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ON WOMEN'S BACKS

INDIA INEQUALITY REPORT 2020

UNPAID CARE WORK AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS AT A CROSSROADS: A CASE FOR BEHAVIOUR CHANGE OF DOMINANT SOCIAL NORMS

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Ranu Kayastha Bhogal
Commissioning Editor

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ABBREVIATIONS

FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FLFP	Female Labour Force Participation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDIs	In-depth interviews
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OBCs	Other Backward Classes
PLFS	Periodic Labour Force Survey
SCs	Scheduled Castes
ST	Scheduled Tribes
UCW	Unpaid Care Work
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WPR	Workforce Participation Rate

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The home is one of the most contested spaces when it comes to gender relations. It is the breeding ground for gender inequality—the gendered division of labour between the caregiver woman and the breadwinner man. What makes it unequal is that because the work that women do, often backbreaking and time consuming, is not valued as productive formal labour that brings in income, their needs and rights go unnoticed. As per the ILO, in 2018 women in India spent 312 minutes/day in urban areas and 291 minutes/day in rural areas on unpaid care work. Men correspondingly spent only 29 minutes (urban) and 32 minutes (rural) on unpaid care work.

Women consequently suffer from extreme forms of income and time poverty affecting their health and emotional well-being and circumscribing their aspirations for education and paid work.

With an understanding that excessive unpaid care work by women is a violation of their fundamental rights to equal opportunity and liberty, this formative research aims to unpack and highlight the intersections between violence against women and the unpaid care work they perform. A little explored area of knowledge, this intersection became the springboard for the Oxfam India Inequality Study. The study hopes to contribute to the knowledge about how and to what degree does unpaid care work cause and/or trigger violence against women.

At the heart of these unequal gender relations lies social norms that are patriarchal in nature. Parents of young girls educate their daughters in the hope that they will be able to secure decent jobs as teachers, nurses, salaried government professionals, etc. Yet, the burden of unpaid care work in the lives of young girls and women is so enormous that such aspirations are often buried amidst the stark reality of their everyday drudgery. Women's unpaid care work, which poses as an obstruction in their aspirational path, is defined and guided by a host of regressive social norms. For example in rural Udaipur (Rajasthan) girls and women are not allowed to travel beyond their village or at best their panchayat. While

schools are located within this perimeter, institutions of higher education are not. Thus, girls at best study till 12th standard—most, quite often, drop out earlier to help their mothers with care work at home, which is unpaid and unrecognized. Further, according to UNICEF, girls in India in the age group of 15-18 years are victims of child marriage—another regressive patriarchal norm, which is why they drop out of school early. With no education and bound by norms of a young bride, these girls are tied to the home and norms of domesticity which severely restrict their personal, economic, social and political growth.

Studies on India have shown that secondary and higher secondary education do not reap employment benefits. Other studies have also shown that a girl's caste, economic status and horoscope matter more than her education in the marriage market. Thus, a school education has no economic and/or social value. In such circumstances, girls often drop out or are withdrawn by parents from school to help their mothers with unpaid domestic labour. However, boys are not subjected to similar conditionalities. They have freedom of movement and therefore can pursue higher studies. Their options for paid employment are more varied as well—such as driver, mechanical contractor, etc., which are traditionally considered as male bastions of work. Thus, inequalities in social norms related to a patriarchal division of masculine and feminine jobs confine a woman to the house and its associated work.

Let's take another example—sexual harassment by men and boys. Sexual harassment is commonly seen as a rite of passage of young men and a minor aberration of masculinity, if at all. It is widely accepted that boys and men are naturally prone to harass women, therefore it is the responsibility of the girl/woman and her family to limit their own mobility. No sanction on conduct or restriction on mobility is imposed on the men or boys.

Unpaid care work therefore emerges as the primary identity of women, albeit redefined by urban women where they can outsource some of it to hired domestic

help, nevertheless it is the primary responsibility of the woman. For example, maternal care is considered as 'natural' to a woman and women across the rural-urban divide believe that child care is a female responsibility. For women in Delhi, villages in rural Udaipur and lower/middle class colonies of Udaipur city, household work is the running thread in the lives of young girls and women.

The normalization of social norms pertaining to gendered division of labour is so pervasive that women, especially rural women, tend to justify men's work as 'hard work' and women's work as inconsequential. For example, at a discussion with elderly women from the Dalit community in rural Udaipur, the women were expressly uncomfortable to talk about women's unpaid care work as they thought it was natural, compulsory work and not worth wasting time discussing in a gathering. In their worldview, there were no rights attached to the work that women did in their home and their family farm.

Oxfam India's Household Care Survey 2019 found that in households where men and women express greater acceptability of beating women, women there spend 42 minutes longer on paid and unpaid care work and 48 minutes less on leisure activities. This finding establishes a crucial link between unpaid care work and violence against women and girls (VAWG).

It was surprising to find that a majority of those we interviewed in rural Udaipur and Udaipur city mentioned that they had never faced sexual harassment on the way to the workplace and at the workplace. Yet a majority of them also said that the fear of sexual harassment was the main cause for low participation of girls in school/college and women in labour.

In Delhi, the situation is vastly different where sexual harassment of girls and women is pervasive and frequent. Unlike rural Udaipur, where fear of sexual harassment deters young girls and women from accessing public spaces, young women in Delhi find ways to resist and defy such acts of violence against them. Nevertheless, fear of violation prevents young, aspiring Delhi women from assuming certain kinds of employment such as jobs that require night shifts.

While the study demonstrates that unpaid care work may be the cause of violence, it is more often the trigger for violence. The study shows that causes for VAWG are multifarious and even the ideal caregiver may not escape violence. The root cause is undervaluing women (and not just her labour and intellect but also the value of her labour both within the household and in the labour market) and women's subordination to men (lack of power).

There are degrees of acceptability of violence in women's lives. Conflict with spouse is often seen as an unavoidable part of marital life. Thus, any ensuing violence and abuse can get condoned and even accepted.

Yet physical violence is a lived reality in the lives of many women—both rural and urban; and lower, middle and upper class families. Our study shows that 6 out of 18 men interviewed, admitted to have been violent to their wives. It is also worth noting that cases of physical violence largely go under reported.

The belief that women's duty towards the household and family is their prime responsibility has deep social currency. Therefore, any 'mistake' made by women within this context can be seen as deserving of punishment (violence) by men and women.

Since unpaid care work is central to women's selfhood and ascribed identities as daughters, daughters-in-law, wives and mothers, it features integrally in the power dynamics of the household. As a fundamental feature of their daily lives and equations within the family (especially marital), women are judged for their performance of house and care work. Narratives from rural and urban Udaipur and Delhi suggest that non/poor performance of unpaid care work was a trigger for violence on women. These cases show that where unpaid care work is not the root cause, it becomes a justification for violence because women are exclusively held accountable for it.

Our study shows that there is greater unpaid care work related violence in marital homes.

Key Takeaways:

SINCE UNPAID CARE WORK IS SUCH AN INTEGRAL PART OF WOMEN'S IDENTITY, SIMPLY ADVOCATING FOR REDISTRIBUTION OF UNPAID CARE WORK BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN MAY BE FACED WITH RESISTANCE FROM WOMEN THEMSELVES. IT REQUIRES DEEPER AND COLLECTIVE REFLECTION AND CHALLENGE THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCT OF GENDER, ITS NORMS, AND THEIR SEXIST DISCUSSIONS.

SINCE UNPAID CARE WORK IS CENTRAL TO WOMEN'S LIVES—SYMBOLICALLY AND/OR ACTUALLY, UNPAID CARE WORK DESERVES A PLACE IN THE STRATEGIES THAT COUNTER VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN—BE IT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE OR STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE FACED BY THEM.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding discussion establishes a case for widespread norm change and behaviour change. Social norm and behaviour change are aspects of human lives, which need to be brought about little by little, in the everyday lives of men and women, and in the communities they live in which determine the social boundaries within which individuals operate. This report emphasizes that to aid the facilitation of such changes, the State needs to create a conducive environment for the change to happen. Thus, our recommendations pertain to policies and initiatives that governments and non-state actors can adopt, which in turn would aid in social norm and behaviour change.

- Provide public amenities (for example, water, gas stoves and toilets) and services (safe and accessible transport in rural areas and childcare) for women to realize their rights to rest, leisure and equal participation in the labour market.
- Offer decent local employment, better working conditions and fair pay for women and men.
- Adopt and implement the ICLS 2013 definition of 'work' and include women's unpaid care work in national accounting mechanisms.
- Initiate gender sensitization and behaviour-change strategies in schools and colleges, specifically messaging of redistribution of care work.
- Run public campaigns on progressive models of masculinity and femininity, based on de-gendered labour within and outside the household. Support NGOs and civil society organizations with strong links to grassroots communities to run extensive gender sensitization workshops to help promote gender equal norms between men and women and adolescent boys and girls in schools.

Ranu Kayastha Bhogal
Commissioning Editor

INTRODUCTION:
THE HOME GROUND
OF INEQUALITY





INTRODUCTION

THE HOME GROUND OF INEQUALITY

In the last couple of decades of analyses on women's lives, the myth of complementarity and equality between the sexes in the private sphere has been busted. On the ground, changes in traditional roles of men and women and the power hierarchy they breed are slow and often contested.

This is so because social norms—a common understanding of appropriate conduct by individuals or a group of individuals—can not only underpin human behaviour but keep it in check via advantages (praise and acceptance) and penalties (from censure to violence). Social norms can be deeply gendered and patriarchal, where the man is viewed as the provider of the family and the woman as the caregiving subordinate. Women are seen and see themselves as carriers of social and biological reproduction, sustaining the care economy through physical and psychological forms of 'unpaid care work'.¹ This makes women's lives circumscribed by familial and housekeeping responsibilities. Even among educated, female professionals, caregiving (if not housework) prevents or lessens their representation in the workforce.² The lack of quality and reliable public childcare or elderly care services in India adds a huge burden on women who can enter the formal paid workforce.³ As per the ILO, women in India spend 312 minutes/day in urban areas and 291 minutes/day in

rural areas on unpaid care work. Men correspondingly spend only 29 minutes (urban) and 32 minutes (rural) on unpaid care work.⁴ Heavy and unequal care work means women remain trapped in income and time poverty, and do not benefit equally from the wealth generated by our economies.

Inequality, therefore, starts at home. It is a space that can normalize inequality. For many women, it can blur the distinctions between 'work', 'labour' and 'livelihood', as it has overlaps in production and reproduction with undefined demarcations of work, worker and workplace⁵.

UNEQUAL NORMS, UNEQUAL WORK

Besides sharply gendered forms of labour, the unavailability of safe, paid work and a labour-surplus economy (especially in rural, agricultural pockets) has kept women bound to unpaid care work. Or, it offers them unsafe, paid work within the informal economy with no social and employment benefits and security of jobs⁶. Despite their exclusive and crucial role in the survival and well-being of the family unit, women's unpaid care work is neither considered an economic activity, nor reflected in measures of economic progress or national production.

1 'Unpaid care work' refers to all non-marketized, unpaid labour performed (mostly by women and girls) in households such as looking after the elderly, children and indisposed as domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, washing, among others.

2 Ravi, Shamika. (2019). 'We need many more women in economics', *The Indian Express*, 27 October, Source: <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/abhijit-banerjee-esther-duflo-nobel-prize-economics-women-economists-6089663/>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

3 Deshpande, Ashwini. (2019). 'The Visible and Invisible Barriers to Indian Women Working', *The India Forum*, 2 August, Source: <https://www.theindiaforum.in/authors/ashwini-deshpande>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

4 ILO. (2018). *ILO Report: Care Work and Care Jobs: The Future of Decent Work*. June 2018. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

5 Dewan, Ritu. (2019). 'Gender Equalisation through Feminist Finance', *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 27, Vol 17.

6 Khera, Reetika and Nayak, Nalini. (2019). 'Women Workers and Perceptions of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 43, pp. 49-57.

Thanks to these market-oriented blind spots around definitions of 'work' and 'worker', a section of feminist researchers, economists and development bodies⁷ have highlighted the value of care and unpaid work and the accompanying inequalities. By conducting Time-Use surveys⁸, they framed unpaid care work as an infringement on the principles of gender equality, linking it with labour⁹ and multi-dimensional poverty¹⁰. Scholars such as Soman¹¹ point to how 'women's roles as mothers structure their whole lives due to which many of them opt for part-time working, followed by unequal and generally low pay.' Although women's unpaid care work is not seen as an economic activity, it was recognized by economists as a factor in the country's falling¹² female labour force participation (FLFP).¹³ It also got highlighted—in a utilitarian way—as a culprit for the sagging Gross Domestic Product (GDP).¹⁴

The economic argument in favour of women's paid employment was that if India's female formal labour force participation rate was the same as China's, then India's GDP was poised to grow at 27 percent. Or, if this rate was to be similar to men's labour participation, the



**IN INDIA, WOMEN'S
CONTRIBUTION TO ITS
GDP IS ONE OF THE LOWEST
IN THE WORLD:**

17 PERCENT¹⁵

economy would grow at 43 percent. India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) too has promoted women's paid work and economic empowerment as a panacea to the concerns around women's economic independence and overall empowerment. However, whether paid work—by itself and/or necessarily—leads to empowerment is an arguable hypothesis. Also, the analyses of ground realities—such as gendered economics—that limit women's workforce participation is limited and not rigorous.

The issue is not just limited to women's participation in the workforce alone.

7 Sepulveda Carmona, M. (2013). Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Unpaid Care Work and Women's Human Rights. United Nations. Source: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/poverty/pages/unpaidwork.aspx>. Accessed on 17 December 2019
ActionAid India. (2017). 'Policy Brief: Incorporation of Women's Economic Empowerment and Unpaid Care Work into Regional Policies: South Asia', Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

8 The last national time-use survey was conducted in 1998-99.

9 Ferrant, G., M. Pesando and K. Nowacka. (2014). 'Unpaid Care Work: The Missing Link in the Analysis of Gender Gaps in Labour Outcomes', issues paper, OECD Development Centre.

10 Fäloth, Anna and Blackden, Mark. (2009). 'Unpaid Care Work', UNDP, Policy Brief: Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction, Number 1.

11 Soman, Uthara. (2009). 'Theoretical Postulates and Empirical Findings', Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 58, No. 2 (May - August), pp. 253-272.

12 Commentaries on the measurement (or, mis-measurement) of women's 'work' have rightly suggested that either the definition of 'work' employed by surveys around women's workforce participation invisibilised some kinds of 'work' by women and/or women themselves invisibilise their labour as 'work'. This has consistently led to a lowering of the actual labour performed by women. Yet, corrections of both these factors too indicate rather low workforce participation by women. Deshpande, Ashwini. (2019). 'The Visible and Invisible Barriers to Indian Women Working', The India Forum, 2 August, Source: <https://www.theindiaforum.in/authors/ashwini-deshpande>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

13 Verick, Sher. (2017). 'Women's Labour Force Participation in India: Why Is It So low?' Source: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/--ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/genericdocument/wcms_342357.pdf. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

14 Editorial Bureau. (2017). 'Closing Gender Gap in Jobs by 2025 Can Add \$1 trillion to India's Economy: ILO', The Hindu Business Line, Source: <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/closing-gender-gap-in-jobs-by-2025-can-add-1-trillion-to-indias-economy-ilo/article9727914.ece>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

Deloitte. (2019). 'Opportunity or Challenge? Empowering Women and Girls in India for the Fourth Industrial Revolution', Deloitte. Source: https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/in/Documents/about-deloitte/UNGcni_black_final%20v6%20web%20high%20res.pdf. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

15 World Bank. (2018). 'Women in India's Economic Growth'. Source: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/speech/2018/03/17/women-indias-economic-growth>. Accessed on 28 November 2019.

If and when women enter the labour force, their weak position within the family and society gets mirrored in the world of formal labour. As the less literate and/or less experienced worker with a heavy burden of house work and less time, they are underpaid and employed in unskilled jobs as well as part-time/flexible jobs—which offer little social security—that are lower in the work hierarchy¹⁶. They are often concentrated in low-paying caregiving jobs such as teaching, domestic work, healthcare and so on.

Other challenges of paid employment, such as lack of safe and accessible public transport and sexual harassment at the workplace and public spaces, are used by patriarchal mind-sets to justify women's home-bound work. Women in paid work have to bear these additional challenges, besides the 'double shifts' they perform that have an inter-generational impact. A 2018 report by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights stated that of the around 40 percent of 15 to 18-year-old-girls were out of school, almost 65 percent were engaged in household work.¹⁷

Given the forecast¹⁸ about the increase in demand for care work, women's unpaid care work requires urgent attention for it can jeopardize progress in other dimensions of women's lives. Therefore, this research is an attempt to inform the arguments for women's unpaid care on two intersecting counts—(1) targeting harmful social norms towards substantive

empowerment and not just paid work and (b) examining the relationship between women's unpaid care work and violence (both domestic and sexual harassment, in public and workspaces).

UNPAID CARE WORK (UCW) AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN LITERATURE

Our process of literature review involved triangulating research (primary and secondary) on domestic violence as well as media reportage. Existing research makes it clear that patriarchy and misogyny are rampant and run deep¹⁹, both in the natal and marital families. Research on the sensitive issue of domestic violence is difficult to conduct. Reasons behind domestic violence are equally difficult to gather and measure because they are multiple, complex and conjoined and everyday abuse is normalized and condoned, including by women.

Broadly, among all the reasons behind domestic violence, the issue of women's unpaid care work is an important but under-examined one. It can get overshadowed by other more conspicuous determinants—such as alcoholism—or manifestations in the mix of the public and private domain that women face or are vulnerable to. For example, academic and other analyses of violence against women in India focuses on a spectrum of issues such as gender roles vis-à-vis communities,²⁰ state support to women affected by violence,²¹ skewed sex ratios,²² agency of Dalit women,²³ responses to domestic violence,²⁴ safe

16 NITI Aayog. (2017). 'India: Three Year Action Agenda. 2017-18 to 2019-20'. New Delhi: NITI Aayog, Government of India, Source: http://niti.gov.in/writereaddata/files/coop/India_ActionAgenda.pdf. Accessed on 27 October 2019.

17 Editorial. 'School Has Been a Right for Girls in India Since 2009. So Why Aren't They Going?' (2019), Time, 27 June, Source: <https://time.com/5614642/india-girls-education/>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019

18 Kuriakose, F. and D. Iyer. (2019). 'Care' Economy Uncharitable to Women', The Hindu Business Line, October 8, Source: <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/columns/care-economy-uncharitable-to-women/article29619795.ece#>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

19 Chapman, Jean. 'Violence against Women in Democratic India: Let's Talk Misogyny.' *Social Scientist*, Vol. 42, no. 9/10, 2014, pp. 49–61.

20 Desai, Sonalde and Gheda Temsah. (2014). 'Muslim and Hindu Women's Public and Private Behaviors: Gender, Family, and Communalized Politics in India', *Demography*, Vol. 51, No. 6, pp. 2307-2332.

21 Gothoskar, Sujata. (2013). 'Women's Work, Stigma, Shelter Homes and the State', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 10-13.

22 Bose, S., Katherine Trent and Scott J. South. (2013). 'The Effect of a Male Surplus on Intimate Partner Violence in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No. 35, pp. 53-61.

23 Rao, Nitya. (2015). 'Marriage, Violence, and Choice: Understanding Dalit Women's Agency in Rural Tamil Nadu', *Gender and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 410-433.

24 Poonacha, Veena and Divya Pandey. (2000). 'Responses to Domestic Violence: Government and Non-Government Action in Karnataka and Gujarat', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 7 (Feb. 12-18, 2000), pp. 566-574.

public spaces²⁵ and so on. In these sorts of analyses, the references to unpaid care work are rarely upfront. As far as reportage in the media goes, it tends to shine the spotlight on individual crime and incidents of violence against women, not deeper analyses of norms about the underpinnings of violence against women.²⁶

On the other hand, there is anecdotal or tenuous evidence that links the issue of women's unpaid care work and the domestic violence they face. For example, Neogy²⁷ quotes a respondent as saying, 'If I don't cook well, can't take care of the children well or refuse sex, I will have to face a beating'. Krishnaraj²⁸ offers a glimpse of unpaid care work as a cause for domestic violence in 'the triggers can be anything from not being at home when the husband comes home, not finishing work assigned...'

