getting durable goods like television, fan, bicycle etc. for their household.

However, with the advent of the zari making machines, the amount of work and the wages per piece of work decreased over time reaching an abysmal point in the post demonetization and post GST period. Not only is the volume of work reduced but the wages have dipped dramatically as the labour supply exceeded far more than the reduced labour demand. The wages for the same work that gave about Rs 100- 150 per piece few years back at present gives Rs 30- 40 per piece. The weekly income of an average woman zari worker dipped from Rs 800-1000 to Rs 200-300 within a period of 6-7 years. The wage dip, reduction of labour demand,

and reduced availability of work has changed the entire discourse of women's labour identity.

Since zari work has been a part and parcel of the daily domesticity of women workers, the loss of it has undermined their long ingrained labour identity. Though men are also a part of the livelihood loss, still they can opt for alternatives which is literally impossible for the women workers. The effect of joblessness has not only deteriorated the standard of living and the well-being index of the household, of which the mental metrics of happiness forms an important part. One of the women respondents echoes a note of despair in her statement saying, "Once we used to juggle between household chores and zari work hardly finding any leisure time for ourselves. But now look at our condition, we are left jobless, idle and can hardly contribute anything in our household. Some of our children have to stop their education."

There is an exasperating sense of hopelessness, loss, vulnerability and insecurity amongst the women workers. There are no choices for them apart from seeing the abysmal fall in their quality of life. The condition of purely zari based households where the male members have failed to look for alternative livelihood is all the more pitiable. Their lives reach a hand to mouth existence. Most of them have taken loans from Bandhan banks (at a very high rate of interest) to tide over any sudden misfortune. All their savings are exhausted, borrowing from *ostagars* has become a daily norm. In case of sickness, hardly can they procure the right treatment, some of their children have discontinued their education. During the lean seasons they hardly afford three square meals a day. For some respondents, this severity of poverty has been entirely new. They can be termed as the 'new subaltern' (Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak) those who are slowly mitigating their identity as the marginalized 'others'. One of the young women narrated, "I hardly visit my aged parents these days. How can I afford to go? Even I cannot go for my younger sister's

marriage. I feel so pathetic that I cannot afford any wedding gifts for her", her voice trailed off.

These are the testimonies of utter helplessness, the early signs of 'social exclusion', the zari workers, both men and women are found to be gradually retreating from their social belonging becoming desolate day by day. There is a deep-seated sense of fatalism blaming their bad luck. The miasma of despair tinged optimism becomes visible with a silent submission on a benevolent divine force.

A Feminist epilogue

The women zari workers are beyond the popular Marxian epithet of 'Reserve army of labour', neither are they the idle reserve of labour waiting to be used in times of economic emergency. These women are the active labour force, having an economic disposition from a meagre but independent wage earning. Though somehow remaining mystified in the official statistics as housewives, but the women zari workers are the silent shadow workers who hardly contribute substantially in the wellbeing and welfare of their families substantially by balancing both the productive and reproductive chores.

Right now, they can be literally called the remnants of a declining occupation, with no alternatives to pursue, the ones with the least bargaining power getting dually exploited. They are the doubly demoted workforce first, the one that are marginalized in the livelihood that they pursue and second whose livelihood is at stake. Engels (Engels, 1973) in his study on the conditions of working class in England describes the plight of the women lace makers around 1845. Marx later narrated how the modern domestic industries exploit and abuse female and child labour in the background of modern mechanical industry (1954). Marx viewed the domestic industries as the transitory form or organizing of production that will gradually be absorbed in the factory system. 'The cheapening of the labour power by sheer abuse of the labour of women and children, by

sheer robbery of every normal condition requisite for working and living, and by the sheer brutality of overwork and night work meets at last with natural obstacles that cannot be overstepped…So soon as this point is at last reached- and it takes many years – the hour has struck for the introduction of machinery and for the thenceforth rapid conversion of the scattered domestic industries and also manufacturers into factories'.

This Marxian account of the brutality of exploitation of the home-based worker holds so very true for the respondents of Bauria, only with one exception. What Marx failed to predict is the continuation of the exploitation of domestic industries along with the factory system. Socialist feminist theories may explain them as those producing surplus value, by getting bare minimum wage for their labour, the ones who are exploited by the brutality of the market and patriarchal forces.

One of the primary premises of the present work has been to understand the extent to which the dominant discourse of patriarchy has been responding to the present market failures and livelihood crisis. The aim is not to lock patriarchal ideologies in a time freeze immutable force, as the change in the material realities are compelling subtle changes in the traditional idioms of patriarchal families retaining intact the basic hierarchy of power. However, women's consciousness and identity remain deeply embedded within the familial and kinship system where the home based zari work becomes sites of interface between 'private and public patriarchy' (Sylvia Walby), and between market failure and enduring life skill.

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MARRIED WOMEN IN URBAN WORKFORCE IN INDIA: INSIGHTS FROM NSSO DATA

- Jyoti Thakur

Introduction

Women's participation in work is an indicator of their status in a society. Paid work offers more opportunities for women's agency, mobility and empowerment, and it usually leads to greater social recognition of the work that women do, whether paid or unpaid. However, in India, despite high economic growth, high female education levels and declining fertility rates, conditions which have translated into more female entering into labour force in many countries[30], the proportion of females participating in the labour market is declining every year. The labour force participation rate for women of working age has declined from 42 percent in 1993-94 to 27 percent in 2011-12 (NSS, 2014). Gap between the rate of labour force participation among males and females is also high (UNDP, 2016) due to which on the gender inequality index (GII)[31] India ranks 125 out of 148 counties. This unprecedented and puzzling drop in women's participation in the workforce, especially at a time when India's economy has grown at a steady pace, has caught the imagination of various scholars. Various studies have pointed that reasons behind this decline could be marriage, motherhood, vexed gender relations and biases, and patriarchy, enrolment into education, increased family income etc.

In Indian society, the institution of marriage and household dominate the life of women. After marriage, the primary role of a woman is to be subservient to the needs of the family members. Traditionally, it was not considered appropriate for middle and upper income married women to

[30] U-Shape curve for female labour force participation

[31] GII is a composite measure reflecting inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market

take up a job and inferior status was accorded to working women as generally they belonged to lower castes and worked in less prestigious occupations (Rao & Rao, 1982). The same is reflected in the trends observed by various recent studies. For example, the labour force participation is highest among ST women followed by SC, OBC and general caste women (Andres et al 2007). In recent times, demographic group of married women has become highly conspicuous among working age (15-64 age) female population in India. Census reveals that 80 percent of females in this working group bracket are married. However, the Labour force participation among married women has decreased from 49.2 percent 1993-94 to 38.4 percent in 2011-12 rural areas and from 22.8 percent in 1993-94 to 20 percent in 2011-12 urban areas (Andres et al., 2017).

This paper uses nationally representative cross- sectional data from three rounds of India's NSS to highlight the levels, trends and pattern related to the participation of married women in workforce of India.

Literature Review

Conventionally, work/labour is defined as any activity undertaken in lieu of remuneration. The value of work is determined by the level of remuneration. Therefore, any work undertaken without remuneration is considered non-valuable and non-work. Likewise, any work done outside, such as office, factory, and fields is considered more valuable than work done at home. The conclusion thus became that men working outside get remuneration, so their work is valuable; women work at home, get no remuneration and thus, their work is considered non-work having no or little value. Even when a woman enters the realm of paid work, the labour market is highly segregated along the gender lines, with differences between regions and cultures and differentiated pay scale between men and women.

The concept of labour force is highly significant in understanding the level of labour utilization in a country. Labour force constitutes persons categorized as working (or employed) and those categorized as seeking or available for work/ unemployed (NSSO, 2014).

Female labour force participation is one of the drivers of growth. Therefore, participation rates indicate the potential for a country to grow more rapidly. However, the relationship between women's engagement in the labour market and broader development outcomes is complex. Nam (1991) observed that the demand for female labour will increase in third world countries with the increase in economic development as well as in international trade. However, other studies show that in developed countries a positive relation between female labour force participation and economic development is observed but in the case of developing countries this relationship is not universal in nature (Chinchilla, 1977).

Globally, women's participation in the labour force has remained relatively stable in the two decades from 1990 to 2010, at approximately 52 per cent (ILO, 2014). At a more disaggregated level, participation of women varies considerably across developing countries and emerging economies, far more than in the case of men. In the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia, less than one-third of women of working age participate in the labour market, while the proportion reaches around two-thirds in East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Nonetheless, the gender gaps in labour force participation persist at all ages except the early adult years in South Asia (UN, 2016)

The participation of women in the labour market has increased in Middle East and North Africa but has decreased in south Asia due to conservative attitude towards women work (Veric, 2014). Women in South Asia are far less likely to have a job or to be looking for one. The rate of female labour force participation in South Asia was just 31.8 percent 2012, while the rate for males was 81.4 percent (Chaudhary & Veric, 2014).

Studies on India show a gloomy picture of women's participation in labour market. In comparison to countries such as South Korea, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand female labour participation in India is characterized by relatively low and stagnant rates (Mincer, 1962). Unlike developed countries where women's labour force participation tends to increase with economic development, the relationship is not straightforward or consistent for developing counties. There is considerably more variation across developing countries in labour force participation by women than by men. This variation is driven by a wide variety of economic and social factors, which include economic growth, education, and social norms. The socio-economic factors which can affect the participation of women in labour force are; level of economic development, educational attainment, social dimensions, such as social norms influencing marriage, fertility, and women's role outside the household, Access to credit and other inputs, Household and spouse characteristics, Institutional setting (laws, protection, benefits) (Veric, 2014).

In India, the extent of women's participation in labour market is abysmally low at 27 percent, lowest among BRICS countries and among G-20 countries and better only than Saudi Arabia. Female Labour Force Participation Rate (FLFPR) has been declining for the last two decades (Mehrotra & Parida, 2017) and this decline is concentrated among 25-65-year-old married women (Afridi et al., 2016). The employment trends for women in India show that 25 percent rural and 15 percent urban female were part of workforce in 2011-12. The rate for unemployment was 2 percent for rural and 5percent for urban female. Almost 94 percent of total women workers are engaged in informal sector, of which about 20 percent work in the urban centres. Majority of women workers in informal sector come from those sections of the society which need income at any cost (Geetika at al., 2011).

Cameron et al. (2011) observe that FLFPR respond differently to education across different countries due to two prime reasons: a wage effect and a bargaining power effect. Higher wages encourage women to join the workforce because of the opportunity but time away from home rises. However, due to increase in level of education, women's relative bargaining power will also increase, and women prefer to not work. Thus, in this case increasing levels of female education could lead to a fall in women's labour force participation. Behrman et al. (1999) observed that return of education for female may rise in the labour market but they may not rise fast enough to counteract the rise in the returns to education in the marriage market and home production. Klasen & Pieters (2013) found that in the Indian context, rise in female education actually resulted in a decline of their labour participation. Due to high education achievements there is a rise in preference for white-collar jobs as women attain more education. Despite high growth rates, however, the economy has not produced enough employment of this kind to keep up with the growth of high-skilled labour supply. The share of white-collar services in urban employment fell from19 per cent in 1987 to 17 per cent in 2009, while the proportion of graduates in the working age population increased from 11 to 21 per cent. This has resulted in a strong crowding-out effects of the increased high-skilled labour supply on female labour force participation. Discrimination in wages is also discouraging women to take up jobs because there is a huge gap between the earning/wages of males and females. Gender discrimination is still rampant in the Indian labour market; according to NSS (2014), in urban India daily wage for a male worker was Rs. 467.87 while for a female worker it was just Rs. 366.16.

Education should lead to jobs, but that's not happening in India. According to UNDP (2015) report, in rural India, 67 percent of girls who are graduates do not work and in towns and cities, 68.3 percent of women who graduate don't have paid jobs. Every year, more and more women are opting out of the job market. As the female labour force is a strong

indicator of economic empowerment of women, this precarious drop will lead to disempowerment of women in the long run.

Age is one among many other reasons for drop in FLFP in India. Andre's (2017) study highlighted that from 2004-05 to 2011-12 approximately 53 percent of fall occurred among women 15 to 24 years old, 32 percent among 25-34 years old and 15.6 percent among 35 and above. The participation of women is sensitive to the income of the household - increase in the household income has a negative effect on the participation of women.

Klasen and Pieters (2012) found that for urban Indian women, participation in the workforce at lower education levels are dictated by economic necessity, and there is a pull factor coming into play for highly-educated women entering the workforce.

Klasen and Pieters (2013) studied the decline in female labour force participation in urban India between 1987 and 2009, and found that demand and supply factors were at play. On the labour supply side, the main drivers were increasing household incomes, husband's education, and the stigma against educated women seeking menial work. On the labour demand side, they found that employment in sectors appropriate for educated women grew less than the supply of educated workers, leading to many women withdrawing from the labour force. As 80 percent of female in productive age group are married, similar pattern and trends can follow for married women.

The socio-cultural milieu of the Indian society exerts influences on women workforce participation. In India, societal norms, cultural trends, traditions and customs influence women's economic participation. Patriarchy has specified certain roles for women and men. And they have to act accordingly. Men are the bread earners in a family, while women's responsibility is only to do household work and serve the family (Kapur,

1970). NSS (2014) has also noted that 60 percent of rural and 64 percent of urban female in India reported that they were engaged in household work because no other member was there to carry out the domestic duties.

