



Women's Economic Contribution through Their
Unpaid Work: the Case of India



EVANGELICAL SOCIAL ACTION FORUM & HEALTH BRIDGE

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Evangelical Social Action Forum & Health Bridge
Nagpur 2009

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a rationale for and research results from a study on the Economic Contribution of Women through their Unpaid Work. The study is part of a larger project by HealthBridge to study this issue, with similar research having been conducted by local organizations in Bangladesh, Vietnam, Nepal and Pakistan.

The aim of the study was to establish a reasonable estimate for the extent of women's contribution to the country's economy and social development through their unpaid work. For the purpose of the study, the researchers conducted in-depth interviews with women in both urban and rural areas to understand their attitudes and views regarding the value of household work that they and others undertake. At the same time, the researchers collected quantitative data from both men and women in urban and rural areas to assess the time that they spent on paid work and unpaid household activities.

Key research findings include the following:

- ✓ Woman typically work 16 hours per day on both paid and unpaid labour;
- ✓ Most women have no leisure time;
- ✓ Women bear the greatest responsibility for household chores, including many tasks related to income generation;
- ✓ Most women, even if they have a servant, do their own cooking;
- ✓ Women generally assume full responsibility for tutoring and helping children with school work;
- ✓ Rural women perform a wider variety of tasks than do urban women;
- ✓ While both men and women recognize that women's household activities constitute important work, they fail to grasp the extent of its economic value;
- ✓ The value of unpaid household work performed by women throughout India is upwards of **612.8 billion US dollars** per year, depending on the economic value assigned to the tasks women perform daily.

The **Human Development Report** of UNDP says that while 67% of the world's work is done by women only 10% of global income is earned by women and mere 1% of global property is owned by women.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Evangelical Social Action Forum is grateful to **HealthBridge** for its financial and technical support for this research, without which it would not have been possible. Special thanks to Lori Jones, Director Special Projects, Debra Efroymsen, Regional Director and Phaeba Abraham, Programme Officer of HealthBridge, for their valuable support and giving their best in editing the document.

The research team acknowledges the great support given by the Associate Director of ESAF *Mr. George K John*, it meant a lot to us. The support and help given by the staff of EMFIL (ESAF Microfinance and Investment Limited) in data collection is commendable. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to them.

The research team - Ms. Beena George, Senior Manager for the Research and Planning Department, Ms. Natasha Choudhary, Project Officer, and Mr. Ashutosh Tripathy, Assistant Researcher - gratefully remember the respondents who gave their valuable time and their views pertaining to the questions asked.

Last but not least, we thank **God** for entrusting us such a task which is a concern of **His** heart, and giving us all the needed resources.

Sanjukta¹ is a 45-year-old housewife living in a rural village of Chhattisgarh. She hails from a lower middle-class family. She was educated up to 5th grade and then got married while she was 15 years old. Her husband has a small goods shop at Raipur, and stays in the city 100 km away from home. They have three sons. Her sons are educated; the eldest son is settled in the city with his family. Her second son looks after the farm while the youngest is studying.

Sanjukta's day is always busy. Her daily routine involves getting up at five in the morning. After sweeping the house and straightening up, she sweeps the yard to keep out the dust. Early in the morning, Sanjukta milks the family's cows and sends the milk to the co-operative. She takes her bath and starts preparing the morning breakfast.

After preparing breakfast, she washes the dishes, cleans the kitchen, prepares food for the cattle, and then cleans the cattle shed.

By this time it is almost late morning. She starts preparing for lunch by cleaning, cutting, and washing vegetables, then prepares the meal. Sanjukta has to ensure that her family gets lunch at the right time, as her son needs to get back to his work in the field. Sanjukta also works on the farm with her son.

Sanjukta is fortunate that the family has a bore well, which makes it easier for her to collect water. Previously, they did not have one and she had to queue for hours in order to get water.

Sanjukta alone takes care of the family kitchen garden. She is responsible for the planting, weeding, and watering. Her garden has potato, banana, and green vegetables, all of which are used to feed her family. In the afternoons, she takes the cows out, sometimes with the help of her two sons. She also prepares cow dung cakes for fuel, which is used during the winter. Before evening, she finishes her cooking.

The family eats and goes to bed early as their day starts before sunrise. Sanjukta does the cooking and serves the family herself, though sometimes her second son helps her. She says that she very rarely has any free time; all day she is occupied with work. She prefers to rest or sleep whenever she has some time off from her work. Sometimes she visits her husband in the city.

¹ Names have been changed to protect privacy.

INTRODUCTION

India is a vast country, rich in culture and traditions. The Indian constitution grants women equal rights with men, but a strong patriarchal system persists which shapes the lives of women with traditions that are millennia old. In most Indian families, daughters are viewed as liabilities and girls are conditioned to believe that they are inferior and subordinate to men. Sons, meanwhile, are idolized and celebrated. The origin of what is considered appropriate behaviour for an Indian female can be traced back to the rules laid by Manu in 200 B.C.: in childhood, a female should be subject to her father, in her youth to her husband, and when her "lord" is dead then to her sons.

Given this strong patriarchal tradition, addressing gender disparities is no easy task. Traditionalists argue that India has survived for millennia with this patriarchal system, so what is the need for changes which are counter to Indian culture? Others would point to the problems of sex-selective abortions, millions of missing girls, dowry murder, low educational status and high illiteracy in girls and women, gender disparities in employment opportunities and wages, the glass ceiling, etc. to suggest that India cannot enter the modern age without learning to respect the rights of women and girls and addressing these disastrous aspects of traditional culture. They may also point out that those defending traditional patriarchal culture have no trouble embracing other non-traditional cultural changes such as cars, mobile phones, computers, and so on.

Work, whether paid or unpaid, is the foundation of a nation's economy. Yet, while paid jobs are counted as part of the economy, unpaid work is neglected. Unpaid workers are not considered part of the labour force and unpaid work is not counted as national income. Unpaid workers therefore fail to get the attention they deserve from the government and are inevitably left out of pension schemes and other programs to support workers.

Around the world, most unpaid work² is performed by women. The invisibility of, and low value given to, the work done by a vast majority of the women across the globe, particularly in countries like India, is an issue which is seldom addressed by policy makers. In addition to their work in the formal sector, women spend countless hours in the unpaid sector of domestic work, yet such work is never counted. As most women give much of their time to the unpaid sector, the majority of them have limited access

The ramifications of underestimating women and their contributions to the economy are reflected in the life of Surekha and her children. Surekha is a 30-year-old married woman who lives in an urban slum of Bhuj Gujarat. She has never been to school, and got married at the age of 16. She is completely ignorant about childbirth, child care, vaccinations, reproductive health issues, and contraceptives. She does not possess any say in decision-making, even for issues like pregnancy. As a result, at the age of 30, Surekha has seven malnourished children, not one of whom goes to school. None of her children are vaccinated, apart from the polio campaign. If this is a common scenario among the lower socio-economic sector of India, is making India a developed country by 2020 a realistic vision?

to higher education, health care, jobs outside the home, or even recreation.

There is no question that women are involved in a tremendous amount of work that has significant value to family, society, and the nation. If women were ever to go on strike, we would understand more fully the full worth and importance of their work. In fact, families would cease to function if women did not work. Men are able to engage in paid labour because of all the work that women do in the home: cleaning the home, washing clothes, preparing food, washing dishes, and engaging in all the tasks involved in bearing and raising children.

Policymakers and others may be proud to see more and more women entering the formal economy, but they tend to forget that women who are coming out of their house for a paid job (or performing one in the home) are actually required to do a double day's duty, as they regularly remain the sole responsible

person for domestic chores. While society recognizes women's role in the economy when they participate in the paid labour force, they remain hidden and unacknowledged when they do not, and thus the double burden on women is often not addressed.

Marilyn Waring, economist and former New Zealand Member of Parliament, is one of the strongest voices raising attention to the issue of the institutional neglect of women's work in national measures of income. She raises serious issues about the values inherent in current measures of wealth. For example, Waring questions why it is more valuable to have a woman working for a dollar a day in a factory than be at home caring for her children or elderly relatives. It is difficult to understand how such a belief, and the policies it encourages, leads to healthier and happier societies. The undervaluing of women means that the contribution of women remains nearly invisible in national economies, which results in denying women their right to education, health care, and pension plans. This discussion is not meant to suggest that all women should stay at home and avoid entry into the paid economy; rather, it presents an attempt to achieve a balance in which the work of caring is considered as important as the work of earning an income – and thus both men and women are encouraged to participate in both, rather than relegating most paid (and valued) work to one sex and virtually all unpaid work to the other.

Many working mothers are stressed because of the time spent for paid and unpaid work each week. They must maintain a difficult balance and make sometimes heartrending decisions in dividing their time between their paid jobs and meeting the needs of their family members.

Waring and others have suggested ways of calculating the economic value of the work women do without pay, by assigning market rates or opportunity costs to the various tasks that women perform. Such estimates of the monetary value of unpaid work raise questions about the nature of domestic labour in relation to the economic order of industrial capitalism. Some argue that since domestic labour does not relate directly either to the process of production or the process of market exchange, the housewife does not produce 'surplus value' and consequently is not exploited in the same sense as wage labour, since the results of her efforts are rewarded and consumed within the home. In contrast, others claim that housework is a form of productive labour in that through child rearing it reproduces the supply of labour as well as maintaining the labour power of those who work for a wage. There is yet another argument that the categories of 'productive' and 'unproductive' labour are wholly irrelevant to the analysis of housework - which constitutes a special economic category of its own.

Despite these theoretical differences, it is generally agreed that domestic labour is an integral and necessary part of a capitalist economy and the social relations of work. Put in simpler terms, a significant portion of the paid male workforce is enabled to go to work each day by the fact that a woman in the home provides him with meals, clean clothes, a clean home, and childcare – a fact all too

clear to the many women who must juggle all these tasks in addition to their paid work. In that analysis, housewives subsidize men through their unpaid work, as otherwise the men would have to pay someone to engage in all the domestic work that enables their participation in the paid workforce.

The Female Economic Activity Rate is an important indicator to describe and compare women's positions in the labour market. Abbreviated as FEAR, it is a proportion of female population aged fifteen years and above who furnish or are available to furnish, the supply of labor for production of goods and services in accordance with System of National Accounts (SNA)³.





FEAR ranges from 55.6 per cent in Australia and 55 per cent in Indonesia to 82.9 per cent in Mozambique. For India the FEAR is 42 per cent (Human Development Report 2001). The international economic system constructs reality in a way that excludes the great bulk of women's work – reproduction, raising children, domestic work, and subsistence production. Cooking, according to economists, is "active labour" when cooked food is sold and "economically inactive labour" when it is not. Housework is "productive" when performed by a paid domestic servant and "unproductive" when no payment is involved. Those who care for children in an orphanage are "occupied"; mothers who care for their children at home are "unoccupied."⁴ (According to Marilyn Waring)

As per the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 55th Round on Employment and Unemployment in India (1999-2000), in rural areas the female (formal) work participation rate was highest in the age group of 40-44 years, at 58.6%, and was above 50% in the age group 30-54 years. In urban areas the female (formal) work participation rate was the highest in the age group 35-39 years, at 28.5%, and was 28.3% in the age group of 40-44 years.

Increasing participation **by women in the paid workforce** does not mean that there is any reduction in the burden on women to maintain and manage the household. More women are now spending far more time in the labour force than before, but they still invariably have to take responsibility for home and family care, consequently sacrificing their leisure and personal care time.

Over the last two decades, important declarations emerging from international forums have demanded that "...unpaid contributions of women to all aspects and sectors of development should be recognized. National accounts should measure the unpaid contribution of women to household activities".⁴

Although it is clear that the economic contribution of women through their unpaid (domestic) work is being overlooked in India, existing research on this issue, important though it is, is insufficient to influence policy makers at the national and international levels. Some prominent studies conducted in India in relation to this issue are as follows:

-  Factors affecting the utilization of time in performing household activities by rural homemakers in the Narangawali village in Ludhiana district, by Dhesi and Sandhu (1975);
-  The time utilization pattern by tribal and non-tribal women in home and farm activities, by Sumarani Bhatnagar and Daya Saxena (1988);
-  Time utilization patterns of rural women in Atkur village on performance of household activities from the time of rising to the time of retiring to bed at night, by Lakshmi Devi (1988);
-  The average time disposition of rural labour households of a Kerala village, carried out by Kutty Krishnan and Suchetha Kumary (1989);

³ SNA - a conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standard for the measurement of the market economy.]

⁴ UN General Assembly Resolution November 6, 1985



- ✚ The time allocation to non-market work of urban women in Madras for the period 1980-81, by Malathi (1994);
- ✚ Extensive research on the amount of time spent by men and women on market and non-market activities in 14 industrial countries, 9 developing countries and 8 countries in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (including India) by the World Bank (Human Development Report, 1995);
- ✚ Time utilization pattern of Gaddi tribal women in Himachal Pradesh, by Kishtwari (1999);
- ✚ A time use survey conducted by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO)(2000) covering 18,591 household in six major states, viz., Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Orissa and Tamil Nadu, from July 1998 to June 1999.

Despite the research conducted to date on related topics, very few advocacy efforts have been conducted to date in India (or elsewhere) on calculating the unpaid contribution of women who engage in household work. For about the last two decades, important international forums have been demanding that “unpaid contributions of women to all aspects and sectors of development should be recognized.” However, changes in the UNSNA to date have been modest at best, and most governments continue to consider that women outside the paid labour force make no economic contribution to the nation.

In the backdrop of this situation, **ESAF** (Evangelical Social Action Forum), in partnership with **HealthBridge**, conducted a study to assess the invisible and unpaid contributions of Indian women to the nation's economy. The study aimed to influence national and international policy makers regarding this pressing issue, and to provide valuable information and ideas to all those working towards greater gender equality.

To influence policy makers one not only needs to have awareness and knowledge of the problem but also good research to present relevant information. Whether for programme delivery or for advocacy, one cannot operate purely on the basis of a hypothetical situation which may be or may not be accurate or demonstrable. This study attempted to fill that gap and thus contribute to better advocacy efforts in future.

1.1 What is unpaid work?

When addressing the economic scenario, it is important to point out that men and women are paid differently in India – or that men are paid and women are not – to engage in similar work.

Society holds certain assumptions about what constitutes “work” i.e.:

- 1) It is something you have to do; it is difficult, not pleasurable.
- 2) It is what happens during the day between 9:00am to 5:00 pm.
- 3) It is what you are paid to do.
- 4) It is done outside the house.

Many of these assumptions of what work is do not fit into the daily reality of women's lives.

Most women's work is not structured into work days, but instead is intermingled with socializing and play. Women do many things simultaneously and often have trouble stating which activities are work and which are not work. Some tasks, such as playing with children or tending a garden, are normally enjoyable and so are not seen as work. As well, much of the work performed by women is done within the house, remains unpaid, and occurs far beyond the typical workday of 9 to 5. It should be noted that

household work includes both traditional housework involving cooking and cleaning, and work related to the broader household itself such as gardening, farm work, caring for small animals, and engaging in unpaid work for any family enterprise.

Statistics Canada (<http://www.unpac.ca/economy/unpaidwork.html>) divides unpaid work into three categories: housework, care of children, and care and assistance to seniors. Voluntary work with community or charity organizations is not included. While this definition is limited, it is a significant step towards measuring and recognizing women's unpaid work.

The Census of India, 2001, Haryana series 7, paper 3 contains a chapter (13) titled "Non-workers". This category of non-workers comprises the following categories:

- Students of all kinds and levels.
- Household duties — under this category all those persons will be considered who are attending to household chores like cooking, cleaning of utensils, looking after children, fetching water, and collecting firewood.
- Dependents, disabled, children not going to school, the elderly.
- Pensioners, widows not receiving pension.
- Beggars, prostitutes and others not engaged in economically productive work.
- Others — this includes convicts in jail and inmates of mental or charitable institutions.

While society recognizes their role in the conventional economy, women stand hidden and unacknowledged in what is termed by Elson (1995) as the 'Economy of Care'.