There are a few sociological studies that draw attention to violence against women and their household skills. Visaria²⁹ found that women in Gujarat's villages cited their 'mistakes' in household work as the cause for the violence they faced. Food was a central motif—67 percent pointed to meals not being served on time and 51 percent said that it was the taste of the food that caused conflict. For Visaria, food is a manifestation of 'some deep-seated tensions between husbands and wives'. Women justified their husbands' anger against unappealing or untimely food because as bread-winners they deserve good, timely food. Men perceived that women have little work and much leisure. Donner³⁰ too has stated, 'Children's formal education and the need to prepare full Bengali meals are the most often

cited reasons for a withdrawal of middle class women from the labour market...Men and women agreed that a married woman could not possibly work full time and provide "proper" food for her family'.

An exception is a 1992 analysis by Rao³¹ on the prevalence of wife beating. Based on data from three villages in Karnataka, it concludes that domestic violence was commonly condoned and even justified for reasons such as less dowry, wife's sexual infidelity, her neglect of household duties, and disobedience of her husband's instructions. He witnessed assault on a woman by her husband who "grabbed her by the hair and pulled her out of the meeting" (a focus group discussion). He cited alcohol consumption, a woman's low education, absence of male children as other reasons for domestic violence against women.

The National Family Health Survey 4 (2015-16) reveals data on physical violence against women and their household work. (Figure 1)

Besides the above-mentioned intersections between women's unpaid care work and violence against women and girls (VAWG), this relationship also got captured in the results of the Oxfam India Household Care Survey 2019. Among its other findings was the critical evidence that 42.2 percent women who failed to fetch water or firewood for the family were beaten and 64.7 percent were harshly criticized. Moreover, 41.2 percent women who failed to prepare meals for men in the family were beaten and 67.9 percent were harshly criticized (see Figure 2). It also revealed high acceptance of violence

25 UN Women. 'Creating Safe Public Spaces', Source: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/creating-safe-public-spaces>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

26 Gilbertson, Amanda and Niharika Pandit. (2019). 'Reporting of Violence against Women in Indian Newspapers', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 54, Issue No. 19, 11 May.

27 Neogy, S. (2013). 'Breaking the Cycle: Targeting Sources of Violence against Women', *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (FALL 2013), pp. 55-59.

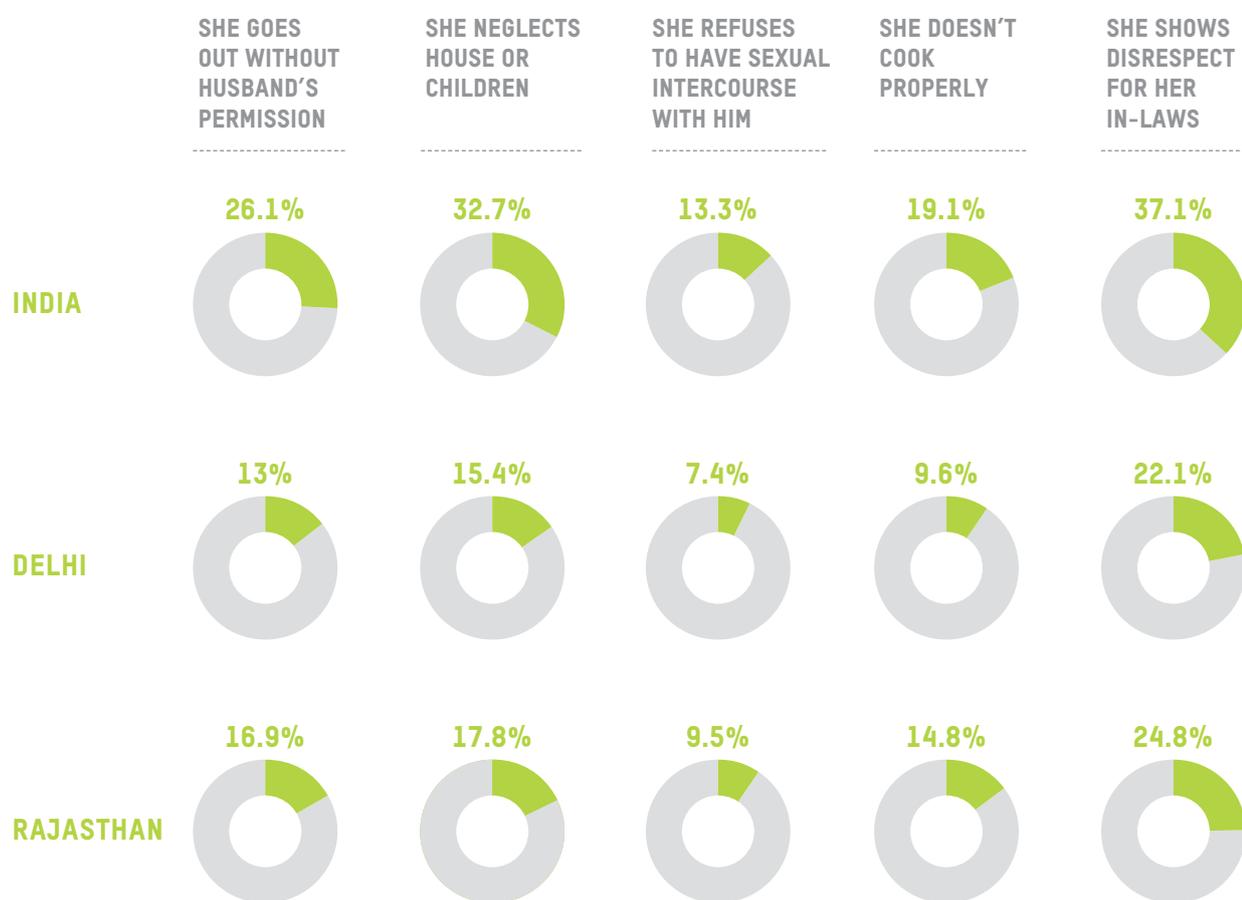
28 Krishnaraj, M. (2007). 'Understanding Violence against Women', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3 - 9), pp. 90-91.

29 Visaria, L. (2000). 'Violence against Women: A Field Study', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 20 (May 13-19), pp. 1742-1751.

30 Donner, Henrike. (2011). 'Gendered bodies, domestic work and perfect families – new regimes of gender and food in Bengali middle-class lifestyles', in Henrike Donner (ed.). *Being middle-class in India: a way of life*, New York: Routledge, pp. 47- 72.

31 Rao, Vijayendra. (1998). 'Domestic Violence and Intra-Household Resource Allocation in Rural India: An Exercise in Participatory Econometrics'. *Gender, Population, and Development*. M. Krishnaraj, R. Sudarshan, A. Sharif (ed.). Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 94-121.

Figure 1: Percentage of girls and women (aged 15-49 years) who agree that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife for specific reasons:



Source: NFHS 4 (2015-16).

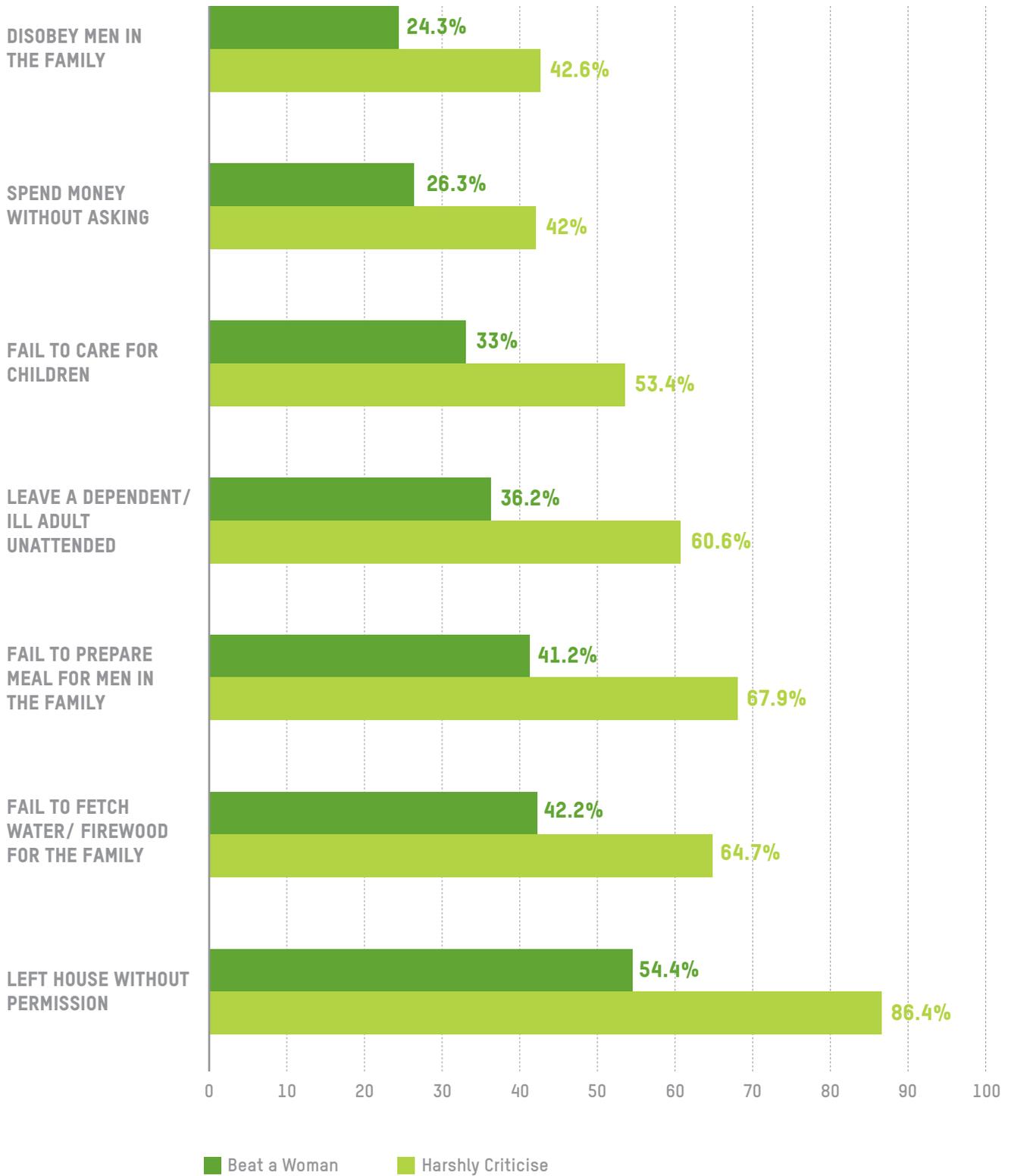
against women and girls who failed to perform unpaid care work by women themselves. This establishes the power of social norms and engineering—women truly believe that unpaid care work is primarily their duty which—if found wanting—justifies male violence against them.

It is this crucial sliver that became the motivation and springboard for the Oxfam India Inequality Report 2020.

NORMS-WORK-VIOLENCE: JOINING THE DOTS

With an understanding that excessive unpaid care work by women is a violation of their fundamental rights to equal opportunity and liberty, this formative research aims to unpack and highlight the intersections between violence against women and the unpaid care work they perform. Simultaneously, it hopes to contribute to knowledge about how and to what degree does unpaid care work cause and/or trigger violence against women. The intention is to explore how the home that can plant seeds of gendered inequality could also uproot those very seeds and their harmful social and economic manifestations.

Figure 2: Social Norms, Women's Unpaid Care Work and GBV



Source: Oxfam India Household Care Survey 2019.

METHODOLOGY

The research methodology for this study was grounded in feminist principles of social equality and justice, a belief that women and socially excluded groups are agents of change, and an intersectional and contextualized approach. These principles informed the research objectives and questions, sampling approach, research methods and process, and analysis and drawing up strategies for influencing.

RESEARCH METHODS AND SAMPLING APPROACH

Udaipur was selected as a field site because of its strong patriarchal culture, high levels of illiteracy and reasonable representation of traditionally marginalized communities such as Tribals (Scheduled Tribes), Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and Muslims. It also offered a strong grassroots partner, the Aajeevika Bureau.

Qualitative data was collected from 5 blocks of Udaipur district in India's northern state of Rajasthan as well as Udaipur City. In-depth interviews were conducted among upper middle class³² and upper class³³ respondents in Delhi. Seven focus group discussions (FGDs) in a participatory workshop mode were conducted and 74 in-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with individuals belonging to Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), Other Backward Class (OBC) and Muslim population in Udaipur district,

including Udaipur city. A total of 12 IDIs were conducted in Delhi-NCR (National Capital Region).

The snowball technique was used at all field sites³⁴ to include 28 men and 32 women in rural Udaipur and 4 men and 10 women in Udaipur city. In Delhi we interviewed 4 men and 8 women. There were no adolescent boys and girls in the Delhi sample. In rural Udaipur, Aajeevika Bureau³⁵ and its partner organization Jan Dakhsa in Udaipur city helped access respondents from specific communities (mentioned above), age bands, marital status and specific outliers such as domestic violence survivors.

In Rajasthan, the respondents, mostly poor, had a monthly income of less than INR 10,000 (US \$140).³⁶ In Udaipur city, lower-middle class³⁷ women from the minority community were also interviewed. Most of them were not engaged in paid work and did not know their husband's monthly income. In rural Udaipur, a fair balance was struck between respondents who were/were not part of Aajeevika Bureau's social/gender interventions to gain a more authentic assessment. Men and women 'trained' by Aajeevika were more socially aware and de-gendered, yet carried remnants of deep-rooted social conditioning vis-à-vis women's roles.

32 Those whose monthly combined (in case of husband-wife) couple and individual incomes are between INR 50,000 and 70,000; between INR 70,000 and INR 1,00,000.

33 Those whose monthly income is above INR 1,00,000.

34 Snow ball sampling is a purposive sampling method used in qualitative research where existing study subjects recruit the future study subjects from among their acquaintances.

35 Aajeevika Bureau is a public service organization that attempts to make migration a safe, valued and dignified livelihood activity demonstrating that an institutional response to the challenges facing a large, impoverished and highly mobile community facing high levels of informality, both in their work and living conditions is possible. On the one hand, it has developed a comprehensive set of services and solutions to directly respond to the different challenges facing migrant workers, including skills trainings, legal aid, collectivization of workers, financial services, healthcare services, and identity solutions that are customized to the specific needs of migrant workers from highly socio-economically marginalised communities. At the same time, keeping in mind that labour migration largely comprises the movement of single <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.rajasthandirect.com%2Fdistricts%2Fudaipur&psig=AOvVaw1V38ugbz6WlaZKObWmlitZ&ust=1578295167392000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAIQjRxqFwoTClq6O716-YCFQAAAAAdAAAAABBW> male migrants, it works with women and girls from high migration communities who remain in the villages to facilitate their collectivization into solidarity groups to claim their critical public entitlements in the absence of men, and hold grassroots democratic institutions accountable in order to enjoy full rights as citizens.

36 At the current exchange rate of 1 US \$= INR 71.68.

37 Their class status is based on the consumables they used such as refrigerator, washing machine and so on, and not on the basis of actual income.

In a country as diverse as India, we cannot extrapolate findings from this study to pan-India generalizations. However, it was striking to find similarities between the findings from Oxfam India's Household Care Survey 2019 findings (presented earlier), which was conducted in Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh and qualitative responses from men and women in rural Udaipur and Udaipur city. The findings from the qualitative study conducted for this report are indicative of overall trends and norms around women's

UCW and VAWG in Indian society with similarities and exceptions found in different geographic contexts.

SAMPLING:

A gender transformative and feminist participatory approach was used to develop the sampling framework for the FGDs and IDIs. Participants were selected to reflect the diverse backgrounds of social groups, age, marital status, vocations among others. In socially

Figure 3: Sampling Framework—FGDs

	PARTICIPANTS	SOCIAL GROUP/S	AGE
 BARWADA	28 women	Scheduled Caste (Meghwal)	25-50 years
 SALUMBAR	25 girls	Scheduled Tribe (Meena)	12-20 years
 SAYRA	31 women	28 Scheduled Castes (Meghwal); 3 OBC	40-70 years
 KHERWADA	33 women	Scheduled Tribe (Bhil)	25-50 years
 KHERWADA	13 women	12 Scheduled Tribe (Meena); 1 OBC	25-70 years
 ROYDA	18 girls	Scheduled Caste	14-18 years
 UDAIPUR CITY	13 women	Muslim	30-45 years

TOTAL: 161 PARTICIPANTS

conservative rural Udaipur, mixed gender workshops were not possible, so men were included in IDIs while women participated in both FGDs and IDIs.

Since the FGD conducted as participatory workshops is a new method, we attempted to triangulate the data with conventional qualitative research methods such as IDIs with both men and women across social categories and classes.

Figure 4: Sampling Framework: IDIs

UDAIPUR			DELHI		
CHARACTERISTICS	WOMEN	MEN	CHARACTERISTICS	WOMEN	MEN
SC	8	12	LOWER MIDDLE CLASS	1	3
ST	11	13	UPPER MIDDLE CLASS	2	0
GENERAL	7	1	UPPER CLASS	5	1
OBC	7	2			
MUSLIM	9	4			
TOTAL: 86					

Figure 5: Age-wise sampling characteristics, IDIs

CHARACTERISTICS (AGE GROUP)	WOMEN	MEN
16-25 YEARS	18	12
26-50 YEARS	18	18
50+ YEARS	14	6
TOTAL: 86		

SOCIAL NORMS DIAGNOSTIC TOOL

The Social Norms Diagnostic Tool³⁸ was adapted to the Indian context as a guide to the FGDs. It consists of a set of participatory exercises that identify and discuss social norms, perceptions and expectations that shape, constrain or promote sexual harassment and gender-based violence in relation to unpaid care work and strategies for change. The FGDs/workshops were organized around four activities described below. All the exercises in the tool were contextualized with the support of the local partner, Aajeevika Bureau.

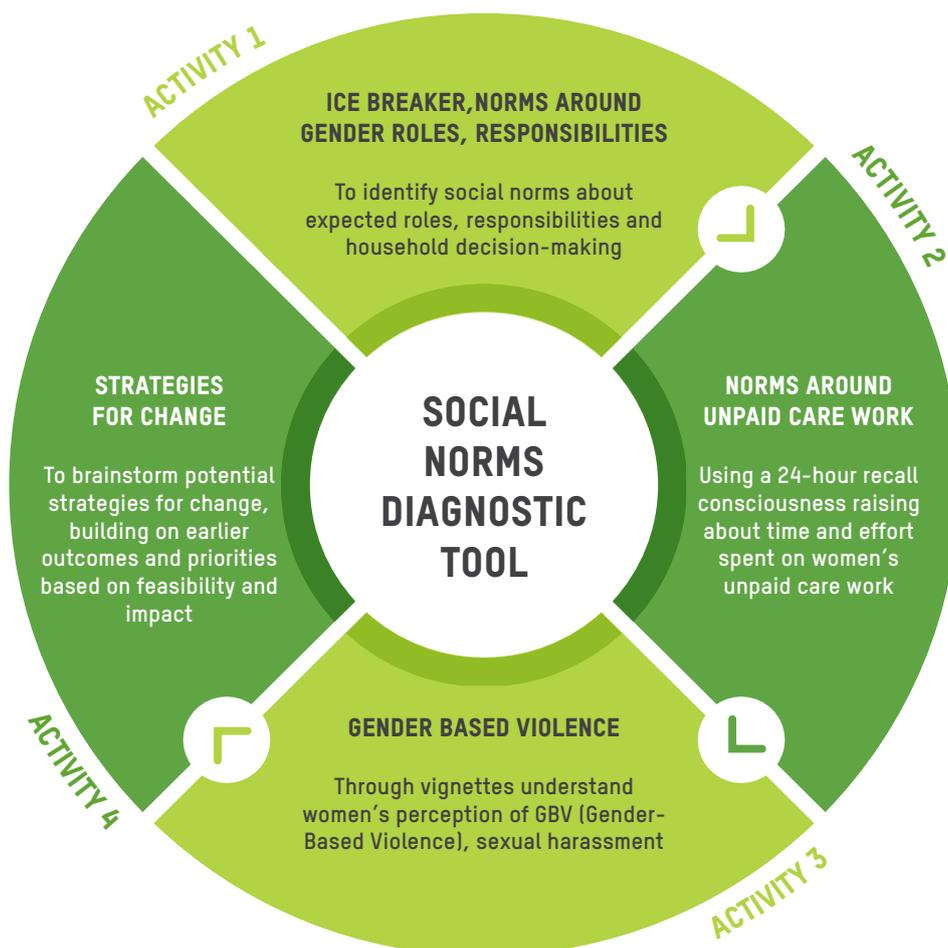
Activity 1. Discussing Gender Norms

Starting with an icebreaker where respondents sang and danced to local folk music, Activity 1 eased women

into a discussion on social norms in their community, including the norm of gendered division of household and care work and ideas of masculinity and femininity. It offered insights into a plethora of local social norms and their practice over time.