Women are not the principal decision makers in a family, their choices, their decisions are influenced by household status, the needs and requirements of the family members. As in most middle-class families in India, women are not allowed to work outside the home, especially after marriage (Oliva &Banerjee, 2011). The structure of the household also influences the autonomy of women. A comparison of women in nuclear households with those still living in joint families revealed that the former enjoys greater decision-making power, greater freedom of movement outside the house premises and greater participation in jobs. Women in joint households not only had less decision-making power but they also needed the permission of other family members more often to execute even routine household activities (Debnath 2015). Indian women face tremendous struggle while trying to balance work and family life, regardless of profession. While extended families used to provide significant support for working women in the past, recent trends in urbanization and family nuclearization are leaving women even more burdened with juggling care and work responsibilities (Tuli and Chaudhary 2010).

Another significant yet less researched aspect which influence married women's decision to participate in labour force is the imbalance in the spousal characteristics such as age gap, education gap etc. The age difference pattern between spouses somewhat reflects the socio-economic condition a society, because it is closely related to population and social structures. Traditionally the higher age difference between husband and wife was one of the ways by which society maintained the control of husband over wife as the advantage of age could be added to the sex superiority (Ramachanndran et al., 2002). In most Western countries, age differences are minimal, ranging from 2 to 4 years while

in most developing countries, this difference is about 10 years and sometimes even more (IUSSP, 2013). The average age differences between spouses may influence the position of women in a society, while at the same time the position of women may be a factor which affects norms about appropriate age differences (Casterline et al, 1986). Bhalla and Kaur (2013) found that the education level of the husband has a larger negative effect (each extra year of male education means a drop in female participation of one percentage point) than the positive effect of increasing female education on participation.

Brozon (1991) observed that in India, social restrictions on the lifestyles of women tend to become more rigid as households move up in the caste hierarchy. If education of women and restrictions on women's mobility and work both increase with families' social status, one would observe a negative correlation between education and labour force participation.

Household and women's unpaid work also plays a very significant role in deciding whether women will enter the labour market or not. Women's normative responsibilities of care and domestic work impose a restriction on their mobility and employment (Mehrotra & Parida, 2015). Studies have shown that in various Indian states women express that it is difficult to take up wage work mostly due to family responsibilities and certain social norms in some communities (ILO 2014). In India, the proportion of women involved in unpaid domestic and care work is higher in urban areas and among better educated classes. This fact is corroborated by the NSS finding that the 65 percent in urban and 62 percent (53 percent - 2004-2005) in rural areas reported to be engaged in domestic work (NSS, 2014).

Study done by Craig (2007) found that women are more likely to multitask in their domestic sphere than men because men have not adequately increased their participation in the household sphere following women's entry into paid work -leaving it to the women to

manage both the spheres work and family, single handed. Due to this most of the married working women are 'time-poor'.

Labour force participation of women – the global picture Work is very fundamental for human beings to flourish. The whole human civilization is the story of mankind and his work. The entire spectrum of human work can be classified into economic work and non-economic work. However, in the contemporary society only the former kind of work is identified and celebrated as work. As a corollary of this paradigm, work/labour is defined as any activity undertaken in lieu of remuneration. This narrow definition of work has many ramifications at the social and economic realms. The value of work is determined by the level of remuneration. Therefore, any work undertaken without remuneration is considered non-valuable and non-work. Likewise, any work done outside such as office, factory, and fields is considered more valuable than work done at home. The conclusion thus become that men working outside get remuneration, so their work is valuable; women work at home, get no remuneration and thus, their work is considered non-work having no or little value. Even when a woman enters the realm of paid work, the labour market is highly segregated along the gender lines, with differences between regions and cultures and differentiated pay scale between men and women.

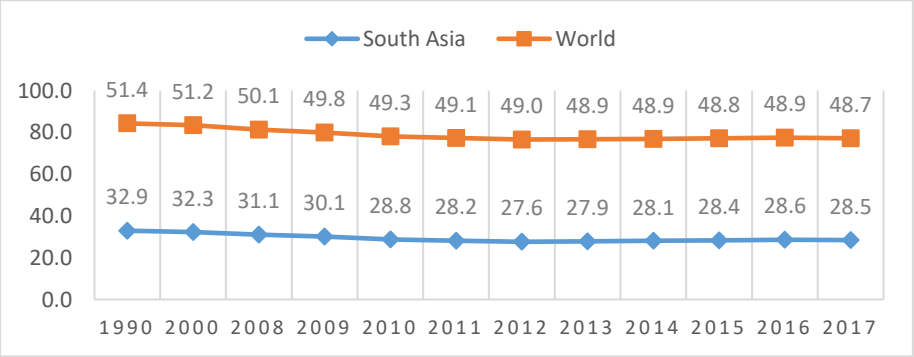
As the domain of work or labour is now limited to the economic work, the concept of labour force is highly significant to understand the level of labour utilization in a country. Labour force constitutes persons categorized as working (or employed) and those categorized as seeking or available for work/ unemployed (NSSO, 2014). Female labour force participation is one of the drivers of growth and therefore, participation rates indicate the potential for a country to grow more rapidly. However, the relationship between women's engagement in the labour market and broader development outcomes is complex.

According to ILO 2017 report, only 49.4% women worldwide are officially in the labour force while for men this rate is 76.1%. Thus, globally women's share in labour market is 26.7% less than that of men. Emerging countries (India is also in this group) have the widest gender gap in labour force participation at 30.6% followed by developed countries at 16.1%. Developing countries reported to have the smallest gender gap in labour force participation, however this high participation is often driven by economic necessity.

All over the world, female labour force participation is marked by gender gaps in sectoral and occupational employments. Education, health and social work are the sectors with the highest concentration of women at the global level, followed by whole sale and retail trade. Eastern Asia, Southeast Asia and North Africa have over-representation of women in apparel manufacturing. In South- Asia and up to a lesser extent in Arab States, Central and Western Asia & Sub-Saharan Africa majority of women are engaged in agriculture sector.

In emerging as well as developed countries women are concent rated in the services, sales and professional groups. Also, in developed countries high proportion of women are employed in clerical and elementary jobs.

Figure 1 Labour Force participation of Women in World and South Asia



Source: World Bank data base

Women and Work in South Asia

Globally, in approximately last two decades, female's participation in labour market has declined from 51.4% to 48.7%. (fig.1). In South Asia overall trend of FLFP was also negative with variations at the country level. However, South Asia experienced comparatively higher slump from 32.9% in 1990 to 28.5% in 2017.

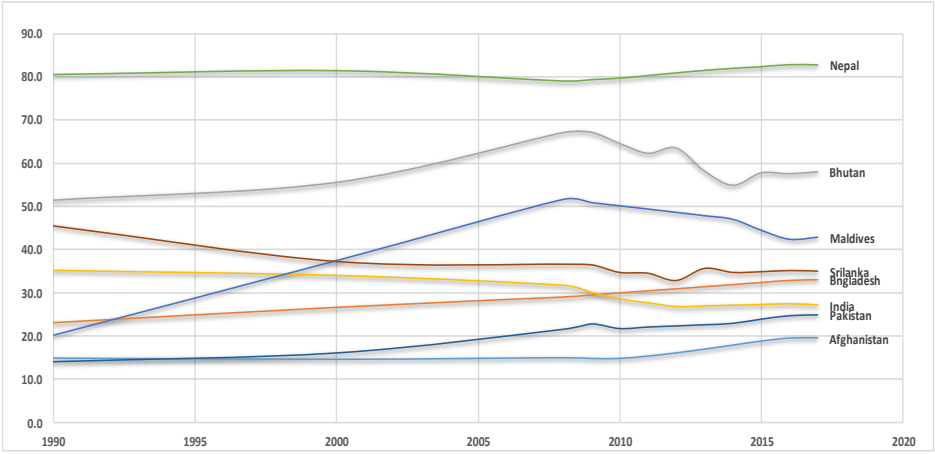
South Asian region is a highly populated, predominantly agricultural, tradition-bound region. In this part of the world historical gender roles, spaces and stereotypes still continue to affect the life of people. Cultural attitudes and social norms work against the participation of women in the public sphere. All the countries in this region have FLFPR (fig.2) below the global average, except Nepal and Bhutan which shows highest number of females taking part in the economy. Country -specific trends shows that in 2017 the lowest FLFPR was recorded for Afghanistan and the second lowest is India. From 1990 to 2017, all the countries in South-Asia have shown increase in participation of women in the labour market, except India and Sri Lanka where FLFPR has actually declined.

Surprisingly, 80% of Nepali females are participating in the economy. However, this participation is driven by poverty and due to lack of education and other skills majority of these women are working in agriculture sector. Bhutan is the second highest performer in the region. Bhutanese government has put in many efforts to increase the gender equality in the country, for example achievements in female education. In 2016[32] net primary enrolment rate for girls was 98.8% while for boys it was 97%. However, despite of registering female participation as high as 58% in 2017, Bhutanese women are also constrained by household responsibilities and child care. Most of the women are employed in family-based agriculture and continue to constitute a small portion of

[32] http://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/moving-towards-gender-equality-bhutan

regular paid jobs. Maldives, which is a small island country in South Asia, achieved a FLFPR of 42.9% in 2017. Women in the Island nation take all sorts of occupations but remain primarily in education, nursing, administration or secretarial services. In Bangladesh, FLFPR was 33.0%. The major driver of female employment is rapid growth of the garment industry and increased participation of women in livestock rearing and poultry farming due to availability of microcredit from Grameen Bank. In Sri Lanka, FLFPR stands at 35.1% in 2017. Here Women are over-represented in agriculture and export manufacturing. The inclusion of women in the labour market is constrained by issues like social attitude towards female employment, issue of safety and huge gender wage gaps. Pakistan and India share more than just borders with each other. These two countries share history, culture and societal norms too. The low status of women in the society is one such norm due to which in both the countries, household chores are seen as the prime job for a woman. However, unlike India, majority of women in Pakistan are not able to access labor market because of their limited access to education along with household burden.

Figure 2 Labour Force Participation of Women in South-Asian Countries



Source: World Bank data base

Defining Labour force

The Labour Force is a complex concept and consists of various dimensions. It is conceptualized by various international as well as national agencies. This section is dedicated for presenting an overview of different definitions and components of the labour force as describe by various organizations viz. ILO, NSSO

International Labour Organization (ILO) Concepts International Labour Organization (ILO) defines Labour Force/Currently active population[33] as the sum of persons in **employment** plus persons in **unemployment.** Together these two groups of the population represent the current supply of labour for the production of goods and services taking place in a country through market transactions in exchange for remuneration[34].

The population of working age in a country may be classified according to their labour force status in a short reference period (one week or one day) into three mutually exclusive and exhaustive groups:

a) Employed (Persons in employment)

The "employed" comprise all persons above a specified age who during a specified brief period, either one week or one day, were in the following categories: -

- Paid Work
- Self-Employment

b) Unemployed (Persons in unemployment)

[33] UN system of National Accounts in 1988 divides economically active population into 'usually active population' and 'currently active population '

[34] http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/statistics-overview-and-topics/WCMS_470304/lang--en/index.htm

The "unemployed" comprise all persons above a specified age who during the reference period were: -

- "without work", i.e. were not in paid employment or self-employment.
- "currently available for work", i.e. were available for paid employment or self-employment during the reference period.
- "seeking work", i.e. had taken specific steps in a specified recent period to seek paid employment or self-employment

c) Persons outside the labour force

The category of 'persons outside the labour force' is further categories into two: - Potential labour force and others outside the labour force. This classification allows countries to identify the underutilize labour. Potential labour force captures persons who, similar to unemployed, lack employment and exert some pressure on the labour market. However, compared to the unemployed they show a lower level of attachment, as they either do not seek employment or are not available to start working. As the term indicates, they thus represent the potential supply of labour at a given point in time.

NSSO Definition of Labour Force

The definition of labour force used by NSSO (National Sample Survey Office) is somewhat closer to the concepts of ILO. The labour force or economically active persons represent that share of the population which is either working (or employed) or seeking or available to work (or unemployed). In NSSO employment and unemployment survey persons with activity status codes 11 – 82 constituted the labour force.

NSS defines out of labour force (economically inactive persons / not available for work) as Persons who were neither 'working' and at the same time nor 'seeking or available for work' for various reasons during the reference period are considered as out of labour force. Activity status codes 91-95, 97, 98 and 99 were assigned for persons belonging to this

category the persons falling under this category are students, those engaged in domestic chores, rentiers, pensioners, those living on aims, recipients of remittances, etc., infirm or disabled persons, too young or too old persons, casual laborers not working due to sickness, prostitutes and smugglers etc.

Objectives

1. To study the levels and tends of work force participation of married women in Urban
India
2. To Study the structure of workforce participation of married women

Methodology

This paper is based on secondary data sources. From NSS unit level data levels, trends, patterns of workforce participation of married women was extracted and examined. Quinquennial employment and unemployment around of NSS survey used in this paper are 55^{th} (1999-2000) and 68^{th} (2011-12). This study is focused on the urban area thus all the estimates are for urban sector.

For the purpose of analysis some variables of unit level data were modifies. The details are as follow:

- All the estimates are computed on the basis of usual principle activity status.
- NSSO unit level data captures education variable under 13 sub-heads. However, for the purpose of analysis education variables are clubbed to create six categories.
- Age variables is regrouped into three categories – Youth (15-34 years), Middle Aged (35-59 years) and Elderly (60+).
- All the estimates use age of 15+
- N/R (Not recorded category) in all the variables was excluded.