As a result, over 36 crore (367 million) women in India have been classified by the Census of India as non-workers, placed in the same category as beggars, prostitutes, and prisoners. Of the total of those listed as non-workers in India, 74.3% are women. Delhi has 56 Crore (over 5.6 million) 'non-worker' women, which constitutes an astounding 90.9% of women. In Punjab, 92 Lakh (9.2 million) women are listed as non-workers, amounting to about 81.3% of all women. Haryana has over 70 Lakh (7 million) women in the non-working category, or 72.7% of women.

Obviously, the Census authorities are not the ones to blame for the decision to label women engaged in housework in the same category as beggars, vagrants, the physically challenged, the old, and other dependents. This categorization is the result of policies based on demeaning and obsolete economic theory. The absurdity of this theory is all the more evident in developing countries like India where only if you blanket your eyes and your mind can you ignore the ubiquitous presence of women toiling in the homes and hearth.

1.2 Valuation of Unpaid Work

Because women's unpaid work has no monetary value attached to it, it took many years for world governments to even measure the hours dedicated to it. Therefore, the largest share of many women's activities was not taken into account in the development of laws and policies. This omission served to further exacerbate existing inequalities. Measuring unpaid work was one of the major challenges to governments that emerged from the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 as well as the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Platform for Action that resulted from both these Conference called for National and International Statistical Organizations to measure unpaid work and reflect its value in satellite accounts to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). (Such an approach has been criticized for fear that satellite accounts will be given no importance in policy making, but it does at least represent a step towards the recognition of women's unpaid work.)

As Marilyn Waring wrote⁵ "I am talking about attributing a monetary valuation to unpaid work, productive and reproductive. This process, called imputation, would make [women's] work visible, influencing policies and concepts and questioning values." At the same time, the lack of remuneration for much of women's work has a direct relationship to women's economic security, visibility, and rights.

The time women spend on unpaid work is time they cannot devote to paid work or to education. The lack of recognition given to unpaid work is a chief contributor to women's higher rates of poverty, and possibly mistreatment, around the world. Because most unpaid work takes place in the home, women who do primarily unpaid work can be isolated and at greater risk of physical, social, and psychological problems. Many women who choose or are forced by circumstances or by family members to be primarily housewives are not respected by their families, which in turn decreases their self-esteem – even if the choice is made for such reasons as having a severely disabled child or unwell relative requiring full-time care. Such women are often treated as subordinate to their male counterparts (or their female counterparts who hold paying jobs outside the home). They are unable to exercise their power in decision making. As a result they are dependent on their father, husband or son, who becomes the ruler of their lives.

It is generally agreed that domestic labor is an **integral and necessary part of a capitalist economy** and the social relations of work (Mary Evans)

1.3 Benefits of Unpaid Work

Despite the drawbacks, for many women unpaid work is both tremendously rewarding and satisfying. Taking time to raise one's own children is an experience many women do not want to miss, while others are happy to contribute to the well-being of their family or the upkeep of the home instead of taking paid work. For those women, unpaid care-giving provides an opportunity to directly experience the results of their labour; the love of their family is more satisfying than money. The main complaints of such full-time housewives might include the lack of both substantive and moral support in their tasks, and the demeaning effects of those who question their decision to "not work". Meanwhile, other women are frustrated when not able to afford the time to take care of their families in a way that feels right to them due to the time demands of paid work, and the stress involved in attempting to balance both jobs, while family members may only acknowledge the paid work as "real".

1.4 Objectives of the study

The overall aim of this study was to quantify women's unpaid domestic work and attempt to assess an approximate economic value for it. The study represents an attempt to estimate women's contribution to the nation's economy and social development through their unpaid work. Specifically, the research objectives were to:

- Obtain comprehensive data on the average daily time spent by both men and women on paid work, extended paid work⁶ and unpaid work;
- Identify gender differences in terms of leisure time, days off/vacation, and decision-making;
- Assess gender discrimination in carrying out unpaid work;

⁵ "If Women Counted": A New Feminist Economics. Harper San Francisco: 1998

⁶ Extended paid work refers to overtime or to a secondary paid job which one does along with the primary job.



- Evaluate the attitudes of married women and men towards the unpaid work of women in the community;
- Discover any difference in unpaid work performed by women by socio-economic strata and rural/urban residence;
- Quantify and assign an approximate economic value to the unpaid domestic activities performed by women throughout India.

An online survey conducted by Salary.com (a Massachusetts, USA based firm) found that mothers' unpaid work, if paid at the rate of similar work conducted for pay, would give the average mother an annual salary of US\$134,121—the equivalent of the salary of a top advertising executive, marketing director, or judge.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Design

The research involved a cross-sectional study using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. An interview schedule was used to address the following:

- ✓ General profile of the participants
- ✓ Time spent on paid, unpaid, and extended paid work
- ✓ Quantification of the unpaid activities
- ✓ Gender & unpaid work
- ✓ Gender difference in leisure time and decision-making

The interview schedule was pre-tested on a small sample of people from both urban and rural areas.

Target Population

The target population of this study comprised married men and married women (not necessarily couples) from 200 households living in both rural and urban areas, having or not having income, of different age groups and with different education levels.

Study Site

Nagpur City in the state of Maharashtra in Central India was chosen for the urban component of the study while Jhalap, a village in the State of Chhattisgarh in South Eastern India was selected as the rural study site. While using only two sites was insufficient for a representative sample in a country as vast and diverse as India, that very vastness and diversity made a representative study a near impossibility. Pragmatism and limited budget and time determined the choice of the two sites. Further, research in India and elsewhere suggests that while the specific tasks performed by women varies within and across countries, the amount of time women spend on household work and the wide variety of such tasks are nearly universal; therefore, the overall results of the study should be broadly applicable throughout India.

Sampling Strategy

Since the population did not consist of a homogenous group, the study adopted both purposive and snowball sampling techniques. **Snowball sampling** is a technique for developing a research sample whereby existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances, i.e.; one can ask the interviewed person to nominate another individual who could be asked to give information or an opinion on the topic.

Sample Size

Table 1 : Sample Size

Place		Marital Status					
		Single	Married	Widowed	Divorcee	Total	
Urban	Sex	Male	3	22	0	0	25
		Female	5	62	6	2	75
	Total	8	84	6	2	100	

Rural	Sex	Male	25	25
		Female	75	75
	Total		100	100

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out in the month of May 2008. Women respondents were contacted during the daytime, while men were reached only during early morning hours or at late evenings due to their working hours.

Data Analysis

Data entry and analysis were undertaken by the research team. SPSS software was used for data analysis. The report was written by Ms Natasha Choudhary (Project officer) and Mr Asutosh Tripathy (Research Associate) with the guidance and support of Mrs Beena George (Sr. Manager R&D Dept.), ESAF. Final review and editing was conducted by Phaeba Abraham Program Officer, Debra Efrogmson, Regional Director, and Lori Jones, Director of Special Projects, HealthBridge.

Research Team

This study was coordinated by the Research and Planning Department of ESAF North Zone Office, based in Nagpur. The Senior Manager for Research and Development Department, Ms. Beena George, served as the team leader. Ms. Natasha Choudhary, Project Officer, and Mr. Ashutosh Tripathy, Research Assistant, co-coordinated the field-level data collection and the data processing and data analysis.

RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS

- **Age:** 40% of the respondents belong to the age group of 26 to 33 years, and 35% are aged between 34 to 41 years.
- **Sex and Educational level:** In rural areas, 56% of men 82% of women are educated at different levels. Whereas 88% of men and 85% of women from urban areas are literate.
- **Family size:** Most of the families have fewer than five members i.e. 73% from urban and 68% from rural areas. About a fourth (24% in urban and 28% in rural areas) has 6-8 members, and only a small percentage has 9-11 members.
- **Head of the Family:** Most (76%) of families are headed by a male, while 15% of the families have parents as the head of the family. Only 10% of the families are headed by the wife.
- **Occupation:** About a fifth (19%) of the female respondents from the rural area are (is) daily wage workers and 39% are agriculture labourers. Far less than half of women in rural (35%) and urban (17%) areas described themselves as (full-time) housewives. Meanwhile, 23% of women from urban areas are engaged in household business or work as a domestic worker.
- **Monthly Income:** For urban women who do earn an income, most (40%) receive less than 1,000 rupees (US\$22) a month. In rural areas 32% of the women earn a monthly income between Rs. 1,000- 2,000. Wages are higher among men, with 36% of men from urban areas earning a monthly income from Rs. 1,000-2,000 whereas 56% of rural men earn a monthly income ranging Rs. 2,000-3,000.
- **Number of dependents:** Rural families had more dependents than urban ones, with 47% of urban and 38% of rural families having one or two dependents, 40% of urban and 51% of rural families have 3-5 dependents. The dependents are mostly children and aged parents.
- **Number of earning members:** In both urban and rural areas, 91% of families had one or two earning members.
- **Ownership of house:** 86% of the respondents own their own house and 12% stay in rental houses.
- **Access to drinking water:** 72% of respondents have convenient access to drinking water and 28% do not have proper access to drinking water, i.e. they have to collect water from the public tap which involves waiting in a queue, or the water is not available 24 hours in a day but only for an hour or two.
- **Wake-up time:** 42% of female respondents get up between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m., and 85% of female respondents get up by 6:30 a.m. in comparison to 70% of men.
- **Involvement in paid work:** 100% of male from urban and rural areas and 54% (urban) 47% (Rural) of female respondents engaged in some sort of paid work. However, (28%) of females from rural areas did not engage in paid work. Among those not engaged in paid work, many were full-time housewives and most worked in their own fields but not for pay.
- **Time spent daily on paid work:** Among those with paid work, 68% of the male respondents work for pay for 6 to 8 hours and 24% for more than 8 hours a day. Among the female respondents who work for pay, 40.7% work for 6 to 8 hours a day, while only 12% work more than 8 hours a day. Meanwhile, 17% of women report working for fewer than five hours a day for pay, with most of these being women with contract work in agriculture.
- **Participation in domestic work:** 26% of men participate in housecleaning on a daily basis in comparison to 90% of women. Only 6% of men help their wives in washing the dishes, 28% in cooking and 24% in carrying water.
- **Participation in agricultural work:** 60% of male and 74% of female respondents daily engage in preparing soil, planting seedlings, and weeding, while 24% of male and 22% of female respondents do not engage in such tasks at all. A third (32%) of male and most (65%) females

engage daily in preparing plots for vegetable planting, while most (60%) males and a third (32%) of females do not. About half of male (56%) and female (49%) respondents manage daily workers on a daily basis. Three-quarters (76%) of both male and female respondents engage in harvesting, and most men (68%) and women (62%) engage in food processing on a daily basis. Close to three-quarters (72%) of male and female respondents collect and dry seeds, and 72% of both sexes daily engage in storage activities.

- **Involvement in animal husbandry:** Most respondents, male and female, are not involved with animal husbandry on a daily basis. Most men (64%) and women (65%) are not engaged in caring (cleaning, feeding etc.) for chickens and ducks, and only 28% of men and 33% of women are involved in this task on a daily basis. Similarly, most men (68%) and women (74%) are not involved in medical care for small animals or in caring for larger animals (68% of men and 65% of women).
- **Involvement in caring for family members:** 60% of women take care of their children (bathing, feeding, tending) as their children are younger in age whereas 40% of the women have children who are independent and can care for themselves. Only 24% of male respondents engage in those activities. Over a third (36%) of women guides their children in doing their homework, while a fifth (22%) of men help their children in their studies. Half (52%) of women report daily caring for their husbands, while no men say they look after their wives.
- **Involvement in voluntary work:** Virtually none of the female respondents perform voluntary work for the welfare of their community while 6% of men were involved in some kind of community work.
- **Ability to estimate economic value of task performed by women:** Virtually everyone (98% of men and women) said they could not estimate the economic value of the work performed by women.
- **Respondents having maid servant:** Almost none of the families—only 2% of those in both urban and rural families—has a maid servant.
- **Payment of work done by maid servants:** The approximate market labour value of the work performed by rural women on a monthly basis for nine of their tasks is 1,350 rupees a month (US\$27) whereas for urban areas it is 2,750 rupees (US\$55).
- **Who gets up first in the morning:** 63% of female respondent gets up first; and 15% the male respondent. In 12% of cases it is the parents of the husband or wife, and in 9.5% of cases the children who get up first in the morning.
- **Whether cooking caring for children/elderly is a man's or woman's job:** More women (57%) than men (38%) strongly agree that cooking and taking care of children and the elderly should be the job of women.
- **Husband's involvement in domestic work:** 49% of husbands help their spouses in domestic tasks.
- **Husband's contribution in domestic work:** Men are involved in various domestic tasks, the most common being cooking (15%) and shopping for food items (11%).
- **Reasons for husbands not engaging in domestic work:** 27% of respondents were not involved due to lack of time.
- **Respondents' opinion regarding should men be involvement in domestic work:** 40% of men strongly agreed that men should not be involved in domestic work compared to 35% of women.
- **Respondents' opinion about the monetary value of domestic work:** 14% men and 26% of women agree that domestic work, when carried out by female family members, should not be paid. Interestingly, almost three times as many men (14%) as women (5%) disagreed. Similarly, more men (38%) than women (18%) disagree with the statement that domestic work has no monetary value.
- **Whether respondents have free time:** Most women (55%) report that they have free time, and most men (75%) that they do not. More rural women than urban women had free time.

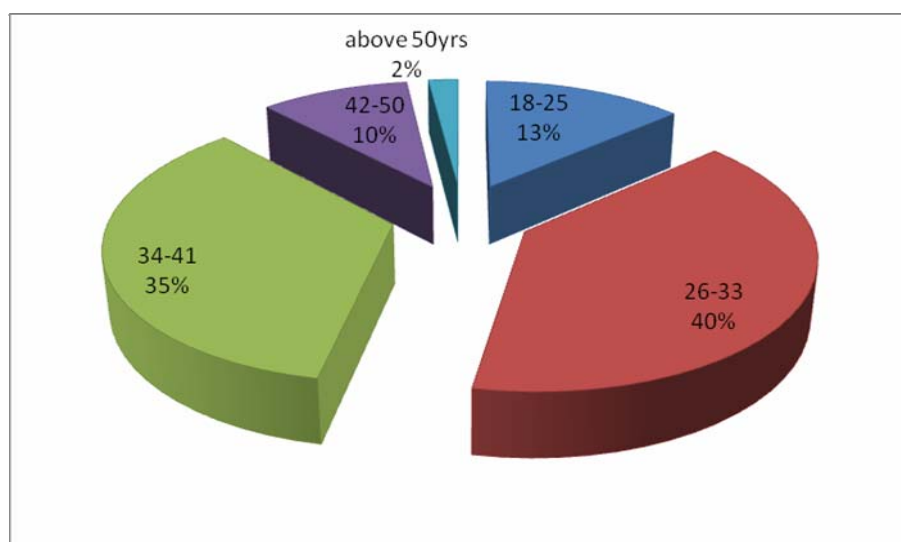
- **Activities of respondents during free time:** 55% of women sleep or rest during their free time compared to 42% of men. 15% of men say they watch TV in their free time. 21% of men say they have no free time as compared to 14% of women.
- **Frequency of getting time off from work:** 36/37 % of the male and female respondents from urban areas said that they often get time off from work, while 68/61% of the men and women from rural areas reported that they occasionally get time off from work.
- **Frequency of vacations:** 68% of male and 63% of female respondents from rural areas often or occasionally go for vacations, while the figures for urban respondents are 72% and 56%.
- **Attitude of the respondent towards decision making:** Most of both male (84%) and female (81%) respondents strongly agreed that the opinion of women is important in the family.

RESULTS

General profile of respondents

Basic information was collected from the respondents in terms of their socio-economic characteristics, age, family size, marital status, educational level, occupation, monthly income, and perceived head of the family.

Figure 1: Age of Respondents



As illustrated in Figure 1 above, 40% of the respondents were aged 26 to 33 years, and 35% were aged 34 to 41 years.