Activity 2. Quantifying Unpaid Care Work

To enlist and calculate the time, labour and financial worth of women's day-long, unpaid care work, respondents shared all the work they performed at home. This revealed women's disproportionately heavy load of unpaid care work. The facilitators compared the financial value of women's work with the earnings of their husbands. The exercise revealed that women's work costs a lot more than what men earned and how they subsidized their households with their unpaid care work.



38 <http://wee.oxfam.org/forum/topics/new-social-norms-diagnostic-tool> last da Accessed on 20 December 2019).

Activity 3. Vignettes on Sexual Harassment at Work and Domestic Violence at Home

Since issues of sexual harassment at workplace and domestic violence are sensitive issues, especially for discussions, facilitators shared contextualized vignettes with the participants. Two vignettes (see Annexure), one each on sexual harassment to/at workplace and domestic violence, involved different manifestations of harassment (for example gestures, sounds and phrases used) as well as details (for example age, reaction of bystanders, etc.). This helped respondents open up about real cases they had experienced or heard of.

These vignettes were followed by question-prompted discussions around the social norms, social sanctions, influencing factors, positive deviances and key influencers of such experiences.

Activity 4. Brainstorming Strategies

The previous activity led directly into the final activity, in which full autonomy was given to the participants to brainstorm strategies for change and prioritize them. This provided valuable insights for the design of a future campaign, as the suggestions came directly from the participants who would be beneficiaries of future interventions.

Thus, participants were taken on a journey from diagnosing norms, deepening their understanding of how they are sustained, and brainstorming strategies for change—transitioning progressively into more active roles.

The Research Process

RESEARCH DESIGN

A day-long research design workshop was held with Aajeevika Bureau in Udaipur in September 2019 to review the draft of the social norms tool, sampling framework and other research tools. It involved a detailed discussion on each activity, duration, customization, local sensitivities and so on. It was attended by four workshop facilitators, note-takers and community mobilizers from Aajeevika Bureau. This was followed by a pilot of both the workshop and IDIs in Barwada block the following day.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN DATA COLLECTION

Recognizing how research itself can be an act of exercising power/site where power plays out between researchers and participants, attempts were made to make the FGDs as participatory as possible—enabling women to voice their emotions and apprehensions as openly as possible.

Primary data was collected in Udaipur district in the month of September 2019 and IDIs were conducted in Delhi between October and November 2019. Informed and voluntary consent was obtained from participants at the start of every workshop and interview. Participants were informed about the research, its process, design, information storage and use, anonymity and confidentiality, as also referrals for care and support, if/where available and needed. All recorded data was treated as confidential and anonymous. As the research was on a sensitive topic and involved survivors of violence and young people, Oxfam's Safeguarding Adults and Children Policies (2018) and Guidelines for Research Ethics (2012) were fully adhered to. Engaging facilitators who had previously worked in or were from the same community and spoke the local language was key to establishing greater trust among participants. The use of vignettes and questions with hypothetical, relatable characters was helped establish distance between issues discussed and specific personal experiences.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected was analysed by a team of researchers in Delhi. The qualitative data collected from the field, was transcribed and shared among the team of researchers in Delhi for collective analysis. Where numbers could be pulled up from the IDIs, these were collated and have been presented throughout the report to depict representation of views on particular issues. The data analysis adopted an intersectional lens to women's unpaid care work burden and vulnerability to violence. The anonymous narratives have been woven through the analysis. The following section on the context of southern Rajasthan is a contribution of the research team at Aajeevika Bureau.

THE CONTEXT: SOUTHERN RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan's socio-economic history is marked by issues of slow growth and income poverty, compounded by inequalities in access to services and entitlements of education, health, employment and social security³⁹. A World Bank 2016 report⁴⁰ suggests that southern Rajasthan is among its poorest regions, with poverty level rising up to 60 percent in some areas. Studying the impact on livelihoods in the region, Sharma et al⁴¹ point to the topography, rapid decline of traditional forest dependent livelihoods, extreme water scarcity and lack of alternative employment opportunities to explain such high poverty levels.

Southern Rajasthan (comprising of Dungarpur, Banswara, Udaipur and Rajsamand) has the lowest Human Development Index score of 0.50 among all the regions in the state.⁴² Its population is dominated (61 percent) by tribals—mainly Bhils and Meena. Analysis⁴³ points to colonial and post-independence exploitation of forest resources and local ecology, with a concentration of wealth among dominant caste groups, as the genesis of widespread poverty and impoverishment in the area.

SEASONAL MALE MIGRATION

Dispossessed of their lands, the tribal were forced into waged work, typically in the neighbouring states of Gujarat and Maharashtra. In 2002, a UNDP report

highlighted that migration has become one of the main sources of livelihood for the region's poor. By 2014, Aajeevika Bureau's state-level migration surveys estimated that about 56 percent of the rural households had started depending on seasonal migration—that is at least one of its members would spend anything between 3 to 11 months working outside their native block for casual, waged work.⁴⁴ Further analysing the inter-generational trends from such migratory movements, Jain and Sharma⁴⁵ have argued that the poor of southern Rajasthan remain stuck in the bottom-most segments of labour markets in Gujarat and Maharashtra, with poverty wages, hazardous and toxic work conditions, lack of significant inter-generational vertical mobility and erosion of minimum labour rights.

61% MIGRANTS FROM SOUTHERN RAJASTHAN ARE BHIL AND MEENA (THEY ACCOUNT FOR 53% OF TOTAL TRIBAL POPULATION OF THE STATE)

57% FAMILIES SENDING AT LEAST ONE MALE MEMBER FOR LABOUR IN THE URBAN AREAS⁴⁶

39 Sharma, Amrita, Santosh Poonia, Zaineb Ali and Rajiv Khandelwal. (2014). Their Own Country, A profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan. Udaipur: Aajeevika Bureau.

40 World Bank Group. (2016). 'Rajasthan, Poverty, Growth and Inequality', Source: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/423761467995629413/pdf/105877-BRI-P157572-ADD-SERIES-India-state-briefs-PUBLIC-Rajasthan-Poverty.pdf>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

41 Sharma et al 2014.

42 Government of Rajasthan. (2008). Human Development Report Rajasthan (An update – 2008). Jaipur. Source: http://statistics.rajasthan.gov.in/Details/hd_final.pdf. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

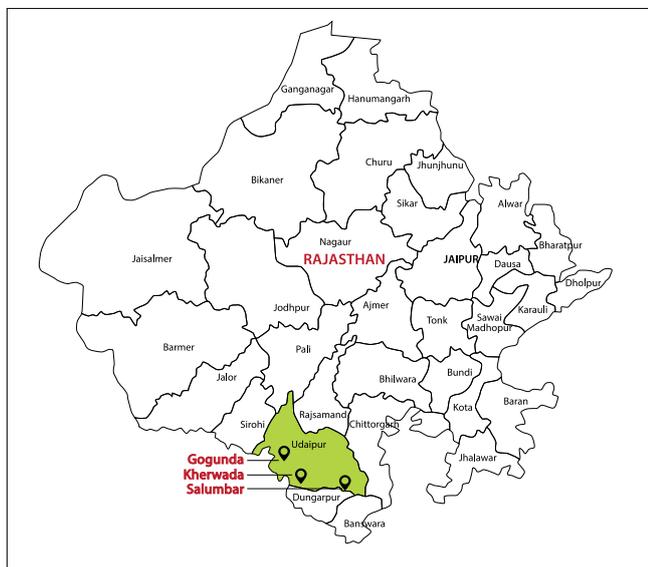
43 David Mosse. (2007). Power and the durability of poverty: a critical exploration of the links between culture, marginality and chronic poverty. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper No. 107.

44 Sharma, Amrita, Santosh Poonia, Zaineb Ali and Rajiv Khandelwal. (2014). Their Own Country, A profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan. Udaipur: Aajeevika Bureau.

45 Jain, Priyanka and Amrita Sharma. (2018). Super exploitation of Adivasi Migrant Workers: The Political Economy of Workers from Southern Rajasthan to Gujarat. Udaipur: Aajeevika Bureau.

46 Sharma, Amrita, Santosh Poonia, Zaineb Ali and Rajiv Khandelwal. (2014). Their Own Country, A profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan. Udaipur: Aajeevika Bureau.

Figure 6: Map of Southern Rajasthan, the three blocks of Gogunda, Salumbar and Kherwada are marked in the map



Udaipur, the site of the study, is the biggest district of Southern Rajasthan and predominantly tribal inhabited—almost 50 percent. With an almost 80.2 percent rural population, the economy of Udaipur is mainly dependent on agriculture. Of the 61.7 percent workers in the district, 39.5 percent are cultivators, 22.2 percent are agricultural labourers, 2.5 percent work in household industry and the rest are concentrated in other areas of work.⁴⁷ The district is home to a large Hindu community (93.5 percent) and a much smaller share of Muslims (3.40 percent)⁴⁸. Interestingly, the rural region of Udaipur boasts of a better sex ratio (966) as compared to the urban area (929). The high female literacy level (48.45 percent) is much lower than the male literacy level (74.74 percent)⁴⁹. The situation has not improved much in the last decade as the male and female literacy was recorded at 74.66 percent and 44.49 percent respectively, in 2015.

The three blocks of Gogunda, Kherwada and Salumbar marked in the map, acted as the field sites of this study. Similar in their demographics and poverty levels, they are distinct in terms of language, culture and traditions.

Gogunda has a population of 8,751⁵⁰ of whom almost 50 percent belong to the ST category, while 7 percent are SC, 11 percent OBC and 32 percent general⁵¹. Hindus are the predominant faith group (87.49 percent) while 6.34 percent belong to the Muslim community.

54% OF THE TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS HAD AT LEAST ONE MIGRANT FAMILY MEMBER

ONLY 13.09% OF THE LAND IS ARABLE WHILE THE REST IS HILLY. ONLY 18% OF THE FERTILE LAND IS IRRIGATED.

Source: Survey by Aajeevika Bureau in 2008 (n=7292 households)

Decreased agricultural productivity, shortage of fertile land and a lack of alternate livelihood opportunities triggered a pattern of migration from Gogunda. This has direct implications on women's burden of paid and unpaid work.

Kherwada lies at the cusp of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Of its population of 206,777, 96.3 percent reside in the rural belt. Here too, 73.3 percent belong to the Scheduled Tribe (Bhil, Meena, Garasita, and Gameti),

47 Directorate of Census Operations Rajasthan (2011), Census of India 2011 Rajasthan.

48 Census 2011.

49 Directorate of Census Operations Rajasthan (2011), Census of India 2011 Rajasthan.

50 Ibid.

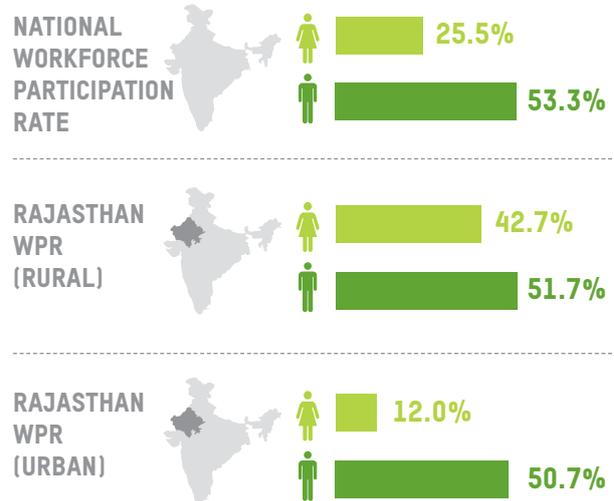
51 Aajeevika Bureau. (2008). Migration and Labour Profile of Gogunda Block (Udaipur, Rajasthan). Source: <http://www.aajeevika.org/assets/pdfs/Gogunda%20Block%20Profile.pdf>. Accessed on 20 December 2019.

4.5 percent are SCs and the rest comprise of General and OBC groups such as Patels, Jains, Rajputs and Muslims. Its male literacy rate is 66.09 percent while that of the females is much lower at 41.42 percent. Kherwada's hilly terrain, poor irrigation, untimely rains and systematic decline of traditional forest-based livelihoods have led to distress migration. Given its proximity with Ahmedabad, Himmatnagar, Surat and Idar, a large portion of the local population migrate to these areas in Gujarat as daily wage manual labourers.

Salumbar has a higher female sex ratio (951) than the average of the state of Rajasthan (928). Its literacy rate— 85.82 percent—is also higher than the state average—66.11 percent, and the male literacy (93.7 percent) and female literacy (77.56 percent) rates fare better too. Agriculture is the primary occupation of most households, but due to its dependence on rains, limited fertile land and meagre landholding, agriculture is a low-income generating occupation. Animal husbandry, selling firewood, timber and forest produce such as tendu leaves, sitafal, mahua make for a small share of household income⁵². The 2016 survey by Aajeevika Bureau (of 500 households in Salumbar) found that 55 percent of women were malnourished and 99 percent women were anaemic of whom 13.5 percent were severely anaemic. The study concluded that the scarcity of resources and the poor intake of nutritious food by the women has led to such a situation. Despite such emaciated bodies and poor health, it is common for women to take up their everyday responsibilities,⁵³ a fact that remains true for the entire region.

WOMEN IN SOUTHERN RAJASTHAN

Work vis-à-vis male migration



Source: Census 2011

The heavy exodus of rural migrants from southern Rajasthan comprises 80 percent males.⁵⁴ This matches trends in data on national migration where 85 percent of the short-distance, seasonal migrants are men who move without their families.⁵⁵ In the literature on male migration, women feature as the 'left-behind women' who bear an increased burden of labour but also experience greater autonomy with regard to decision making and mobility. Their lives are dominated by intra-household relationships and community surveillance for a check on their mobility. Other than these inputs, the literature on migration is silent about these women's lives, especially the nature and degree of intensive paid and/or unpaid labour performed by rural women. There is scant research on women migrants.

52 Aajeevika Bureau. (2008). Block Migration Profile of Salumbar Block (Udaipur Rajasthan). Source: <http://www.aajeevika.org/assets/pdfs/Salumbar%20Block%20profile.pdf>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

53 Mohan, Pavitra, Kumaril Agarwal and Priyanka Jain. (2016). 'Child Malnutrition in Southern Rajasthan: Study of Tribal Migrant Communities'. Economic and Political Weekly, Source: <https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/33/special-articles/child-malnutrition-rajasthan.html>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

54 Sharma, Amrita, Santosh Poonia, Zaineb Ali and Rajiv Khandelwal. (2014). Their Own Country, A profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan. Udaipur: Aajeevika Bureau.

55 Srivastava, R. (2011). Internal Migration in India: An Overview Of Its Features, Trends And Policy Challenges. New Delhi: UNESCO.

The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector⁵⁶ has observed that a household's access to higher income and sustainable forms of livelihood reduces women's burden of work and share in domestic and subsistence economies. Drawing from Aajeevika Bureau's experience in southern Rajasthan, Jain and Jayaram⁵⁷ have observed similar patterns in the region, with households investing in labour-saving devices such as bore wells and gas stoves, which reduces women's time invested in unpaid, domestic work for the family's survival. However, they argue, that the extractive conditions of work that migrant husbands toil under means that most households in the region are unable to save enough to make such investments. Therefore, the women in these migrant household continue to perform a high degree of unpaid and underpaid work to keep the households afloat, exacerbated by the care work they have to perform for their sick and burnt out husbands upon their return from migration⁵⁸.

Domestic violence

Despite the under reporting of violence faced by women, about 40 percent women in India are estimated to have experienced at least one form of physical violence in their married life.⁵⁹ In 2016, the National Crime Records Bureau⁶⁰ reported that among all the crimes against women, a majority (29.2 percent) belonged to the category of 'Cruelty by husband or his relatives'. Of these, Rajasthan had a share of 8.1 percent, making it the state with the fourth highest state incidence of crimes against women (National Crime Records Bureau). Against the national average of crimes against women (17.5 percent), Rajasthan has

a higher incidence (39.5 percent). Reporting of such cases have seen a rise in the past decade, since the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act became a civil instrument.

In its work among women from migrant households in southern Rajasthan, Aajeevika Bureau has observed deep-rooted patriarchal norms as the major reason for violence against women. Another common factor reported by a majority in the area is alcoholism among men. Violence perpetrated by the community or in-laws is rather common, especially among single women including widows. The region's social practices and customs related to marriages, such as *Nata*⁶¹ and *Jhagda* (bride price), earlier offered women greater freedom in terms of marriage. However, over time these have become practices that commoditize women's labour, buying and selling it through the social contract of marriage.⁶²

Violence against women has another insidious but fatal face—the outright neglect of women's health. Medical data from AMRIT clinics (running in 4 blocks of the region and serving a population of about 1,15,000 people) point that almost 99 percent ST women in these areas are anemic. Some families refuse to seek treatment for the daughters-in-law, even during the time of delivery or when the woman is too weak to perform any labour in the house. Such neglect is accompanied by a general lack of respect, contempt and verbal abuse by the husband and his family. Colloquial expressions in the local dialect suggest the normalization of this disrespect towards women.

56 National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector. (2007). Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganised Sector, Source: https://dcmsme.gov.in/Condition_of_workers_sep_2007.pdf. Accessed on 17 December, 2019

57 Forthcoming.

58 Jain and Jayaram. (forthcoming). 'Intimate's Subsidy to Capital: Gender Analyses of Male Migration from Western India and Commodification of "Left-Behind" Women's Labour', Gender, Place and Culture.

59 Sahoo, Harihar & Pradhan, Manas Ranjan. (2009). 'Domestic violence in India: An empirical analysis'. *Man in India*, Vol. 89, No. 3, July-Sept. 2009.

60 National Crime Records Bureau Ministry of Home Affairs (2016). Crime in India. Source: <http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2016/pdfs/NEWPDFs/Crime%20in%20India%20-%202016%20Complete%20PDF%20291117.pdf>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

61 IDS, Jaipur. (2008). Human Development Report Rajasthan: An update. Source: http://www.im4change.org/docs/569hd_final.pdf. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

62 Jain and Jayaram forthcoming.

SOME EXAMPLES ARE:

- *Lugayia ri buddhi to choti mei ya goda mei veve* (a woman's brain is either in her braid or in her knees);
- *Aadmi ke to sau dimaag hain, ghaagra ro gher jitro lugaayi ra dimaag hai* (a man's brain is equal to a 100 brains, but a woman's brain is as big as the circle of her skirt);
- *aurtaan to paav ri jooti hai, paav mei chhala ho gya to ek utaari dusri pehen li* (a woman is like a shoe, if you get blisters, you can get a new shoe; implying that a man can find a new wife if he doesn't like the old wife);
- *aurtaan to ghar ri kheti hai, ek gyi to dusri aayi* (women are like locally produced vegetables, you can always get a new one if the older ones get stale);
- *kutte ri tarah vou vou kare, aadmi ke saamne to chup rehna chahiye* (if a woman speaks in front of a man she is compared to a dog and is advised to stay silent in front of him).

Women's interface with the State

Another fallout of male migration is an increase in their village-bound, female relatives' negotiations with the panchayat for social security and public provisioning. These encounters are fraught with social hierarchy, corruption and power structures in the panchayat, making it difficult for Adivasi or unschooled women to access their entitlements. In its survey among 500 families in Salumbar, Aajeevika⁶³ found that only 44 percent children could access food from the aanganwadis because they had infrequent and unpredictable working hours. In these areas of heavy male migration and women's preoccupation with paid or unpaid work (including walking miles for firewood, water or wage work), the Integrated Child Development Services has no provision to provide

shelter and care services to children below the age of three years. The Aajeevika study also highlighted that 25 percent of families did not have ration cards; those who did, found it difficult to access any/full entitlements. Panchayat officials refused ration and NREGA work on the pretext that both were unavailable. Since much information and many provisions of the public distribution system can now be procured via the internet or computer, a sizable segment in rural areas without access to technology got excluded. As per the Aajeevika Bureau's study findings (2016-2017),⁶⁴ an average of 39 person days under NREGA was offered during the whole year as opposed to the prescribed 100 days. It has been reported that even after applying for work, people's name rarely finds a place in the muster roll, pointing to dysfunctionalities of public schemes, especially accessibility issues for women.

Over time, Aajeevika has facilitated citizens' access to information and mobilized Ujala Samoohs⁶⁵ to demand accountability for better performance of public schemes. In many cases, rural women led successful interventions and pressurized the local administration to respond to their demands on time.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL TERRITORY (NCT) OF DELHI- DEMOGRAPHICS

The National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi is the second largest metropolis in India and the 2nd largest agglomeration in the world. With a population of 16.8 million, an area of 1,484 square kilometers, it is home to 82 percent Hindus while Muslims and Sikhs comprise 12.8 percent and 3.4 percent of its population, respectively. Delhi has a high literacy rate (86.2 percent) and on an average, a citizen of Delhi earns three times more a counterpart in other states.⁶⁶ However, its sex-

63 Mohan, Pavitra, Kumaril Agarwal and Priyanka Jain. (2016). 'Child Malnutrition in Southern Rajasthan: Study of Tribal Migrant Communities'. Economic and Political Weekly, Source: <https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/33/special-articles/child-malnutrition-rajasthan.html>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

64 The study was conducted by Aajeevika Bureau in 15 Panchayats, 54 villages in 4 districts of Southern Rajasthan, with a sample size of 2871 households, in the year 2016-2017.