- Marital status in this paper is categorized into three groups viz. Never Married, Currently Married and Others. The 'others' category is comprising of widowed and divorced/ separated.

Formulas Used

- Work force participation rate (WFPR) – The WFPR is defined as the percentage of employed persons out of total population.
- Unemployment Rate – The Unemployment rate is defined as the percentage of persons unemployed out of total persons in the labour force (employed + unemployed).

Analysis of work force participation of married women in India

The present-day world is moving rapidly towards urbanization with the population of cities increasing every year. Today more than half of the world's population resides in urban areas (UN Habitat, 2016). Cities drive the human progress by generating wealth and employment. India also has not remained untouched by the global phenomenon and witnessed an upsurge in proportion of people living in cities. The urban population of the country has increased from 17% in 1951 to 31% in 2011. More and more people migrate to cities in search of employment but when it comes to employment of women, Indian urban areas are lagging behind rural areas. The proportion of female participating in labour market is high in rural sector in comparison to urban. Thus, in order to explore the puzzle behind the decreasing participation of women in urban area this section provides a snippet of urban labour market in terms of levels and trends of workforce force participation in the context of marital status in Urban India.

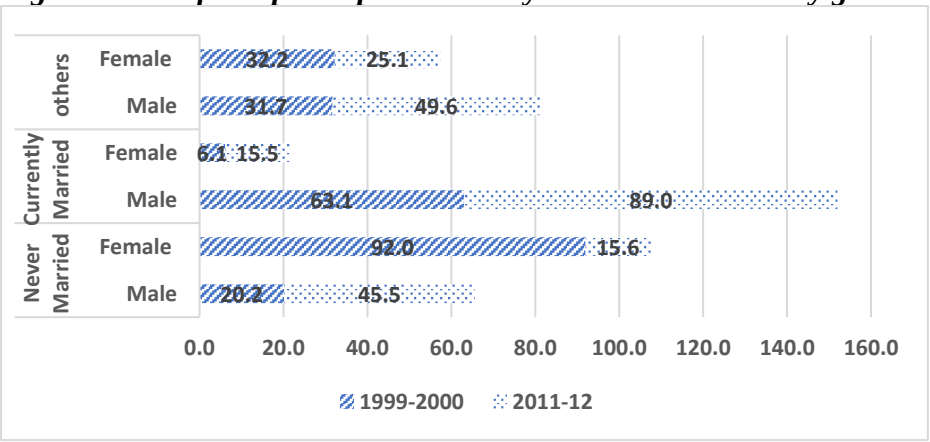
Female workforce participation is one of the drivers of growth and therefore, participation rates indicate the potential for a country to grow more rapidly. However, the relationship between women's engagement in the labour market and broader development outcomes is complex. Nam (1991) observed that the demand for female labour will increase in third world countries with the increase in economic development as well

as in international trade. However, other studies show that in developed countries a positive relation between female labour force participation and economic development is observed but in the case of developing countries this relationship is not universal in nature (Chinchilla, 1977). 54.2% and 12.5%

At an aggregate level, in India LFPR (for age 15 years and above) for urban males and urban female are 54.2% and 12.5% respectively (NSSO 2014). However, break-down these rates into different marital status reveals some intriguing aspects about the labour market of India in general and Delhi in particular.

The socio-economic factors which can affect the participation of women in workforce are level of economic development, Educational attainment, Social dimensions, such as social norms influencing marriage, fertility, and women's role outside the household, Access to credit and other inputs, Household and spouse characteristics, Institutional setting (laws, protection, benefits) (Veric, 2014).

Figure 3 Workforce participation rate by marital status and by gender



Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Figure 3 shows the labour force participation of males and female in India across different marital status covered under 1999-00 and 2011-12 rounds of NSSO survey. It reflects a constant feature of the Indian labour market – gender gap. Across all the marital status, male's participation in labour market is significantly higher as compared to female.

Between 1999-2000 and 2011-12, while the workforce participation has increased among currently married female and currently married men saw similar increase too. However, a worrying trend emerges among the workforce participation among never married and other category women. WFPRs had significantly reduced from 92% to 16% for never married women2. Reduction was also reported among other marital status but to a lesser extent (32.2% to 25.1%)**.** The decline in the WFPRs of never married women can be explained by increase in the school enrolment.

Table 1 Age-specific WFPR by marital status and by gender

Age Group	Male						Female					
	Never married		Currently married		Others		Never married		Currently married		Others	
	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12
15-29	46.51	42.42	93.01	95.90	87.03	98.51	12.38	13.97	11.83	12.40	44.86	48.29
30-44	82.38	86.84	97.82	98.94	85.89	93.15	46.88	51.13	19.19	19.45	63.93	66.79
45-59	71.62	74.32	92.71	94.53	77.44	80.14	38.94	47.49	17.81	14.83	35.26	35.21
60+	28.92	24.35	41.17	38.13	26.11	23.25	17.10	10.34	7.50	5.10	8.49	7.84

Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Work force participation for different age groups of never married, married and others male as well female is presented in Table 1. Workforce participation are significantly high for males and higher among married males across all age groups. However, there is an across the board decline in workforce participation among 60+ age group. Another trend emerges that among married women, there is significantly lower or reduced workforce participation.

Workforce participation trends for never married female shows positive movement across all the age group, except 60+. In both the survey years for never married women, workforce participation was at its peak in 30-44 years. However, the story of work force participation for married women is entirely different from other groups. In both the study years less than one-fifth of the total married women were participation in gainful activities. In 1999-00, highest (19.19%) participation is recorded among females in 30-44 years and highest for 2011-12 being in the same age group standing at 19.45%

Education and Labour Force Participation

Cameron et al. (2011) observe that female labour force participation rates respond differently to education across different countries due to two prime reasons: a wage effect and a bargaining power effect. Higher wages encourage women to join the workforce because the opportunity cost of time at home rises. However, due to increase level of education women's relative bargaining power will also increase, and women may prefer to not work. Thus, in this case, increasing levels of female education could lead to a fall in women's labour force participation. Behrman et al. (1999) observed that return of education for female may rise in the labour market but they may not rise fast enough to counteract the rise in the returns to education in the marriage market and home production. Klasen & Pieters (2013) found that in Indian context, rise is female education actually resulted in decline of their labour participation. Due to high education achievements there is a rise is preferences for white-collar jobs as women complete more education. Despite high growth rates, however, the economy has not produced enough employment of this kind to keep up with the growth of high-skilled labour supply. The share of white-collar services in urban employment fell from19 per cent in 1987 to 17 per cent in 2009, while the proportion of graduates in the working age population increased from 11 to 21 per cent. This has resulted in a strong crowding-out effects of the increased high-skilled labour supply on female labour force participation.

According to Andreas et al (2017) study, in India possessing secondary and higher secondary levels of education were not found to be an incentive for women to participate in the labor market as the lowest incidence of LFPR were found among those with secondary or senior - secondary education levels. The highest rates were recorded for illiterate or graduate women.

Table 2 Education-specific WFPR by marital status and by gender

General Education Level	Year	Male			Female		
		Never Married	Currently Married	Others	Never Married	Currently Married	Others
Illiterate	1999-00	14.44	91.75	62.15	5.98	39.1	32
	2011-12	10.87	86.38	51.83	2.72	18.25	22.71
Literate without formal schooling	1999-00	14.08	91.75	57.18	6.22	21.4	28.35
	2011-12	6.54	84.47	38.87	0.07	24.42	36.39
Primary	1999-00	14.26	92.31	65.45	4.39	25.1	31.39
	2011-12	13.47	89.17	54.69	2.27	15.61	28.09
Secondary	1999-00	37.9	92.69	63.82	9.66	15.8	35.71
	2011-12	32.42	90.23	47.19	6.52	10.55	22.58
Higher Secondary	1999-00	31.85	89.98	77.79	8.12	14.2	40.06
	2011-12	26.51	89.36	52.97	8.12	12.64	32.36
Graduate & Above	1999-00	50.07	90.8	54.39	21.82	26.3	45.76
	2011-12	54.62	88.22	40.15	34.43	22.60	42.30

Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Table 2 shows workforce participation rates of men and women among different marital status further classified based on the education qualifications as covered by 55^{th} and 68^{th} NSSO rounds.

Except for minor aberrations, the general trend has been of decrease in workforce participation of male and female for all marital status and

across all education status from 1999-2000 to 2011-12. Workforce participation of unmarried male and female with graduate degrees and above saw increase from 50.07% to 54.62% and 21.82% to 34.43% respectively.

Another key trend emerges that across both the round of the NSSO surveys, Workforce Participation upto higher secondary education level is significantly higher for among married female compared to unmarried women. While the similar trend is applicable for males too. But, unlike females where the trend reverses among graduate & above category, this trend remains same for males in graduate & above category too.

Status in Employment

Status in employment describes the type of economic risk and authority which workers have in their jobs, as reflected in their explicit or implicit contract of employment[35]. Literature suggest that with economic development, more women than men transit to wage / salaried employment. Globally, the share of wage and salaried employment in total employment has increased from 48.4% in 1997 to 54.8%in 2017. In this period the share of women has increase by 8.9% while for men the increased was for 6 % (ILO, 2017).

[35] http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/statistics-overview-and-topics/status-in-employment/lang--en/index.htm

Table 3 Percentage distribution of employment status by marital status in India

Employment Status	Male						Female					
	Never Married		Currently Married		Others		Never Married		Currently Married		Others	
	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12	1999-00	2011-12
Worked in h.h. enterprise (self-employed): own account worker	16.4 %	14.5 %	42.1 %	36.9 %	50.0 %	43.2 %	11.2 %	15.5 %	12.2 %	23.0 %	26.4 %	27.8 %
Employer	0.30 %	0.80 %	1.40 %	3.20 %	1.80 %	2.30 %	0.10 %	0.10 %	0.30 %	0.40 %	1.30 %	1.00 %
Worked as helper in h.h. enterprise (unpaid family worker)	30.9 %	16.5 %	8.10 %	4.00 %	9.80 %	3.10 %	35.1 %	11.1 %	37.5 %	17.8 %	12.9 %	3.20 %
Worked as regular salaried/ wage employee	16.9 %	48.7 %	17.9 %	42.5 %	7.90 %	31.0 %	14.0 %	65.9 %	7.60 %	44.5 %	10.9 %	45.5 %
Worked as casual wage labour: in public works	0.20 %	0.60 %	0.20 %	0.30 %	0.10 %	0.60 %	0.30 %	0.00 %	0.10 %	0.10 %	0.20 %	0.10 %
Worked as casual wage labour: In other types of work	35.3 %	18.9 %	30.2 %	13.0 %	30.3 %	19.8 %	39.3 %	7.40 %	42.2 %	14.2 %	48.3 %	22.4 %

Source: Authors calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

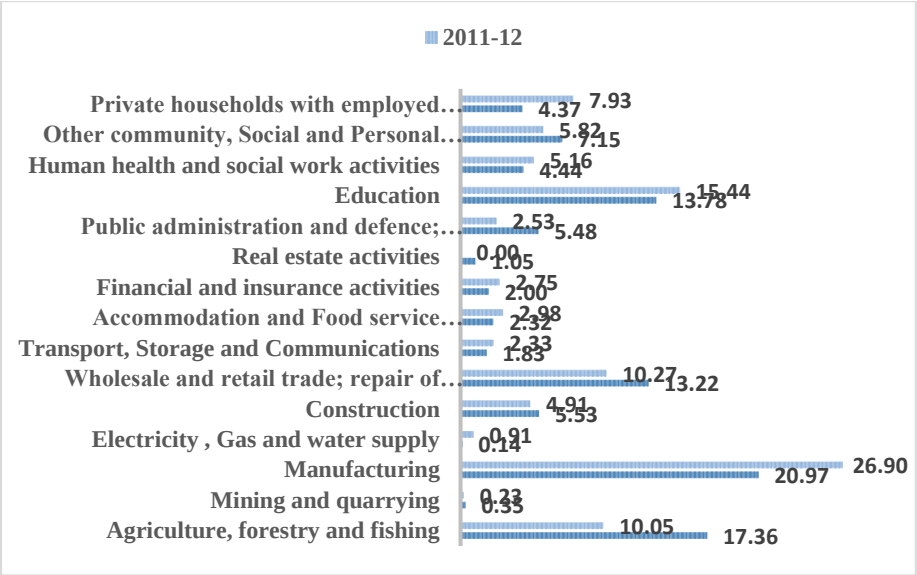
Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of employment for the 1999-00 and 2011-12 rounds of NSSO survey. The employment structure reflects the formal/informalization of the jobs and trends thereof. As the economy develops, a general trend of increased formalization is observed. Between 1999-2000 and 2011-12, this trend is reflected with employment for male and female across different marital status, with significant increase in regular salaried/wage employee (17% to 49% for never married male, 18% to 43% for married male, 8% to 31% for other male, 14% to 66% for never married female, 8% and 11% to 45% each respectively for married and other female The corresponding effect is reflected in similarly significant fall in people engaged in casual wage labour across male and female and across all marital status. Similar trend is observed through fall in employment as unpaid family worker which reflects higher remunerative employment.