Table 2: Educational level of the respondents by sex

Table No2: Sex Wise Educational Level of Respondent

			Illiterate	Lower primary	Upper primary	Secondary	Senior secondary	Graduate	Post graduate	Total
			Urban	Male	3.0	6.0	6.0	3.0	3.0	2.0
	Sex		12.0	24.0	24.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Female		11.0	8.0	11.0	20.0	17.0	7.0	1.0	75.0
			14.7	10.7	14.7	26.7	22.7	9.3	1.3	100.0
	Total		14.0	14.0	17.0	23.0	20.0	9.0	3.0	100.0
			14.0	14.0	17.0	23.0	20.0	9.0	3.0	100.0
Rural	Male		11.0	9.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0		25.0
	Sex		44.0	36.0	8.0	8.0	4.0	0.0		100.0
	Female		14.0	31.0	17.0	8.0	4.0	1.0		75.0
			18.7	41.3	22.7	10.7	5.3	1.3		100.0
	Total		25.0	40.0	19.0	10.0	5.0	1.0		100.0
			25.0	40.0	19.0	10.0	5.0	1.0		100.0

Table 2 shows the educational level of the respondents by sex. Overall, the respondents have low levels of education. But it is interesting to note that the proportion of rural women respondents who are educated is higher than for their male counterparts. In rural areas 44% of men are illiterate compared to 19% of women, and women have higher level of school enrolment until high school.

In urban areas, both men and women have access to higher education. The reason could be the wider exposure and opportunities of the city, difference in mindsets in urban and rural areas, and the greater array of job opportunities available for women in urban areas.

The study confirmed the typical mindset of many families in rural India wherein it is not considered beneficial to continue girls' education beyond a basic level as girls would be unlikely to find a decent job (and high educational status of women is unlikely to benefit the girl's natal family, as she will live with her husband's family after marriage). A similar explanation, combined with fewer job opportunities for women, would explain why most women in rural areas get little education beyond the basic level. A further reason is the common practice of early marriage of girl children in rural areas. The educational status of men also reflects the community perception of the low value of education.

At the same time, however, the opportunity cost of girls attending school is seen to be lower than for boys, as boys can engage in paid labour even from a young age; as a result, school attendance at all levels is higher for girls than it is for boys. As girls become older and play a more important role in housework, their school attendance may be seen as more of a detriment to the family.

The higher literacy rate for men in urban areas may be due to a perception that if a boy acquires higher education he will be able to find a good job and income, so that the early investment in school pays off in the higher salary later on – a scenario which does not play out in rural areas, thus leading to the ironic situation in which the lower perceived value of girls leads to higher literacy rates, as their time is insufficiently valuable to create a disincentive for sending young girls to school.

The educational level of the respondents is not reflected in their involvement in paid work, particularly for urban women. Women's generally low employment rates are part of a larger cycle in which families fail to send girls beyond a certain age to school as few job opportunities are available, while men and women's low educational attainments make it difficult for them to qualify for whatever jobs do exist.

Even for girls with higher levels of education, it is very difficult to find a decent job. Many of the respondents told the researchers that they were forced to be full-time housewives as it was difficult to find any other job. Meanwhile, many urban female respondents work as domestic servants due to the lack of other job opportunities.

It is of course important to distinguish between educational achievement and skill levels. International experience has clearly demonstrated that education is critical for girls, for their own sakes and for that of their families, as educated women are more likely to get their children vaccinated, practice contraception, and engage in a range of other behaviours leading to familial health and well-being. However, to say that women are uneducated is not to say that they are unskilled or untrained. From a very young age, they are closely tutored by their mothers and other female relations in all the diverse tasks that are considered the responsibility of women, including food preparation, cleaning, child care, and even management of household accounts.

Table 3: Family size

Place	Response	Frequency	Percent
Urban	less than 5	73	73
	6-8	24	24

	9-11	3	3
	Total	100	100
Rural	less than 5	68	68
	6-8	28	28
	9-11	4	4
	Total	100	100

As seen in **Table 3** most of the families (73% from urban and 68% from rural areas) have fewer than five members. About a fourth (24% in urban and 28% in rural areas) has 6-8 members, and only a small percentage has 9-11 members.

Figure 2: Head of Family

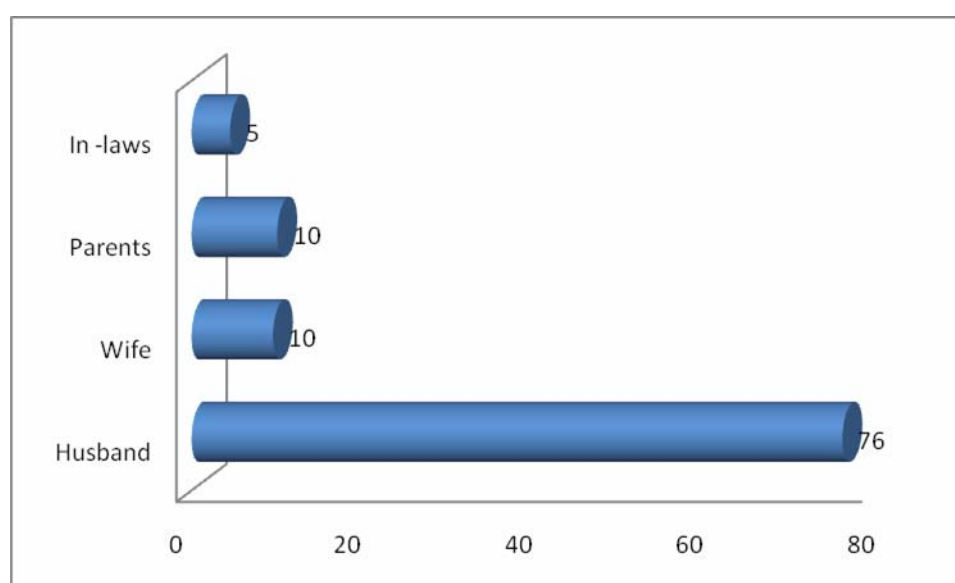


Figure 2 shows that 76% of the families participating in the study were headed by a male, while 5% of the families had in-laws⁷ or parents as the head of the family. Only 10% of the families were headed by the wife. The breakdown reflects the traditional patriarchal household that is common throughout most of India, in which men are held in higher esteem.

Table 4: Occupation of respondents

Place	Response	Daily wage worker	Private service	Household business	Domestic worker	agriculture	House wife	Govt. service	Student	Total
Urban	Male	13	7	0	0		0	5	0	25
		52.00%	28.00%	0.00%	0.00%		0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Rural	Female	14	6	16	16		13	9	1	75
		18.70%	8.00%	21.30%	21.30%		17.30%	12.00%	1.30%	100.00%
Total		27	13	16	16		13	14	1	100

⁷ In India ,in- laws refer to the wife's parent and parents to the husband's

		27.00%	13.00%	16.00%	16.00%	13.00%	14.00%	1.00%	100.00%	
Rural	Sex	Male	6	3	0	0	15	0	1	25
			24.00%	12.00%	0.00%	0.00%	60.00%	0.00%	4.00%	100.00%
	Female	14	2	1	1	29	26	2	75	
		18.70%	2.70%	1.30%	1.30%	38.70%	34.70%	2.70%	100.00%	
	Total	20	5	1	1	44	26	3	100	
		20.00%	5.00%	1.00%	1.00%	44.00%	26.00%	3.00%	100.00%	

In both rural and urban areas, far fewer women than men had paid jobs. Interestingly, far less than half of women in rural (35%) and urban (17%) areas described themselves as (full-time) housewives. Among those women with paid employment, about one-fifth (19%) of the women respondents from the rural area were daily wage workers, while 39% were unpaid agriculture labourers. About one-fifth of urban female respondents and very few rural female respondents were engaged in some type of household business; for those that were engaged in such business, this work was unlikely to include any payment.

For the men, the most common occupations were daily wage workers and agricultural workers, while a significant portion of urban men were involved in private or government service.

Finally, it can be seen that female respondents were occupied in a wider variety of activities for their livelihood than their male counterparts. Ironically, however, this was due not to a greater variety of job opportunities, but to limited opportunities which required more creativity to make ends meet.

Table 5: Monthly income

Place	Response	less than 1000	1000 to 2000	2000 to 3000	3000 to 5000	5000 above	No Income	Total	
Urban	Sex	Male	0	4	9	4	8	0	25
			0.00%	16.00%	36.00%	16.00%	32.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Female	40	9	2	1	8	15	75	
		53.30%	12.00%	2.70%	1.30%	10.70%	20.00%	100.00%	
	Total	40	13	11	5	16	15	100	
		40.00%	13.00%	11.00%	5.00%	16.00%	15.00%	100.00%	
Rural	Sex	Male	4	6	14	0	1	0	25
			16.00%	24.00%	56.00%	0.00%	4.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Female	6	24	18	1	1	25	75	
		8.00%	32.00%	24.00%	1.30%	1.30%	33.30%	100.00%	
	Total	10	30	32	1	2	25	100	
		10.00%	30.00%	32.00%	1.00%	2.00%	25.00%	100.00%	

The monthly income of the respondents is shown in [Table 5](#). Although the small sample size makes definitive conclusions difficult, the table indicates that women earned far less than men, in both urban and rural areas. For urban women who did earn an income, most (40%) received less than 1,000 rupees (US\$20) per month. The fairly high levels of education of urban female respondents shown above appeared to have little or no impact on their income.

There are many potential reasons for women's lower incomes. Even in the United States, which while still not fully providing gender equality is certainly more equitable than India, men tend to earn more than women for similar work, and traditionally male jobs pay more than traditionally female ones. Thus one reason for the pay differential is simply the tendency to pay women less than men, even if the work they perform is similar.

In addition, women may be blocked from better-paying jobs through discrimination, stereotypes about what jobs are "appropriate" for women, and the inability to put in the same hours as men to advance on the career ladder due to family responsibilities.

The issue of part-time work is an important one, worthy of discussion. Given that women traditionally are responsible for household work and caring for others, when women enter the paid workforce in large numbers and engage in full-time jobs, some negative consequences may arise. These include the heavier burden placed on women, who often must continue to shoulder the entire responsibility for home and family in addition to their outside job. Men, meanwhile, may justify their reluctance to help out at home even when their wives work full-time outside the home in terms of the lower wages for women—or simply that such work is women's duty, regardless of what other responsibilities women take on. Further, women may encounter the inability to take care of the family in the same way when working a paid job as if she were a full-time housewife. This is not to belittle the importance of greater financial independence, stimulation, social opportunities, and feelings of self-worth that paid employment can bring women, but to acknowledge that the benefits may be reduced due to other issues.

It thus may come as little surprise that many women among the survey respondents expressed a preference—even among the executive women—to work part-time, so as to continue to have time for their family commitments. With a part-time (as opposed to full-time) job, women are better able to look after their children and other family members, while still making a financial contribution to the family budget. Where such a situation is possible, it may be the optimal solution for women and their families. European social policy would seem to side with this position, focused as it is on encouraging women *and* men to spend less time at work and more time with their families, including generous paternal and maternal leave, shorter work weeks, and longer vacations. Such policies (detailed in depth in Heymann and Beem 2005) indicate a profound understanding that family is at least as important as income, and that individual, society and the nation do not prosper when people neglect the family for the sake of longer working hours in pursuit of a living. Working fewer hours could also ease unemployment as well as improving quality of life.

Nearly a quarter (15% for urban and 25% for rural) of the female respondents said that they had no income because they were (full-time) housewives. They stayed at home to carry out their responsibilities as mothers, managing the day-to-day activities of the family: feeding children, cooking, cleaning and so on. Though many of the female respondents said that they longed for financial independence, they also understood that working for pay would reduce their ability to provide the kind of care they alone could give to their children and spouses. Thus many of the women expressed that the greatest reward they could aspire to was that sense of satisfaction, rather than any monetary benefit from paid work.

Difficulties in finding a suitable job were another hindrance the women shared in their struggle to become financially independent. This problem was faced mainly by the middle class families. Because of social stigma and societal expectations, even if the women were willing to engage in such jobs as domestic helpers, the middle caste women were not allowed to perform such “demeaning” work. The picture was different in rural areas. As there was little difference between the lower class and lower middle class, most women were able to engage in paid labour, most often as agriculture workers. Irrespective of their occupational or financial status, household work remained the domain of women. Further, women who assisted in their family business or by working on the family farm or land did not consider it as a paid job, but rather as yet another aspect of a woman's responsibility.⁸

Table 6: Number of dependents in the family

Place	Response	Percent
Urban	1 to 2	47
	3 to5	40
	above 5	3
	no	10
	Total	100
Rural	1 to 2	38
	3 to5	51
	above 5	11
	Total	100

Women perform 2/3 of unpaid work in Canada worth up to \$319 billion to the economy and the equivalent of millions of full-time jobs." (World March of Women)

The number of dependents in the family is shown in **Table 6**.

Rural families had more dependents than urban ones, with 47% of urban and 38% of rural families having one or two dependents, while 40% of urban and 51% of rural families had 3-5 dependents. The dependents were mostly children and aged parents or in-laws.

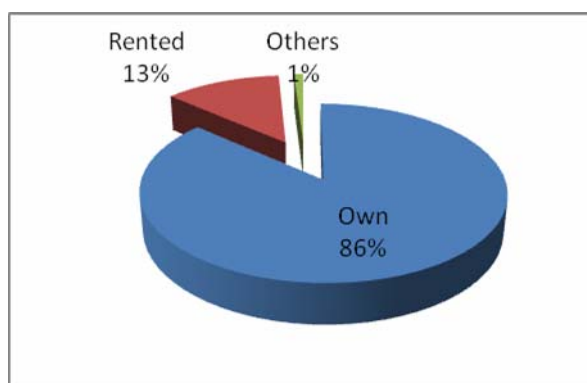
Table 7: Number of earning family members

Place	Response	Percent
Urban	1 to 2	91
	3 to5	7
	above 5	2
	Total	100
Rural	1 to 2	91
	3 to5	9
	Total	100

Table 7 shows the number of earning members in the families participating in the study. In both urban and rural areas, 91% of families had one or two people who earned income.

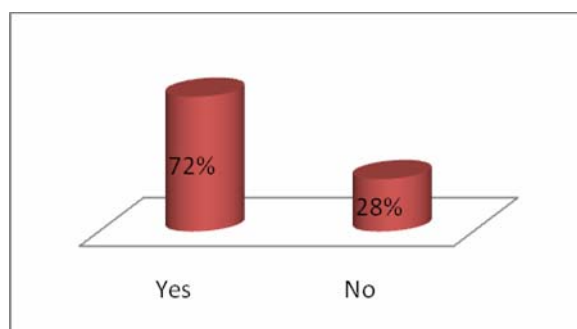
⁸ The irony of this becomes clear when asking women whether they work. The typical answer would be “no”. When asking what they do all day, the number of tasks—for which it would be necessary to pay someone if the women did not do them themselves—is lengthy. Yet since such tasks are considered the responsibility of women, and since they are not paid, women did not consider them as work. Such attitudes are by no means limited to India; in the US, a common question following childbirth is “Are you working?” as if the care of infants requires no effort.

Figure 3: Ownership of house



As seen in **Figure 3**, 86% of the respondents owned their own house and 13% stayed in rental houses. The remaining 1% includes respondents who lived with in-laws and other relatives.

Figure 4: Convenient access to drinking water



As shown in **Figure 4**, 72% of the respondents had access to drinking water and 28% do not have proper access to drinking water i.e. they do not have individual water connection but drink water from a pond, well or collect water from a public tap which is not very hygienic.

Time Spent on Paid, Extended, and Unpaid Work

This section deals with the time spent on paid, extended⁹, and unpaid work performed by both urban and rural women. This study found that a typical woman's day starts early in the morning, at about 5 a.m., and ends after around 10:00 at night. Women often spend 6 to 8 hours per day on paid activities; a full 60% of women in this study were involved in paid activities after which they had to carry out their own household activities. This double burden left these women with only a negligible amount of time for them. The following tables and their interpretation provide a clearer picture of women's involvement in paid and unpaid activities.

Table 8: Wake-up time of the respondents

Sex	Response	Percent
Male	Before 4:30am	4
	4:30-5:30am	42
	5:30-6:30am	24

⁹ Extended paid work, means to work over time, or is a secondary paid job which one does along with the primary job and unpaid work.