65 Agarwal, Dristi. (2018). 'In Rajasthan, Adivasi Women Are Coming Together to Assert Their Rights'. Source: <https://thewire.in/rights/in-rajasthan-advansi-women-are-coming-together-to-assert-their-rights>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

66 The Hindu. (2019). 'Delhiites' per capita income thrice the national average'. Source: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/delhiites-per-capita-income-thrice-the-national-average/article26353795.ece>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

Figure 7: Map of National Capital Territory

ratio is among the worst in the country at 913 females per thousand males during 2017.⁶⁷

Women in the workforce



Despite the economic boom that Delhi has experienced, the recorded participation of women in the workforce remains considerably low. The combined workforce participation rate (WPR) in Delhi stands at 68.1 percent and the female WPR is as low as 12.8 percent (below national average). Despite a high enrolment rate (48.30 percent)⁶⁸ of women in higher education in Delhi, the low female WPR in Delhi could also be explained by the involvement of women in unpaid domestic chores and care work. However, household chores affect different classes of women unevenly. One explanation of the disproportionate decline of female WPR is 'most jobs in Delhi are in the service sector and the chances of securing these jobs are higher for the educated high consumption class rather than women from the poorer sections.'⁶⁹

Women in Tertiary Sector

Analysis by Chakraborty (2019) indicates that more than 60 percent of the female workforce is involved in the service industry. Women's involvement is highest in the caregiving vocations in health, social work and personal service sectors. However, most of these jobs are tagged as 'informal'. The number of domestic workers exceeded more than two lakhs in the year 2017-18. An ILO report⁷⁰ refers to Delhi as a major migration destination and employment hub of female domestic workers. As many as 13.2 percent of Delhi's female workforce is employed as domestic helpers, cooks, etc.⁷¹ ILO Decent work team's research around domestic employers in Delhi and Mumbai suggests that households with women in paid employment outside the house hire domestic helpers the most.⁷² A

67 India Today. (2017) 'Sex ratio in Delhi has seen some improvement in the past year'. Source: <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/sex-ratio-improve-delhi-1027971-2017-08-04>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

68 Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development and Department of Higher Education. (2017). All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) report 2016-17. Source: <http://aishe.nic.in/aishe/viewDocument.action?documentId=239>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

69 Chakraborty, Shinee. (2019). 'Why Are So Few Delhi Women Participating in the Workforce?' Source: <https://thewire.in/labour/why-are-so-few-delhi-women-participating-in-the-workforce>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

70 ILO Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour (SAP-FL). (2015). Indispensable yet Unprotected: Working conditions of Indian domestic workers at home and abroad. Source: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_378058.pdf. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

71 PLFS 2017-18. Source: http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Annual%20Report%2C%20PLFS%202017-18_31052019.pdf. Last accessed on 29 November 2019.

72 ILO Decent Work Team for South Asia and Country Office for India. (2017). Persisting Servitude and Gradual Shift towards Recognition and Dignity of Labour: A study of employers and of domestic workers in Delhi and Mumbai. Source: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/--ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_622812.pdf. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

survey of part-time domestic workers in Delhi found that nuclear families and those with children saw the domestic worker as an indispensable support system and even a source of companionship and emotional support.⁷³ The ILO study also reports that female domestic workers in long-term service tend to have relatively lower wages, whereas new workers can negotiate higher wages. According to this study on average, a part-time domestic worker is paid around INR 1,500 per month, while a full-time (live-out or live-in) domestic worker is paid about INR 5,000 per month in Delhi.

Moreover, domestic work is not recognized as skilled labour—it is not included in the Schedule of Employment in Delhi, and therefore not entitled to the minimum wage of the state. On one hand, there are no specific legislative safeguards of the rights of domestic workers. On the other hand, there has been a sharp rise of illegal, private placement agencies⁷⁴ for domestic workers and little support by employers for domestic workers' unionization.

Women in Home-Based Work

Deshpande⁷⁵ has emphasized on the need for greater availability of suitable employment opportunities that would enable women who are primarily involved in household chores to be involved in economic work. This suitability would depend on 'the compatibility of work with a woman's "primary" responsibility of domestic chores.' The work is compatible if it can be done at home or somewhere near or is easy to get to. This need for compatibility between paid work and household chores has led women to engage in home-based, piece-rate wage work. Delhi-based studies show that it involves more time and concentration, yet is

poorly paid⁷⁶. Irrespective of the trade, home-based workers earn far below the decreed daily minimum wage and receive delayed payments.

Violence against women in Delhi

Dwivedi and Sachdeva's⁷⁷ time-series analysis on GBV in Delhi uses the National Crime Record Bureau data (2009 to 2015) to posit that the actual number of registered cases of crime against women ranged from 4251 (2009) to 17,104 (2015). According to their analysis, there was a 40 percent increase in reported cases in New Delhi from 2009 to 2012 and a 33 percent rise from 2013 to 2015. Following the horrific gang rape in Delhi, it witnessed a surge of 116.2 percent in reporting of crime against women. This indicates that crime statistics do not truly divulge the true rate of violence women face. In most countries, less than 40 percent women report violence.

Keeping this discrepancy in mind, data for Delhi from NFHS-4 states that 26.5 percent and 6.6 percent of women who have ever married aged 15-49 have faced physical and sexual violence at the hands of their husbands respectively, whereas 29.6 percent of women have experienced an overlapping of emotional, physical and sexual violence in their marriage.

In Delhi, 15.4 percent married women believe that violence against them is justified if they could not complete or neglected household chores and the children. Another 9.6 percent women justify physical violence from the husband for not cooking properly. However, a relatively low number of women (7.4 percent) accept physical violence for refusing sex.

73 Mehrotra, Surabhi Tandon. (2010). Domestic Workers: Conditions, Rights and Responsibilities. Source: http://www.jagori.org/wp-content/uploads/2006/01/Final_DW_English_report_10-8-2011.pdf. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

74 Jha, Abhishek. (2016). 'Leftovers For Food, No Min. Wage: How Delhi's Domestic Workers Are Denied Their Rights'. Source: <https://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2016/07/women-domestic-workers-in-delhi/>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

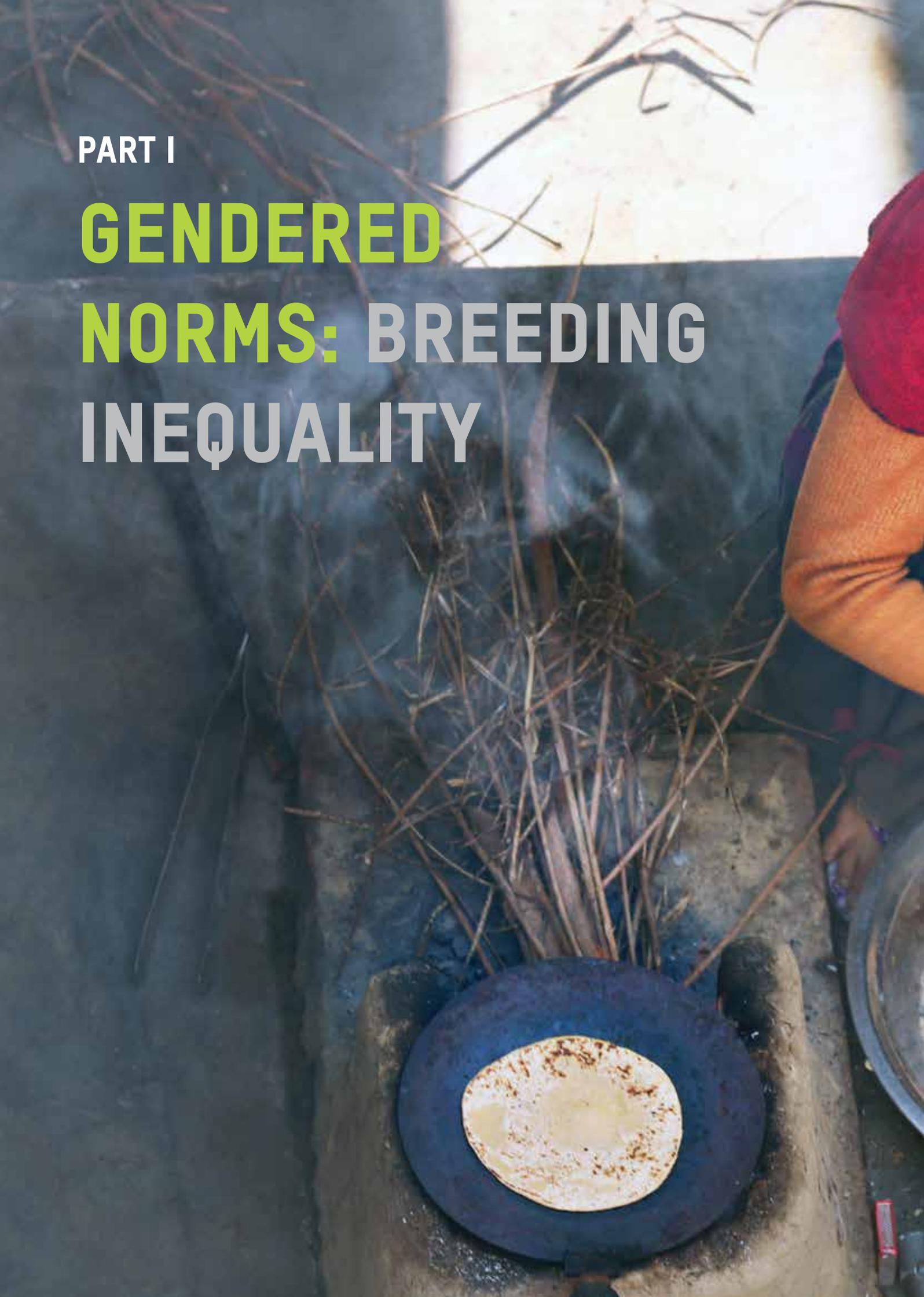
75 Deshpande, Ashwini. (2019). 'The Visible and Invisible Barriers to Indian Women Working'. Source: <https://www.theindiaforum.in/article/visible-and-invisible-barriers-women-working-india>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

76 Nandi, Rajib, Ayesha Dutta and Gurpreet Kaur. 'A Multitude of Challenges Facing Women Home-Based Workers in Delhi'. Source: <https://thewire.in/labour/women-home-based-workers-delhi>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

77 Dwivedi, Nidhi and Sandeep Sachdeva (2019). 'Gender-based violence in New Delhi, India: forecast based on secondary data analysis'. Source: http://applications.emro.who.int/emhj/v25/04/EMHJ_2019_25_04_262_268.pdf?ua=1. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

PART I

**GENDERED
NORMS: BREEDING
INEQUALITY**





**UNPAID CARE WORK EMERGES
AS A SITE FOR LEAST CHANGE IN
WOMEN'S LIVES.**

**THE INTERSECTIONALITIES OF
NORMS OF GENDER AND CASTE/
CLASS CIRCUMSCRIBE THE LIVES
OF WOMEN.**

**PATRIARCHY AND OPPRESSION
AFFECT WOMEN NOT JUST FROM
DALIT COMMUNITIES BUT OTHER
COMMUNITIES TOO.**

One of the most tenacious and pervasive causes of social inequality is gender. The deeply-naturalized acceptance that gender has across cultures can make it impervious to struggles against inequality. This is why gender continues to be an integral and cross-cutting dimension of any agenda for substantive equality, for example the Sustainable Development Goals. This is also why the design of this study on gender inequality and violence against women starts at the roots of the issue—social norms.⁷⁸

Although social norms are culturally contextual and subject to change, they mostly have a major hand in the construction and reification of gender norms. Gender norms within a patriarchal structure define and shape the aspirations, roles and identities of girls, boys, men and women. Even as norms define what individuals 'ought to do' in different arenas of their lives, individuals may or may not attempt to tinker with the normative bar and conduct their behaviour within the parameters circumscribed by the prevalent norms. However, defiance of norms is followed by emotional violence such as social censure, shaming and threats, if not physical violence. This explains why norms can remain unquestioned and unexamined.

At a workshop conducted with 45-65 year old, SC women in Sayra, they shared the community's response to an unwed pregnancy as: "Tumhari ladki ne naak katwa di" (your daughter brought dishonour [to the community and family]) where the girl is held responsible for the dishonour of social norm while the boy who impregnated her is absolved of all responsibilities or dereliction. While sexual freedom is overall frowned upon, if a boy urinates (euphemism for ejaculation), he is not punished. However the community would outcast the girl and her family for expressing sexual freedom such as pregnancy (out of wedlock), a severe punishment that usually works as a deterrent against defiance of social norms.

Findings from research in Rajasthan confirm that men and particularly women⁷⁹ are obliged to align their everyday behaviour and major decisions with prevalent socio-cultural norms of their gender, caste and community. Perhaps this is so because girls and women are seen as guardians of 'honour' for the family and community. This can entrench discrimination against women and foreclose possibilities of progressive alternatives. For example, 40 year old Laxmi Devi from Sayra block does not like to observe ghoonghat or wear a veil but fear of reprimands from village elders of her (OBC/Prajapat) community prevents her from resisting the norm of the veil.

On the other hand, there is greater tolerance for male transgression of norms. During discussions with men about social norms they had to observe, they could not come up with any. Men also enjoy the superior status conferred to them by patriarchal ideologies that are infused with a sense of misogyny. A participant at a workshop said, "Paanch aadmi baith te hain toh ghar sudharte hain, par panch aurtein baith te hain toh ghar bigadti hain" (when five men sit together, they help improve things in the family, but when five women are together, they mess things up). Another example:

Mahilayein dimaag lagane wala kaam nahin kar sakti hain, kamthane mein. Woh purush ka kaam hai, hum sirf bhaari kaam karte hain. Purush bhi aurat se purush wale kaam nahin karwata kyunki aurat kar nahin payegi woh kaam. (Women cannot perform tasks that require mental work at construction jobs. Those jobs belong to the men, we perform only heavy tasks requiring physical labour. Even men in our community will not ask women to do masculine jobs because they think that women won't be able to do such work).

— Sushma Bai, Sayra block, IDI

78 Norms are informal and explicit or implicit notions about socially acceptable behaviour by a certain group of people who use them as guidelines for their conduct. Norms are sustained by rewards for conformity (for example, praise) and punishment for defiance (examples: from social ostracization to violence)

79 Partha Chatterjee offers a historical explanation for this discrepancy via the idea of 'new patriarchy' (p. 331): 'The nationalist paradigm...was not a dismissal of modernity; the attempt was rather to make modernity consistent with nationalist project (p. 315). Education was meant to inculcate in women...the ability to run the household according to the new physical and economic conditions...as long as it did not threaten her femininity' (p. 325). Chatterjee, Partha (1989). 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question' in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (ed.) *Recasting Women*, New Delhi: Kali for Women.

CRITERIA OF A GOOD WOMAN

Kherwada Workshop conducted on 16 September. 33 ST (Bhil) women in the age group of 25-50 years

GOOD GIRL/WOMAN

RESPECTS ELDERS

GOES TO THE SCHOOL
AND STUDIES WELL

OBEYS THE
HUSBAND

HELPS HER MOTHER
WITH HOUSEHOLD WORK
AND AFTER MARRIAGE
DOES IT ALL HERSELF

DOESN'T TALK MUCH
AND IS MOSTLY SHY
(‘SHARMATI HAI’)

USES HER MOBILE ONLY
TO TALK TO HER HUSBAND
AND HER PARENTS

KEEPS THE HUSBAND HAPPY
(EUPHEMISM FOR SEX)

MARRIES
ACCORDING TO HER
PARENTS' WILL

GOES OUT FOR WORK ONLY
WHEN THERE IS NO HUSBAND



BAD GIRL/WOMAN

DOESN'T PRACTICE GHOONGHAT

ROAMS AROUND IN THE BAZAAR
(‘AAWARA LADKI’)

LEAVES HER HUSBAND AND
KIDS AND GOES OFF WITH
SOMEONE ELSE

DOESN'T DO THE
HOUSEHOLD WORK AND
THROWS TANTRUMS
(‘MARZI CHALATI HAI’)

DOESN'T OBSERVE THE NORMS/
MARKS OF A MARRIED WOMAN
(‘SUHAAG KI NISHANI’)

TALKS ON THE PHONE
ALL THE TIME EVEN
WHILE SERVING GUESTS

CONSORTS WITH MORE
THAN ONE MEN (‘EK DO PATI
LEKE GHOOMTI HAI’)

BEARS CHILDREN WITHOUT
MARRIAGE AND LEAVES THEM
WITH HER PARENTS (‘BACCHE
PHEKNA’)

A MARRIED WOMAN WHO GOES
OUT FOR WORK

A WIDOW IS CONSIDERED AN ILL
OMEN (‘RUDALI’)

A WOMAN WHO CAN'T BEAR KIDS
(‘KHAPRI, VOJVI’)

CRITERIA OF A GOOD MAN

Kherwada Workshop conducted on 16 September. 33 ST (Bhil) women in the age group of 25-50 years

GOOD BOY/MAN

RESPECTS
ELDERS

EARNS A LIVING FOR
THE PARENTS/FAMILY

KEEPS THE WIFE AND
KIDS HAPPY ('PARESHAAN
NAHI KARTA')

HELPS THE WIFE WITH
HOUSEHOLD WORK AND
TAKES HER FOR OUTINGS.

DOESN'T DRINK AND
ABUSE

BAD BOY/MAN

DOESN'T RESPECT
OR OBEY ANYONE

WHO DOESN'T EARN
OR WORK

DOESN'T LET HIS WIFE TALK TO
OTHER WOMEN AND IS SUSPICIOUS
OF HER

GOES OUT WITH OTHER WOMEN
AND DOESN'T LET HIS WIFE GO
ANYWHERE. (NOT EVEN FOR
MEETINGS)

DRINKS AND ABUSES/HITS
THE WIFE ('KOOT TA HAI')



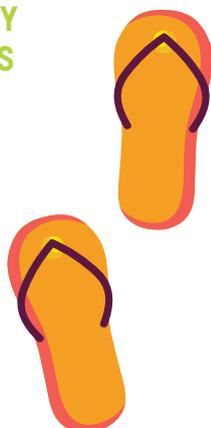
Across sites of interviews and discussions, there emerged a spectrum of norms pertaining to gender roles and behaviour. The observance of these norms and their value was justified through its historical roots. These norms pertain to the following aspects of women's (and to some extent men's) lives: (a) access to and participation in public spaces; (b) mobility; (c) education; (d) gendered division of household work; (e) clothing; (f) conformity and modesty; (g) sexual harassment by boys and men; (h) farm work taboos; (i) social connectivity; (j) decision-making and autonomy; (k) intersections of caste and gender in paid work; and (l) employment.

I.I ACCESS TO AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SPACES

Among some brazen demonstrations of gender inequality, women are not allowed to sit in the village square or a raised platform in a public place because these sites are meant for senior or elderly men from the village, such as their fathers-in-law. Among the SC, ST, Brahmin and Rajput communities, not following these norms attracts admonition. Pushpa Bai (SC woman, Barwada) and Kamli Bai (ST woman, Paner) mentioned that women who sit at the village square/platform or talk amidst a congregation of elderly men can also be excommunicated because it is seen as audacious.

IN SAYRA AND OTHER BLOCKS OF RURAL UDAIPUR, WOMEN MUST REMOVE THEIR FOOTWEAR WHILE PASSING BY A GROUP OF MEN ON THE STREET AND CARRY IT IN THEIR HANDS TILL THEY HAVE PASSED THE MEN. IT IS SEEN AS THEIR SIGN OF RESPECT FOR THE MEN.

MEN ARE NOT EXPECTED TO FOLLOW SIMILAR ETIQUETTE IN THE PRESENCE OF OLDER MEN OF THE COMMUNITY.