Another trend is observed that the self-employment reduced among male across all marital status (16% to 15% for unmarried, 42% to 37% for currently married and 50% to 43% for others) during 1999-00 to 2011-12. However, during the same period, self-employment has increased for females across all marital status (11% to 15% for unmarried, 12% to 23% for currently married, 26% to 28% for others).

Structure of Workforce Participation of married women

This section presents the quality of workforce participation of married women in Indian market. This will cover the industries in which are participation, aspect related to their job contracts, type of wages they have access to etc.

Figure 4 Distribution of married female workers across different industries

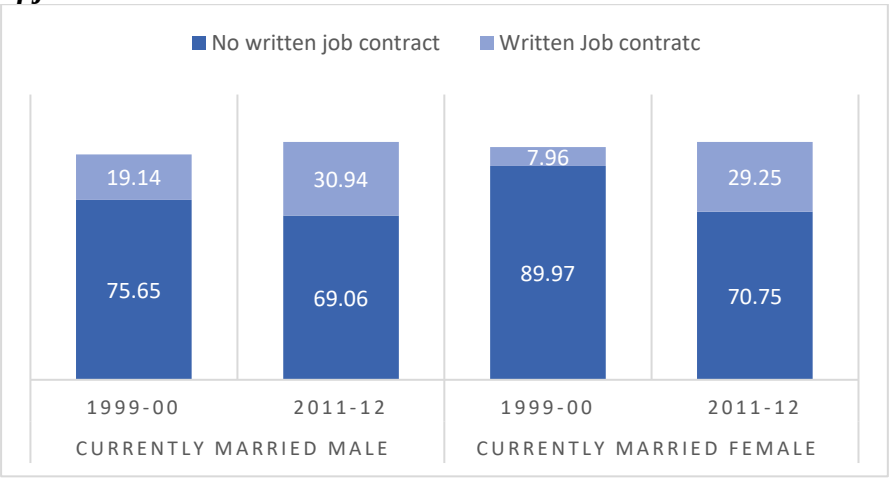


Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Fig.4 presents the major industries in which married women in India are having gainful employment. The picture painted by the data is quite depressing throughout all the industries, with some exceptions, workforce participation of married women in almost negligible.

In 2012-12, highest participation of married women is recorded in manufacturing industry followed by education, wholesale and retail trade and agriculture & forestry industry. Between the period of 1999-00 to 2011-12 participation of married women has decreased in majority of the industries and some industries has seen marginal increase. Highest decease is recorded in agriculture, forestry and fishing (7.31%) while highest increase in the same period is private households with employed persons (3.56%).

Figure 5 Distribution of currently Married males and females by type of job contracts

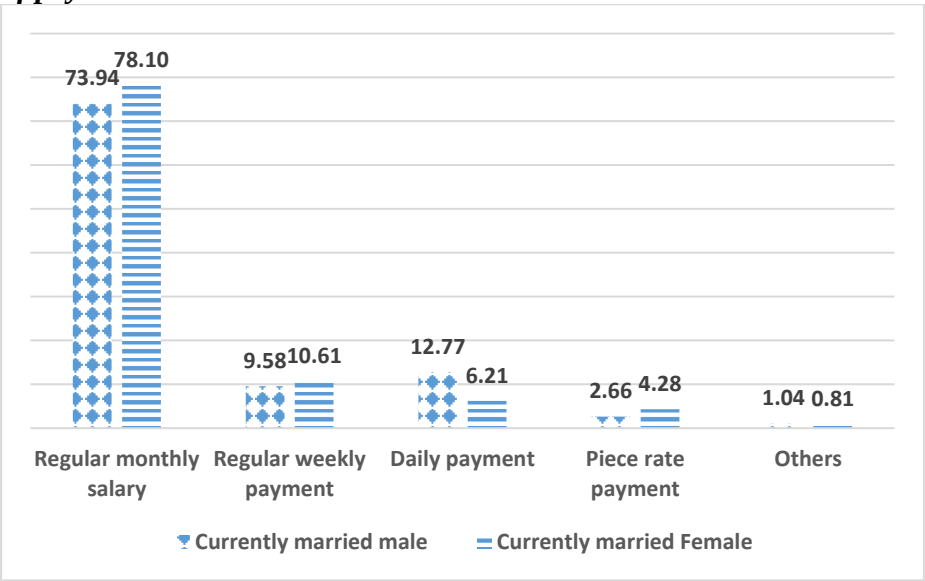


Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

All over the world, women are often over-represented in temporary, rather than in permanent jobs, though the situation varies substantially across countries. The type of contract provides a sense of stability however when a person works without any written contact that he/she always remains vulnerable. Fig. 5 shows the situation in India regarding the type of job contracts workers are engage in. In 2011-12, the proportion of currently married male and female working without any written contacts was almost similar. 69% Males and 71% female reported that they have no written contract with their employer.

Between 1999-00 to 2011-12, data shows that there is positive trend towards written contracts. The proportion of male with written contract has increased from 19 % to 31% while for female the increase is from 8% to whopping 29%.

Figure 6 Distribution of currently married male and female by method of payment



Source: Author's calculation based on unit level data of NSS employment and unemployment survey 1999-00 and 2011-12

Fig 6 represents the labour force participation of married male and married female in 2011-12 focusing on the different type of payment methods. Date reveals that among married males as well as females' larger chunk are in employment with regular monthly salary. The most intriguing fact about the male and female work revealed by the data is about the type of work preferred by different sexes. The percentage of women who are working for daily payments is just half of the male similarly the share of male working for piece rate payment is half of the female in that category. This shows that currently married females do not prefer casual work rather they are inclined towards home based work which work in a piece rate method.

Conclusion

All over the world, women's access to decent work is restricted by myriad factors ranging from discriminatory practices, social and cultural norms, household chores etc. In the Indian society, marriage not only guides social life but it also has a deep bearing on economic achievements. In India gender gap in labour force is as huge as 55% while in Delhi this gap further increases to 62%. Segregation of labour market into different marital status highlight a worrying trend that it is the married women whose participation in paid activities is abysmally low.

Educational achievements less than graduation level also do not seem to have much impact on this dwindling participation of Indian women in labour market. High incidence of participation is among illiterate women across all the marital categories. However, change in the status of employment between 1999 -2012 shows a silver lining. Indian women are gaining in terms of regular wage/salaried employment and their involvement in unpaid family work has decreased.

Religion and social status decide the terms of the involvement of women in the public sphere. Analysis suggests that, except Christianity, in all the other religion the employment of women definitely raises some eyebrows.

India is aiming to become a super power but if half of its population is still not emancipated then that is a distant dream. Double digit growth has no meaning until all citizens receive their fair share.

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#Justice for Asifa

Humanity met its end in the screams of an eight-year-old.
But we choose to remain silent because we are safe in our houses (or we think we are).
People are concerned about her religion isn't it enough that she was an innocent child.
Let your blood boil
Cry your eyes out
Make your words penetrate in the heart of every person.
Because if you believe that she has the right to justice then also know that only you can bring justice to her. It's important that we voice our opinions because when we will arrive at the evening of our life all of our health will diminish and when we will leave all of our wealth and name would be snatched. It does not matter how rich we become or how much fame we gather in our whole life. What will be remembered are the lives that were affected by our existence, the souls we empowered and the hearts we have touched.

- **Rukaiya Pithawala**

EXPLORING LIVELIHOOD AND SUPPORT STRATEGIES FOR UNPAID CARE WORK BY INDIAN WOMEN

- Ms Celin Thomas
- Mr. Abhishek Antony

1. Introduction

United Nations Population Fund explains that Gender equality is a human right.[36] Women are entitled to live with dignity and with freedom from want and from fear. Gender equality is also a precondition for advancing development and reducing poverty: Empowered women contribute to the health and productivity of whole families and communities, and they improve prospects for the next generation. This clearly states the role women play in the larger scheme of events. However, it is strange to note, how easily their contribution has been overlooked over the years or is it that we haven't been able to capture or measure it.

The Sustainable development Goals (SDGs) have an ambitious vision for the overall global development. Goal 5 covers Gender Equality and Goal 8 covers Decent Work and Economic Growth. This clarifies one thing that the larger pursuit will continue to remain gender equality when it comes to overall development of women. Although it is important that women's participation is a must when it comes to economy, polity, governance and several other tangible aspects of the functionality of nation; it is also imperative that we develop mechanism to measure and capture data and information of the intangible contribution of women to the larger scheme of events. Since, in patriarchal societies women are known to be caregivers, whether they are willing to provide the care that is expected or not. This research paper will focus mainly on the unpaid care work done by women.

[36] Gender Equality, Overview, https://www.unfpa.org/gender-equality, visited on 22.20 PM IST on 15th June, 2018

1.1. Understanding Unpaid care work and its Economics

'Work' as a noun simply means activity involving mental or physical effort done in order to achieve a result, it also means a task or series of tasks undertaken. This simple definition of work will make it easier to understand what constitutes work and what simply does not qualify as work as per its literal meaning. Interestingly the bodies and authorities that make labour laws are surprisingly quiet about the definition of work. Unpaid care work also includes mental and physical effort since it includes caring for children, elderly and sick people. It also includes washing, cooking, shopping, cleaning and helping other families with their chores.[37] Unpaid work includes food, fuel and water collection and other energy provision, informal unpaid work, family labour in agriculture, etc. Women typically spend disproportionately more time on unpaid care work than men.[38] It is important to note that all of these activities take up a lot of time and energy on a daily basis. Unpaid care work has been conveniently dumped on women across the world over a period of time. This pattern is observed throughout the world as women are stereotyped as being the primary care giving gender.

Another noted driver is the dearth of or access to resources such as water and food to name a few. Adolescent girls are known to have dropped out of schools as they had to ensure water availability at home for everyone, for all household purposes where availability of water is scarce. The number of trips, which varies during and across seasons, is needed to calculate time and caloric expenditures. A study in Haryana found that women fetched and carried on the head, on average, 23 vessels of water

[37] Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Quick Guide to What and How: Unpaid Care Work

[38] Gaëlle Ferrant, Luca Maria Pesando and Keiko Nowacka Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes. OECD Development Centre, December 2014

each day during the summer (7 in the morning and 6 in the evening).[39] The weight of the vessel and the drudgery of water carrying, along with multiple trips to fetch water for daily needs of a family are widely studied. Generally, care work done by women in underappreciated and not recognized at all. This trend has existed and continues even today also because people have always assumed that women are meant to do all the care work. There is another popular assumption that women are genetically pre- programmed to do care work.

The reason for not recognising unpaid care work also has its own set of problems. Prospective problems of unions, remuneration that is commensurate to the work done, etc. are few deterring reasons for lack of recognition of care work. Also, the bigger questions – who will provide care and who will remunerate for the care work done? Perhaps the apprehension of these problems is the main constraints in recognizing the unpaid care work done by women.

1.2. The need for recognizing unpaid care work done by women

One of the main reason unpaid care work affects women is mainly as it takes away all their time and energy in providing for family needs and resources. The participation of a woman in the economy, polity and even in educational fields in minimal or inconspicuous especially if she spends most of her day providing care or doing unpaid acre work. The only way women can make changes to their own stature in society and several other fields is by participating in it actively.

India's Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP) rate has remained visibly low and the International Labour Organisation ranks India's FLFP

[39] Susan B. Sorenson, Christiaan Morssink, Paola Abril Campos, Safe Access to Safe Water in Low Income Countries: Water Fetching in Current Times. Departmental Papers (SPP), May, 2011. School of Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania

rate at 121 out of 131 countries in 2013, one of the lowest in the world.[40] Female Labour Force Participation[41] (FLFP) dropped by 19.6 million women from 2004–05 to 2011–12. Participation declined by 11.4% — from 42.6% to 31.2% — from 1993–94 to 2011–12. There are several contributing factors to these figures indicated.

One of the positive looking factor is approximately 53% of this drop occurred in rural India, among those aged between 15 and 24 due to an increase in educational enrolment among the younger cohort, attainment of socio-economic status, and household composition largely contributed to the drop.41 So long as the economic participation of women will be measured in terms of labour force, the efforts and initiatives taken to ensure their participation will somehow never match or give out the kind of results expected. A woman's actual contribution to the economy is not limited to her participation in the labour force, it also extends largely in terms of her providing stability to a home through the care work done by her on a daily basis.

Unpaid work is valued less from paid work for the simple reason that work that gets money is always considered important as it gets the cash rolling in. However, unpaid care work done by women has no monetary benefits assigned to it. Time-use survey method and replacement cost method are two ways to capture the contribution of women with respect to unpaid care work.

[40] Labour participation rate of women in India visibly low, says World Bank study. Nagesh Prabhu Bengaluru, April 17, 2017 08:00 IST. Updated: April 17, 2017 08:00 IST

[41] 'Precarious Drop Reassessing Patterns of Female Labour Force Participation in India', published by the World Bank in April 2017

The encumbrance of unpaid household work hinders women from seeking employment and income.[42] An increase in their household responsibilities, either through marriage or childbearing, forces many women either to withdraw themselves from the labour market; or to find more flexible, part-time jobs; or to enter into self-employment that offers more flexible time management. Women are known to struggle to get back into the workforce after a long break in their careers due to childbirth and even after breaks taken to care for elderly or sick relatives at home.