	6:30-7:30am	12
	after 7:30am	18
	Total	100
Female	Before 4:30am	4
	4:30-5:30am	50
	5:30-6:30am	31
	6:30-7:30am	15
	Total	100

Table 8 shows what time the respondents got up in the morning. Half of female respondents got up between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m., and 85% of female respondents were up by 6:30 a.m.; this compared to 70% of men who were up by this time.

Table 9: Respondents' involvement in paid work

		Do you engage in paid work?		
Place		Yes	No	Total
Urban	Sex			
	Male	25	0	25
	Female	54	21	75
	Total	79	21	100
Rural	Sex			
	Male	25	0	25
	Female	47	28	75
	Total	72	28	100

As shown in **Table 9**, 50% of male from urban and rural areas and 54% (urban) 47% (Rural) of female respondents engaged in some sort of paid work. However, (28%) of females from rural areas did not engage in paid work. Among those not engaged in paid work, many were full-time housewives and most worked in their own fields but not for pay.

Table 10: Time spent by respondents on paid work

		Time you spend in a day for your paid work				
		Less than 5 hours	6-8 hours	More than 8 hours	Not applicable	Total
Sex	Male	4	34	12	0	50
		8%	68%	24%	0%	100%
Female		26	61	18	45	150
		17%	41%	12%	30%	100%
Total		30	95	30	45	200
		15%	47%	15%	22%	100%

As seen in Table 10 that 68% of the male respondents worked for pay for 6 to 8 hours and 24% for more than 8 hours. Among the female respondents, 41% worked for pay for 6 to 8 hours a day, while

only 12% worked more than 8 hours a day for pay. Meanwhile, 17% of women reported working for fewer than five hours a day for pay, with most of these being women with contract work in agriculture.

HOUSEWORK

Table 11: Respondents' participation in domestic work

Task	Sex		
	Male	Female	
Cleaning the house	Yes/Daily	26	90
	No	58	10
	Occasionally	16	0
Cleaning around the home	Yes/Daily	20	81
	No	74	16
	Occasionally	6	3
Tending mud floors to keep out dust	Yes/Daily	0	41
	No	94	56
	Occasionally	6	3
Making beds, hanging and taking down mosquito nets	Yes/Daily	14	55
	No	74	42
	Occasionally	12	3
Washing dishes	Yes/Daily	6	87
	No	84	11
	Occasionally	10	3
Sorting, washing and drying clothes	Yes/Daily	20	85
	No	72	11
	Occasionally	8	3
Ironing, folding clothes and putting them away	Yes/Daily	12	19
	No	82	77
	Occasionally	6	4
Preparing food items for cooking ^[1]	Yes/Daily	16	87
	No	70	10
	Occasionally	14	3
Cooking	Yes/Daily	28	86
	No	68	11
	Occasionally	4	3
Tending to and lighting lamps	Yes/Daily	18	39
	No	76	59

¹⁰ For those not accustomed to South Asian food preparation, it is important to point out that this is a highly time-consuming step, involving such activities as carefully checking rice and dal for dirt and stones; painstakingly cleaning leafy vegetables (removing strings from stalks, removing inedible leaves); scaling and cleaning fish; removing the feathers from, cleaning and cutting chickens; chopping vegetables into small pieces on a knife held in place by the foot, and so on). The food preparation usually takes far more time than the actual cooking; in the case of tiny fish, it can actually take hours of meticulous work.

	Occasionally	6	3
Collecting firewood or other materials for fuel	Yes/Daily	14	29
	No	80	64
	Occasionally	6	7
Making fuel from cow dung	Yes/Daily	2	11
	No	88	68
	Occasionally	10	21
Carrying water	Yes/Daily	24	55
	No	68	43
	Occasionally	8	2
Supervising household work	Yes/Daily	34	35
	No	58	55
	Occasionally	8	10
Helping in family business	Yes/Daily	34	35
	No	60	58
	Occasionally	6	7
Preparing food items for sale	Yes/Daily	18	18
	No	78	80
	Occasionally	4	2

Table 11 shows the stated involvement of men and women in various domestic tasks. As the table makes clear, women were far more involved in a range of domestic activities than men. However, men did contribute towards domestic work despite prevalent attitudes suggesting that such work is the responsibility of women. Such participation, however, was far less common than for women. For instance, 26% of men participate in housecleaning on a daily basis in comparison to 90% of women. Only 6% of men ever wash the dishes, 28% cook and 24% carry water. While it is encouraging to see that men do play some role in domestic tasks, it is clear that such tasks continue to be considered as mainly the domain of women, with men “helping” their wives, rather than husbands and wives sharing the responsibility—even in cases where women, like men, work a considerable number of hours per day for pay.

Table 12: Participation in agricultural work

Agricultural Related Work (Rural)		Sex	
		Male	Female
Preparing soil, planting seedlings, weeding etc	Yes	15	56
	No	60	75
	Occasionally	6	17
Managing daily workers	Yes	24	23
	No	4	2
	Occasionally	16	3
Managing daily workers	Yes	14	37
	No	56	49
	Occasionally	7	36

		28	48
	Occasionally	4	2
		16	3
Preparing plot for vegetable planting	Yes	8	49
		32	65
	No	15	24
		60	32
	Occasionally	2	2
		8	3
Growing vegetables	Yes	17	57
		68	76
	No	7	16
		28	21
	Occasionally	1	2
		4	3
Harvesting	Yes	19	57
		76	76
	No	6	15
		24	20
	Occasionally		3
			4
Work related to harvesting	Yes	18	57
		72	76
	No	5	14
		20	19
	Occasionally	2	4
		8	5
Food processing	Yes	17	47
		68	63
	No	7	18
		28	24
	Occasionally	1	10
		4	13
Collecting and drying seeds	Yes	18	54
		72	72
	No	6	16
		24	21
	Occasionally	1	5
		4	7
Storage of agricultural products	Yes	18	54
		72	72
	No	6	15
		24	20
	Occasionally	1	6
		4	8

The participation of rural men and women in agricultural work is shown in **Table 12**. Both men and women were involved in a range of agricultural tasks. For instance, 60% of male and 74% of female

respondents engaged in preparing soil, planting seedlings, and weeding, while only 24% of male and 22% of female respondents did not engage in such tasks. A third (32%) of male and most (65%) females engaged in preparing plots for vegetable planting, while most (60%) males and a third (32%) of females did not. About half of male (56%) and female (49%) respondents managed daily workers.

Three-quarters (76%) of both male and female respondents engaged in harvesting, and most men (68%) and women (62%) engaged in food processing. Close to three-quarters (72%) of male and female respondents collected and dried seeds, and 72% of both sexes also engaged in storage activities. While the proportions were similar, the results suggest that tasks which require more physical work were more likely to be performed by women and managerial tasks by men.

Urban respondents were not involved in agriculture.

Table 13: Involvement in animal husbandry

Animal Husbandry (Rural)		Sex	
		Male	Female
Caring for chickens, ducks (cleaning, feeding)	Yes	7	25
		28	33.3
	No	16	49
		64	65.3
	Occasionally	2	1
		8	1.3
Medical care for small animals	Yes	5	13
		20	17.3
	No	17	56
		68	74.7
	Occasionally	3	6
		12	8
Caring for larger animals (cow, goat, water buffalo)	Yes	5	25
		20	33.3
	No	17	49
		68	65.3
	Occasionally	3	1
		12	1.3
Milking cow	Yes	2	18
		8	24
	No	20	50
		80	66.7
	Occasionally	3	7
		12	9.3
Selling products in the market	Yes	0	5
			6.7
	No	24	66
		96	88
	Occasionally	1	4
		4	5.3

As shown in Table 13, most respondents (both male and female) were not involved with animal husbandry. Most men (64%) and women (65%) were not engage in caring (cleaning, feeding etc.) for chickens and ducks, and only 28% of men and 33% of women were regularly involved in this task. Similarly, most men (68%) and women (74%) were not involved in medical care for small animals or in caring for larger animals (68% of men and 65% of women). Given their lack of participation in animal husbandry, it is unsurprising that most men (80%) and women (66%) were also not involved in activities such as milking of cows or—for 96% of men and 88% of women—in selling the products in the market.

Table 24: Respondent's involvement with handicrafts

Handicrafts		Sex	
		Male	Female
Making baskets, mats, holders, pots, pottery etc	Yes	0	2
		0	1
	No	50	145
		100	98
	Occasionally	0	3
		0	2
Embroidery	Yes	1	3
		2	2
	No	49	139
		98	92
	Occasionally	0	8
		0	5
Making and mending clothes	Yes	1	7
		2	5
	No	49	136
		98	91
	Occasionally	0	7
		0	5

As shown in Table 14, none of the male respondents and only a small proportion of the female respondents were involved in making baskets, mats, holders, pots etc. Similarly, 98% of men and 92% of women did not engage in embroidery, and 98% of men and 90% of women were not involved in making and/or mending clothes. The results indicate that making handicrafts is not a means of livelihood for the respondents.

Table 15: Respondent's involvement in caring for family members

Caring for family members		Sex	
		Male	Female
Caring for children	Yes	24	60
	No	76	40
Caring for sick	Yes	4	7
	No	96	93

Caring for husband/wife	Yes	0	52
	No	100	48
Teaching children/helping with homework	Yes	20	25
	No	80	75
Taking children to and from school	Yes	20	21
	No	80	79
Feeding, looking after guests	Yes	4	5
	No	96	95
Paying bills	Yes	52	17
	No	48	83
Shopping for food	Yes	80	65
	No	20	35
Shopping for clothes and other household items	Yes	76	56
	No	24	44
Managing the household (organizing activities, expenses, etc.)	Yes	40	27
	No	60	73
Taking the sick to the doctor	Yes	12	7
	No	88	93

Table 15 shows the frequency of participation by men and women in caring for family members. As shown, 60% of the female respondents reporting taking care of their young children (bathing, feeding, tending), whereas 40% of the women had children who were independent and could care for themselves. Only 24% of the male respondents reported engaging in those activities. More than one-third (36%) of women guided their children in doing their homework, while one-fifth (22%) of men helped their children in their studies. Half of the women reported providing daily care for their husbands, while no men indicated that they looked after their wives. While the figures are very low, both men and women reported equal involvement in caring for sick family members and in looking after guests.

Figure 5: Respondents' bedtime

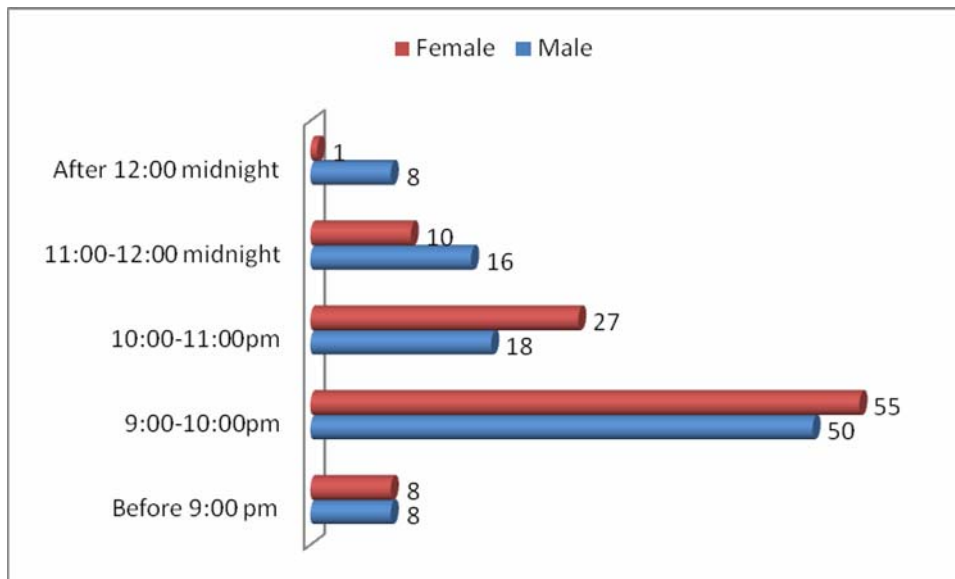
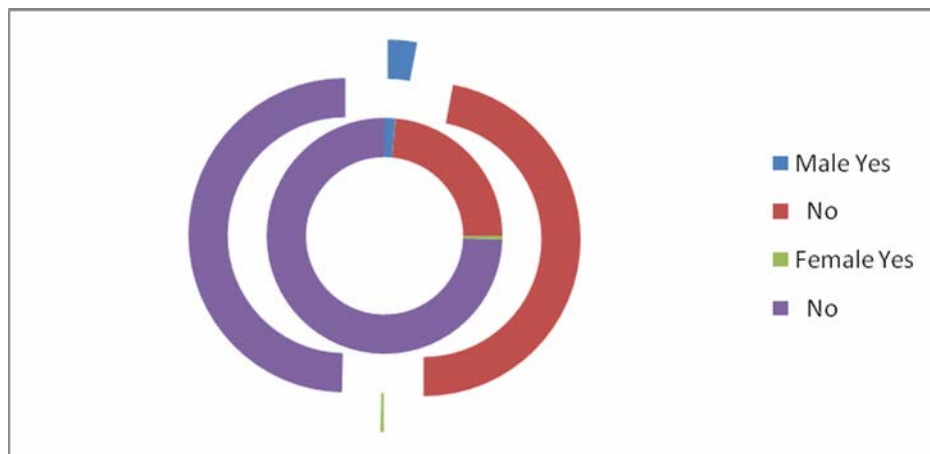


Figure 5 shows that male respondents generally went to bed later than female respondents: 63% of the female respondents went to sleep before 10 p.m. in comparison to 58% of male respondents. This may have been a reflection of the time that they got up in the morning.

Figure 6: Respondents' involvement in voluntary work



As Figure 6 graphically displays, virtually none of the respondents performed voluntary work for the welfare of their community, i.e. by engaging in organizing religious programmes on festive days or conducting recreational activities for the people residing in the community such as cricket. While 6% of men participated in voluntary work, only 1% of women reported doing so. The even lower figure for female participation could be due to restrictions on female mobility as well as women's heavy workload.

GENDER AND UNPAID WORK

Figure 7: Who gets up first?

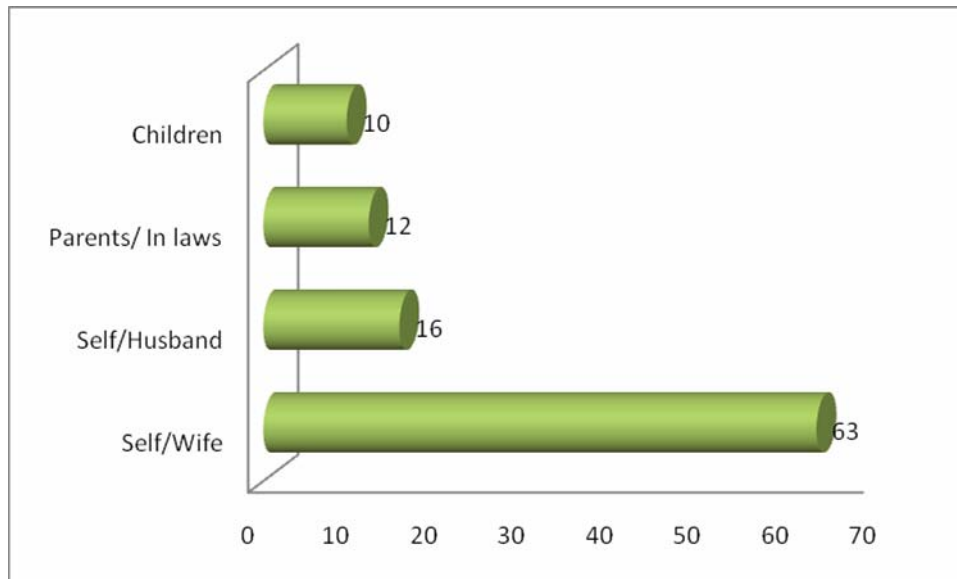


Figure 7 shows that in most of the respondents' families, it was women who got up first, especially wives or daughters-in-law. In only 15%¹¹ of the family was it the male respondent who got up first. Both male and female respondents said that it was mainly the duty of women to get up first in order to ensure that her family members received breakfast on time, to clean the home and its surroundings, prepare lunch, and so on. The woman's employment status did not affect these results; the woman was in charge of all these early morning domestic tasks even if she also worked outside the home.