I.II MOBILITY

Norms pertaining to education are most gender unequal. While educational inequality between boys and girls has decreased in India over the years, simultaneously, inequality in employment has increased. Almost all girls go to primary school and 70 percent of girls between the ages of 15 to 18 years are enrolled in school. They frequently outperform boys in secondary and senior secondary examinations.⁸⁰ Yet, young women in India do not find suitable jobs for the skills they possess. Secondary and higher secondary education does not automatically lead to women participating in the labour market in India. The lowest incidence of FLFP rate is among those who have attained secondary and post-secondary education, followed by those with levels of education below secondary level in both rural and urban areas. According to the PLFS (Periodic Labour Force Survey) 2017-18, the unemployment rate among rural young females (15-29 years) is 13.6 percent and among urban young females is 27.2 percent. While there are compelling economic and structural reasons for the low FLFP rate, restrictive social norms that discourage women from stepping out of the home, play a major role in women staying away or dropping out of the labour force.

Different communities in rural Udaipur reported a slight relaxation in norms pertaining to women's movement outside the home, than a generation ago. This explains why illiteracy levels are higher among older women in the region. Young girls are now mostly encouraged to study as much as possible, especially within the village or panchayat. Men and women welcome this change in norm in the hope that women can be better informed and earn, if needed. Some men recognized that this has collateral benefits such as better awareness and more confidence among women and girls, and thereby reduction of violence against them.

Despite this relaxation of the norm around mobility, girls and women are expected to seek permission from their parents, elder brother, husband or in-laws

80 Desai, Sonalde. (2019). 'A strange paradox for Indian women', The Hindu, 6 March. Source: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/a-strange-paradox-for-indian-women/article26449536.ece?fbclid=IwAR16v0-XJmw_BqRu8RqMKTQ_eLPxq7i-MPPms5zLA_9DuhRtICUWp_YylYA. Accessed on 7 March 2019.

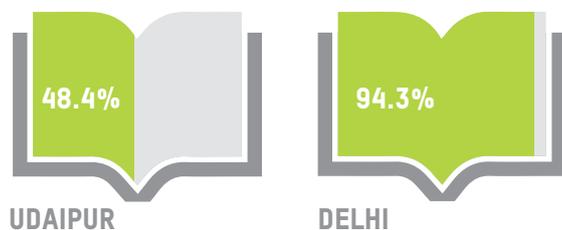
if they want to step out of the house. Sixteen-year old Moti from Royda block wants to pursue higher studies and become a nurse. She has secured admission for college education in Sikar but it is far from her village. Her father and brother do not support the idea of girls living away from their family. This is not the norm in their community. On the other hand, women in Sayra shared, 'If a boy remains away from house for two days, no one asks questions but if a girl leaves even for two hours, there's a problem. The respect and honour of the family is attached to the girls.'

In Salumbar, if a woman drives a scooty, everyone passes negative comments.

– 17 year old Naina, an undergraduate student from Salumbar

I.III EDUCATION

Female literacy rate (census 2011)



Although school education, especially basic literacy was considered important by all rural and urban respondents, the traditional doubt about the utility of higher education for girls remains especially among communities in rural Udaipur as well as minorities interviewed in Udaipur city. Yet, in case of material deprivation, the girl could use her education to earn for the family. Dutta⁸¹ argues that parents of young

girls view education for its instrumental value—higher education will ensure that girls will secure better paying decent jobs as nurses, teachers, salaried professionals and break the vicious cycle of unemployment in the rural economy. However, as mentioned earlier, education is not translating into decent jobs for young girls. In the marriage market, girls' education can be undervalued unlike other factors such as caste, the family's economic status and horoscope.⁸² Simultaneously, girls were also made to drop out of school to help their mothers with household chores. Physical distance between the school/college and the house and the fear of sexual harassment/violence also emerged as a reason why parents pulled their daughters out of school. Thirty-year old Seeta Bai from Barwada was never sent to school by her parents because as the eldest child, she was responsible for the daily care of her five younger sisters. Nineteen-year old Megha from Dundi village in Barwada had to drop out of school in Class 12 when her mother fell seriously ill. She had to take over the responsibility of unpaid care work in her household because the men in her family—her brother and father—did not contribute to household work.

It was uncommon to find girls who would travel outside the village/ panchayat to pursue higher studies.

Ladki ko padhke konga Chittor ka kila todna hai (with education, a girl does not have to demolish Chittor's Fort), a popular local expression shared by women in Sayra. People here think 'why should we spend much on a girl? She will anyway get married and go while a boy will earn and feed us.'

– adolescent girls in Royda village, Gogunda, Udaipur

81 Dutta, Diya (2019). 'The State of Employment in India: A Political Narrative', New Delhi: Oxfam India. Source: <https://www.oxfamindia.org/working-papers/overview-unemployment-india>. Accessed on 28 November 2019.

82 Desai, Sonalde (2019). 'A strange paradox for Indian women', The Hindu, 6 March. Source: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/a-strange-paradox-for-indian-women/article26449536.ece?fbclid=IwAR16v0-XJmw_BqRu8RqMKTQ_eLPxq7i-MPpms5zLA_9DuhRtiCUWp_YyIYA. Accessed on 7 March 2019.

On the other hand, boys' education was directed at better livelihood, although in poorer households boys mostly dropped out of school for wage labour, besides disinterest in non-motivating school environments.

Studies have shown that even highly educated women can choose domestic responsibilities over career.⁸³ This was corroborated in Delhi by 51 year old Sunita. 'When I talk to my (elite, upper class) peer group about a suitable match for my daughter, I am told, "Girls will have to take care of their in-laws", but such things are not expected from the prospective groom.' Two of our Delhi-based, upper class respondents (male and female) stated that in the business circles of the city, a woman's higher education has no value in itself. She is not expected to earn for the family but they often support the business in ways to shore up the family's income (see page 49, for Raman's example about his mother). Their domestic and child bearing and rearing duties are of prime importance. However, for middle-class respondents, education was related to financial independence and had a direct bearing on the financial health of the (natal or marital) family.

I.IV GENDERED DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

Locally referred to as 'women's work', unpaid care work (including housework, collecting firewood, fodder and water, child care, animal care and work on the family's farm) was the most common and one of the strongest norms of gender. For a majority of men and women, unpaid care work is symbolic of girls' and women's duties towards their natal and, later, marital families. Performance of household work is seen as the primary and 'natural' responsibility of girls and women, regardless of educational and employment opportunities. If girls/women do not perform household work, they are criticized, but men are excused for not keeping the house clean.

“In our Gameti, Scheduled Tribe community, most men do not work in the house. Men who do unpaid care work are referred to as 'auraton ke niche rehnewale log' (men who live under their wives' control).

– 26 year old Kamli Bai, Paner Gram Panchayat

According to Kamli Bai, only if the woman of the house is away at her natal village is it considered okay for the husband to undertake unpaid care work. If she is at home and the man has to perform house work, he can bring dishonour to the family.

**AT A WORKSHOP IN SALUMBAR,
24 OUT OF 25
ADOLESCENT AND TEENAGE
GIRLS SUPPORT HOUSE -
WORK, INSTEAD OF PAID
WORK, FOR WOMEN**



I.V CLOTHING

The veil is practiced among women from most castes and faiths in rural Udaipur and is seen as a sign of a woman's modesty. Brahmin widows have to strictly adhere to the ghoonghat. Bhanwari Bai, a Brahmin widow said, 'If a widow does not maintain such norms, then her son and daughter will not be able to get married. A Brahmin widow cannot marry a second time because then she cannot get her children married. But no such restrictions apply on Brahmin men marrying a second time. Men widowed at an early age can marry again—no restrictions'. Sushma Bai from Sayra recalled being slapped by her husband because her face was not veiled in the presence of elders from her husband's family. However, the younger generation of

83 Radhakrishnan, Smitha. (2009). 'Professional Women, Good Families: Respectable Femininity and the Cultural Politics of a "New" India'. *Qualitative Sociology*. Vol. 32. Issue 195-212.

women do not always practice it except young brides from the Rajput and Brahmin castes who face greater restrictions than their counterparts from other social groups. Any other western dresses are seen as signs of moral corruption and sexual interest, and used to cast aspersions on the character of the woman.

“Wearing lipstick is terrible. But I wear makeup. I have to look presentable, am told by my seniors in the hospital. They say, “look groomed”. The patients first approach those who are looking fine.

– 29 year old Shehnaz, Udaipur City

I.VI CONFORMITY AND MODESTY: FEMININE VIRTUES

The conventional script of the tough, breadwinning male and the soft, caregiving female thrives in popular discourse. Most male and female respondents in rural Udaipur agreed that girls and women should be pliable and ‘obedient’ in their roles as daughters and wives. Thirty-five year old Radha Bai, a mother to five children including three daughters explained why this is so and proves helpful to girls and their families:

“Ladki ko aage sasuraal jana hota hai is liye thoda daba ke rakhna hota hai. Nahin toh woh zyada bolti hai, “nahin” bolna seekhti hai. Nahin dabao toh gali khani padhegi, usko bhi aur humein bhi (sasural se).’ (Girls have to be kept under control because they will be going to her in-laws. Otherwise, they say too much, learn to say no. If you don’t keep them under control, both she and us will have to hear abuses from her in-laws).

In contrast, men were described by women as ‘azaad panchhi’ (free bird), one without as many restrictions. Men are expected to provide for the family, take care of the parents, wife and children, aspire for leadership or public roles and, so on. Yet, men who were, for example, alcoholic, financially dependent and so on were accepted more easily, ‘kya karein aadmi hain’ (what to do he is a man) than women who transgressed.

In Delhi, women’s education, employment and exposure to ideas of egalitarian gender relations seems to have helped them see through such traditional ideals of femininity. They draw upon the trope of choice and personal autonomy to negotiate the traditional and progressive notions of womanhood to their advantage in families and outside. Fifty-one year old Sunita mentioned what her post-graduate daughter and her friends do to appear modest and ‘good’:

“My own daughter tells me that her friends start cleaning their social media profiles when their parents start looking for a groom for them. They remove their pictures that may have other men, or show them partying, drinking etc. This is to project a certain image of being a good, marriageable girl.’

“I have clients who come to me for wedding gowns. Some refuse to wear heels if it makes them taller than their partners. Apparently, the woman should not look taller than the man. I tell them that the gown cannot be worn without heels, so they can stand a step lower on the stage during the wedding.

– Raman, a 27-year old fashion designer in Delhi

I.VII SEXUAL HARASSMENT BY BOYS AND MEN

Sexual harassment is commonly seen as a rite of passage for young men and a minor aberration of masculinity, if at all. It is widely accepted that boys and men are naturally prone to harass women, and therefore it is the responsibility of the girl/woman and her family to limit her mobility. In Udaipur, alcoholism and beating a woman were considered more serious transgressions of a 'good' man than sexual harassment. Criticizing men's attitudes towards sexual harassment, women at a workshop in Udaipur city mimicked men with their expression, 'hum toh aadmi hain, ho jaata hai' (we are men, it happens). The response of older women in Sayra was, 'Yes it (sexual harassment by men) is bad but what to do, men will be men. You just have to forgive and forget.'

Forty-eight-year old Rohan has witnessed incidents of sexual harassment in Delhi and heard prescriptions for women:

In the middle-class family I come from, women who face sexual harassment are told to play it down. There is so much corruption... dealing with the police becomes an additional hassle. And girls generally learn early that such harassment is a part of their lives. That they do not have to report such matters. This would bring them and their family shame. So often they keep silent...and still, at the end of the day, the whole blame can go to the woman.'

I.VIII FARM-WORK TABOOS

Women are not supposed to till or plough the land, or even drive a tractor. Seen as manly tasks, if performed by women, they supposedly bring shame to the men of the family. In families where the men have migrated or passed away, women wait for the migrants to return

or hire male labourers for these jobs. The common explanation for this norm is that physically exerting farm jobs are not supposed to be done by women. However, harvesting or fetching heavy pails of water, fodder and firewood from kilometres away, a few times every day, is strenuous enough and is done almost entirely by women. Therefore, this taboo seems to be not about women's physical strength but about the social construction of gendered roles, which in turn restrict the women from doing more gainful/productive things.

I.IX SOCIAL CONNECTIVITY

Across rural and urban sites in Udaipur, girls' ownership of mobile phones was seen as a potential conduit for their contact with boys and thereby a cause for pre-marital, inter-caste/faith relations. However, boys were handed phones without much scrutiny or fuss. Khushboo Bai, a 40 plus woman from the Barwada block, said, 'Mobile phones destroy modesty. Recently an SC girl eloped with a Harijan boy. Mobiles corrupt the young ones. They take the wrong path.' Young (14-18 years) girls from Royda village in Udaipur's Gogunda block listed the use of mobile phones as a sign of a bad woman/girl. Older, mostly illiterate women in Sayra too did not support mobile phone use by girls: 'We discourage them strictly but nowadays, they hide the mobile phones in their inner wear and talk to boys. This is very bad'. In Delhi, the mobile phone was seen by men and women an essential—a source of information, help and even safety.

I.X DECISION-MAKING AND AUTONOMY

In tandem with prevalent patriarchal views, the unmarried girl is mostly seen as 'paraya dhan' (wealth of another) by respondents across Udaipur. This is why the natal family takes it upon itself to make decisions for her as also ration her freedom. Adolescent girls in Royda village, Gogunda block, shared: 'People here say, "Get the girl married, her in-laws will decide if she needs to study or not". The family does this so that the "burden" does not fall on them. The family does not listen to the girls. If they say she needs to be married, she has to accept it.' A 35-year-old married woman

from Barwada reported being hit by her husband when she attended meetings for her voluntary work with a local NGO. Villagers advised her to not attend the meetings if her husband did not approve of it. Forty-year-old Laxmi Devi from Sayra shared that in her community (Prajapat, OBC), decision-making is solely a male prerogative. 'It is not that women are not capable of taking decisions but this is a deliberate attempt by society to keep women in a secondary position.' Women may be confident of stepping into traditionally male bastions of work (farming or mobile repairing) but their fear about others' reactions and men's fear over women's sexuality makes this change rather challenging.

If you give a woman freedom, then she can have relations with other men. So they have to be kept under control. If she steps out of the house for work, she can start feeling free. When some women went to the meeting of voluntary women's group, one of them went off with another man, leaving her husband and children behind.'

— Manjesh, 39 years, postgraduate male school teacher, Kherwada

I.XI INTERSECTIONS OF CASTE AND GENDER IN PAID WORK

In rural Udaipur, paid labour is also divided by caste hierarchies. Both Brahmin and Rajput respondents reported strictures about paid work for both men and women—they do not work at private construction sites but may take up NREGA work if necessary. Thirty-five year old Khushboo Bai, a Brahmin from Sayra explained, 'We Brahmins will get mocked at for working with tribals. Our men mostly take up cooking work in

Gujarat'. Twenty-one year old Soni, a Rajput woman from Sayra said, 'A daughter-in-law is the honour of the house. Among Rajputs, we are not allowed to perform heavy labour in public spaces. I can work from home as a tailor, etc.' At NREGA sites, upper-caste women prefer to take up supervisory roles, or as 40-year-old Bhanwari Bai, a Brahmin from Gogunda said, she serves drinking water to the workers.

I.XII EMPLOYMENT

In rural Udaipur, there are social norms against women's paid employment that takes them outside the house, especially at the cost of household chores. However, financial crisis or deprivation makes families bend this norm, indicating their dynamic relation with social norms. Seasonal employment is available in the farm sector but these have little appeal for girls with secondary and higher secondary education.⁸⁴ Men find it safe if their women could find work within the bounds of the village or panchayat. They preferred working as an unpaid worker in the field owned by their natal or marital family than paid work in others' farm. NREGA work is therefore both preferable and socially acceptable. The proximity of the NREGA work sites also allows women to continue to shoulder household responsibilities. Given the agricultural economy of the area with limited job diversity, the unavailability of suitable work for women is also a major factor why women's employment is low.

In middle/upper class Delhi on the other hand, paid employment is seen by women as a financial necessity or a source of meaningful identity and purpose. Sunita, 51, misses having a career: 'I could not have a job. Rich bahu (daughters-in-law) do not work, they said. It was suffocating because there was nothing for me to do there. I was miserable. So I had to find ways to get out of the house and stay meaningfully engaged. I started joining hobby classes, etc.'

84 Ibid.

OUTLIERS

THE DRIVER OF CHANGE

As a taxi driver, Amrit Pal is at home with the imagery of turns or bends on the road. When he describes the housework-focused lives of women in his (Bhil) community, he uses the imagery of a turn: '*Bhil samaaj mein auraton ke liye modh nahin hai, bas seedha hi chalte raho, ghar ka kaam karte raho, aur kuch nahin*' (There are no turning points in the lives of Bhil women. Just keep going straight, keep doing housework, nothing else). Thirty-six year old Amrit is a Class 10 drop out who can put any better-educated man (or woman) to shame with his progressive views. 'Some of my educated friends who work in offices and earn better than me treat their wives as domestic helpers (kaamwaalis)...I do as much work as my wife at home on days when I am home. I cook and even wash everyone's clothes. What is the big deal?'

As the only earning member of his family of six, Amrit started earning as a young teenager to support his parents and siblings. He grew up watching his father working in the kitchen, on family farm and washing dishes alongside his mother. Amrit and his two brothers were all trained to cook and clean the house early on, a habit that has helped him in his married life.

Any comments by neighbours and relatives about his housework do not bother him: 'I use such comments to strike up conversations about women's monotonous and tiring days. I tell men they should not be afraid of social ridicule. They should think that if women stopped cooking and cleaning, how will they even survive?'

Amrit is passing on his values about the respect for and merits of doing housework to his school-going son and daughter. Although the Bhil community does not allow women to till land, Amrit plans to reject this: 'I will teach both my son and daughter to work on the field so that they are self-sufficient in their lives and can manage anything by themselves.'

Takeaways:

Across rural sites and communities there are more gender norms pertaining to women than men.

Gendered division of labour is one of the most resistant of norms and women's unpaid care work the site of least change.

The power of norms and the fear of non-conformism is more palpable in rural pockets.

The intersectionalities of norms (of gender and caste/ community) and objective conditions of existence that shape lives, particularly those of women.

Conformity and resistance to norms co-exist, especially in the realms of education and clothing.

There are indications of patriarchies and oppression across all communities, including tribals (as observed by other researches studies)⁸⁵

85 Irudayam, A.S.J., J.P. Mangubhai, and JG. Lee. (2011). Dalit women speak out: Caste, class and gender violence in India. New Delhi: Zubaan.

PART II

UNPAID CARE WORK: THE CANVAS OF INEQUALITY





UNPAID CARE WORK REMAINS THE PRIMARY IDENTITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN ACROSS RURAL AND URBAN SITES.

RURAL POOR WOMEN REASSERT THEIR PRIMARY IDENTITY AS CAREGIVERS. URBAN EDUCATED WOMEN SHUN THE SAME BUT MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY OF CARE REMAINS WITH THEM.

DISPROPORTIONATE WORKLOADS OF CARE ON WOMEN HAS SPILLOVER EFFECTS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S LIVES SUCH AS EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN PUBLIC SPACES.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SPACES OF PRIVATE/ REPRODUCTIVE AND PUBLIC/PRODUCTIVE LABOUR GET BLURRED IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN, ESPECIALLY RURAL WOMEN.