The year 2030 agenda for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) includes two major goals of Gender Equality and Decent Work. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has prescribed what needs to be done[43] to bring about the necessary change in this area of discussion. Unpaid care work has been recognized and the need for it to be supported has been appreciated by ILO in its endeavour to achieve the 2030 target for SDGs. ILO recommends recognition and valuation of unpaid work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.[43]

In many parts of the world, women are often in undervalued and low-paid jobs, and lack access to education, training and recruitment. They have limited bargaining and decision-making power and still shoulder responsibility for most unpaid care work. Globally, only about half of the world's women are in the labour force, compared to nearly 80 per cent of men, earning on average 23 per cent less than men, with mothers particularly hard hit.41

[42] Measurement of Unpaid Household Work of Women in India: A Case Study of Hooghly District of West Bengal Anindita Sengupta (University of Burdwan, India) 34th IARIW General Conference Dresden, Germany, August 21-27, 2016

[43] Decent work and the 2030 agenda for sustainable development, International Labour Organization (ILO) Department of Communication and Public Information

This paper looks at the role that policymakers and authorities and how laws can play proactively to ensure the recognition and support that unpaid work done by women truly deserves in India. The ways and means by which the effects of age-old biases and notions that could be changed and positively influenced such that the workload of care work done by women can be shared by other members in the family. It is understood that the care work even if unpaid would continue to remain as long as people stay in families and actively participate in the society and economy. Hence it is imperative to look for ways and methods in which the current state of affairs can be changed or at least mitigated to some extent.

The current and existing schemes by the government and policy makers will be examined in this paper. This will highlight the strategies for income and support for care work that are working and in practice in India. One of the major outcomes of such schemes and projects or practices would be of that women who seek a break from care work and wish to pursue their interests and maybe even take rest, would benefit from them immensely. A policy document is a precursor to a legislation. It is also important to see how the laws in India also view unpaid care work as. And how can legislations play a role in recognizing unpaid care work done by women in India.

2. Measuring Unpaid care work

The conventional method of measuring GDP of a nation is based on the income and economic contribution of the labour force. The existing statistical data provides information of the labour force and national income based on the productive time use by people (in economic activities) and the welfare level enjoyed by people. These two are essential as they form the basis for economic policy and planning. The market is generally perceived as the centre of all economic activities, participation in the labour force as well as the inclusion of production into national income accounts has been defined in relation to their

connection to the market or to the performance of some "work for pay or profit".[44]

Conventional statistical data only covers the remunerated activities and not the unremunerated ones. However, in the recent times, there is a slow albeit steady growth in the realization of the unpaid non-market linked activities which are essential for human welfare as they contribute significantly to the well-being of people. This realization has prompted people to collect information on these activities. It should be noted that the conventional data collection tools such as census of population, labour force surveys or enterprise surveys are not capable of providing this information.[44]

2.1. Time use Survey

Time use survey is an emerging tool that can provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily and weekly basis, it reveals the details of an individual's daily life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of social survey. This method of survey was used in the early 1900s as a means for analysing information on lifestyles of families and patterns of social life as revealed by the allocation of time among several different human activities. However, nowadays, it's being used for capturing data on the value of household production for a more objective comparison with the overall value of national production. Time use surveys have been used for a long time by developed nations, the objectives can vary considerably with that of a developing country. In developed nations, the official statistics provide fairly reliable information on market-oriented activities. So the time use studies are used mainly as a source of

[44] Indira Hirway , Time Use Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Issues with Reference to the Indian Time Use Survey by Chairperson, Technical Advisory Committee on Time Use Survey, set up by Department of Statistics, Government of India, New Delhi and Director and Professor of Economics, Centre For Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad.

information on activities not covered by official statistics, such as leisure, household work, family care etc. however, in developing countries, time use statistics are used mainly for measuring unpaid activities performed at home, to analyse the relationships between market and domestic labour, and to serve as a basis for quantifying domestic work in monetary terms comparable to production included in national accounts.[44]

In a developing country, time use survey method will provide to be a more authentic source of information with respect to market-oriented work due to insufficiency of the prevalent concepts to capture those adequately. The main objective of time use studies would be to provide realistic statistics on economic production and work force besides other uses, such as to estimate time used and value of domestic work and voluntary services, personal care services which cannot be delegated or outsourced and also activities would be production of goods for self-consumption, collection of water, fuel, fodder etc., construction and repair of buildings etc.[44] Classification used in the Indian[44] time use survey covers the following key areas:

1. Primary Production Activities that includes Crop farming, kitchen gardening, etc.; Animal Husbandry; Fishing, Forestry, Horticulture, Gardening; Fetching of fruits, water, plants etc. storing and hunting; Processing and Storage; Mining quarrying, digging, cutting, etc.
2. Secondary Activities such as Construction Activities and Manufacturing Activities
3. Trade, Business and Services such as Trade and Business and Services
4. Household maintenance, Management and shopping for own Household
5. Care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household
6. Community services and Help to other Households
7. Learning
8. Social and Cultural Activities, Mass Media, etc.
9. Personal Care and Self-Maintenance

The above data can contribute towards improving labour statistics and national income statistics, can throw useful light on the distribution of paid and unpaid work of men and women as well as can present data relating to the time and value of different unpaid activities carried out in the economy.

2.2. Criticism of time use survey methodology

Numerous scholars have stated doubts regarding the utility of the time use approach for data collection as it may not be able to capture the efforts and efficiency of the people. Also, the efforts and efficiency changes with work environment also whether the person is working in his office or at home. This method does not take into the account the methods and techniques followed culturally and traditionally that may reduce or increase the time allocated to an activity. Also, the response to the questions and the methods used in collecting data by time use survey requires the sample/study group to be literate, else some amount of training is required to be able to capture all the data diligently.

2.3.Indicators of gender equality

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) has identified 12 broad topics or areas based on which the gender equality indicators can be measured and studied. These twelve areas are Poverty, Education, Health, Violence, Economy, Power and decision-making in society, Power and decision-making in the household, Human rights, Media, Environment, Children and adolescents, Demography. Gender inequalities in the household is what reinforces it in the society. Different policy documents of the United Nations have therefore called for designing programs to address unequal decision-making powers within families and to support men's and women's joint control of household

assets and joint household decision-making to guarantee adequate livelihoods for their families.[45]

The unpaid care work done by women have been captured under the area of Power and decision-making in the household as per the UNECE report on Indicators of Gender Quality. It is interesting to note, that the indicators for gender equality with respect to unpaid care work are covered under the broad area of Power and decision-making in the household. It clearly means one thing, that unpaid care work that the measurement of the following areas of household decision-making, focuses on the power relation of a woman and a man who live in a co-residential partnership:

1. Family formation and dissolution, divorce or separation, having children, family planning;
2. Household responsibilities, such as domestic work and childcare;
3. Family finances and work, decision-making on household spending, financial arrangements, choice to work;
4. Recreation spare time, social life and contact with friends and relatives;
5. Health care;
6. Education.

Percentage of women's time spent in domestic work on partners time spent in domestic work is an indicator that is proposed by the UNECE for measuring the role and contribution of women in the unpaid care work.

3. Strategies for unpaid care work load sharing

Strategies of unpaid care work will need to be customized for women individually. Simply because each woman has her own challenges in

[45] United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), Indicators of Gender Equality prepared by the Task Force on Indicators Gender Equality, United Nations New York and Geneva, 2015

front of her at very stage in her life. For an Indian woman right form the time she is a pubescent girl, her life changes drastically which could have a direct impact on her educational pursuits as well. The trials for a working woman and mother in urban area are different from those living in the hinterlands of India. The trials of a mother who is a homemaker versus a mother who is working full time are different. However, there is a commonality between all these women in different phases and stages in their lives, it is this fact that they contribute immensely to the family structure and ensure the functionality of the family as a unit of the society.

3.1. Recognize, Reduce and Redistribute

The model, Recognize, Reduce and Redistribute, relating to unpaid care work, was conceived by Professor Diane Elson; is an interesting place to begin with. Mainly because it simply ask everyone to realise and recognize the need and importance of unpaid care work. This unpaid care work has a huge role in contributing to the economy and measuring its involvement is very important.

3.2. Recognise unpaid care work

Recognising unpaid care work is the first step towards taking a concrete step towards acknowledging the role it plays in the larger scheme of events, primarily with respect to the national economy. It is important that unpaid care work is measured and this data can be used by several government departments to come up with laws, policies, schemes and programs to aid the overall goal of Gender Equality.

Currently in India, Gender Budgeting is handled by the nodal agency which is the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD). The Ministry of Finance along with the MWCD had issued a Gender Budget Charter on the 8th March, 2007. The charter lays down guidelines for setting up of Gender Budgeting Cells (GBCs) to be set up in all Ministries and Departments. The clear objective being that every government department has to make development and empowerment of women seamless across all the Ministries and in their initiatives.

Women typically spend disproportionately more time on unpaid care work than men. On account of gendered social norms that view unpaid care work as a female prerogative, women across different regions, socio-economic classes and cultures spend an important part of their day on meeting the expectations of their domestic and reproductive roles. This is in addition to their paid activities, thus creating the "double burden" of work for women. How society and policy makers address issues concerning care has important implications for the achievement of gender equality: they can either expand the capabilities and choices of women and men, or confine women to traditional roles associated with femininity and motherhood[46]. Gender Budgeting can play a big role in ensuring that the data received on unpaid care work is used in such a manner that it helps in creating support systems throughout for women to be able to accomplish all they wish to.

3.3 Reducing and Redistributing the workload

Once unpaid care work is measured and the data is there to clearly satisfy all the concerned stakeholders; an action is imperative. Workload on a woman to maintain the home, paid work and caring for children, elderly and sick can leave her exhausted by the end of the day and every other day. The household chores and responsibilities must be divided or outsourced in such a manner that the woman can also pursue her interests and have her leisurely time to take adequate rest. A woman has a right and is entitled to pursue her interests regardless of her social and economic situation. It is only then we can talk about equality.

Elders in the family can also proactively support the women in the household by taking care of children and helping them in their academic pursuits.

[46] Razavi, S. (2007), "The Political and Social Economy of Care in a Development Context", Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy Options, Gender and Development Programme Paper N. 3, UNSRID, Geneva.

3.4. Role of Legislature

The Maternity Benefit Act of 1961 was a great step in this direction to recognize and support the child bearing need and responsibility of a woman. Section 5 clause (1) of the Act states in its explanation that a pregnant mother is eligible for 3 months of paid leave. Section 9 of the Act allows leave for miscarriage and section 11offers nursing breaks to a new mother for a period of 15 months after delivery. Also, section 12[47] of the Act a pregnant woman cannot be dismissed from her job during her announced leave. From this Act, we can understand the role the legislature can play in institutionalizing systems such that they offer support and care to women. Inspiring men to become proactively involved in the child care and nurturing process by introducing Paternity Benefits also.

The role of legislature cannot be ruled out or undermined when it comes to the care of elderly and sick people as well. Our personal laws state that a son or a daughter is equally responsible to look after their elderly parents. Failing to do so can invite a suit for action in a court. However, even in such scenarios, the responsibility cannot solely fall of any one child only. There ought to be a mechanism to measure the contribution of each child in taking turns to look after the elderly and also the sickly in their family so as to reduce the work load on just one person.

3.5. Role of CBOs, NGOs and Government facilities

The adolescent girl child is usually asked to drop out of college due to periods. Mostly it also to provide for the dearth of resources such as water and fuel for cooking, as most men are out for labour work that brings in cash. There is ample scope for the government to play a proactive role here. The existing scheme and penetration of community-based organization, ICDS units, ASHA workers and several government primary health care clinics have great presence and influence over the

[47] The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961

minds of the people. They can always be tapped into distribute and implement government resources and schemes. Importance of education of the girl child can be spread through these platforms also. The resource crunches can be resolved through governmental interventions or community development programs run by Panchayats in villages and Municipalities in towns. This will also resolve the drudgery that is a part of collecting resources such as water and fuel for fodder.

Tanzanian time use data predicts that investments in water-related infrastructure would free up women's working hours (converted into paid employment) equivalent to a million new full-time jobs for women. This in turn would increase income by about 6% of the total cash earnings for the entire population in a year.37

3.6. Tax and insurance reforms

There can be several taxation reforms that could encourage women whether employed or not to be able to avail benefits of various schemes that is linked directly to her contribution in the market economy and household chores or care work. Men can be incentivized if they proactively take care of their children, elderly parents and sickly people in their family.

There can be insurance scheme that women can avail from the government that takes care of all their medical expenses for which they needn't worry about otherwise. This can also extend into a social security scheme of sorts that offers relief to especially those women who simply cannot afford such services form private entities.

Pension and old age social security of the elderly can also help in assisting women in reducing their work load, as these schemes would make it possible for the elders to afford care by outsourcing help.

3.7. Education system

Our education system can also proactively inculcate values in the children wherein they could manage their own daily chores on their own and relieve parents of that work by becoming independent. Children can be awarded for being disciplined, obedient and independent. Such kind of incentivisation can always encourage them to develop good habits. Ensuring that education material and teaching practices are gender sensitive and encourage girls and young women to undertake studies in the sciences and several other faculties that interests them.