Figure 8: Whose job is it?

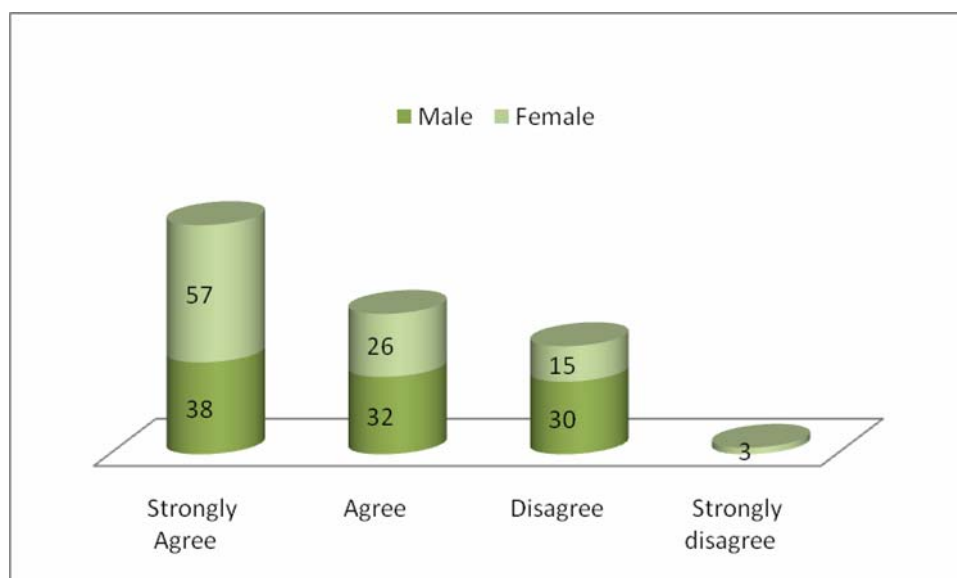
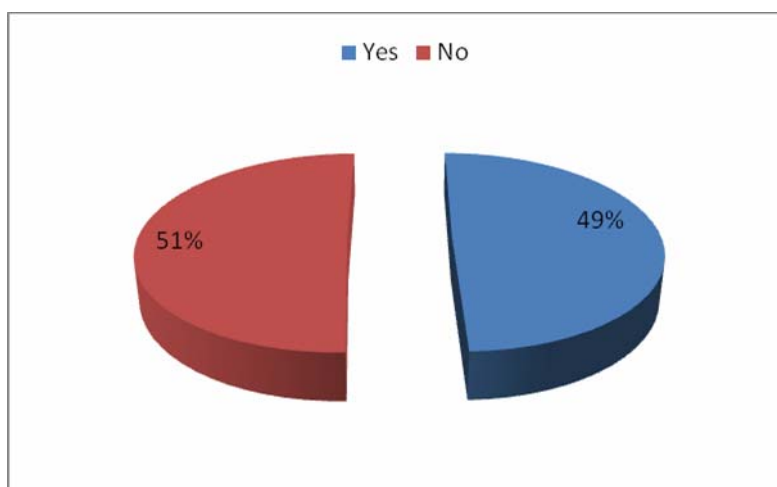


Figure 8 shows the opinion of respondents regarding whether certain domestic tasks were women's responsibility. Interestingly, more women (57%) than men (38%) strongly agreed that cooking and taking care of children and the elderly should be the job of women. Almost twice as many men (30%)

¹¹ The difference of numbers in the graphs and text is because of rounding the figures.

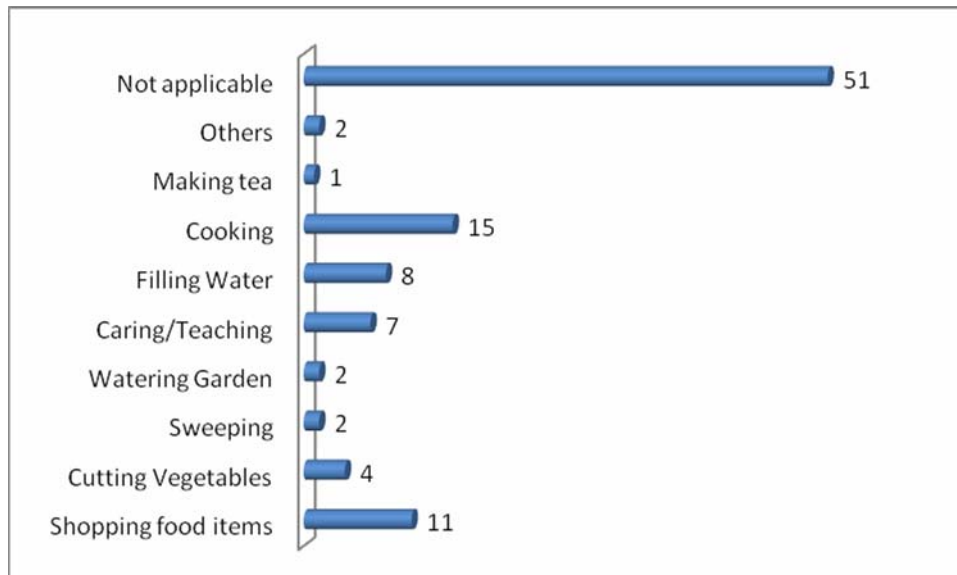
as women (15%) disagreed and only 3% of women strongly disagreed. None of the male respondents strongly disagreed that cooking and caring for children/elderly was a woman's job.

Figure 9: Husband's involvement in domestic work



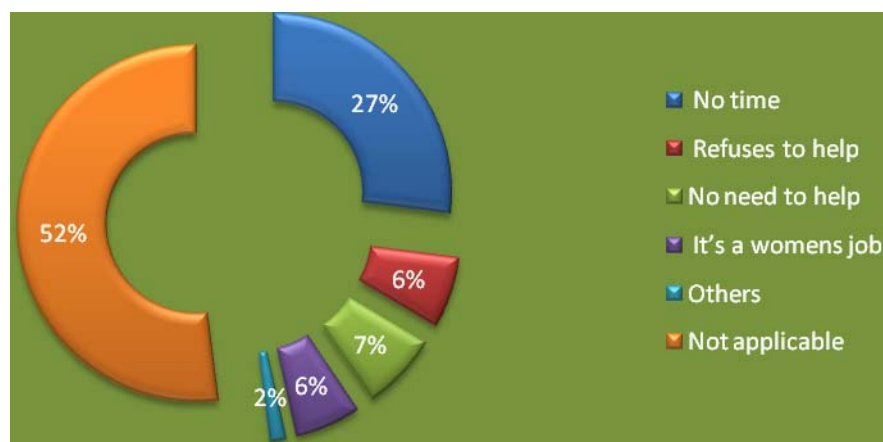
As seen in **Figure 9**, half of the husbands helped their spouses in domestic tasks. The extent of that contribution, however, may have been very limited, and as seen in **Table 12** above, most men were not involved in domestic work on a daily basis. This question was asked to both men and women; women reported that their husbands do contribute but the contribution is limited to certain activities, whereas men said that they do contribute in domestic work but again not on a daily basis and it is limited.

Figure 10: Husband's contribution to domestic work



As **Figure 10** illustrates, both the male and female respondents said that men are involved in various domestic tasks, the most common being cooking (15%) and shopping for food items (11%). A fairly small percentage helped to gather water (8%), care for and teach children (7%), and cut vegetables (4%). However, a full half (51%) were not involved in any domestic work. Men involvement in cooking was limited to washing the vegetables or grinding as per the interest or time available for the same.

Figure 11: Reasons given for husbands not engaging in domestic work



As shown in **Figure 11**, the most common reason given by men for their lack of involvement in domestic work is lack of time (27%)¹². Other reasons included no need for them to do household work (7%), reluctance to help (6%), and that is a woman's job (6%). As noted above, the tasks in which men were engaged were limited to shopping for food, filling water¹³, teaching children, etc. Many wives reported that they did not allow their husbands to be involved in domestic work that they considered degrading—or in some cases, any household work at all. For instance, the prevailing traditions and cultures do not allow men to wash clothes and dishes. Thus even where men play some role, that role is limited by beliefs about which tasks it is acceptable for men to perform.

Table 16: Belief that men should not be involved in domestic work

Sex	Response	Percent
Male	Strongly Agree	40
	Agree	24
	Disagree	34
	Strongly disagree	2
	Total	100
Female	Strongly Agree	35
	Agree	29
	Disagree	35
	Strongly disagree	1
	Total	100

"On the home rests this huge structure we call civilized society, and its continued maintenance largely depends on the intelligent and competent administration of the home." – Marilyn Waring

¹² The question was asked to both men and women, i.e. men were individually asked for reasons for not being involved and women were asked about the reasons for their husband non-involvement in domestic work.

¹³ In urban areas water is supplied by the Municipality during a specific time of the day and needs to be stored for use.

The opinion of respondents about male involvement in domestic work is presented in [Table 16](#). Among both men and women, more agreed (64%) than disagreed (36/35%) that men should not be involved in any domestic work.

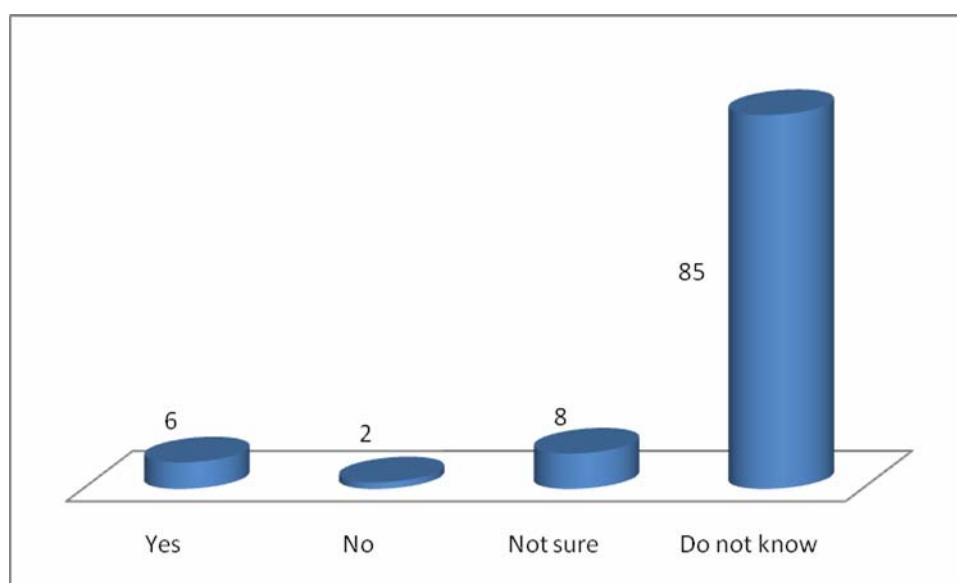
Table17: Opinion about monetary value of unpaid work

Opinion about monetary value of unpaid work								
	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Domestic work need not be paid, since it is the duty of the women in the family.	72	68	14	26	14	5		
Domestic work does not carry any monetary value	44	59	18	22	36	13	2	5

As shown in [Table 15](#), most men and women agreed that domestic work, when carried out by female family members, should not be paid. Interestingly, almost three times as many men (14%) as women (5%) disagreed. (Again, it is important to note that the study authors do not feel that the work should be paid; the question is merely rhetorical.)

Similarly, more men (38%) than women (18%) disagreed that domestic work has no monetary value. There could be two main explanations. First, the low status of women may encourage them to undervalue domestic work even more than men do, considering it part of their duty and something they take for granted. Second, they may be less clear than men about the meaning of the idea of the work having a monetary value. As HealthBridge-supported research in other countries has shown, many people object to the idea of placing a monetary value on household work, yet when asked if such work has importance, will strongly agree that the work is vital. The problem, then, may be more in the concept of placing monetary terms on the work rather than a devaluation of the work itself.

Figure 12: Would women's unpaid contributions change GDP?

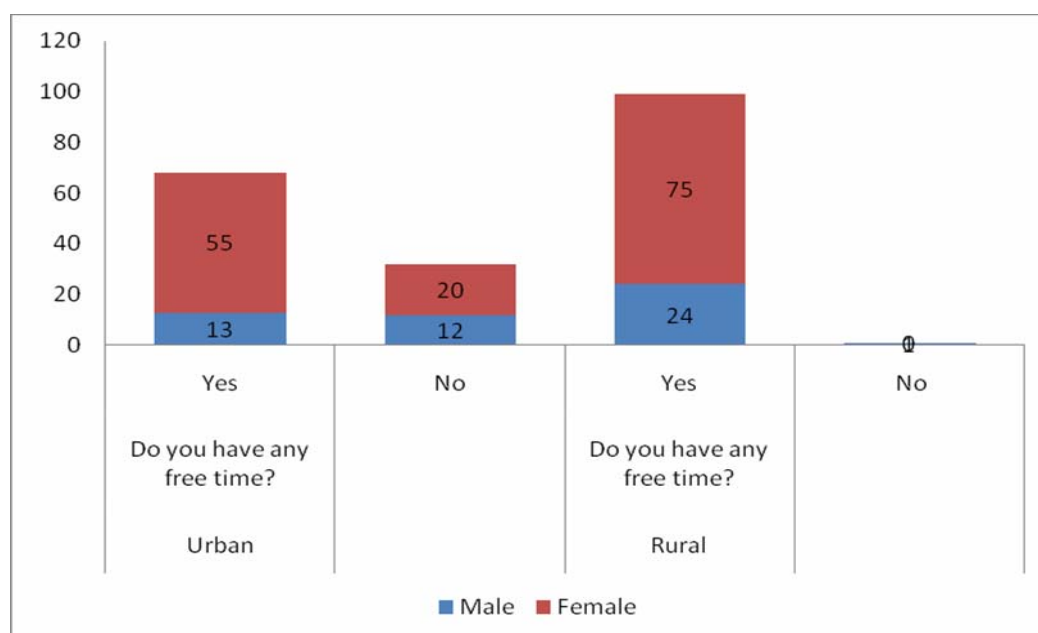


Since most respondents did not understand the concept of GDP, the majority (85%) did not know whether counting of women's unpaid work would change the GDP, and another 8% said that they were not sure. Only 6% were of the view that counting of women's unpaid contribution would help in changing the GDP. The fact that anyone at all expressed this opinion may in itself be surprising, given the lack of awareness of this issue among Indian policymakers, much less Indian society at large.

Gender differences – Leisure time, decision making

Gender differences in relation to leisure time activities and decision making were also assessed in this study. This section examines whether men and women get free time from work, and attempts to identify the possible gender differences in how any leisure time is used. It also reveals the decision-making power possessed by both the genders.

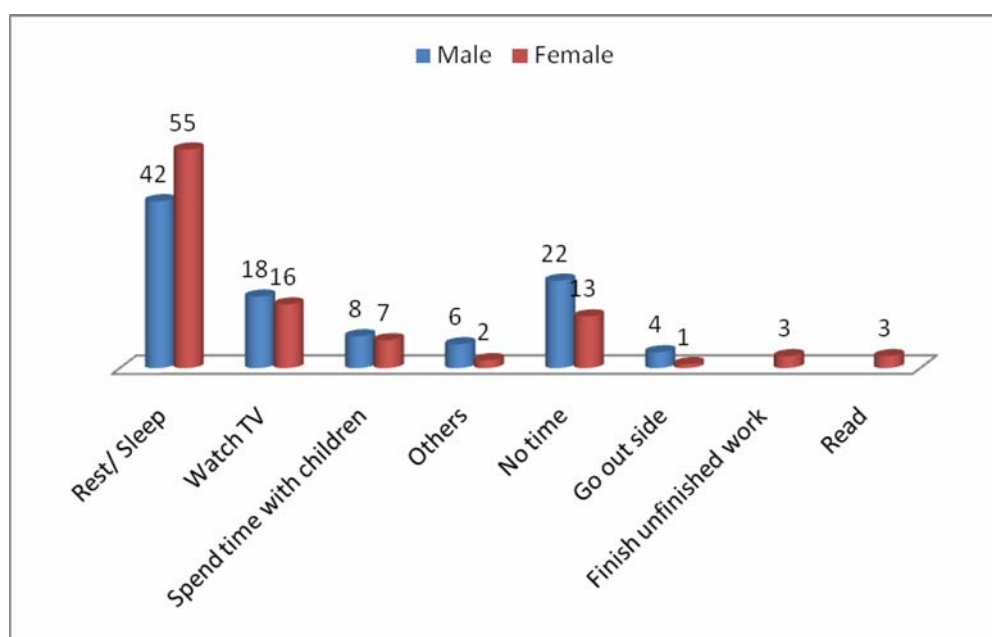
Figure 13: Free time



As shown in **Figure 13**, most women reported that they had free time, and most men that they did not. More women had free time in rural than urban areas.