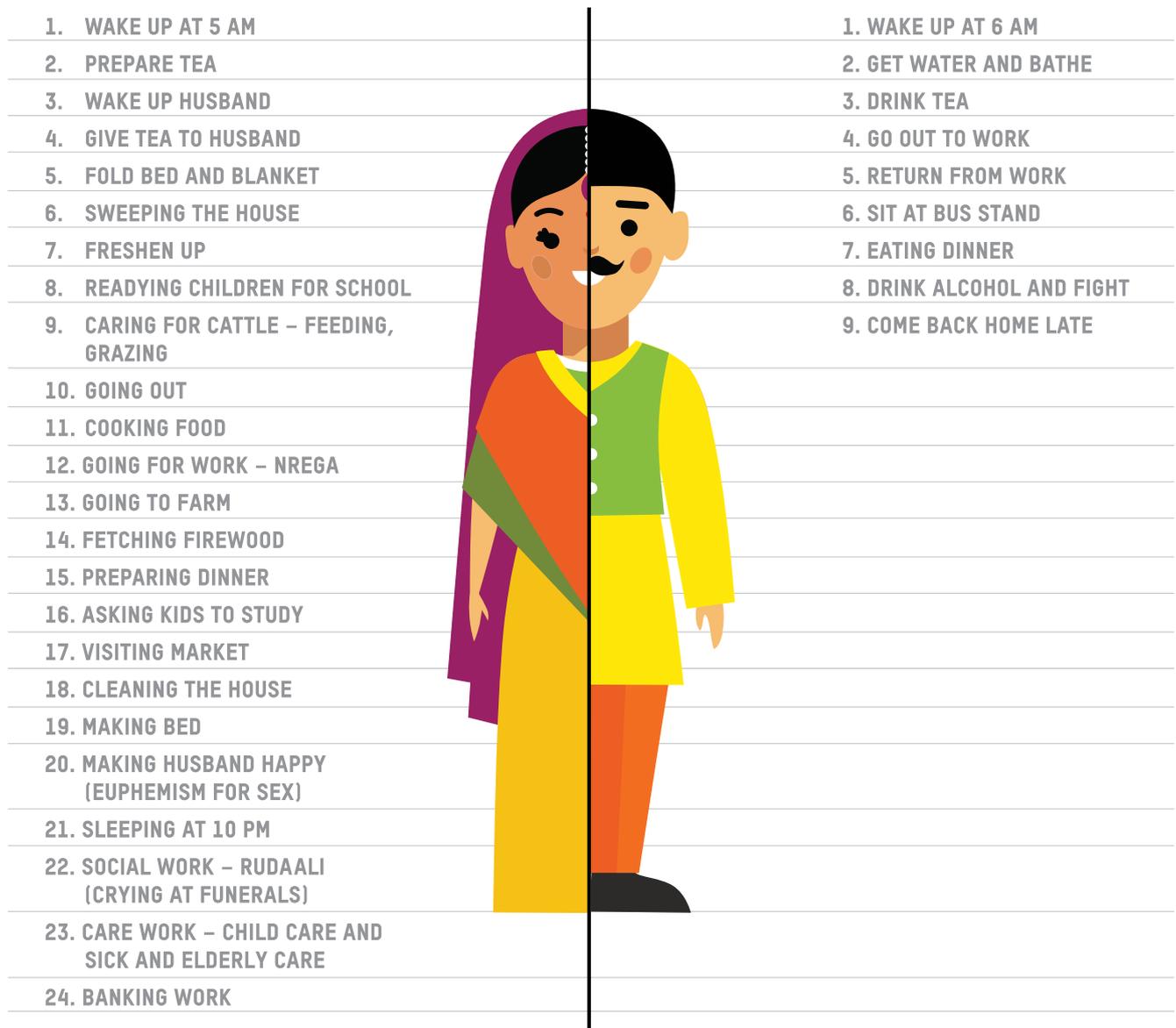
**'Chaar bajaan ki uthhi main toh ghatti peesandh lagi re
...ghatti peesat-peesat main toh buaari kaadhan lagi re,
kaadhat kaadhat kamarriya dukhi, koondh na koun re..'**

—A Mewari/Wagdi folk song that has a woman describe her endless, exhausting housework starting with grinding grains at 4 am

The interrelated and interacting norms featured in the last chapter have a crucial part to play in the everyday lives of girls and women. How much of the private/reproductive and public/productive dichotomy, if at all, is put into practice is determined by the currency of the norm and other socio-economic determinants. How does the dichotomy play out in the lives of people from a spectrum of class, rural and urban backgrounds? This is the focus of this chapter which presents findings, insights and narratives from rural Udaipur and Delhi.

ON WOMEN'S BACKS

Figure II.8 (RURAL) WOMAN AND MAN'S 24 HOUR WORK CYCLE⁸⁶



Blurred lines of 'work' and 'non-work' time for full-time home makers

Afreen, a home maker in Udaipur city, said she manages to watch television in the middle of the day when her auto-driver husband is away at work and their two children are at school. However, it is also the time when she is chopping vegetables or sweeping. 'A woman's work is never done. Where is the spare time? I have to be available, always, to the children and the husband.'

⁸⁶ Based on a workshop in Berwada, Udaipur, conducted on 10 September 2019, attended by 17 SC women in the age group of 25-50 years.

PAID AND UNPAID WORK ETHICS: INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD

II.I HOUSE AND CARE WORK IS WOMEN'S WORK

“There are two women in the house— my wife and my mother, so there is no need for me to do housework.

— Sohan, 22, Barolia, Salumbar

50% WOMEN SAID MEN SHOULD NOT HELP IN UNPAID CARE WORK. 'WHAT WILL PEOPLE SAY ABOUT US WOMEN?'⁸⁷

67.5 percent of women and men interviewed agreed that gendered division of labour is not appropriate. Yet, in rural Udaipur, most girls and women found it unacceptable that their male relatives (sons, brothers, fathers and fathers-in-law or husbands) should have to perform household and care work. The reason was the stigma around women's lack of housework and the shaming of men who perform housework. In the words of Khushboo Bai, 'Clothes must be washed by the mother or the woman of the house. When I am around, why should my sons have to wash their clothes? Jobs that involve heavy labour and weight are anyway done by males. Where there are girls/women, roti must be made by them. If you are a female, you have to cook. It is women's work. Why change this?'—40 year old Khushboo Bai, from Barwada

These narratives corroborate other findings that housework is mostly seen as women's primary responsibility⁸⁸. In contrast the educated, urban male respondents looked upon unpaid care and domestic work as a task to be shared equally. Delhi-based 42-year old Deepak Tiwari said, 'I never feel that I should not help with household work after I get back from office. That is as much my responsibility as my paid job during the day.'



A BHIL WOMAN CAN BE DIVORCED IF SHE IS UNABLE TO DO HOUSEHOLD CHORES PROPERLY⁸⁹

II.II WHAT ELSE WILL WE DO? (RURAL UDAIPUR)

This question was raised by 35-year old Radha Bai from Barwada, when she was asked if she would like to see men engage more in unpaid care work. Her response: 'If he does my work, what will I do? Unpaid Care Work is women's work. Men should not have to wash clothes, cook and so on.'

Given their little education, no marketable skills, no or erratic employment options⁹⁰ and restricted mobility, girls and women in rural Udaipur see unpaid care work as their only meaningful labour. For 30-year old Seeta Bai from Barwada, housework is her only option. 'Had I gone to school and been educated, I would have gotten a job and been independent. What else can I do except

⁸⁷ At a workshop in Sayra block where there were 31 women participants.

⁸⁸ Deshpande, Ashwini. (2019). 'The Visible and Invisible Barriers to Indian Women Working', The India Forum, 2 August, Source: <https://www.theindiaforum.in/authors/ashwini-deshpande>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

⁸⁹ Majhi, Anita Srivastava (2010). Tribal Culture, Continuity, and Change: A Study of Bhils in Rajasthan, New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

⁹⁰ The decline in the female labour force participation rate in rural areas is far greater than that in urban areas. The urban rate fell from 165 per 1,000 in 1993 to 155 in 2011, whereas in rural areas it fell from 330 to 253 in the same period. Salve, Prachi (2019). 'Why Rural Women Are Falling Out Of India's Workforce At Faster Rates Than Urban Women', India Spend, Source: <https://www.indiaspend.com/why-rural-women-are-falling-out-of-indias-workforce-at-faster-rates-than-urban-women/>. Accessed on 17 December 2019

house work?' Seeta was never sent to school because she had five younger sisters to look after.

Older (55 years and above) women in Sayra were uncomfortable with the discussion around the quantification of their unpaid care work in terms of time, effort and monetary value. Sixty-year old Tulsi Bai at the workshop in Sayra asked the workshop facilitator, 'Why are you talking about all this? This is our everyday work...what is there to talk about? A woman's work is a woman's work, there is nothing to discuss in it. Women have to do this. Why are you wasting our time?' In a mixed generation workshop held in Udaipur city, older women got uncomfortable with the idea of men helping out with unpaid care work in the household.

II.III 'I HAVE BETTER THINGS TO DO' (DELHI)

**ACCORDING TO IHD-CDRA
PRIMARY SURVEY,
40.4% OF HOUSEHOLDS
IN DELHI HIRED PAID
DOMESTIC WORKERS.⁹¹**

In contrast to the poor women in rural Udaipur whose socio-economic landscapes denied them opportunities for education and/or employment, the middle/upper class, women of Delhi had the choice to invest their time and effort in 'better things' (career, hobbies and so on). Seventy-nine year old academic and chairperson of an NGO, Mamta recognizes and respects unpaid care work yet would rather dedicate her time to other life goals: 'Unpaid care work is hard work, skilled work, and requires lot of mindfulness and patience. Yet I have always been career minded. Except for six years after the birth of my son, when I wanted to be with him, I

have been in paid/unpaid positions since my thirties, including currently. Those years without a job were very painful for me.'

Sunita's upper-class household has a few domestic helpers who cook, clean, wash clothes and buy groceries. Her reasons for hiring help are: 'I am not interested in doing these chores. I do not like being bound by them. If I can hire people, I would rather. I want my time to do interesting things. It means freedom for me. There should be a choice for women. As a modern mother, I do more quality work...teaching my kids, being their emotional support...that's a different form of labour...I also visit relatives. I enjoy some parts of that. I take care of the health of my in-laws with doctors' visits.'

Sunita's contribution to the family is qualitatively different from that of her mother-in-law, yet it is a manifestation of the same role—that of a caregiver. While Sunita has the opportunity to outsource unpaid care and domestic work in the house such as cooking and cleaning, nevertheless, her primary identity as a caregiver remains—she is personally involved in the care of her children, extended family and in-laws. She also remains accountable for the supervision of care work related to the household such as cooking, cleaning and so on.

II.IV WOMEN'S CARE: THE X FACTOR ACROSS URBAN/RURAL DIVIDE

In Delhi as well as in rural Udaipur, raising children and affective labour was an important marker of women's identity and a source of pride and contentment. It earned them a respectable position, albeit one involving relentless work. This naturalization of caregiving was defended by both men and women as 'maternal care' and struck a chord among all respondents who saw it as women's innate ability and biggest contribution.

91 Source: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_622812.pdf. Accessed on 29 November 2019.

“No one can replicate the mother. I can hold my mother, keep my head on her shoulders. I still sit close to my mother on her cot, but I cannot sit close to my father. He only knows how to shout and speak loudly. I have never shared a meal with my father.

— Manjesh, 39 years, a postgraduate and school teacher, Kherwada

Most rural women saw mothering not as ‘work’ but as a ‘natural’ and gratifying expression of family life: *‘Bachha toh apna hota, kisi aur ka thodi hai. Apne bachhe ka kaam karna toh achha hai’* (the child is mine, not someone else’s. It is good to perform chores for one’s own child), said 35 year old Radha Bai from Barwada, Udaipur.

Delhi-based respondents (such as 43 year old Pammi from Noida) reinterpreted the glorified norm of maternal care. Even though she has hired a domestic worker, she uses her time to focus on her children’s health, education and extra-curricular activities. This lends her choice greater social acceptability for having chosen childcare over career. In her study of mothering in Delhi, Nandy (2017)⁹² observed that in upper-middle households, the idea of the physically present or available ‘good mother’ is salient. By ‘choosing’ childcare over other forms of unpaid, household work and even paid work, they are able to counter the ‘negligent mother’ image used for women’s delegation of child care (especially to non-familial, commercial crèches). Some women reframe their professional work as integral to their good mothering, not in opposition to it.

II.V IN UPPER-CLASS DELHI, DOMESTIC WORKERS INDISPENSABLE

OVER 2 LAKH DOMESTIC WORKERS IN DELHI (2017-2018)⁹³

120% INCREASE IN DOMESTIC WORKERS IN INDIA BETWEEN 1991 AND 2001 (FROM 7,40,000 TO 16.6 LAKH)⁹⁴

In 27 year old Raman’s household in Lutyen’s Delhi, it is neither the woman of the house nor female ‘maids’ but the two male live-in domestic helpers and the male drivers who are indispensable. The household loses its rhythm and momentum if and when they go on leave. In the city, one can find women such as Raman’s sister who does not cook and neither does her husband:

“She does not know how to cook. When it was time for her to get married, she said she will not marry a man who expects her to cook. Luckily she found such a partner. She only does what she likes to at home, not what she is forced to. They have delegated all housework to hired domestic workers.’

For professional millennials such as 27 year old Ragini Sharma, housework is not her primary responsibility and only means ‘helping out’. ‘I saw my father share the household work with my mother and us. I see my father-in-law help with household work too. He regularly cooks for the family too. But my husband is

92 Nandy, Amrita (2017). *Motherhood and Choice: Uncommon Mothers, Childfree Women*, New Delhi: Zubaan and New Text.

93 Source: <https://thewire.in/labour/why-are-so-few-delhi-women-participating-in-the-workforce>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

94 Source: <https://thewire.in/rights/domestic-helps-abuse-exploitation>. Accessed on 17 December, 2019.

different. He needs to be nudged to take on unpaid care work. So I am teaching him to share the work with me.' Ragini cooks occasionally when she wants to because there are other women to do it—the domestic help, her mother and mother-in-law.

II.VI HOUSE WORK PERVADES ALL PHASES OF WOMEN'S LIVES

For women in Delhi, villages of rural Udaipur as well as lower/middle-class colonies of Udaipur city, household work is the running thread in the lives of young girls and women. Starting from their early adolescent years right up to their older years, girls and women stay involved—everyday—in childcare, cooking and cleaning, care of the elderly and sick and other household functions. Sixteen-old Ramli from Salumbar listed all the work that she is expected to do at home every day, before and after her school: 'I do all kinds of work. In the fields I cut the harvest, pull out weeds, collect fodder for the animals, etc. I also fetch firewood and drinking water sometimes. I also have to take care of them, even bathe the smaller ones. After returning from school, I have to make around 20 chapatis every day besides cleaning utensils and washing clothes.'

Rajni Bai, an unschooled 80-year-old respondent from Salumbar and mother to eight children, continues to work in the family's field, help in household chores and minding her many grandchildren. Her explanation for women's excessive workload is: 'Women must have committed certain mistakes in the past because of which we have such norms. One of my daughters had to drop out of school after class 4 because of the burden of household work.'

For boys and men, housework—if at all—seems to peak in their early parenting years when they may pitch more in child care duties such as minding the child. Otherwise, it is mostly outdoors-related shopping or physically-exerting tasks that feature in their slim contribution to the unpaid care schedule.

OUTLIER

THE SARPANCH⁹⁵ SAHIB

While the 38 year old 'sarpanch sahib' (sarpanch sir) sat in the verandah of his big house talking to visitors, his wife walked back home in the rain from the community hand pump with a pail of water on her head. Minutes later, she reappeared briefly in the verandah with a broom to clear the rain water that had collected. Finally, she came back carrying tea, served the visitors and then went inside the house. She is also known by the title, 'sarpanch patni' (wife of the sarpanch).

However, she has been the elected sarpanch for the last 4 years, but, as she explains, 'My husband works as the sarpanch because I have to do all the household work ... I wake up, sweep the house, milk the cows, fetch drinking water, make tea, cook food, wash the utensils, work on my father-in-law's fields, cut grass and fodder for the cattle, feed the animals, wash clothes and so on. People keep pouring in all day to meet him so I have to keep making tea for the guests. I also have my children to take care of. Plus, I have to go for meeting sometimes to sign certain documents. I do not know anything about the sarpanch's responsibilities, so he does it ... Women here cannot go out alone without permission. So, household work is appropriate for them.'

Justifying why men are not ideal for housework, the 'sarpanch sahib' (her husband) shares, 'Men can do housework but not as well as women. Women have a lot of patience and self-confidence. It is mentioned in the Vedas. Men are meant for outside work only.'

Listening to the conversation, their adolescent, school-going daughter chips in: 'I hate housework. No one respects you even if you keep working like an animal.' She has the last word.

95 The title of the head of the village.

II.VII WOMEN'S WORK AS IDENTITY AND SELFHOOD

In feminist analyses, the disproportionate unpaid care that women perform is often seen as an obstacle in women's fuller, empowered lives. However, in rural Udaipur, this portrayal was nuanced by some full-time homemakers' favourable opinion of their heavy load of care work. In the lives of illiterate/semi-literate women who are discouraged from seeking paid work outside the house, if available, the roles of 'wife' and 'mother' were central to their aspirations and identities. *Lugai ka kaam lugai ko karna hai* (women's work has to be done by women) is a common refrain in rural Udaipur. With such acceptance of women's unpaid care work, the question about its fairness got sidestepped for many respondents.

So, the task ahead lies beyond advocacy for redistribution of care between men and women. It requires deeper and collective reflection and challenge vis-à-vis the social construct of gender, its norms and their sexist dimensions. Moreover, a number of other steps need to be put in place to facilitate women's engagement in paid work such as safe public transport, safer public and work spaces.

However, there are outliers such as Rehana. A 32-year old, unmarried tailor, Rehana does not enjoy housework and refuses to be the only caregiver in a family: 'My own marriage has been an issue because I am outspoken and confident, used to a free life with my parents. Where will I find such a family, a man who supports and lets me be? Who does not impose care work on his wife?' So integral is household and care work to women's lives that it can threaten other aspects of their lives such as marriage.

On the other hand, of the 12 interviews conducted in Delhi, all the women (post-graduates, all) found cooking and

cleaning to be onerous. For women in paid employment, their work was central to their selfhood and public identities, and helped them build a parallel narrative to traditional gender roles and scripts. Others such as Sunita or Pammi (See pages 44 and 45 respectively) like to evoke their agency in being able to 'choose'—to an extent—their careers as caregivers to their children and dimensions such as clothing, social mobility and so on.

II.VIII MALE ABSENCE/MIGRATION AS A SURVIVAL AND LIVELIHOOD

Since south Rajasthan has been a hub for out-migration (largely) of young boys and men,⁹⁶ the increase in women's responsibility towards household and care work is often accepted as a result of poverty and local unemployment. In families where men were locally employed, their absence was justified (by men and many women) by their physical absence during the day, exertion, and lack of time.

Scholars such as Ghosh⁹⁷ propose an expansive definition of work that includes women's unpaid care work. As per this definition, women work more than men and the work participation rate for all women in India has been consistently higher than men. In 2011-12, across both rural and urban areas, the total female work participation rate was as high as 86.2 percent compared to 79.8 percent for men.⁹⁸

In their response, both women and men hold a sympathetic view of the men's struggles as workers in the harsh lives of cities for the sake of their families. A 70 year dalit, Parshuram from Sagra village in Sayra block said that, 'When I used to work, I would leave at 7:00 am in the morning. I worked to construct temples. My workplace was outside my village so I left early in the morning. I got back home around 5:30-6:00 pm'. Did you help your wife with housework after you

96 Source: <http://www.aajeevika.org/assets/pdfs/Impact%20of%20male%20migration%20on%20women%20in%20south%20Rajasthan.pdf>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

97 Ghosh, Jayati (2016). 'Time Poverty and The Poverty of Economics', METU Studies in Development, Vol, 43, No. 1. Source: <http://www2.feas.metu.edu.tr/metusd/ojs/index.php/metusd/article/view/879>. Accessed on 26 October 2018.

98 Ibid.

returned, we asked, 'No, I used to be too tired working all day. My wife made me tea and dinner and I just rested, spent time at the village centre chatting with other men. What are women for? This is their job, not ours!' His wife worked to earn a living too and worked all day at home and in the family farm, tending to cattle. She is naturally not expected to be tired but must soldier on.

II.IX GREATER VALUE ON MEN'S WORK

In rural Udaipur, more participants (men and women) valued men's work, in terms of its physical and mental labour as well as the skill required. Twenty-two year old migrant Madanlal, who works in a saree cutting factory in Surat said, 'Aadmi ka bojh aadmi hi jaanta hai, aurat ka kya hai, kuch nahin' (Only a man can understand the burden a man carries. What about a woman's, it is nothing).

This narrative was accompanied by women's internalization of the low worth of their unpaid care work or what Prem Chowdhry has referred to as women's 'self-imposed subalterism'.⁹⁹ Emotional work required in managing family relations did not feature in the tally of women's work.

Work outside the house is more difficult, we work all day, every day. Housework is a restful job (ghar ka kaam araam ka kaam hai). A woman does not do anything, there is hardly any work except cooking and fetching water. Outside work requires more skill. Household work is nothing. I will do all of it in just one hour. Women cannot manage that, they work slowly, as there is nothing else to do. A man's brain runs faster than a woman's. Women cannot run fast or plough the field.

— Ramanlal, 33 years, a farmer in Salumbar

Women such as 35 year old Khushboo Bai from Sayra too undervalue women's contribution:

Men work more and harder than women. Men perform heavier tasks. A man can go without food for 2 days. They have sehan shakti (endurance). Women need food at noon and then they sleep. In the summer, they cut grass and then come home at noon, eat and sleep till 4. Women do not sweat. Men work all day long in the sun. Aurat ke kaam mein load kam hai (There is less load in women's work). Work outside the house requires more skill. If that work is not done, where will the money come from? Household work has scope for correction, revision but not paid work.'