Conclusion

Care in itself is a benefit to society as it contributes to the well-being of both the caregiver and the receiver and fosters close relations between them. Moreover, all care work, paid or unpaid, adds value to the economy and should therefore be included in economic calculations. Even though the gendered division of labour in care work limits such benefits primarily to women, women's unpaid care work constitutes an important contribution to the economy. It is estimated that if women's unpaid work were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10% and 39% of GDP.37

The unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men represents an infringement of women's rights[48] and also a brake on their economic empowerment. Gender inequality in unpaid care work is the missing link that influences gender gaps in labour outcomes. The gender gap in unpaid care work has significant implications for women's ability to actively take part in the labour market and the type/quality of employment opportunities available to them. Time is a limited resource, which is divided between labour and leisure, productive and reproductive

[48] UN (2013), Report of Sepulveda Carmona, M., the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Unpaid Care Work and Women's Human Rights. Available at SSRN 2437791.

activities, paid and unpaid work. Every minute more that a woman spends on unpaid care work represents one minute less that she could be potentially spending on market-related activities or investing in her educational and vocational skills.[49]

Although the model suggested by Professor Diane on recognize, reduce and redistribute in a good place to begin in mitigating the issue of unpaid care work; however, going forward we might need more concrete steps to measure parameters on unpaid care work alongside the various programs and schemes that alleviate women. It is true that everyone needs a support system to grow and develop in; this system also ought to provide safety and a feeling of belongingness. Only because every woman takes over the job of unpaid care work without batting an eyelid is due to the fact that her family is her responsibility and she needs to care for it whether the government recognizes her efforts or not.

The government in light of the SDG targets may be inspired to take proactive measures in improving the conditions of women whose contributions go unnoticed primarily in the unorganized sector. The civil society also can play a big role in diminishing the gender biases by beginning to treat man and woman equally.

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15. The Maternity Benefit Act, 196

For the girl on the bus using her
headphones to drown out the
advancements of the man as well as his
disgusting words and tones

For the woman walking late at night
With her keys spread as a weapon
In case she needs to be prepared for a
fight.

For the mother who doesn't sleep and is
always tired,
Because her husband thought that a
wedding ring
Meant a yes was never required

For the child who doesn't like her own
reflection
Because she was betrayed and broken
By the man she looked to for protection.

For the college student who is now
failing her class
Because she just went out for a good
time
But the second she turned her head, a
drug was slipped into her glass

For the teenager walking home from
work at night
Talking on her phone to look like
someone
would notice if someone grabbed her too
tight

For my friend who said no more than
once
But because it was her boyfriend
It didn't matter since it was his touch

For the girls who are taught to keep it
under the table
Because being silent about it is better
Than making people uncomfortable

For the girls who tried to do everything
they could
But because they didn't scream no or
fight back
It was their fault and were up to no good

For my women who were told it wasn't
rape
Because they were drunk, they dressed
slutty,
Or there was no proof on tape.

For my women who didn't report the
crime
Because they were terrified and broken
And felt it would be a waste of time

For my ladies fighting the aftermath
That comes with assault, like PTSD,
anxiety, and depression
Because of some terrible human's wrath.

For me, the young woman who walks in
fear
Every day after three men thought her
Body was theirs just because it was here

For every woman who is harassed
For every woman who will be harassed
For every woman who has been
assaulted
For every woman who will be assaulted
For every woman who has been raped
For every woman who will be raped

This is for you.

#Metoo Katie

STATEMENTS

Women's and Child Rights Movement Condemning Unequivocally the Recent Spate of Sexual Violence on Young Girls in Kathua and Unnao-15 April, 2018

We, the Representatives of the Women's Movement and all organizations working for women and child rights from across the length and breadth of the country, are both deeply concerned and horrified at the growing and repeated incidences of sexual violence and extreme brutality being inflicted on girls, not to speak of it happening thrice in succession in different parts of the country within a span of few days.

While each of us is filled with distress and shame, we feel the time has also come for us to ask all the Powers that Be whether they believe enough is being done to prevent such dastardly acts on the most vulnerable and hapless categories of the population.

The mother of the young victim in Kathua laments that a child who loved meadows and horses has now been abandoned to a lonely grave. Her father says she did not even know the difference between her left and right hand. Nor that of belonging to any particular community or religion. This poignant and heart-wrenching comment stands testimony to the total betrayal by society as a whole, undoubtedly, but in particular by those obligated to protect and nurture young lives. This is best demonstrated by the fact that, despite the detailed FIR filed in the case of the Kathua victim and the statement of the victim and her family naming the perpetrators at Unnao, every step taken thereafter by the concerned authorities has been at best casual, or a wilful obfuscation and side-tracking of the heinous crimes in order to allow the alleged perpetrators to roam free. In the first case, there was even a concerted effort on the

part of the local community to mobilize partisan support from political and legal forces to scuttle the rule of law.

We condemn the widespread impunity that surrounds us and the cynicism combined with contempt and arrogance shown by those in power to the rule of law. In the process, justice delivery has been deliberately stymied and there is a complete lack of accountability towards the people whom they are supposed to serve. Justice has already been compromised in both case. In the Unnao instance, the victim's father was assaulted so badly that he succumbed to internal injuries, even as his family members continue to live in state of fear of attack.

After the outrage following the Delhi gang rape of December 16, 2012, the Justice J.S.Verma Committee set up by the then government left no stone unturned to define, recast and augment the power of the law to not only prevent violence against women and girls but also address it in the most decisive and efficacious manner, making all duty-bearers punishable under the law for failure to enforce it or ensure timely justice.

This mammoth exercise led by the late Justice Verma and ably assisted by the eminent jurists, the late Justice Leila Seth and Gopal Subramanium, was done in a highly consultative manner bringing together the best legal minds and those who that had been in the forefront of the struggles waged by women in different parts of the country since the early 70's.

Although the recommendations of the Justice Verma Committee was legislated, like many other laws passed by the highest lawmakers aimed at affirming the rights of women and girls and preventing the all-pervasive discriminations they face, we find that the executive zeal necessary to take this process forward and translate the law into rights

and entitlements of women and girls is missing. Today, the entire law stands compromised in both letter and spirit.
With neither administrative will nor accountability enforced by statutory bodies mandated to do so, we find that the duty bearers, including the police, are guilty of acts of both omission and commission.

It is in this context of weak accountability, and clear unwillingness on the part of authorities to provide adequate resource to agencies, empower institutions and build strong partnerships through mutual collaboration, the argument-- often made at the highest levels of society and government -- for rapists to be given capital punishment sounds hollow. We do not support the call for the death penalty. Instead, we need an urgent evaluation of where the gaps lie in the implementation of the Criminal (Amendment) Law, 2013 and POCSO, 2012.

We condemn the attempts by the leaders of the Bar Association to obstruct the administration of justice in the Jammu case by preventing the filing of the charge sheet and by obstructing the efforts of the woman lawyer in representing the family. A profession bound by a duty to uphold the rule of law in accordance with the Constitution cannot betray its own calling and aid and abet the breakdown of the rule of law.

The deliberate silences in the media and the careful construction of Prime Minister Narendra Modi as a person committed to gender justice is particularly disturbing and politically opportunistic. The Prime Minister's condemnation of the rapists in both cases came far too late, and did not address the endemic failures of state governments ruled by his own party that allowed these crimes to take place. Let us not forget that such rapes, murders and other atrocities are a direct result of the hate mongering and 'othering' of minorities, dalits and tribals that is widespread in India today.

We therefore demand that the perpetrators of both these unconscionable brutalities be brought to justice without any further delay.

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4 Abhishek Mankotia, Ahmedabad
5 Abhishek Naulakha, Ahmedabad
6 Aditi Khandelwal, Ahmedabad
7 Ajitha K, Anweshi
8 AkhilaSivadas, Delhi
9 Akshaya Ganesh, Ahmedabad
10 Amrita Barua Ahmedabad
11 Amrita Chakraborty, Kolkata
12 Anant Asthana, Child Rights Defender
13 Anoop Kumar Yadav, Mumbai
14 Anuja Gupta, RAHI Foundation
15 Anukriti Dixit, Ahmedabad
16 Anuradha Kapoor, Swayam, Kolkata
17 Anuradha PatiDyuti Ailawadi
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22 Arundhati Dhuru, NAPM
23 Asha Kaushik, RUWA
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60 Lakshmi Krishnamurty, Alaripu
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70 Meera Khanna, GoS
71 Miguel Das Queah, Child Rights Defender
72 Mira Shiva
73 Mihira Sood
74 Milad Thaha, Ahmedabad
75 Mini Mathew
76 Mirai Chatterjee
77 Mumtaz Shaikh
78 Muneeb Ul Lateef Banday, Ahmedabad
79 Nandini Rao
80 Nastasia Paul-Gera
81 Navtej Singh, Delhi
82 Neeta Hardikar
83 Nimish Shah, Vadodara
84 Nimisha Shrivastav, Child Rights Defender

85 Nirantar
86 Nisha Biswas
87 Nishchal Kutarekar, Kharagpur
88 Nithin Prakash, Ahmedabad
89 Niti Saxena, Lucknow
90 Om Satatkar, Ahmedabad
91 Padma D, Mumbai
92 Pamela Philipose
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94 Pawan Anand, Ahmedabad
95 Pawan Rajurkar, Ahmedabad
96 Pragyna Joshi
97 Pravekha Ravichandran, Ahmedabad
98 Preeti Berhguzar, Ahmedabad
99 Preeti Das, Ahmedabad
100 Prerna Subramanian, Gandhinagar
101 Priti Darooka PWESCR International
102 Purnima
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140 Soma Parthasarthi, Makaam

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145 Supriya Jan, Right to Pee Movement

146 Sutapa Majumdar

147 Swagata Raha, Child Rights Defender

148 Swarna Rajagopalan, independent scholar

149 Swayam

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152 Tejas Patil,Ahmedabad

153 The Prajnya Trust

154 Uma Chakravarti

155 Uma V Chandru

156 Utsah, Assam

157 Vandana Mahajan

158 Vasudha Mohanka

159 Veena Shatrugna

160 Vibhuti Patel

161 Vimala Ramachandran, ERU, Delhi

162 Vrinda Grover

***

Support for the Lawyers of Asifa's family: Deepika Singh Rajawat and Talib Hussain

We, women's groups, human rights groups and individuals, who have over the years stood against, challenged sexual violence against women and children and struggled for justice, stand with Deepika Singh Rajawat, the lawyer who has taken up the case of 8 year old Asifa who belonged to the Kashmiri Bakerwal nomadic community, who was brutally kidnapped, tortured, gang raped over days and murdered in Kathua, Jammu, in January 2018 in an unconscionable manner by 8 men, including a minor. We also support Talib Hussain, also from the Bakerwal community who as an advocate has been fighting for justice for Asifa's family since January. He was arrested for organizing the first protest in January, and subsequently threatened by the police of being booked under the PSA. However, his sustained efforts at protest have brought notice to the case, despite constant intimidation and threats.

The attitudes, behaviour and actions of the Jammu Bar Association are utterly deplorable when several of the lawyers, instead of taking up or supporting the case of the child, who had been brutally gang-raped, not only tried to prevent the police from submitting the charge-sheet against the accused, but also threatened Asifa's lawyer Deepika Singh Rajawat against taking up the case. We completely condemn such inhuman, shameless, unprofessional communal and barbaric actions.Following these heinous incidents, some lawyers in Delhi, who practice in the Supreme Court, requested a bench of Chief Justice Dipak Misra and Justices A M Khanwilkar and D Y Chandrachud to take suo moto cognizance of the horrific incident. The Supreme Court agreed to take up Kathua rape incident case provided the advocates placed facts in writing about the agitation by lawyers to prevent filing of charge-sheet in the case and threatening the lawyer representing the rape survivor's family.

We are reassured that the Supreme Court has rapped the lawyers impeding the process of law by obstructing the lawyers who are representing the family of the 8-year-old deceased child, and hope that the lawyers and the family is ensured safety as they pursue the case to its logical end.

We are inspired by the courage shown by Deepika Singh Rajawat and Talib Hussain in standing up to the hostile environment and taking ahead the case of the family of one of the most marginalized nomadic communities. We condemn the culture of impunity that pervades situations when those from marginal groups seek justice for crimes against them, displayed by the lawyers obstructing the family's advocates in court.

It is indeed a sign of these dark times that to carry out even our normal routine work, we need to be brave, have courage and support.

We wholeheartedly support Deepika Singh and Talib Hussain in their work and are there for any other help they may require in this battle for justice.

Signed/-
Forum Against Oppression of Women, Bombay

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Pavitri Manjhi

Pavitri Manjhi has faced continued threats, harassment and intimidation in relation to her peaceful activism. Visited at her home by two men every evening from 3 to 5 April 2018, she has been told to withdraw all formal complaints filed by Adivasi villagers against two private companies who allegedly defrauded members of the community of their land.

Pavitri Manjhi, the Adivasi Sarpanch (elected head) of the Bhengari village council in Chhattisgarh, central India was visited by two men at her home on 3rd April 2018 and told to ¡§withdraw all the cases filed against the company¡¨. Despite telling them she did not want to talk, the men continued to harass her saying that ¡§nothing will happen with the complaints you filed, better to withdraw all your complaints¡¨ and ¡§everyone who helped you file the complaints are outsiders and will not be able to save you and we will silence them¡¨. After an hour the men left; however, they visited her house for the next two days, continuing to pressure her to withdraw the complaints.