The response to the question is however contradicted by the exploration of people's daily schedules, which made clear that respondents actually had little if any free time. The contradiction is explained in that most respondents do not consider many of their tasks as work. For instance, many respondents consider it leisure rather than work to labour in their own fields or cattle sheds or takes care of their children.

Figure14: How free time is spent



In order to get a better sense of what people consider as free time, respondents were asked how they spend that free time. Here the lack of leisure of the respondents becomes more evident. By far the most common use of free time, as shown in **Figure 14**, is to rest or sleep.

When women were asked what their husbands did during free time, they responded that they looked after the children, helped them with their studies, or took the family for outings. Many women said that their husbands would cook food occasionally, shop for vegetables, or visit relatives and friends. But overall, very few respondents reported all these activities. The majority said that their husbands would rest, sleep, and watch TV.

It is interesting to note that results of the qualitative research showed that women spent their “leisure” time ironing and folding clothes, helping children with their homework, sewing, and in other activities that would seem to pass for work. Even watching TV may not be a fully leisure-time activity, as many women take their work in front of the TV set.

It has already been noted that virtually all housework is performed by women. Many women said that they do not get the time to go out for family outings or vacations. Another reason for not going for outings is that many of the respondents are unable to afford the extra expenditure. Overall, the fact that the most common response to the use of free time is to rest or sleep suggests difficult and exhausting schedules, rather than the sort of leisure that is suggested in Figure 14 above.

Table 18: Frequency of getting time off from work

Place	Response	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	Total
Urban	Sex Male	9	5	8	3	25
		36.00%	20.00%	32.00%	12.00%	100.00%
	Female	28	19	26	2	75
		37.30%	25.30%	34.70%	2.70%	100.00%

Total			37	24	34	5	100
			37.00%	24.00%	34.00%	5.00%	100.00%
Rural	Sex	Male	6	17	0	2	25
			24.00%	68.00%	0.00%	8.00%	100.00%
	Female	Female	16	46	6	7	75
			21.30%	61.30%	8.00%	9.30%	100.00%
Total		Total	22	63	6	9	100
			22.00%	63.00%	6.00%	9.00%	100.00%

As seen in Table 18, most men and women said that they often or occasionally got time off from their regular routine, but such time off did not mean a complete day of leisure. However, about a third of men and women in urban areas said that such time off are rare. Even the executive women respondents said that, during an off day, they would be busy with all the house work that had piled up.

Table19: Frequency of vacations

		Sex		
Place		Male	Female	Total
Urban	How often do you go for vacation?	0	4	4
		0%	5%	4%
	Occasionally	18	39	57
		72%	52%	57%
	Rarely	4	20	24
		16%	27%	24%
Never	3	12	15	
	12%	16%	15%	
Total		25	75	100
		100%	100%	100%
Rural	How often do you go for vacation?	1	8	9
		4%	11%	9%
	Occasionally	16	39	55
		64%	52%	55%
	Rarely	5	22	27
		20%	29%	27%
Never	3	6	9	
	12%	8%	9%	
Total		25	75	100
		100%	100%	100%

As shown in Table 19, 72% of male and 52% of female respondents from rural areas often or occasionally took vacations, while the figures for urban respondents were 64 % and 52, respectively. Despite the figures, the mobility of rural women is likely more restricted than that of urban women. Upon

probing, the urban women said that they mostly went to the nearby park with their family members, or to a shopping centre, or for a walk with their friends.

Rural women, meanwhile, expressed with great disappointment that they seldom had an opportunity to go out and enjoy themselves. The two main problems they faced were the lack of any facilities and the numerous societal restrictions on the mobility of rural women. As a result, vacations for rural women mainly consisted of visiting their maternal village or their relatives in another village once or twice a year.

Table 20: Frequency of going out as a family

Place	Response		Sex				
			Male	Female	Total		
Urban	How often do you go out as a family?(e.g. dining out)	Weekly	16	21	37		
			64%	28%	37%		
		Once in a month	2	8	10		
			8%	11%	10%		
		Half yearly	2	8	10		
			8%	11%	10%		
		Yearly	0	4	4		
			0%	5%	4%		
		Never	5	34	39		
			20%	45%	39%		
Total			25	75	100		
			100%	100%	100%		
Rural	How often do you go out as a family?(dinning out, meals, etc)	Once in a month	0	1	1		
			0%	1%	1%		
		Half yearly	0	11	11		
			0%	15%	11%		
		Yearly	16	37	53		
			64%	49%	53%		
		Never	9	26	35		
			36%	35%	35%		
		Total			25	75	100
					100%	100%	100%

The frequency of going out as family is presented in **Table 20**. The table indicates that in urban areas, women had a relative amount of freedom to move around. Whereas almost a third of urban women went out as a family for dinner or picnic weekly (28%) or once a month (11%), rural women had this luxury only once (49%) or twice (15%) a year. However, while 45% of urban women said that they never went out as a family, only 35% of rural women said so, indicating that the urban privilege is far from universal.

Table 21: Attitudes about decision making

Sex	Response	Opinion of a women is important in any decisions made in the family		Men are the major decision makers in my family	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male	Strongly Agree	42.0	84.0	22.0	44.0
	Agree	8.0	16.0	14.0	28.0
	Disagree			14.0	28.0
	Total	50.0	100.0	50.0	100.0
Female	Strongly Agree	121.0	80.7	60.0	40.0
	Agree	22.0	14.7	38.0	25.3
	Disagree	6.0	4.0	50.0	33.3
	Strongly disagree	1.0	0.7	2.0	1.3
	Total	150.0	100.0	150.0	100.0

Table 21 shows that the attitudes of the respondents towards decision making were fairly similar between women and men. Most of both male (84%) and female (81%) respondents strongly agreed that the women's opinion is important in the family. While no male respondents disagreed with this, 4% of the female respondents did.

Meanwhile, 44% of the male and 40% of the female respondents strongly agreed that men were the primary decision makers in the family. Only 28% of men and 33% of women disagreed with this statement.

This study and paper about women's economic contribution through their unpaid work are based on a common misperception about economic activity, with the belief that only activities for which people receive direct payment benefit the economy, with other activities being economically meaningless or insignificant.

It takes little reflection to understand that this is not the case. When the same activity can be done in one setting for pay and in another for free, how is one to determine whether that activity is economically productive or not? Cooking, washing of clothes, cleaning, taking care of children and the sick and the elderly, tutoring children and so on, are all activities commonly performed by women for free—but also activities that are given economic value when they are performed for pay.

The question is thus not whether women, including those who do not engage in any work for pay, contribute to their nation's economy, but the extent to which their contributions are overlooked. The point is not to determine an appropriate wage for household work or the caring of others, and then to demand that men pay it to their wives and daughters. Such a suggestion contradicts the essential point that activities are valuable even when not monetized. Rather, this study seeks to raise attention to a serious and neglected issue: that the work done by women without pay, in the home as well as in the fields, is indeed work, does indeed have value, and should indeed count towards national income. The point, again, is not to pay women a wage, but rather to raise attention to the important contributions women make, so that the perceived value of women—and thus society's treatment of them—improves.

Despite all the housework that women perform, they feel that they do not contribute economically towards the family. They often do not have the authority, confidence and power to make major decisions relating to the family. And the status of women in India remains very low

Women in both urban and rural areas start their day early in the morning, between 4:30-5:30 a.m., and do not go to bed till 10:00 p.m. While maintaining responsibility for most household work, two-thirds of both urban and rural women are also involved in paid work in order to supplement limited family income. Women on average spend a minimum of eight hours a day on paid work, after which they are solely responsible for the activities of their own household, including cooking, cleaning, washing, and taking care of children. While husbands offer women occasional help, the main burden of domestic tasks falls on women, regardless of whether they are also engaged in paid labour.

Women often engaged in more than one activity at a time, for instance, holding or feeding a baby while cooking, comforting a crying baby while helping another child with housework, or tending to the sick while engaged in other activities. If each separate activity were taken into account, then women's working hours would expand considerably. Given that women get little or no leisure time, it would seem that most women work about 16 hours a day in a combination of paid and unpaid work. Even those who have full-time paid employment (on average 8 hours a day) still must work about 8 hours a day at housework to complete all the household tasks, and are likely to put more hours in during the weekly holiday to catch up on the work neglected during the week. Working in the family fields or garden, caring for domestic animals (feeding, cleaning, and other care), and participating in any household business is also the responsibility of women.

While the work done by men is widely acknowledged and most men are considered as economically productive, women who are engaged in full-time household work are classified by the Government of India as economically unproductive. Yet the same tasks performed by these housewives, if done at another house, become a paid job and therefore valuable. The work of preparing food, cleaning, and caring for others are the foundation of society that allows paid work to occur. The contribution of women to the development of the country through such daily vital work remains invisible in GDP, and the status of women, as well as the ability of policymakers to make sound decisions about economic and labour policy, suffers as a result.

This research study did not examine the reasons women chose a career, or whether it would have been better for women to be housewives or to work for pay. Women themselves expressed mixed feelings, appreciating the recognition that comes with a paid job and the sense of contributing financially to the family, but regretting the time lost that they would like to spend caring for their family members. Perhaps a combination of work for pay and unpaid work for the family would be ideal, for both men and women. If men contributed more of a role to household and family in terms of domestic work and not just income, it would not only lessen the burden on women but also provide the entire family with the psycho-social benefits of male involvement.

There is also an enormous difference between a career — generally the luxury of the upper middle class and rich—and a job to help make ends meet. A career suggests a challenging, intellectually engaging path that would alleviate a woman's isolation in the home, give her social and mental stimulation, and increase her self-esteem, while also providing additional financial resources for the family and helping the woman achieve financial independence. For many women, however, a job is mostly grinding and often repetitive labour that must be endured for the sake of earning extra money. It represents a further burden on top of the work of caring for home and family. Even in the United States, stories abound of women suffering from work-related illnesses and injuries and inhumane working conditions (including lack of bathroom breaks and extremely boring, repetitive, mindless jobs) and of working for so little money that they are never free from worry about the possibility of becoming homeless. There are women who must report to work every day despite having a child in the hospital. For these women, the "choice of a career" is a hollow and even cruel phrase. Getting more women out of the home and into the workplace, in such conditions, is likely to simply mean employers finding even lower-paid labourers than they previously employed, and children suffering from more neglect. (Heymann and Beem 2005)

When considering such questions as whether women who work for pay are getting only monetary benefits or also experience psychological and social benefits, and how women's participation in the paid labour force will affect the wellbeing of the family and society, it is thus important to distinguish between careers and jobs, and between good and bad jobs.

In most countries, it is women who shoulder the lioness' share of the responsibilities and tasks related to the care and nurturing of the family including cleaning, laundry, food preparation, childcare, and care of the sick. In many countries of the South women also make an important contribution to family food production and water and firewood provision. These tasks add to women's workload and are often an obstacle to women's engagement in political action or expanding economic activities. In fact, one of the greatest impediments to the development of many countries may be the lack of involvement of women in the workforce (World Bank 2001).

Meanwhile, the amount of money flowing through an economy says very little about the wealth and health of its citizens. Traditional measurements of income, presented as they are in per capita terms, tell nothing about the distribution of that wealth. Inequity has grown greatly over time, with a relatively small number of the rich controlling an ever-greater share of the world's wealth while the billions of poor attempt to survive on the little that remains. Much economic growth is based on exploitation of natural resources, destruction of the environment, and exploitation of workers whose wages are insufficient to afford a decent standard of living. Economic growth, under these conditions, will not and cannot help to eliminate or even reduce poverty, though it has done much to further enrich the wealthy. Further, an emphasis on money alone fails to take into account whether that money is having any effect on people's well-being. The ability to buy services which were once available for free does not necessarily involve an improvement in living standards, whereas the inability to pay for such services will mean a decline.

It is thus important to move away from the definition of well-being as being aggregate national income, and instead look at the well-being of the population. Further, since the day-to-day domestic work of women is vital to that well-being, the contribution of women to the nation must be acknowledged and valued at least as much as industry. Whether this means including women's unpaid work in GDP, or turning from GDP to other measures to examine the wellbeing of a country, is a matter that remains open to debate.

Meanwhile, in Indian society, as elsewhere, culture, attitudes, and day-to-day activities are inseparably intertwined. Some interesting issues that emerged during the study, which may be worth exploring in future behavioural or psychological studies, include:

Non-monetary rewards: Many of the female respondents, irrespective of their locality, said that they were paid for their contribution. They considered the satisfactions of rearing a child and looking after the well-being of the family, especially their spouse, as the greatest rewards. The existence and value of non-monetary rewards is of vital importance, as the monetization of society is in fact a cheapening of many of people's deepest values. However, the issue cannot be separated from the issue of the low social role of women within traditional Indian society and the need for the contribution of women to be recognized more broadly.

Role expectations by the society: Many of the female respondents' attitudes towards their husband's involvement in domestic work were formed from societal role expectations. Thus while many women complained that their husbands were not supportive, they simultaneously did not want their husbands to do such work as washing clothes, sweeping or mopping. Such tasks are considered by an average Indian to be undignified for men, and if women were to allow men to engage in them, society would judge her as not being a good wife. It would be interesting to explore which aspects of household work would be acceptable for men to undertake, and how to encourage such involvement by men. There may also be a related issue of the self-perception of full-time housewives, whose feelings of self-importance may depend in part on feeling that their husbands are helpless in the home and that all

domestic tasks are dependent on them alone. Given the importance of active male involvement in childrearing as a source of wellbeing not only for the child but also for the parents, that may be a good area in which to start encouraging men to play a greater role in the home.

The qualitative aspects of this research indicated the strong interplay of the individual's background and attitudes. If a woman grew up in a male-dominated community, she naturally did not expect her husband to be involved in domestic work. Similarly, a man who grew up in an egalitarian family naturally would be more involved in household activities.

The task of assigning an economic value to those household activities was made difficult for a number of reasons, including the fact that women performed various tasks simultaneously, that market values for domestic work vary widely, and that it is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of a woman's household work. However, there is no question that women work hard caring for the home and family, and that such work is largely invisible and unvalued. While this study could only provide a rough estimate of the value of such work, the point was not to arrive at a precise figure but rather to give a sense of the magnitude of that figure. This study suggests that the value of unpaid work performed by women both from rural and urban areas of India amount to approximately 857 billion rupees or 167.5 billion US dollars per year. Despite the magnitude of these figures, the financial value of the domestic work done by women without pay continues to go unnoticed, and women to be treated as if they contribute nothing of value to society or the nation.

The contribution of Indian women through their unpaid work as per this study is huge. The actual value is probably significantly higher, given that only nine tasks and very low rates of pay were used in the calculation. Ironically, if not surprisingly, most women did not realise this, or did not express a need to be counted. Women themselves contribute to the under-valuation of women, as women are at least as captive to social forces as men—and likely more so, given their far lesser exposure to other influences. Such facts make it challenging, to say the least, to address the gender component of the MDGs. The problem is further complicated by the fact that most educated women would prefer to work outside the home and thus may undervalue the work performed by women in the home.