When respondents in rural Udaipur were asked to rate different paid and unpaid work in terms of parameters (such as Work, Requiring Skill, Was for the Welfare of the Family, and Value), the exercise was quite a challenge. Most men and women understood 'value' as that which is earned as an income, not the unpaid labour of housework. As 60-year old Meenu Bai, a Rajput woman from Sayra observed, 'Men go out and work. They get paid for it. They get recognition for it. Women's primary work is in the house. What is there to recognize in it? It is their natural, daily chores. There is no skill, and no value attached to it. Even if women go out to work, they do less valuable work than men do. Besides, that is not their primary duty. So there is no recognition in it.'

The neat separation of 'men's work' from the assortment of labour that is called 'women's work' is conceptually flawed. Raman's account about his mother's labour in the house and the business speaks to this flaw:

⁹⁹ Chowdhry, Prem (1993). 'High Participation, Low Evaluation: Women and Work in Rural Haryana', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 28, No. 52, 25 December.

“My mother helped set up the family business. She would get home from work, and do some more office work, and perform and supervise housework. My mother could manage things without our father, but he could not manage without her. Yet it is known as “his” business. She feels that all her contribution went unacknowledged within the family and outside.

II.X NEED-INDUCED PAID WORK FOR WOMEN

The patriarchal understanding that household responsibilities and caregiving is women’s most crucial responsibility has currency across the rural and urban divide. No compromise is accepted on this front. In fact, a job for women is considered necessary only under financial duress. As the reserve labour force in the economy, women are most sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. Women withdraw from paid labour as soon as the financial health of the family improves. They join the workforce when the economy squeezes out a little space for them to gain employment and withdraw in times of extreme distress such as demonetization or the shrinking economy and during periods of relative economic stability and returns.¹⁰⁰ They are a transient population in the Indian economy and hence their value too is effusive.

“Employment for women is seen as important only if the family needs her salary, not otherwise. Aspirations, identity and meaning are not to be gotten via work for women, but through the family.

– Sunita, 51 years, home maker in Delhi

“Women should not work outside the house if the husband earns well enough. Their housework is more important than the money they bring.

– Sudha bai, 40 years, Barwada, home maker

II.XI MASCULINE PRIDE: STAY-AT-HOME OR EARNING WIFE?

Some men whose wives did not earn but worked at home saw this as a matter of pride—that as providers of the family, they were capable enough of feeding them and did not depend upon the wife’s earnings to run the house. Twenty-two year old Ram from Salumbar said, ‘I never ask my wife to go outside and earn. I have always let her handle the household responsibilities. She must have worked outside before marriage but has never had to after coming to my house.’

The urban male, on the other hand, was found to take pride in his wife’s earning capabilities. Urban life, is presumably more difficult, with high cost of living. Rahul Shekhar who is a Class X dropout and his wife earn close to INR 45000 a month. They aspire to educate their two daughters in the best universities, and so his wife’s financial contribution is welcomed by him. He also shares housework. ‘On Saturdays and Sundays I tell my wife and girls to go out for leisure trips, shopping, watch television and generally relax, while I take over the household duties. I cannot make chapattis but I do all the cooking, cleaning and other household tasks. My girls and wife must also get a break from daily routine during the week.’

II.XII THE PARADOX OF WOMEN’S PAID AND UNPAID WORK

In the absence of any help for the range of house and care work that women perform, paid employment may not be the panacea that it is often projected to be. Afridi et al.¹⁰¹ shows that the decline in FLFP is mostly

100 Dutta, Diya (2019). ‘The State of Employment in India: A Political Narrative’, Mind the Gap: State of Employment in India. New Delhi: Oxfam India

101 Farzana, Afridi, Dinkleman, Tanya and Mahajan, Kanika. (2017). ‘Why Are Fewer Married Women Joining the Work Force in India? A Decomposition Analysis over Two Decades’, IZA DP No 9722, IZA Discussion Paper Series.

among rural married women because of the multiple demands on their time and labour from the family. Paid labour may add to the economic empowerment of women but could also add to her time poverty if there is no or little delegation, and worsen the quality of her life. A group of 25-50 year old women from Barwada said, 'When women take up regular paid employment or seasonal work, it does not ease their condition. They struggle far more because it increases their workload.'

II.XIII MEN'S OCCASIONAL, SELECTIVE 'HELP' AND ANXIETIES OVER UCW

“ If people see a man do housework, they may think something is wrong. Is the wife not home? Is she unwell? Is there something wrong with the marriage? Did they have a flight? Wife ne daba ke rakhha hai (his wife controls him). My father is helpful, but mostly he has pitched in while my mother has had the lion's share of work to do. My father will cook if needed but he will never do jhadoo-pochha (sweeping-mopping). I am different. I can do that too, if required.”

— Raman, 27 years, Delhi-based fashion designer

A common refrain about men performing supposedly 'women's work' was found in popular discourse in both the states. Yet, the severity of the refrain seemed to be more palpable in rural Udaipur. In all the villages of rural Udaipur as well the urban homes of Udaipur city, men who are seen to be doing 'women's work' face mockery. There are popular expletives for such men. Those who wash their wives' clothes or do the dishes are called 'raandiyā' or 'bailā'. Raminder, the 38 year old husband of the sarpanch and the de facto sarpanch, himself found it very difficult to accept men, including himself, washing clothes: 'It is impossible for men to wash their wives' clothes. They can do all other household work except washing clothes. There's a fear that people might mock them.'

CURTAILED LIVES

Twenty-nine-year-old Shehnaz is a medical transcription worker at a private hospital in Udaipur. She lives in a tiny, rented two-room house that overlooks an overflowing sewage. She shares the house with her parents (both daily wagers at factories), her divorced elder sister and her two sons, one of whom is disabled, mentally disturbed and bed-ridden for life.

The daily care of the disabled child (cleaning, dressing and feeding), cooking and cleaning for the family is the responsibility of her domestic-worker sister and mother. Shehnaz works six days a week, 10 am to 6 pm. On Sundays, her only day off, she joins her sister and mother in domestic work. Shehnaz's father has never helped.

The three women bear the most psychological cost of this care arrangement, adding to the exhaustion and impoverishment of their daily lives.

'I have many dreams about my personal and professional life, but I keep burying them. Who will take care of my parents if I were to marry and leave? My sister anyway works for a few hours every day because she has to look after her disabled son. I earn the most, so the buck stops at me. I cannot leave my parents, I cannot study more for a better job.' —Shehnaz

TAKEAWAYS:

Rural Udaipur

In the subsistence economy of rural Udaipur, across caste and community divisions, women and girls shoulder the daily, intensive labour related to unpaid care work within and outside the house, including childcare, animal care, domestic chores, besides firewood, fodder and water collection.

Women from materially deprived families are engaged in both unpaid and paid labour.

Men and boys offer help 'sometimes' and for certain tasks, especially those that involve outdoor work. Men fear being shamed for doing housework and women fear being shamed for making men do housework.

The impact of this disproportionate unpaid care workload shapes—directly and indirectly—several other dimensions of the lives of girls and women, including 'opportunity costs' in terms of their stunted aspirations and imaginations.

The conceptual dichotomy of private/reproductive and public/productive labour is fuzzy in the case of women from materially deprived families. They are engaged in labour spanning both the spheres. For example, on the family farm, at construction sites and even at the workshops we conducted, women have had to continue to tend to babies and toddlers. Girls as young as six years start fetching water for the family carrying pots of water.

Men, on the other hand, dedicate their time and energy to paid work and have a choice with regard to their engagement in the family's unpaid care work.

Unpaid care work emerges as one of the most prominent causes and consequences of inequality between girls and boys, and women and men.

Women's high contribution as unpaid labour, including for the family farm, marks their high levels of participation in the production economy yet the irony is that this work is not considered as 'work' by both men and women.

Men's paid work holds greater value than women's paid work (seen as supplementary source of income) as well as their (unrecognized) unpaid work.

Paid work is not seen as compatible with women's primary responsibilities of daily unpaid care work in terms of the time required to be invested in both.

Delhi

Middle/upper class educated women have the choice of outsourcing their unpaid care work responsibilities to other women from poorer families. In cases where care work cannot be outsourced for some reason, female family members of the family are responsible for housework.

Women continue to be the supervisors, coordinators and organizers of housework done by the hired domestic helper in upper class families.

Domestic work relies on women's labour and fills the gap created by lack of public services of childcare. The domestic help juggles both her paid care work with her unpaid care work duties at home.

In many families that delegate housework to workers, including upper class families, cooking is still expected to be done by the woman of the family. Cleaning the house or washing clothes are accorded less importance and can be delegated with less supervision to domestic helpers.

Among dual-earner couples in Delhi, the division of housework can be less skewed, yet gendered nonetheless.

The educated female professional may not associate with unpaid care work as her predominant role or identity, yet carries the most responsibility for its performance and/or supervision.

PART III

**PAID WORK, UNPAID
CARE WORK AND
VIOLENCE AGAINST
WOMEN**





VIOLENCE AGAINST GIRLS AND WOMEN EMERGES FROM A RANGE OF INTER-CONNECTED STRUCTURAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS. DISCRIMINATORY PATRIARCHAL NORMS LIE AT THE CENTRE OF THAT RANGE, ALONG WITH UNPAID CARE WORK.

UNPAID CARE WORK IS THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WOMAN AND SO IF SHE COMMITS A 'MISTAKE' (GALTI) BY NOT PERFORMING HER DUTIES, SHE MUST BE PUNISHED (WITH VIOLENCE) BY THE MEN.

Figure 9: Direct causes of violence towards women versus triggers that lead to violence towards women

“Ghar ka kaam ka itna bhoj hi apne mein hinsa hai.”
(The burden of house work in itself is violence)

- Arfa, 24-year-old Master's student, Udaipur

The intersection between women's UCW and VAWG has been touched upon in the previous two chapters. This chapter focuses on how (a) transgression of norms around women's unpaid care work can be met with threats of violence or can trigger or cause violence against women, and (b) the linkages between paid work and sexual harassment in public or work spaces.

The intention of this chapter is to further enrich the findings of the Oxfam India Household Care Survey 2019.¹⁰² The Survey found that in households where men and women express greater acceptability of beating women, women spend 42 minutes longer on paid work and care work as well as spend 48 minutes less on leisure activities.¹⁰³ This finding establishes a crucial link between unpaid care work and VAWG in India.

Since unpaid care work is central to women's lives—symbolically and/or actually—it is intricately linked to the violence she may be subjected to. Even as a trigger to violence against women, unpaid care work deserves a place in the strategies that counter violence against women, be it domestic violence or structural violence faced by them and their partners.

102 A 1000 household survey was conducted among SC, ST, and Muslim populations in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and Chattisgarh.

103 Dutta, Diya. (2019). 'No Work Is Easy: Notes from the Field on Women's Unpaid Care Work', Mind the Gap: The State of Employment in India. New Delhi: Oxfam India.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT WORKPLACE AND PAID WORK

III.I FEAR OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN DETERS RURAL EMPLOYMENT

In terms of data on crime, Rajasthan recorded the fifth highest number of crimes against women.¹⁰⁴ As per the NFHS 4 data, as much as 23 percent women in the age group of 15 to 49 years have faced physical or sexual violence in their lives. However, an overwhelming majority of girls and women in the select blocks of rural Udaipur claimed that they had never experienced sexual harassment in the public or at their worksites.

**IN RURAL UDAIPUR
23 OUT OF 28
GIRLS AND WOMEN HAVE NOT
FACED SEXUAL HARASSMENT
AT WORK**

Most male respondents too denied the occurrence of sexual harassment in their villages. This near absence of sexual harassment of girls/women can be explained by the fact that most women work at home or on the family's field. Even when they enlist themselves for seasonal NREGA work, their worksites are within the radius of the village or panchayat. These areas are seen as 'safe zones'—the families and communities know each other, and are often related by kinship. Therefore there is less perceived or actual risk of sexual harassment by men from the same village/panchayat. For 19-year old Megha from Dundi village in Barwada block, women and girls are more susceptible to harassment outside their village.

However, 26 year old Kamli Bai from Paner gram panchayat offered a cautionary note—even a woman's high caste does not totally prevent her sexual harassment ('even Rajput women are harassed').

It could also be that women (and men) feared having to share incidents of sexual harassment because reporting it can be interpreted as admission of guilt and invites charge of dishonour and stigma. Respondents were heard saying, 'Yeh mere saath nahin hua hai par doosron ke saath toh aisa hua hai' (This has not happened to me but it has happened with other women).

During a workshop in Barwada, women shared that families fear their daughters' romantic involvement with boys (especially with those from another caste/community), 'elopement' and jhagdha chukana, a traditional practice wherein the girls' family has to make a hefty payment to the boys' family to settle the dispute over the elopement.

Yet, in a majority of narratives, 'sexual harassment' came up as a cause for the low representation of girls in senior school/college and women's poor participation in the labour force. This may be explained by the 'perceived' fear of sexual harassment by men and women, not so much due to 'actual' incidents of sexual harassment. Chakraborty et al.¹⁰⁵ too found that the rampant perception of crime against women deters women's work force participation in India, especially those from conservative and lower class families. Specifically, the stigma around rape is a forceful element of this deterrence.

For Hema, a 20 year old from Sayra, the solution to sexual harassment lies in women being home-bound. 'A woman's rightful place is in the home, doing housework. The moment she steps out of this protected space, she is vulnerable to violence and abuse by men...if she stepped out of the village and worked in a hotel, she would be harassed more because there would be stranger men there'. In this way, VAWG

104 Chatterji, Rohini. (2019). 'NCRB Leaves Out Data On Mob Lynchings, Shows Rise In Violence Against Women', Huffington Post, Source: https://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/ncrb-data-mob-lynchings-crimes-against-women_in_5dae8068e4b08cfcc321012f?utm_hp_ref=in-homepage. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

105 Chakraborty, Tanika, Anirban Mukherjee, Swapnika Reddy Rachapalli and Sarani Saha. (2018). 'Stigma of sexual violence and women's decision to work', World Development, Vol 103, March.

reinforces gendered divisions of public/private spaces also known as a spatial expression of patriarchy.

III.II DELHI WOMEN'S TACTICS FOR SAFETY

The situation is vastly different in Delhi. Sexual harassment against girls and women in Delhi is pervasive and frequent. As per the National Crime Records Bureau, crime against women in Delhi decreased in 2017 vis-à-vis the previous year but still remains several times higher than other metro cities.¹⁰⁶ In terms of the nature of crime against women, 'Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty' was recorded at 21.7 percent.

Unlike in rural Udaipur where sexual harassment deters women from seeking education/employment, in Delhi the respondents shared strategies, if any, to tackle sexual harassment. Twenty-seven year old Ragini, an HR executive in a company, shared that sexual harassment in public transport is commonplace. Her father taught her to be self-reliant and not be ashamed of 'giving it back to such men'. So when she was harassed in the crowded subway, she responded immediately. 'I took off my slipper, turned around and slapped the man in front of my father and others travelling in the metro. He ran away after that.'

Malti, a 46 year old MBA, human resource professional, has grown up in Delhi watching and experiencing sexual harassment. She describes it as a 'common' and 'regular' phenomenon, on the streets. She has observed that certain women, such as those from the north-eastern states, are more vulnerable to sexual harassment because their western clothes are misinterpreted as a sign of being 'easy'. As per Malti, women who are talkative and or dress stylishly are perceived as easy prey and willing by men. 'Men think that women enjoy their comments, that they dress up and wear makeup for their attention.' When she was harassed, Malti decided to keep silent about it.

Women very often do not report such incidents. They are conditioned to keep quiet. The fear is, "what will people say" and they reporting such crime is difficult because people say, "what sort of a woman is she, why is she telling everyone about it?" Women are engineered into silence on these issues. Or even told to not speak too much, to be the quiet type, to not talk loudly, to not sit like this or that. I think there is some change in all this in the last 10 or 15 years among the younger set in Delhi.'

Although Malti has been employed for nearly two decades, her mother calls her every evening to check on her to ask when she will leave office. 'My phone would ring and my colleagues would laugh and say, "oh, that's your mother calling." She still phones me on most evenings.' Families and women adopt such measures to ensure safety and assure themselves of it.

However, parents' fear of their girls' safety persist and do impose certain restrictions of women's choice of employment. Thus both Ragini Sharma and 34 year old Meira Singh mentioned that while their parents were open to them taking up any employment, jobs that require night shifts were a strict no. The reason was concerns of safety. Forty-eight year old Rahul Shekhar has two daughters and he harbours ambitious hopes of them becoming successful professionals. Yet, he too mentioned that jobs that require travel at night would not be encouraged at any cost.

¹⁰⁶ 'Cases of crimes against women down in Delhi but highest among metros', Hindustan Times, 22 October 2019, Source: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/cases-of-crimes-against-women-down-in-delhi-but-highest-among-metros/story-MfrfxR4JrevcoPFcnuUIHK.html>. Accessed on 17 December 2019.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND UNPAID CARE WORK

I will feel good if my husband helps me. But men usually say “why should we do it? Why have we brought you?” If women do not do the household work, their husbands will run after them with a stick to beat them.’

– 30 year old Seetabai, Barwada

... when my parents lived in a joint family, my father was responsible for his siblings. My father used to hit my mother a lot. What could he do? He had a lot of responsibility on him. It was not easy on him.’

– 23 year old Arfa, herself a survivor of domestic violence, Udaipur city

Studies on domestic violence featuring rural respondents report that women’s financial autonomy (via paid work) lessens their vulnerability to physical violence within marriages.¹⁰⁷ Research by Bina Agarwal indicates that women’s ownership of property helped them escape from and deter domestic violence.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the 2012 research by Jose that examines the link between paid work and violence against women in Rajasthan found no evidence between paid employment and decrease in spousal violence in cases of poor women, despite higher decision-making

by them. In fact, he suggested higher spousal violence for those in regular paid work and poverty.¹⁰⁹

As mentioned earlier, the causes for VAWG are multifarious. Even if a woman completes all her domestic tasks and is a supposedly ideal caretaker, she may still not be able to escape violence. It may therefore be conjectured that the root cause is undervaluing women (not just her labour, her intellect, etc.) and women’s subordination (lack of power) to men. Simply ensuring economic empowerment will not be able to bridge the power deficit—social and economic power and respect for women need to be enhanced. The undervaluing of women’s unpaid care work from national systems of accounting and women’s primary role as care workers is not a mere coincidence. Social norms play a vital role in bridging the socio-political and economic spheres of women’s work. Thus addressing social norms will have a greater impact on women’s lives than merely making employment available for them.

In terms of female literacy, contrary to common beliefs, higher female literacy may not always lead to increased decision-making power for the women in the household.¹¹⁰ What determines a woman’s vulnerability to violence is social norms and gender-based division of labour within the household. Perceptions about violence are intricately linked with notions of love and proprietorship—women belong to men, to families. They are property and therefore they can be treated as the family/men think fit. Some of the prominent findings that emerged about domestic violence vis-a-vis unpaid care work in rural Udaipur and Delhi are as follows:

107 Shagun Sabarwal, K.G. Santhya and Shireen I. Jejeebhoy. (2013). ‘Determinants of Marital Violence: Findings from a Prospective Study of Rural Women in India’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No. 16 (APRIL 20), pp. 41-45.

108 Agarwal, Bina. (2007). ‘Women and Property: Reducing Domestic Violence, Enhancing Group Rights’, *People and Policy* (July-September), New Delhi: Action Aid.

109 Jose, Sunny. (2012). ‘Women’s Paid Work and Well-being in Rajasthan’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 47, No. 45 (NOVEMBER 10), pp. 48-55.

110 Garg, Lavanya. (2017). ‘65% Indian Women Literate. 5% Have Sole Control Over Choosing Their Husband’, *India Spend*, 13 February. Source: <https://archive.indiaspend.com/cover-story/65-indian-women-literate-5-have-sole-control-over-choosing-their-husband-71113>. Accessed on 9 February 2019.

III.III WHAT IS VIOLENCE?

Conflict with one's spouse is seen as an unavoidable part of the marital fabric, and thereby any ensuing violence and abuse can get condoned and accepted. Women in rural and urban pockets of Udaipur reported a range of domestic violence and abuse—verbal, physical, financial, sexual and psychological. Not all forms of violence were recognized as violence by some respondents. Verbal abuse or threats by the husband, for example, were perceived as innocuous, bad moods, if at all. Male anger also enjoys a degree of impunity because of their supposedly 'natural' disposition. Some male and female respondents justified the denial of mobility and the 'right to choice' to girls and women as social norm, not as violations and deprivation of opportunities. Severe physical violence was condemned by all respondents,¹¹¹ although male respondents justified men's anger at women's poor performance of unpaid care work.

**IN RURAL UDAIPUR 8/22 WOMEN/
GIRLS FACED PHYSICAL VIOLENCE**

“ If the food is not served on time, I have to hit her. If the raab isn't made properly I hit her. What is she for if she cannot do her work properly? If she goes, I will get another woman to do the household work. I won't do it all myself. I get angry with my daughter if she doesn't graze the goats properly. I hit her blindly, anywhere on her body. When she burns the food or when the salt is not right, I scold her and warn her. But if repeated mistakes happen, I have to hit her. I praise her too when she does something properly.