Pavitri Manjhi has been on the frontline of protesting against two private companies who allegedly defrauded indigenous Adivasis of their land, when developing a thermal power plant from 2009 to 2011, and a biomass power plant in 2004 and 2007. Pavitri Manjhi says her own family, like other villagers, were coerced into selling their land to agents acting on behalf of the companies, and that their consent was neither free nor informed. Pavitri Manjhi has faced threats, intimidation and harassment by men she says were acting on behalf of the private thermal company since 2015. In addition, her son is facing criminal charges for what is believed to be a fabricated case initiated to deter her from continuing her campaign. Currently on bail, the case against him has been pending since 2015.

https://secure.avaaz.org/en/petition/Minister_of_Tribal_Affairs_Shri_Jual_Oram_Tribal_Woman_Human_rights_defender_threatened/ (Kamayani Bali Mahabal +919820749204)

***

Ms. Maneka Sanjay Gandhi
Minister
Ministry of Women and Child Development
Govt. of India

Dear Madam,

We write to you to express our concerns regarding your plans to convert all take home rations given by anganwadi centres to children in the age group of 6 months to 3 years and pregnant and lactating women, with "energy-dense, factory-made" nutrient packets, as has been reported by the media. Such a move would open doors for private contractors and suppliers, taking control over what is given in anganwadi centres away from local communities.

Children need adequate quantities of wholesome, diverse foods to grow and develop. These foods should meet their requirements of various nutrients, as well as calories. Lack of enough food, especially diverse food, means that children are unable to meet their nutritional requirements. The "supplementary nutrition programme" (SNP) under ICDS is expected to play an important role in combating child malnutrition. As shown by NFHS-4 data, less 10% of children under two years in our country are currently receiving an adequate diet[50] highlighting the urgent need to take measures to ensure dietary diversity and appropriate care and feeding for young children.

[50]Adequate diet is defined as Breastfed children receiving 4 or more food groups and a minimum meal frequency, non-breastfed children fed with a minimum of 3 Infant and Young Child Feeding Practices (fed with other milk or milk products at least twice a day, a minimum meal frequency that is receiving solid or semi-solid food at least twice a day for breastfed infants 6-8 months and at least three times a day for breastfed children 9-23 months, and solid or semi-solid foods from at least four food groups not including the milk or milk products food group).

Introducing nutrient packets would take us away from this objective of moving towards dietary diversity.

In the context of increasing burden of non-communicable diseases in India, experts are having also been warning us against excessive use of processed and ultra-processed foods. In a recent International Conference on the double burden of malnutrition held in Delhi, a number of country experiences were presented where successful strategies to combat malnutrition included supporting local food systems, improving livelihoods and access to healthy foods. The declaration from the Conference is attached.

For years, the Right to Food campaign has been fighting the battle against the role of private contractors in the supply of supplementary nutrition in the ICDS. In state after state it has been seen that the unholy nexus between the contractors and politicians/bureaucrats result in central contracts worth hundreds of crores for supply of food to ICDS. The quality of food supplied to the centres is compromised while companies make profits from the meagre allocations for supplementary nutrition. Recent scams related have been brought to light in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

The ICDS's supplementary nutrition programme (SNP) can serve a range of important purposes. It not only provides quantitative supplementation by increasing children's food intake but can also enhance the quality of diets by giving them nutritious and diverse food items they may not get at home, such as vegetables, eggs, fruit, etc. The provision of nutritious, cooked meals at the Anganwadi is a form of "nutrition education" - it helps to convey what a nutritious meal looks like, and to spread the notion that children need require a regular and balanced intake of various nutrients. It provides the opportunity to create employment for local women as well as demand for local product such as vegetables, eggs, etc.

All of this possible only when the food is produced in a decentralised manner.

We are opposed to these repeated attempts to serve commercial interests in the supply of nutrition in ICDS. The Supreme Court orders related to banning private contractors must be strictly adhered to. Adequate allocations must be made to ensure diverse and nutritious food, including eggs, can be provided to children in anganwadi centres (in the form of hot cooked meals or take-home rations depending on local conditions) in a decentralised manner. Local groups must be provided the training and support required to deliver nutritious and hygienic food.

Intervention that replaces locally made food compromises decentralised autonomy and community control. They also detract from local livelihoods and take away the option of using local foods and recipes many of which have good nutritional value. It also violates the Act which gives responsibility to the State Governments to "*implement schemes covering entitlements under sections 4, 5 and section 6 in accordance with the guidelines, including cost sharing, between the Central Government and the State Governments*."

Large, global and national food corporations see children's hunger and malnourishment as a source of profits and are trying to influence government policy towards providing packaged foods. We request you not to give in to the interest of profit and continue to abide by the letter and spirit of the National Food Security Act.

With regards,
We are,
Bharat Vishakha
94/214 Vijay Path, Mansarover, Jaipur , Rajasthan 302020,
Phone 0141-2395986, Mobile +91-9414051996. Skype: bharatsearch

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18th April 2018

To,
The Hon'ble President of India
Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi

Re.: Rapes in Unnao and Kathua

Respected President Shri Kovind,
We, the undersigned, are individuals, men and women, belonging to all and no religions, of all ages, geographies and histories, and organizations, formal or unregistered, rural and urban, working with some or all castes and/or religions and/or tribes… and believers and adherents of the Constitution of India.

The present cases of rape – Kathua, Unnao, Surat, Assam, and many many more are indeed an indictment of our governments, our law and order machinery and us as people. We recognize that these are not the first nor will they be the last, alas! While we condemn all and every such incident, we feel constrained to single out the two incidents of Unnao and Kathua. The perpetrators of the crime are political persons with political affiliations. **Unnao and Kathua rape incidents are political, no more no less.**

The perpetrators in the former belong to the ruling dispensation, the BJP, ruling at the Centre as well as in the State. The rape survivor's father was brutally beaten and then died in police custody, and while in police custody, the police were busy taking his thumb impression on blank papers. Despite the state governments and the UP-CM's claims of being prompt in these cases, it was the public outrage and the HC's rebuke that spurred action, after **nearly a year of the rape and the survivor running from pillar to post for justice**; their actions were not in response to the act of rape but to the HC orders. The perpetrators in the Kathua case, which happened in January of this year, happen to be police

officers and a retired bureaucrat. Two ministers of the BJP in the state government were part of the protests against the arrests of the culprits.

We expected the ruling party to expel these members from the party on the grounds that they have undermined the constitution, instead they were given the more honorable exit through resignations. Yet we would like you to issue a statement that will send a message to all MLAs and MPs to put the rule of law above all other considerations.

We also affirm that the Unnao case, more than any other, exemplifies the mindset and ideological programming of right-wing majoritarian outfits which are hardwired to be casteist, deeply patriarchal and parochial. So, while we oppose these and other cases of rape we also protest at blatant communalizing of the body politic and making each an enemy of the other. We demand a thorough and speedy probe, trial and justice to the survivor and the families. If it furthers the cause of justice, we would also ask that the trials be shifted out of the districts or states so that the families and witnesses are not bullied and evidence tampered with.
We urge you to proactively intervene in these matters.
Jahnvi Andharia, Jeevika Shiv,
Nirjhari Sinha, Persis Ginwalla, Sejal Dand

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PEOPLE'S UNION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

Maharashtra State Unit
Ad Hoc Committee
Convenor: Mihir Desai; Members: Sandhya Gokhale, Rajni Bakshi,
Sitaram Shelar, Dolphy D'souza, Alex D'mello,
Lara Jesani
Email: pucl.maharashtra@gmail.com

Date: 09.11.2018

PUCL statement in solidarity with #MeToo

As national conscience acknowledges the long-standing problem of hostile workspaces for women, it is time to closely examine the legislative framework in place to protect a women's fundamental right to work with dignity. It has been over a decade since the Supreme Court guidelines in the landmark judgment *Vishaka v. State of Rajasthan and others*, established the responsibility of employers and persons of authority to delineate a complaints and redressal mechanism to ensure accurate and timely reporting of incidents of sexual harassment at the workplace. After 16 years, Parliament passed the Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 **"the Act"**. While the Act has to some extent clarified the definition and broadened the ambit of what a workplace constitutes, we must address the systemic failure of legal remedies and social support systems in addressing complex issues that arise from incidents of sexual misconduct and harassment of women, and the gross non-implementation of the provisions of the Act by the state. In January 2018, Supreme Court in a Public Interest Litigation filed before it, was constrained to call on multiple State Governments to implement the provisions of the Act, including the setting up of a Local Complaints Committee (LCC) in each district.

We acknowledge that the Law as of today does not provide adequate safeguards to protect a survivor of sexual harassment against the social and professional sanctions imposed on her once she decides to report an incident of sexual harassment. The Law further fails in its objective to ensure that a survivor of sexual harassment is protected against intimidation in the form of defamation cases that are strategically used to disempower and deter a survivor who takes the step to report a case of sexual harassment. While the Vishaka Judgement did not contemplate a limitation period within which a complaint ought to have been filed, the Act reflects the patriarchal notions of justice in mandating that a complaint ought to be filed within 3 months of the incident or at the latest within 6 months of the incident, if the aggrieved women can justify the delay in the filing of the complaint. This restriction does not cater to the interests of the women as Parliament has failed to acknowledge the lasting psychological impact that a traumatic incident of sexual harassment can have on a survivor of sexual harassment. This is more so important in the light of the number of cases that go unreported and the number of offenders who face no consequences for their misconduct. It is our responsibility as members of a healthy society to strive to create an equal, gender empowering society and community, which harbours a safe environment for all members to live a life of dignity and to work with dignity.

It is in this interest that we urge all organisations with more than 10 members to constitute an Internal Complaints (IC) Committee and urge organisations with lesser than 10 members to inform their employees of the Local Complaint Committee constituted / to be constituted in each District.

The recent social-media movement or the **'#MeToo campaign'** in an Indian context effectively began in the year 2017 and has since opened up issues of sexual harassment to the public gaze. This movement has made it accessible for women to speak publicly about incidents of sexual

harassment. The first phase called out numerous academicians and professors for having abused their positions of power for many years. The current phase of the movement has led to several media personalities, journalists and persons in the NGO and development sector being investigated for misconduct and sexual harassment.

We acknowledge that this is a significant movement as social media has facilitated and empowered women to speak openly (even anonymously) on social platforms. The movement is significant for it urges us as a society to take stock of how effective the law and intended 'due process' is in addressing issues of women's safety and health at the workplace. It is clear that many women have chosen to exercise their freedom of expression to inform society, peers, and colleagues of the prevalent culture of sexual misconduct and abuse of power by persons in a position of authority or otherwise. These women have chosen to speak despite the social and professional consequences faced by them and their families.

PUCL extends its support to all persons who have taken the step to come out with their personal and truthful accounts of sexual harassment. We acknowledge that to speak out and share these experiences is hard and that the backlash faced by these persons sometimes leads to further harassment.

We are committed to protecting the civil rights and liberties of all individuals and have zero tolerance towards sexual misconduct of any kind. We are also committed to finding solutions to social problems faced by the community.

We extend our support and would like to intimate any persons who are keen on pursuing any remedies that PUCL if approached, would guide and support to our best ability.

Mihir Desai,
Convenor, Ad-Hoc Committee,
People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Maharashtra

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W20 Argentina 2018 Communiqué

Gender equality in a world of increasing inequality is at the centre of the G20 Argentina 2018 agenda. It is imperative to address its focus areas such as the future of work and livelihoods, infrastructure for development and a sustainable food future through a gender lens [gender perspective] [feminist perspective] where women will have decision making roles and have their rights protected.

The W20 Argentina calls upon the G20 leaders to meet SDG 5 "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" and the 25 by 25 commitment to reduce the gender gap in labour participation by 25 percent by 2025 by taking action in four priority areas. Leveraging on the strong foundation established by previous W20 consultations and acknowledging the current challenges that women face, the W20 Argentina underscores the importance of implementing the following recommendations:

To support the integration of women in the workforce, the W20 urges the G20 to invest in public, affordable, high quality and professionalized care

services for people with dependents. It likewise recommends the implementation of policies on paid and mandatory parental leave schemes by 2020 to promote the co-responsibility of care work. It calls for women in the informal sector labour to enjoy equal wages, decent and safe labour conditions.

On addressing legal barriers to women's access to and control over assets and resources, the W20 recommends gathering existing regulations and analyzing their impact on women's economic development, particularly regulations that deal with conjugal property, inheritance and joint titling of land. In the same direction, to protect women from all forms of violence, including cyber violence, the G20 should develop comprehensive regulations and mechanisms to ensure access to justice, as well as adhere to the ILO recommendations on "Ending violence and harassment in the world of work".

On increasing the participation of women in business, the G20 should increase the proportion of public procurement contracts to women-owned and women-led businesses by 5 percent by 2025.W20 urges those G20 countries who do not currently have a public procurement policy for procurement for women led/ owned businesses to frame policies with targets and implement the same in specified time framed.

To foster women entrepreneurship, the G20 should facilitate their access to credit, digital financial services and markets for women, provide financial infrastructure solutions for women-owned and women-led businesses, and design initiatives that promote women's social, financial and business literacy.

On the future of work, a comprehensive gender perspective must be applied towards analysis and planning to ensure an equitable impact. Public programs should consider strategies of life-long learning, ensuring women's training and updating digital skills to increase their

employability. Moreover, the W20 urges the G20 to work on inclusive educational programs that promote STEM related courses among girls and women to enable their equitable participation in the governance of the digital industry. The G20 should address and eliminate multidisciplinary discrimination which women face on grounds of their sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

On developing holistic and multi-sectoral policies related to digital inclusion, G20 needs to focus on accessibility, affordability, safety and security of digital services, and the availability of relevant digital content and services, while taking into consideration women's diversity. In this context, connectivity plans take on particular importance in digital inclusion planning. In countries with low literacy rate for women, strategies must be evolved to insure compulsory education, abolishment of child labor and entry into digital platforms.