Indian women's lives revolve around their families. From the earliest age, girls are culturally conditioned to believe that they have no right to free time, leisure, or entertainment independent of their families. Women in Indian society feel that ultimately the unpaid work that they perform is for the betterment of their own family. The love and respect that they receive from their husband and children are themselves a reward considered more important than money. Women in the Indian society live for the wellbeing of their family.

The perspective of any individual woman, however, should not be confounded with societal issues at large. Extreme gender imbalances in India have dire consequences for the female population, and efforts to address them have been hampered by the strong cultural traditions and the nearly universal perception that women who are not engaged in paid work do not contribute anything to the nation. In order to improve women's lives, the perceived value of women must change. Economic decisions are made on the basis of GDP, and the relative worth or value of different segments of society are reflected in economic figures; remember the categorization of full-time housewives as economically unproductive, putting them in the same category as beggars and prisoners.

[Quantification of the unpaid activities performed by women](#)

A substantial amount of women's time is devoted to unpaid labour. The productive contribution of women towards household maintenance, provision of the family needs, and bearing and rearing of the next generation is ignored, and much of women's work is invisible. As a result, inadequate attention is

paid to the conditions of women, women's work, and its economic value. The importance of this research, however, is attended by significant methodological difficulties in performing it.

When looking for an appropriate way to assign economic value to the work performed by women, many questions arose in terms of what price to assign to different tasks, whether to assign wages based on the number of hours women work (and in that case how to address multiple tasking), and what wages to use in such calculations.

The following are different ways of assigning an economic value to the unpaid activities performed by women. According to time use survey, five valuation methods are used, namely:

1. REPLACEMENT VALUE: Calculated on the basis of how much it would cost to replace unpaid workers with paid workers based on current hourly wages for comparable work.
2. OPPORTUNITY VALUE: Counted as the amount women would be earning if they were in the paid labour market instead of doing unpaid work.
3. LABOUR INPUT: The average of the wages plus benefits earned by the lowest paid and highest paid, multiplied by the hours spent on each task.
4. OUTPUT METHOD: The household would be seen as a producer. Its production would be counted by pieces of work done. For example, the number of rooms cleaned, the clothes washed, children cared for, etc. would be counted and priced. This would include the informal market, such as cottage industries.
5. PAY EQUITY: Jobs would be evaluated in terms of skill, responsibility, effort, and working conditions. This would allow for inclusion of the management and counselling aspects of a homemaker. This focuses on the work done, rather than the person doing it. The hardest job is to evaluate care-giving. What is the value of a hug?

It should be noted that each of the above-mentioned methods of assigning an economic value to the unpaid work performed by women has its own advantages and disadvantages. No one method is perfect; no method can provide an accurate answer. After all, the point is to arrive at a reasonable estimate of the value of something that is by its very nature uncountable. (Most workers would agree that to a large extent, wages do not reflect the actual value of the work performed. Consider that farmers, who provide an absolutely essential service, are paid very little, while advertisers, who perform an essentially unnecessary and often socially negative job, are paid quite well. Far more examples could be given of the gross disparity between the social value of much work and the payment received—consider athletes, models, mafioso, child care workers, social workers, teachers, etc.)

For the purpose of this study, a method of calculating economic value based on replacement value was adopted. In this method, the cost of unpaid workers is calculated by the cost of paying someone else based on current wages for comparable work. If a maid were to perform the same task, a value would be assigned to it, so this same value is assigned to the task performed by unpaid workers. This allows for the calculation of a reasonable estimate of the contribution women make through their unpaid work. (In fact it is likely to be an under-estimate, as maids are notoriously underpaid because household work is under-valued. Consider the wages made by someone cooking in a restaurant versus cooking in a home.)

In order to calculate a "fair" wage for the unpaid work performed by women, first urban and rural women were separated and then a list of the various tasks performed by both was prepared, and a market wage was assigned for the individual tasks performed. It is important to note that various tasks such as paying of bills and managing of household finances were excluded from the list for both urban and rural women due to difficulties in assigning a suitable value to it.

Figure 15: Ability to Estimate economic value

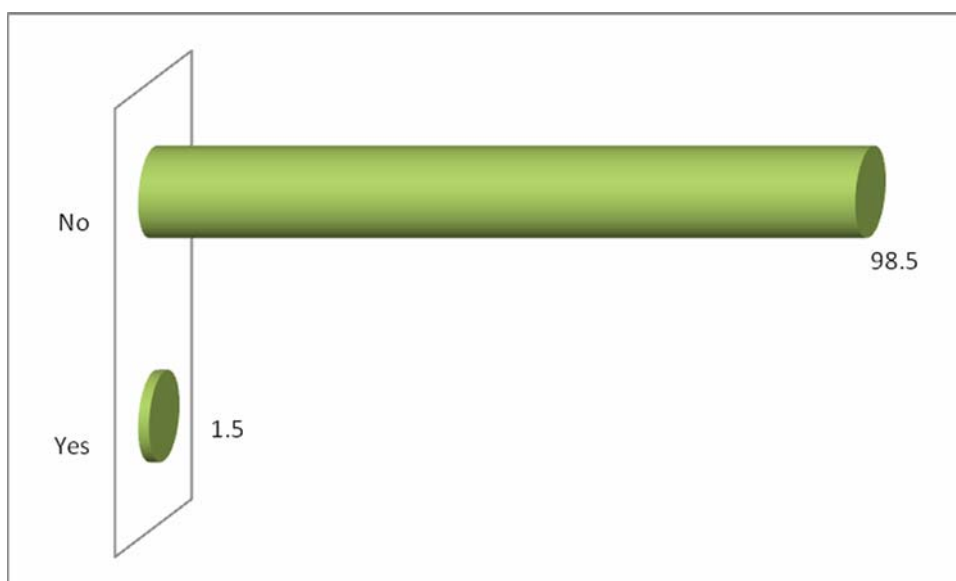
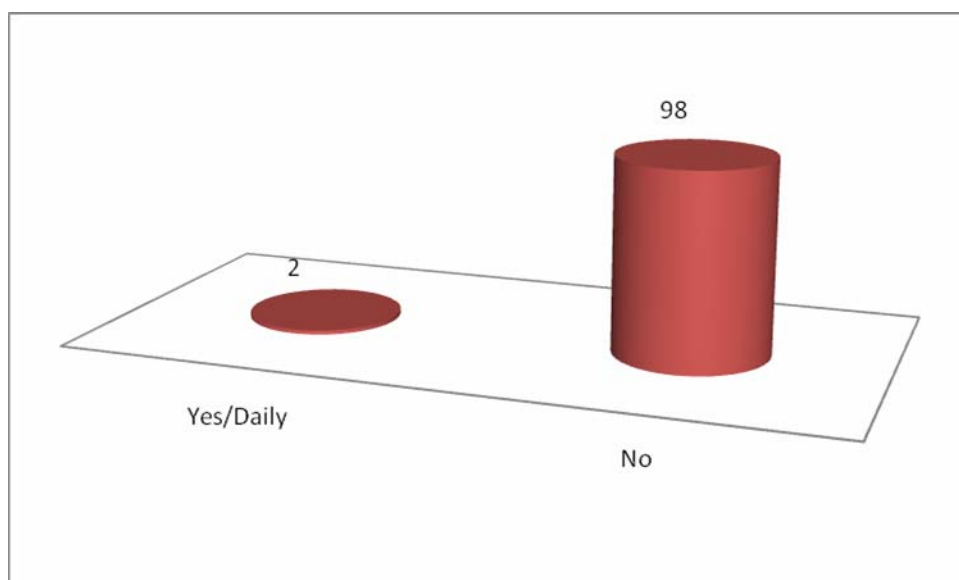


Figure 15 shows that more than 98% of the respondents in both rural and urban areas found it impossible to estimate the economic value of the work performed by women without pay. While a few said that such a value could be assigned, none could come up with a figure. Rather, they responded by saying that ultimately the work performed by women is for their own family needs and since it is done within the house it is not considered as work, and thus there need not be an economic value attached to it. (Which is all very well, but as statistics indicate, women—the performers of these important tasks—do not enjoy the respect and good treatment that would reasonably be accorded to a group performing so much essential work without pay.)

Figure 16: Respondents with maid service



Virtually none of the families—only 2% of those in both urban and rural areas--had a maid servant (Figure 8). Although it varied from family to family, generally tasks given to the maid servants were limited. In urban areas, the task of a maid servant was generally limited to washing the dishes, washing the clothes, and sweeping and mopping the house. A few also cooked. The maid servants were paid between 150 to 250 rupees per task per month; the amount varies between urban and rural areas. Women who employed maid servants reported that they were often unsatisfied with the quality of the

work performed. Usually only families who had women working outside the home and where there were elderly or sick people present employed maid servants.

Table 22: Payment for work done by maid servants

	Work done by the maid servant	Payment per task/month	
		Rural	Urban
1	Washing clothes	100	200
2	Washing dishes	150	250
3	Cleaning the house	100	200
4	Food preparation and cooking	300	500
5	Cleaning around the house	100	100
6	Feeding children	NA	500
7	Taking children to and from school	300	500
8	Tending to children	NA	500
9	Collecting fuel	300	NA
	Total	1,350	2,750

Table 22 shows the average monthly wages paid to maid servants by task, in urban and rural areas. There were significant differences in payment for the same work performed in urban and rural areas. The wages paid to servants were used to calculate an estimated “wage” for the unpaid work performed by all women.

In order to calculate that wage—that is, the current market value of women’s unpaid work—the value of the work women do in cooking, which accounts for six to eight hours a day, was first examined. The calculation considers the fact that for grinding spices, a servant receives an amount different from a normal cook, and when someone cooks for bachelors in a joint living arrangement; she receives a higher amount per month for cooking one meal a day. When someone (usually male) cooks for pay in a restaurant, he will receive an even higher salary.

An estimate was also made by considering clothes washing. If a servant only washes clothes, s/he receives 200- 500Rs/month. But if people give their clothes for washing to a commercial laundry, then just for cleaning people pay 50 – 100 Rs per item (the price varying by the item washed and the venue). A separate, additional charge is incurred for ironing.

If the tasks women do for themselves (such as bathing and praying) and leisure time are excluded, women still engage in roughly 44 tasks each day (see Appendix). To simplify the calculation, and considering that many tasks may not be daily or may not consume significant amounts of time, only nine regular tasks were chosen for calculating the wage equivalent for women’s unpaid work. Those nine tasks, listed in Table 20 above, include washing clothes and dishes, cleaning the home, food

preparation and cooking, and care for children. The average salary paid to maid servants to conduct these tasks was then used to calculate a monthly average "wage" for women in urban and rural areas.

Using these wage figures, the contribution made by rural women on a monthly basis for nine of their unpaid tasks was calculated at 1,350 rupees a month (US\$27), whereas for urban areas it was 2,750 rupees (US\$55). It should be noted that the list excludes many tasks performed by both rural and urban women such as managing of households, organizing of finances, paying of bills, shopping for vegetables, caring for the sick, and so on, as it is difficult to attach an economic value to many of those tasks.

Table 23: Unpaid contribution of women in India

Total population of India	Female Population in the age group (15- 64)	Value of unpaid work by women/month (Indian Rupees)		Average value	Total unpaid contribution of women/year
		Rural Women	Urban Women		
1,027,015,247	340,420,000	Rural Women	1,350 (\$27)	2,050 (\$41)	8,374,332,000,000 (\$167,486,640,000)
		Urban Women	2,750 (\$55)		

Table 23 shows a calculation of the amount that women in India contribute to the economy through their unpaid work. The figures include both employed and non-employed women, since virtually all employed women must also perform most household tasks. Since the monetary value is an underestimate, based on existing low salaries for so-called women's work, it more than compensates for the small percentage of Indian women who for whatever reason do no unpaid/domestic work.

According to the 2001 Census report, the population of India stood at over one billion people (1,027,015,247) consisting of 531,277,078 (over 531 million) males and 495,738,169 (over 495 million) females.

According to the Census Survey 2001, the total female population aged 15 to 64 is 340,420,000 (over 340 million). The estimated value of the nine main tasks performed by each rural woman is 1,350 (US\$27) per month and for an urban woman, 2,750 (US\$55) per month.

In **Table 21** above a calculation was made of the value of the work, given existing wages, of the nine main tasks performed by women. Women perform not only those nine tasks but a total of 33. The average cost for each of those nine tasks could then be applied across all 33 tasks to arrive at an estimate of the value of women's unpaid domestic work. The average value of one task for rural women is \$3 and for urban women is \$6.1. Multiplying those figures times the total 33 tasks yields a monthly figure of \$99 for rural women and \$201.3 for urban women. The average of those values is \$150 per month, or \$1,800 per year. That amount can then be multiplied by the female population aged 15-64, yielding a total of \$612,756,000,000 or \$612.8 billion.

India is the 12th largest economy in the world with a GDP of more than one trillion US dollars in the year 2008. Unpaid work by women in India is thus estimated as being worth 61% of GDP.

Total population of India	Female Population in the age group (15- 64)	Value of unpaid work by women/month for 33 tasks		Average value	Total unpaid contribution of women/year
		(US Dollars)			
1,027,015,247	340,420,000	Rural Women	\$3*33 = \$ 99 Rs.4950	150*12= \$ 1800 Rs.90000	\$612,756,000,000 (\$612.8 billion) 29.5346797 trillion Indian Rupee
		Urban Women	\$6.1*33= \$ 201.3 Rs.10065		

This research is not meant to demand a fair wage for women's household work, but rather to point out the value of the work already done by women. That work, carried out without pay and essentially voluntarily, represents a contribution by women to society of their hard work. If women did not give freely of their labour, it would have to be paid for or managed without—neither of which are imaginable scenarios.

When women work for free, they essentially subsidise everyone else, from businesses to government, which would not function without the "invisible" labour of women. As the figures show, this contribution is substantial, even if likely a gross underestimate, given that it excludes many of the tasks women perform and is based on some of the lowest-paid workers in society. Significantly higher rates for the value of women's work would emerge if the figures were based not on actual payment to maid servants but on equivalent pay in better-paying positions for the same work (such as restaurants or tutoring services) or by asking people which jobs are the most critical to their daily survival and comfort and calculating wages accordingly—by which farmers and housewives would earn far more than most businessmen, lawyers, or executives.

Regardless of the details, one issue is clear: women throughout India work hard, and that work has tremendous value to society and the nation, a value that likely far exceeds a 612.8 billion US dollars. The magnitude of the figure, and of that contribution, suggests that women should be accorded far more value and importance in society than currently, and that a number of policies and programmes should be considered to acknowledge and award this essential contribution.

"Undoubtedly, the valuation of unpaid work is difficult – but that is par for the course in national income accounting or for that matter in any endeavour where measurement is involved. I recall that prior to its publication (come to that, it is still being criticized), Mahbub Ul Haq's Human Development Index (HDI) was the subject of savage criticism, and he was advised not to use it until the problems were ironed out. If he had followed that advice, the HDI would still be unpublished today and the world would be the poorer for it. Instead, he took the plunge – with the HDI being constantly fine-tuned, a work in progress. What was important was that the methodology used was transparent, the need for improvement was recognized, and constructive criticism was welcomed. Following the UNDP lead, many countries are now estimating international HDI's. More to the point, it is not as if unpaid work in the national accounts is uncharted territory. The Norwegian

"But the one that, as far as I am concerned, takes the cake is that including own-account household services in GDP will mean that all persons engaged in such activities would become self-employed, "making unemployment virtually impossible by definition". Solita Collas-Monsod

national accounts for the period 1935-1943 and 1946 to 1949 included estimates of the value of unpaid household work, as apparently did other Scandinavian countries [UNIFEM, Valuation of Unpaid Work, Gender Issues Fact Sheet 1, referring to Asiaksen, Julie and Charlotte Koren, 1996, "Unpaid household work and the distribution of extended income: the Norwegian experience"]. The question raises itself – if it could be done sixty and seventy years ago, why not now?"¹⁴

Radhika's Endless Struggle

Radhika is a 32-year-old working woman who resides in Nagpur city in Maharashtra. She is illiterate and earns her living by making papad (thin wafers made out of pulses, grains etc.) at home. Her husband works as a labourer. The family struggles to make ends meet. Even though Radhika would prefer to be a full-time housewife, she is forced to work because her husband's job is not permanent. Meanwhile, she has two small children, one of four years old and the other six months old, so she must take on extra work in order to supplement her family's income.