—Ramanlal, 33, farmer from Salumbar

IN RURAL UDAIPUR

6 OUT OF 18

**MEN ADMITTED TO HAVE BEEN
VIOLENT TO THEIR WIVES**

III.IV UCW 'MISTAKES': FACTOR/DETERMINANT, TRIGGER AND JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE

The belief that women's duty towards the household and family is their prime responsibility has deep social currency. Therefore, any 'mistake' made by women within this context can be seen as deserving of punishment (violence) by men and women.

Since unpaid care work is central to women's selfhood and ascribed identities as daughters, daughters-in-law, wives and mothers, it features integrally in the power dynamics of the household. As a fundamental feature of their daily lives and equations within the family (especially marital), women are judged for their performance of house and care work. Narratives from rural and urban Udaipur and Delhi suggest that non/poor performance of unpaid care work was a trigger for violence on women. These cases show that where unpaid care work is not the root cause, it becomes a justification for violence because women are exclusively held accountable for it.

A survivor of severe domestic violence in her young marriage, Shalini, 22, mother to a year-old girl, broke down while she narrated her story:

“ In my husband's house I do all the work, my mother-in-law does nothing. I even get up at night to grind flour but despite that they do not recognize my efforts and the family says that I do nothing!

SHAMED IF YOU DO, SHAMED IF YOU DON'T

Besides facing violence, the non/poor performance of house work has other harmful implications for women too. Humiliation is one of those. Surbhi, a 31 year old post graduate professional from Delhi, narrated the following.

'My mother would keep telling me to learn to cook, but I was too lazy to enter the kitchen. By the time I was in junior college, my sister and I were constantly scolded and compared with girls in the neighbourhood who helped their mothers cook.

Yes, I don't know how to cook. And this has been a huge source of anxiety for my mother who constantly taunts me.

When I got married, I did initially try to cook something here and there but soon I lost interest. I do not cook at all now and it is accepted in the marital family. My mother-in-law loves to cook and she does it every day, with the help of a domestic worker. I feel guilty at times when my mother-in-law is cooking and I just sit and eat. So I start doing something in the kitchen. When I share this with my mother, she gets really upset. She says that since I "just go to work" and do no housework, I have no right to complain about anything. She considers my life to be smooth because I do not have to cook. In fact, when I am low, she always says, "But you are so lucky! You do not have to cook". I get where this comes from. My mother has spent her life cooking for the family. She is exhausted. Very rarely has my father helped her despite being retired now. My mother worries that because I don't cook, it will somehow affect my marriage someday.

My father, on the other hand, would constantly talk about the "ideal woman". His ideal is a woman who not just has a great career but also looks after the family. This ideal was actually also a sort of a jibe at my mother who was a homemaker. He would tell us to not become like her.

Unlike me, my elder sister is a home maker who cooks and manages all household tasks. Her husband does not help her at all. Never. My father is disappointed with her because she does not have a professional "career".

My mother shames me for not cooking, my father shames my sister for not being a professional.'

He hits me even when there are no vegetables in the house to cook, he hits me if the tea is not to his liking. Sometimes he gets so angry that he pours kerosene over his body and threatens to burn himself. I have made peace with it thinking that perhaps his longing for good food and better life which he had when he worked in Mumbai has made him like this. I am so terrified of him that I live in fear all the time while doing the household tasks.

And I do not even get my share of my husband's income for any personal expenditure. I am not even allowed to go anywhere, not even to my sister's house across the road.

III.V HUMILIATION, A TOOL AGAINST THE NON-CONFORMING WOMAN

Forty-two year old Lata is an upper class woman living in upmarket South Delhi. Things were more gender equal in her natal home. 'My father always consulted my mother in major decisions. Her opinion was valued and taken. If there was one laddoo, my father would always ask my brother and me to share it—not that it was automatically given to my brother because he was the son'. But things were very different in Lata's in-laws house. Her father-in-law is very traditional and looks down upon women. She even suspects that her mother-in-law had been subjected to physical violence in her married life although she never spoke about it. Her mother-in-law's identity as a care giver was so deeply entrenched, that even when she was very unwell and could barely get up from the bed, she did and was expected to do all the care work for her husband and son.

In upper class families who can afford to keep hired help for undertaking household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, doing laundry etc., the primary responsibility of care work is still on the woman of the household. While the role shifted from actually doing the care work themselves to outsourcing it to another woman, the social norm related to the care work remains the same—that it is the primary responsibility of a woman to undertake care work. Thus Lata says that if the maid burnt the food, Lata would be taken to task for the mistake. There is also a hierarchy of jobs when outsourcing to paid help. While cleaning the house can be done with minimalist supervision by the woman of the house, cooking, buying groceries, fixing daily menus are higher up in this hierarchy where the woman of the house has to assume greater supervision and often direct responsibilities for them. So Lata says that, ‘the men have to be served food and waited on at the table. The maid can’t do it. It must be done by me’.

Lata says that while unpaid care work was not the real reason behind the violence she faced in her life—her husband needed psychological help but denied he had a psychological condition for a very long time—nevertheless, unpaid care work was always the trigger that started the fight or the taunt before it blew up into a major issue. She said that, ‘And I always kept telling myself that I must do better. I must be a better wife, a daughter-in-law, a mother and take proper care of everyone. My troubles started very soon after my marriage. But I kept trying harder. Despite our troubled marriage, I decided to have children, hoping that the marriage would improve once kids were born. But it didn’t. My husband abused me in front of my children—he told me I was a bad mother, a bad wife. That I didn’t take proper care of the family’.

Breaking a marriage is a dire step that most women—rural or urban, rich or poor—try to avoid if they can. They internalize the fact that the problem is with them and that if they try harder, things will improve. However, in reality, things only get worse so long as women, their families and society at large consider women’s care-giving role as the primary identity of themselves.

III.VI VERBAL VIOLENCE AND THREATS, FOLLOWED BY PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

IN RURAL UDAIPUR
15 OUT OF 23
 WOMEN FACED VERBAL
 VIOLENCE AT HOME

Verbal abuse, criticism and insult are rather commonly experienced by rural and urban women in the course of their daily, care work. Fifty-one-year-old homemaker Sunita shared what she has witnessed, ‘I know of a case where the husband hit the wife because the meal was not served at the right temperature. His mother’s defence was, “Marta hai toh pyaar bhi toh karta hai” (he hits her but he also loves her). His sister said it is important to know where the wife was wrong. This man is a Chartered Accountant. Educated and rich. There is much domestic abuse in rich families. The defence is common: why are women getting so assertive? They are asked to leave the job, not insist on their choices. They are told, look, he is providing for you, money is not an issue, so relax.’

This narrative is an example of how unpaid care work can cause VAWG. It demonstrates that power is a zero sum game—men and women cannot be equally empowered in society and to ensure the continued predominance of men, unpaid care work is used as a means to keep women in their subordinate position. Any attempt to topple this power balance is met with violence inflicted on the woman.

Violence in the form of emotional abuse is rampant but often unrecognized as ‘violence’ and under-reported. Twenty-seven year old Ragini Sharma, an HR executive in Delhi, narrated the story of her elder sister. Her sister’s husband felt insecure about her professional successes, started taunting her and putting her down before friends and family members. He even called her father and abused her. She is now pregnant with his child but has moved back to her parents’ home and

has decided to file for divorce after the baby is born. Cases like Ragini's sister are not common, certainly not in the rural scenario. Ragini's father is a feminist and has always tried to empower his girls. Ragini's family is associated with women's movements so they are conscious, awakened individuals. However, this consciousness is hard to find among a lot of women we interviewed through our study.

Take the case of Lata. For more than twelve years she faced physical, emotional and verbal abuse from her husband and in-laws. At every point, she convinced herself that it was her fault. That she needed to change and not the family or her husband in particular. Awakening dawned when she realized that her two sons were getting influenced by their father. That is when she broke her story, sought help and gave an ultimatum to her husband to either mend his ways or give her divorce. In her case, things appear to have improved and her marriage has been saved for now but not without her facing her fair share of violence and abuse.

III.VII MORE UCW-RELATED VIOLENCE IN THE MARITAL FAMILY

In rural Udaipur, excessive workload for women in their marital family is part of the common understanding and discourse around marriage. Girls are prepared and forewarned about it. Twenty-two-year-old Shalini from Salumbar recalled: 'My mother used to tell me that here in your parents' home, you have barely one task to do but in your marital family you will have to do everything yourself. If there is one task for you to do here, in your marital home, there will be 100.'

The acceptance of this role and the pressure of such a performance was articulated by all married women. Shalini's younger sister, 18-year-old Priya, is the outlier among her four sisters and in the village to have made it to college. Seeing her married sisters' saddled with endless household work and physical and emotional abuse, Priya is hoping for a different path:

In the village, other girls my age are married but there has not been any such pressure on me so far. I want to be independent and have a job. Only after that do I plan to marry. I have seen sisters living in misery in their marital homes. It hurts me to watch them like that... I don't want to be in the same place as them.

In Delhi, 43-year-old, middle-class home maker Pammi fondly recalls the complete freedom she enjoyed at her natal home. There was no expectation from or responsibility on her for housework or any restrictions on clothes. She helped her mother when she wished to or just had to for example when her mother was not at home. Her marital home is the antithesis. Her 'working' day lasts for about 15 hours that involves getting her daughter ready for school, preparing, serving and clearing breakfast lunch and dinner, dropping and picking the daughter from the bus stand, cleaning and supervision of the domestic help's work, looking after the house plants, buying groceries, fruits and vegetables, ironing clothes, organizing her daughter's playdates and accompanying her to those, helping her with homework, and buying her school supplies. Her husband does not help with anything at all. Pammi also said:

Men get angry and there can be violence in so many ways, because of house work. Throwing the plate away, or even pushing, slapping her. It is verbal abuse mostly. Some women bear it because they think it is their fault; that they need to excel in their work, all the time.'

We spoke of Lata's case earlier. She too faced violence in her marital home for many years before she put her foot down and delivered an ultimatum to her husband that either he consults a psychiatrist and undergoes marriage counselling or she will leave him with her two boys.

Only in the case of 23-year-old Niloufer from Udaipur City, who also faced violence after her marriage from her marital home, is the story slightly different. The cause for violence was triggered by her asking her husband to give her some money to buy things that she needed. He flew into a rage and said that her job was to do the work at home quietly, 'chup chaap se ghar ka kaam karo. Paison ki kya zaroorat hai?' Then he dragged her to the terrace and tried to push her over the boundary wall. Niloufer called her father that very same day and came back to her natal home. In her case, her natal family, especially the men stood by her and gave her the assurance that she was still a valued member of the family and she could come back whenever she wanted to.

Most women see themselves as a burden, 'bojh' to their parents and siblings. This is irrespective of caste, religion or class. Lata said, 'my mother had died soon after I was married, I didn't want to "bother" my father with my troubles'. Twenty-two year old Gudiya said, 'my father was poor and a heart patient. My mother's death affected him badly. I couldn't bring myself to tell him about my troubles. Many a times I missed my family, but I always lied and told them that my husband and in-laws were very nice people, when in reality I was being beaten blue and black by them.'

III.VIII MEN'S DEFENCE OF VIOLENCE

More rural men believed in the gendered division of labour than their urban counterparts, even though in reality, it was rural women who were mostly engaged in paid and unpaid work. However, not all male respondents who defended gendered division of labour also defended violence against women. Men's defence of violence was often based on their strong belief that women had little work and that tasks such as cooking and cleaning are not hard labour.

Verbal violence was not understood as 'violence' but as disagreement or disciplining. Thus, while women often did double or triple the work of men (see Figure II.6: On Women's Backs), often backbreaking, hard physical labour, the popular discourse among men was that women didn't work as much as men. Their work at home was unacknowledged and their work outside is considered inferior to that of men and therefore of less importance. Thus, women lose out both ways. Consequently, failure to perform their paid and unpaid tasks attracts reprimand at home and harassment at workplace.

Unlike middle/upper class men in Delhi whose household tasks were done to a large degree by hired (mostly female) domestic helpers, rural, working class men in Udaipur district were far more dependent on their wives and female relatives for household work. This is a major difference between the two sets of men. Poor families and their limited financial resources were sustained by the paid, unpaid and underpaid labour of women. These daily dependencies of rural men on women—sustained by norms of gendered roles—also bred more expectations and conflict.

- 'Men's anger is justified to some extent. She stays at home all day, has little work to do, even then she cannot work well?' Dinesh, 24 years, Barwada
- 'Yes, it is a woman's work. That is how a man-woman pair makes sense, while the man does outdoor work like farming and the woman works at home (aadmi aurat ka joda hai, aadmi khet par kaam kare, aurat ghar ka).' Sohanlal, 55 years, Barwada
- 'Girls are often hit by their parents when they don't do household work properly. It is the parents' responsibility to prepare the daughter for a married woman's household responsibilities. If she won't learn, she would face abuse by her in-laws and violence by her husband. I get angry and frustrated when the wife doesn't do her work properly. A little bit of violence is normal (thoda bahut toh chalta hai).' Bhuwanlal, 28 from Barwada.

THE OUTLIER

GANGA BAI

Ganga Bai is a 55-year old Brahmin married woman from Sayra, Udaipur. A mother of 2 sons and a daughter, she does not remember when she got married but we hazard a guess—perhaps at the age of 13 and had her first child at the age of 15 years.

She narrated her story of extreme violence from her husband. Unpaid care work was the trigger for the violence: 'roti jalne se bahut maar khani padti thi (I would be severely beaten if I burnt the food)'. For years she said that she faced severe physical and mental torture from her husband. As a Brahmin woman she had to observe strict purdah practices and not step out of the house unaccompanied. If she did, her husband would beat her up badly. Additionally, he made her undertake all the unpaid care work related to the household and the family by herself, not doing anything to help her.

'I was always working, always tired, and there seemed no end to my drudgery.'

Luckily for Ganga Bai, things started turning around in her favour. First, after years of abused and beatings, she finally found the courage to stand up to her husband and say no. At the same time, the children were growing up: they stood up for their mother and stopped their father from beating her. Her husband realized that his abuse towards his wife was giving the family a bad reputation. He would not be able to get his daughter married nor bring a wife for his son into the house. So while he still does not help with unpaid care work, the insult, humiliation and abuse are history.

For the last 20 years or more, the violence has stopped. Now she counsels younger girls in her community, especially newly-married young brides on being self-reliant, assertive and not to accept abuse and violence from anyone in the family or community. She believes in a caring family where the husband and wife share unpaid care responsibilities. She does not want to see a repeat of what she went through in her married life and feels that girls should be empowered to stand up against anything wrong that happens in their lives or in the community.

- 'If she goes outside to roam around for no reason then it is necessary that she should be hit to make her realize her mistake. Men usually abuse their wives but hitting and slapping too are fairly common.' Ram, 22 years, Salumbar
- 'I get angry if the food is bad or the clothes aren't washed or if she goes out without my permission. Some men hit their wives when they get angry. I only hit sometimes, like once a month.' Sohan, 22 years, Barolia Salumbar
- 'Even I hit my wife if the work hasn't been done. I will have to hit her if she doesn't work properly (even with a stick). Sometimes, but I don't usually hit her that badly. But yes, while hitting men do lose their mind ('marte samay pata nahi chalta hai')... If my wife leaves when she is angry, I have to go to her parents' house to bring her back otherwise who would do the household work.' Sohanlal, 55 years, Barwada

III.IX UCW, A NON-ISSUE IN FACE OF SEVERE VIOLENCE

For women such as 30 year old Rumana (Udaipur city), the pressures and abuse caused by unpaid care work seems to fade in the backdrop of the severe violence she faces. She has been raped by her husband nearly every night of their 14 year old marriage and beaten frequently for refusal. Rumana is neither allowed to earn, nor permitted to step out of the house, not even to buy vegetables from a cart right outside the door of the house. Despite police intervention and mediation attempts by the family, Rumana's physical and sexual torture continues. She and their two school-going children are financially dependent on her husband. Her husband's response to her appeals over the years has been: 'Main tujhe kis liye laya houn? (What have I got you for?)'

TAKEAWAYS:

Violence against girls and women emerges from a range of inter-connected structural and socio-cultural factors. As per the evidence thrown up by this study, discriminatory patriarchal norms lie at the centre of that range, along with unpaid care work. There are some positive takeaways too—such as where women either aided by their children or in preventing their children from absorbing the abuse and violence they see at home, have stood up for their rights and reversed the cycle of violence and humiliation surrounding their care roles.

Rural Udaipur

Near absence of sexual harassment at worksites within village and panchayat communities or unwillingness of women and men to share.

Domestic violence, especially verbal violence, is rather common.

Men's heavy dependence on women's household labour, thereby central to domestic violence

Delhi

Sexual harassment, a pervasive feature of Delhi's life.

Normalization of sexual harassment.

Delegation of domestic help reduces women's burden, not absolve them of responsibility and accountability

PART IV. THE WAY FORWARD

The preceding discussion establishes a case for widespread norm change and behaviour change. While social norm and behaviour change are aspects of human lives which need to be brought about little by little, in the everyday lives of men and women, and in the communities they live in which determine the social boundaries within which individuals operate. This report emphasises that to aid the facilitation of such changes, the State needs to create the conducive environment for it. Thus, our recommendations pertain to policies and initiatives that governments and non-state actors can adopt which in turn would aid in social norm and behaviour change:

- Provide public amenities (for example, water, gas stoves and toilets) and services (safe and accessible transport in rural areas and childcare) for women to realize their rights to rest, leisure and equal participation in the labour market.
- Offer decent local employment, better working conditions and fair pay for women and men.
- Adopt and implement the ICLS 2013 definition of 'work' and include women's unpaid care work in national accounting mechanisms.
- Initiate gender sensitization and behaviour-change strategies in schools and colleges, specifically messaging on redistribution of care work.
- Run public campaigns on progressive models of masculinity and femininity, based on de-gendered labour within and outside the household. Support NGOs and civil society organizations with strong links to grass-roots communities to run extensive gender sensitization workshops to help promote gender equal norms between men and women and adolescent boys and girls in schools.

ANNEXE

Examples of vignettes used in the workshops

On Sexual Harassment

Sixteen year old Ramlee has a job in private construction site. One day, while walking with her female colleague to get the bus to work, a group of men shout out compliments about their appearance. When they ignore this, they call them 'bad women' for being out on their own. Ramlee and her colleague walk away as quickly as possible while others on the street do not respond to the situation. In the bus, an older man sits down next to Ramlee and her friend and starts staring at them. Very uncomfortable, they both look away, just like all the other passengers. Once at their workplace, Ramlee's boss comes to talk to her when he found her by herself. He praised her work and then asked whether she has a boyfriend. Ramlee is embarrassed at the question, and responds with a nervous 'no'. He then asked her to go out with him some time. Although very uneasy and hurt at this behaviour, Ramlee did not want to make her boss angry or lose her job. So, she decided to stay silent. At this point, her colleague comes to her and just then, her boss moved away.

On Domestic Violence

Kamli is 19 and happily married to her husband. She recently started an apprenticeship in a mobile phone repair shop. Her husband's parents pay them a visit and complain that their neighbours have been talking about Kamli being engaged in 'men's work'. Her mother-in-law speaks of rumours that her son had been cooking and cleaning to help Kamli. People in the community gossiped that she had her husband under a spell and that he was weak and controlled by his wife. Kamli's mother-in-law asks her son to be a real man and bring her under control. Angry at all that he heard, Kamli's husband shouted at her, saying that she brought shame on him and his family. He accused her of not doing the housework well ever since she started the apprenticeship which had made her unfeminine. He hits her and asks her to give up the apprenticeship immediately.

WOMEN'S DAILY LABOUR IN RURAL UDAIPUR

Kitchen work: chopping, cleaning the kitchen, collecting firewood and dung cakes, lighting the fire, cooking, washing the dishes, making curd, buttermilk and ghee, cleaning and storing grain, grinding grain, packing lunch for children and husband.

Animal care: fetching fodder from fields, cutting the chaff, preparing feed for animals, feeding them fodder and water, cleaning the animals, milking animals, cleaning the shed, making and storing dung cakes and walking the animals.

Cleaning work: washing clothes of all members of the family, drying and collecting, placing them in the appointed space and cleaning the house.

Childcare: waking the children for school, helping them get ready, fetching water, feeding them roti or buttermilk, cooking their lunch and dinner, taking care of them during sickness.

Serving the elderly: serve food to and help the seniors in the house.

Paid labour: construction work or farm labour.

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