On responding to the development challenges of rural women, the G20 should secure their access to social services, including education till the age of 18 years and comprehensive health services. It must also invest in infrastructure for rural development, ensuring the participation of women in all stages, and remaining mindful of their needs and work opportunities. The W20 further calls on the G20 to work towards the creation of a 2030 Rural Women Global Fund to strengthen the organization of cooperatives, promote access to credit and training, and enable better participation in strategic decision-making.

To ensure sustainable development, a comprehensive perspective on gender equality is mandatory, and the recognition and visibility of the structural differences must be ensured while designing evidence-based policies. In this respect, the G20 should develop statistical systems based upon sex disaggregated indicators that consider women in all their diversity, especially rural women living in poverty, conflict situations,

displaced and forced migration. Data collection must adopt international standards, enable cross-references with other indicators, and allow comparability across countries and over time.

Recognizing that G20 leadership is paramount in generating better conditions and opportunities for women, which ultimately benefit all, the W20 Argentina urges the G20 to act on these recommendations by drawing up implementation plans, reporting publicly on progress and delegating monitoring activities to international organizations and nationally recognized institutions which understand local context.

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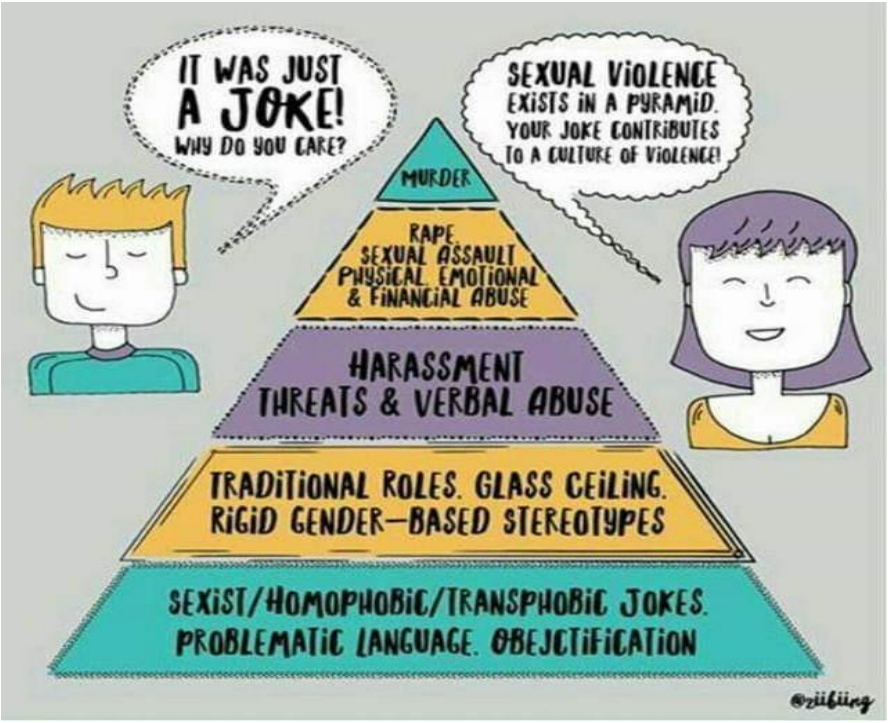

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BOOK REVIEW

ENPOWERMENT THROUGH KNOWLEDGE NETWORK

(Book Review: Stevienna De Saille, Knowledge as Resistance, The Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

- Medha Rajadhyaksha

Empowerment, especially in context to women, is a loosely used word meaning ability to make strategic life choices. For women, reproductive health and choices related to child bearing occupy huge cognitive space and is an integral part of their lives. We live in an unequal world, socially, technically and materially. Choices made by women often are decided by this inequality. Movements that bridge these gaps, physically or otherwise, are difficult to sustain as the pace of development in science and technology is overwhelming. The book `Knowledge as Resistance' written by Stevienna De Saille, reviews one such feminist, international movement that networked across continents to offer resistance to reproductive and genetic engineering. The project originally initiated as doctoral work in University of Leeds, UK in 2008 spanned over several years and subcontinents, till it resulted in the scholarly book published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2017. Lucid account and analysis of the movement woven with real life experiences of 28 women across 14 countries, each individualistic, bring out different perspectives of the movement. The movement identified as `The Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic engineering (FINRRAGE) was most active between 1984 and 1997. It took specific position against a variety of medical technologies emerging at that time permitting manipulation of reproductive life of women. While it was overtly feminist, the engagement had profound implications for human thought process related to use of technology in manipulation of

reproduction. In vitro fertilization and its obligatory procedural interference in health of women, issues of surrogacy and artificial wombs along with a fast-developing international market to support all these technological wizardries was too complex to understand for stake holders unless knowledge about all this was emphatically brought into the forefront. FINRRAGE defined this as their primary mandate. It was a movement most required despite there being only a fraction of women affected. The book brings out details of the movement and its implications.

In 1978, Louise Brown, the baby born by *In Vitro* Fertilization changed reproductive medicine. The first ever IVF clinic was established in Cambridge by Edward (the clinician) and Steptoe (the cell biologist). The Nobel Prize was awarded to Robert Edwards in 2010 for the development IVF, though not all concerns raised by scientists, philosophers and sociologists had been addressed. In the early days of IVF technology emergence, women in their own countries fought lone battles pointing out possible misuse of the variety of procedures that were involved in reproductive manipulations. These discontent amongst informed women precipitated in the Second International Interdisciplinary Congress of Women (also known as Women`sWorld) held in Groningen, the Netherlands, leading to formation of a panel. The panel conducted a workshop and announced the foundation of Feminist International Network on New Reproductive Technologies (FINNRET) The author credits the emergence of the movement to an `original' group of women Janice Raymond, Renate Kline, Jalna Hanmer, Gena Corea and Robyn Rowland, all of whom contributed substantially by research, publication of books or by conducting conferences on the issues. From India, Madhu Kishwar contributed to the issue. The decision to form a knowledge sharing network at the Women`s World happened spontaneously, though it required eight years of work to build up to the event. By end of 1984 twenty countries across the world were a part of the network. The author traces intellectual trajectories of all women who

made it happen. This history provides a timeline of intellectual contribution of feminists of that time who followed closely rapidly growing experimentation on IVF from 1970 to 1980 and its transformation into commercially available medical treatment in several countries.

The formation of FINNRET was expected to carve a new cognitive space for women across the globe and generate a woman centred perspective in public debates centred around reproductive technologies. The major mandate for the network was to reach out to the grass roots, holding meetings and conferences where though the technology was exploited, they never were debated publicly. The network expanded to several countries. With expansion the sociocultural differences in use of technologies was acutely felt and understood. Technologies like genetic engineering combined with manipulation of reproduction brought in a strong feeling amongst thinking women that it was not sufficient to network but the network should offer resistance to certain technologies thrust on society in the name of progress. This resulted in the name of the network being changed from FINNRET to FINRRAGE (Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering). Though basic organizational structure remained the same the network had a defined mandate…that of resistance through Knowledge sharing. Autonomous and with no charge for its membership the network became a platform of sharing what was happening in various countries. Each participating country had national contact who sent news clippings, articles in local newspaper or any other related information to an international coordinator. Information was then compiled into document of about 200 pages as `info pack' and shared with anyone who asked for it for a nominal fee for photocopying and postage. The author details this expansion and transformation of FINNRET to FINNRAGE, deliberating on all meetings in various countries and their impact on the movement. The author also lucidly describes events that lead to differences opinion of stake holders. While sharing information bonded

women, it also brought in the forefront the divide between situation and thought process of the West and the East. To bridge the gap, in 1989, the Bangladesh Academy of Rural Development in Comilla (60 miles from Dhakka) hosted International conference. Farida Akhter, the founder of Unnayan Bikalper Nitinirdhroni Gobeshone (UBINIG) who had worked extensively with the marginalized women at grass root level, was in the forefront of this meeting. FINRRAGE-UBINIG International conference that lasted over a week. While disputes did surface because of differences in socio-political contexts of the West and the East, the positive outcome of the conference was establishment of an Asian hub of FINRRAGE. The author, in very unbiased and scholarly fashion, discusses the undercurrents of the divide that really have arisen out of global shift of the movement to choose based analysis of the problems.

In 1991, the third International FINRRAGE conference, Women, Procreation and Environment, took place in Rio. It was the largest, longest and unfortunately the last meeting of FINRRAGE. In this meeting a plan for structural reorganization was mooted as the network had become too large and was essentially only providing information as infopack. However, little actually was done as planned, no reports written nor papers published. The Southern network held on while the European part drifted. Vibhuti Patel, as a member of Shakti Collective in Mumbai, helped publish a collection of papers from a workshop Feminist Perspective on Women and Health: Reproduction in India" that focused on the movement with Indian perspective and not dictated by Western concepts. The strongly academic nature of the movement and its inability to convert the resistance to technology into practical reality pushed the movement into abeyance, especially in the West. While FINRRAGE widened discourse within academia, as a feminist movement with voices of professionals and non-experts. However, it failed to take a position and stop in any way the institutionalization of IVF and related technologies. The author traces the underlying causes of the abeyance of the movement in various subcontinents and specific elements that could

have caused it. The Part 1 of the book ends with indicating FINRRAGE position as Cognitive praxis- the failure to convert theory into practice! The Part II of the book expands on how FINRRAGE, being a product of its time, created space for feminist's analysis of technologies and generated a massive literature – books, chapters, journals, articles, thesis conference reports and a wide variety of informal writing in several languages. The author does a very difficult job of connecting the texts and makes a case that it generated evidence upon which the resistance could be based. The present book, an exhaustive and well researched study of a movement, perhaps is the most important part of the literature generated by the FINRRAGE! It gives a sense of history, it intellectually argues what went right and what went wrong in a massive connect that women had developed concerning one of the most integral part of their life – reproduction. The book covers a large canvas in with specific evidences collected pain staking. However, one misses conclusions or summaries at the end of each chapter. One also misses wider coverage of the Asian contribution.

To conclude, while superficially FINRRAGE appears to be a failed attempt of making an impact on policy as assisted reproduction became an unregulated, massive, global industry, it provided a platform for like-minded women to women to challenge insensitive use of science. This was the strength of the network. To quote the author as she puts it in a very lucid way at the ends the book, ` FINRRAGE then can be read as a feminist story about women around the world embarking on an epistemological project together – not always a harmonious story, but one of, as Maria Mies has said, action and reflection. Whether or not this space will enlarge again remains to be seen. Rather than a narrative of loss or return, then this is perhaps one of (re)iteration, of (re) integration, of *reculer pour mieuxsauter, of* drawing back to gather energy to jump further" That indeed is a very positive note to end on. And surely this is empowerment!

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ABOUT AUTHORS

Aishwarya Chandran works at the Advanced Centre for Women's Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

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GUIDELINES TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Urdhva Mula is an interdisciplinary journal (ISSN No. 2277-7954) that publishes articles based on multidisciplinary research, as well as essays about diverse aspects of gender and women's issues. Gender functions as a central category of analysis. The journal concentrates on gendered representation of topics from the fields of literature and language, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, cinema and media studies, human development, law, and medicine. It also analyses the intersection of gender with race, ethnicity, location, nationality and disability.

Urdhva Mula is accessible widely and it seeks to incorporate an international vision, including book reviews related to women's studies and gender studies. It will be particularly useful for researchers on gender issues. Professionals, academics and students from other fields, whose experience might not be limited to gender issues but who are interested in the topic, will also find this journal a valuable resource.

Contributions to ***Urdhva Mula*** must report original work, and will be peer-reviewed. Manuscript preparation guidelines:

- Papers are accepted only in English. Manuscript to be submitted as Word documents file. (Font: Times New Roman. The title should be in font size 16, sub-titles in font size 14, and main text in font size 12.)
- Format and referencing should follow the APA guidelines.
- The title with the author's name, with brief intro, must be on a separate page, and the author's name should not feature anywhere else in the article, so that the peer-review process may be impartial.
- Articles should be 5000-7000 words in length. Papers that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length.
- Articles may express the personal voice of creative writing, or a reflection on a transforming text or event in the field of gender, or an impersonal presentation of data useful to researchers in that field.
- A short biographical note about the author must be supplied on a separate page.
- Authors whose work has been accepted for publication will receive a complimentary copy of the issue containing their article.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF SOPHIA CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES & DEVELOPMENT

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2.3 Women and Environment: Women in Panchayat
2.4 Women and Environment: Misrepresentation of Women in Advertising

Book:

Trivedi, Rajshree (Ed.) *Interrogating Patriarchy: Essay on Contemporary Women Poets of India*. ISBN 978-93-88332-24-8

***Urdhva Mula*: An Interdisciplinary Bi-annual Journal on Women's/ Gender Studies**

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Sophia Centre for Women's Studies and Development

CERTIFICATE COURSES

- Basics in Food and Nutrition
- Certificate Course in Baking
- Certificate Course in Women's Empowerment
- Certificate Course in Social Work Focusing on Issues Related to Women and Girls
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All programmes of SCWSD are aimed at broadening the mind and/or employability. SCWSD also organises seminars, workshops, orientation programmes, field visits and exposure programmes.

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