Radhika faces many problems, as her husband does not like her additional work, even though it brings in additional income. She must struggle constantly to maintain a balance, and feels that she is unable to fulfil her role as a mother and a wife.

Radhika's day starts at 4:30 in the morning. She cleans, cooks breakfast and lunch, washes clothes and dishes, gathers water, and bathes early to ensure that a portion of her work is over before her six-month-old baby wakes up.

After the other family members get up, she serves breakfast to her husband, bathes, dresses, and feeds the children, and packs lunches for her husband and older child. Then she begins with her business of papad making.

Radhika says that her husband is occasionally at home, but rarely does he help her with the household work. Rather, she manages both the home and the business by herself. Even if she asks her husband for support or help, he refuses - though on occasion he looks after their children. Radhika feels that her work, including both managing the home and holding a formal paid job, is difficult but necessary to ensure that her family members can eat each day. She feels that husbands should be supportive, especially when wives work extra jobs and children are small¹⁵. This busy routine of Radhika continues day after day, month after month, and year after year, with no end in sight.



CONCLUSION

In some ways and for some groups, women's lives have changed dramatically over time. Social, economic, and legislative improvements and scientific advances have allowed women to gain greater control over their lives. Women are much more valued and respected in the family than before. Women seem to have a more active role in family decision-making, and even to enjoy the freedom of leisure

¹⁴ Solita Collas-Monsod

¹⁵ In popular parlance, full-time housewives are not working women, but the busy lives they lead caring for home and family make clear that being a housewife is indeed a full-time job. We attempt to make this point clear throughout the report by distinguishing between women working additional jobs—that is, additional to housework—and full-time housewives, who work full-time in the home. But as the story of Radhika makes clear, women themselves often feel they are entitled to help from their husbands only if they take on work beyond the expected domain of women—that is, beyond simply cleaning, cooking, caring for children and other family members, managing the household, and so on.

time and vacation that were previously only experienced by men. But sadly, this promising picture is far from universal across different strata of Indian society. Various studies have revealed that this changing trend among Indian families is mostly limited to the upper and upper middle classes, which form only a miniscule portion of the Indian population.

Unless these trends reach the bottom strata of society, attaining the MDG of gender equality will remain an impossible vision. Furthering the difficulty is the fact that gender equality appears to be misunderstood by many to refer to foreign feminist ideologies transplanted onto Indian soil. As a result, many are not able to assimilate the concept of gender equality with development. Gender indicators such as poverty, health, education, and reproductive and legislative rights, and their implications on women's lives and the country's development, have yet to reach the common men and women.

As the present study shows, most Indian women are reluctant to change their attitudes about themselves; as such attitudes are deeply rooted in culturally-determined gender roles. Change in women's roles would necessitate change in women's psychology and in women's ability to assert themselves in a male-dominated society. But such change is difficult given the nearly universally-accepted gender constructs and the persistence of traditional gender roles. Perceived threats to male dominance make many in Indian society, as elsewhere, highly resistant to change.

However, poverty cannot be reduced or eliminated without the involvement of women. Overall, women remain the largest group that experiences poverty, despite the fact that women constitute 50% of the work force. But growth in women's jobs has mainly been in low-paid, part-time, temporary work that does little to improve women's desperate poverty, much less offer them a way out (Women, Family and Poverty: SPIU Briefing Sheet 3, March 1998). Women's vulnerability to poverty and their low positions in the labour market are a result of a combination of economic, social and cultural factors, including their continued role as homemakers and primary caregivers for family. A division of labour by gender within both paid and unpaid work exists in almost all societies, although the nature of the specialized work done by women and men differs substantially by place, time, and in some cases over the life cycle.

Whatever the cultural, economic, caste-based, religious, social, and other differences, a few factors are universal: women are seen as being responsible for the home and family, and the image of women earning as much as or more than men would be threatening to many men. The economic dependence of women on men harms many, but is absolutely devastating for women such as widows or wives of abusive alcoholics, for whom there is no steady and safe support available from male relatives.

Meanwhile, the belief that women perform mainly a negligible function in society, living off the hard work of male members while contributing little if anything of value, clearly contributes to the under-valuing of women and thus their poor treatment in society.

It is difficult to raise the status of women without raising their perceived value. Since virtually all women spend a significant amount of their time engaged in some of the most critical tasks in society—that of cleaning, feeding, and caring for others—the importance of those tasks must be emphasized as well as the valuable contribution of those who carry out such work without hope or expectation of economic return.

The unpaid work performed by women in and around their homes should be valued to improve the conditions of these unpaid workers and to support policy creation and implementation. If the amount and value of unpaid work were known, the impact of governmental policy changes such as cutbacks in health care and welfare could be better measured.

The valuation of unpaid labour should be done keeping in mind the aim to increase access to social benefits for all, while also increasing and assuring women's full participation in the policy-making process. A benefit system should be created which recognizes women's diverse roles in society,

accepts that housewives *are* workers, and offers adequate support for families and children. At the same time, the government and employers should adopt family-friendly initiatives based on international models such as European pro-family social policies.

In order to achieve these aims, education can be used as an effective tool. If education is to promote gender equality, it must make a deliberate planned and sustained effort to replace harmful traditional values by inculcating new values of gender equality and social justice. Those new values can be built on existing positive values that emphasize the importance of family, caring, and nurturing.

All societies depend on the family to fulfil many essential functions, including care for the young, the old, and the sick. Despite the existence of a welfare state in Britain, for example, the family remains a major provider of welfare services, and the same can be seen throughout the world. Attempting to turn over all the social services provided for free by women to the private realm would be wasteful, unaffordable, and harmful to the family.

We must give proper importance to issues of welfare and social provision, and work to achieve a system that is inclusive of all in society and offers recognition of the role of women's unpaid labour in ensuring that people's most basic needs are met. We must emphasize the importance of caring in addition to earning, of activities that have no price tag attached and of those who ensure that the house is a home.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of this research study, the following recommendations have been made:

- Education is an essential tool for change. Educated women are better able to care for their families and family finances, experience more opportunities in decision-making, and make better home managers. Government should continue to increase their efforts to educate the girl child.
- Restructure the educational curriculum in order to emphasize gender equality rather than reinforcing gender stereotypes.
- Give adequate recognition to the unpaid contributions of women to increase their self-esteem and to improve their image in the family and society at large.

- Increase women's access to and control over production and market resources (access to training, credit, employment, technical skills, entrepreneurship, etc.) while recognizing that the goal is not to burden women with two full-time jobs.
- Ensure full participation of women in the policy-making process.
- Set the minimum wage at a level sufficient to allow workers to escape from the poverty trap; force companies to pay into nationalized systems of education, health care and pensions, so that they return some portion of what they have gained to the workforce and those who enable others to work outside the home.
- Ensure affordable and adequate childcare and family-friendly employment policies which allow parents to reconcile caring and work.
- Establish a benefits system which recognizes women's diverse roles in society and offers adequate support for families and children.
- Address the gender-related problems of unemployment (allocation of financial resources, entrepreneurship, legality of various types of informal work, etc.) in order to free women of their financial dependence on men, particularly for widows, women in abusive relationships, etc.
- Develop strategies that address women's access to resources in the agriculture, fisheries, and environment sectors.

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APPENDIX

List of tasks regularly performed by women

Note: the tasks performed by women can be further subdivided. Not all women engage in all tasks, and tasks involving childcare varies with the age of the child. It is mostly rural women who engage in agriculture-related tasks and animal husbandry, and some of the handicrafts are performed more commonly by rural than urban women .the duration of the tasks performed by women vary. Some tasks are seasonal or occasional

Questionnaire

To assess the Women's Economic Contribution through their Unpaid Work

If you can't answer questions exactly please provide approximate data. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

SECTION 0					
A.	Questionnaire Number	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	B. Village <input type="text"/>
C.	Interviewer name	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	D. Panchayat	<input type="text"/>
E.	Date of the interview	__ / __ / 2008		F. Time	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> HOUR MINUTE
SECTION 1 GENERAL PROFILE					
1.1	Name of the Respondent				
1.2	Sex	a. Male b. Female			
1.3	Age	a. 18-25 yrs b. 26-33 yrs c. 34-41 yrs d. 42-50 yrs e. Above 50 yrs			
1.4	Marital Status	a. Single b. Married c. Widowed d. Divorcee			
1.5	Education Level	a. Illiterate b. Lower Primary c. Upper Primary d. Secondary e. Senior Secondary f. Graduate			

		g. Post Graduate		
1.6	Number of family members	a. Less than 5 b. 6- 8 c. 9-11		
1.8	Occupation			
1.9	Monthly Income			
1.10	Number of dependents			
1.11	Number of Earning Members			
1.12	Ownership of house	a. Own b. Rented c. Others		
1.13	Access to drinking water at home	a. Yes b. No		
	SECTION 2 TIME SPENT ON PAID WORK, EXTENDED PAID WORK, UNPAID WORK			
2.1	At what time do you get up in the morning	a. Before 4:30am b. After 4:30 but before 5:30am c. After 5:30 but before 6:30am d. After 6:30 but before 7:30am e. After 7:30am		
2.2	Do you engage in paid work	a. Yes b. No (Skip to 2.3)		
2.a.1	How much time you spend in a day for your paid work	a. Less than 5 hours b. 6- 8 c. More than 8 hours		
2.a.2	How many days in a week (Calculate Approximate Time Spend Monthly = 2.a.1X 2.a.2)			
2.3	How much do you think is your contribution through domestic work to family income			
2.4	Do you regularly do these tasks			
	Type of work	a. Yes/Daily	b. No	c. Occasionally/ Yes but not

				Daily
A	House Work			
1.	Cleaning the house (Sweeping, washing floors, dusting, etc)			
2.	Cleaning around the home			
3.	Tending mud floors to keep out dust			
4.	Making beds, hanging and taking out mosquito nets etc.			
1.	Growing vegetables (Watering, Manuring etc)			
2.	Harvesting			
3.	Managing daily workers for gardening (For urban)			
4.	Harvesting and related works			
5.	Food processing			
6.	Collecting and drying seeds			
7.	Storage			
8.	Others			
C	Animal Husbandry			
1.	Caring for chickens, ducks (Cleaning, feeding etc)			
2.	Medical care for small animals			
3.	Caring for larger animals (Cow, goat, buffalo etc.) Cleaning , feeding etc.			
4.	Milking cows			
5.	Selling the products in the market			
6.	Others			
D	Handicrafts			
1.	Making baskets, mats, holders ,pots, pottery etc.			
2.	Embroidery			
3.	Making and mending clothes			

4.	Others			
E	Caring for Family Members			
1.	Caring for children (bathing, feeding, tending, putting to bed etc.)			
2.	Caring for sick			
3.	Caring for husband/ wife			
4.	Teaching children, helping with homework			
5.	Taking children to and from school			
6.	Feeding looking after guests			
7.	Paying bills			
8.	Shopping for food			
9.	Shopping for clothes and other household items			
10.	Managing the household (Organizing activities, expenses etc)			
11.	Taking the sick to the doctor			
F	Leisure Time Activities			
1.	Gossiping			
2.	Watching TV			
3.	Listening to radio			
4.	Visiting friends or family			
5.	Resting (Afternoon naps, late morning naps etc.)			
6.	Sewing			
7.	Finishing unfinished work			
8.	Personal tasks (Bathing, dressing, personal care, praying, studying etc.)			
9.	Attending community events (Wedding, funerals etc.)			
10.	Participating in community events (Ladies' meetings, community celebrations, religious			

	celebrations, etc.)		
2.5	What time do you go to sleep	a. Before 9:00pm b. After 9:00pm but before 10:00pm c. After 10:00pm but before 11:00pm d. After 11:00pm but before 12:00pm e. After 12:00pm	
2.6	Are you doing any voluntary (unpaid) community work	a. Yes b. No	
SECTION 3 QUANTIFICATION OF THE UNPAID ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY WOMEN			
3.1	Can you estimate the economic value of the work that you do?	a. Yes b. No	
3.2	Do you have a maid servant or any other helper (driver, gardener etc.)?	c. Yes d. No	
3.3	How much do you pay the maid? (Calculate per task)		
3.4	What are the tasks that you pay her for?	a. Task	b. Amount
1	Washing Clothes		
2	Washing dishes		
3	Cleaning the house		
4	Helping with food preparation and cooking		
5	Cleaning around the house		
6	Feeding children		
7	Taking children to & from school		
8	Tending to children		
9	Collecting fuel		
10	Others		

3.5	Based on the above estimation how much is your economic contribution through your unpaid work?		
SECTION 4 GENDER AND UNPAID WORK(Knowledge- Attitude – Practise)			
4.1	Who gets up first at your home?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Self/Wife b. Self/Husband c. Parents/In-Laws d. Children e. Others 	
4.2	Cooking, taking care of children, elderly etc. is a woman's/man's job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree 	
4.3	Does your husband/wife help in the domestic work?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Yes b. No 	
	If yes, what is the work that he/she does?		
4.4	Why your husband/wife does not help with the domestic work.		
4.5	I do not expect any of the male members to do any domestic work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree 	
4.6	Domestic work need not be paid, since it is the duty of the women in the family.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree 	
4.7	Domestic work does not carry any monetary value.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree 	
4.8	Do you know what GDP is?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes No 	

4.9	Do you think if women's unpaid contribution were counted that it will change the country's GDP?	Yes No Not sure Do not know
SECTION 5 GENDER DIFFERENCE - LEISURE TIME , DECISION MAKING		
5.1	Do you have any free time?	a. Yes b. No
	If yes, what do you do in your free time?	
5.2	How often do you get time off from your work?	a. Often b. Occasionally c. Rarely d. Never
5.3	How often do you go for vacation?	e. Often f. Occasionally g. Rarely a. Never
5.4	How often do you go out as a family? (Dining out, to Melas [fairs], etc.)	a. Weekly b. Once in a month c. Half yearly d. Yearly e. Never f. Others
5.5	What does your husband do in his free time?	
5.6	Men are the major decision makers in my family.	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree
5.7	The opinion of a woman is important in any decisions made in the family.	a. Strongly Agree b. Agree c. Disagree d. Strongly Disagree

Interview schedule

URBAN

I. Demographic Profile

Name :



Age :

Marital Status :

Gender :

Highest Education :

Occupation :

Monthly Income :

Number of Children :

Age of the children :

Husband's education :

Husband's occupation :

Husband's income :

Number of family members :

Family type :

I. Work and family commitments

1. Do you prefer to work rather than to be a (full-time) housewife?

- Yes
- No

1.2 If (yes) what are the reasons for you to work?

- To be independent financially.
- To supplement family income.
- To socialize.
- Being full time at home is boring.

1.3 Do you think that husbands will have more respect for a financially independent wife?

1.4 Do your career demands raise constraints for your role as a mother and wife?

1.5 Is your work environment demanding?

- Yes
- No

1.6 Do you have to work extra time? YES/ NO

1.7 Have you ever felt you are taken for granted at home? YES /NO

1.8 Does your husband get angry if you come late from work? YES/ NO

1.9 How does he express it usually?

1.10 Have you felt guilty that you are unable to spend adequate time with your family, especially children?

2. The Distribution of Unpaid Commitments

2.1 What time do you get up in the morning?

- Before 4:30am
- After 4:30 but before 5:30am
- After 5:30 but before 6:30am
- After 6:30 but before 7:30am
- After 7:30am

2.2 Can you explain your pre-office time activities at home on an average day?

2.3 Can you explain your post-office time activities at home on an average day?

2.4. Can you explain to us about your husband's morning activities?

2.5 Can you explain your husbands post-office activities at home on an average day?

2.6 Does your husband get up along with you? Who usually gets up first?

2.7 How do you manage the household chores and children?

- Help of maid servant (full time / part time / live in)
- Parents, in-laws
- Relatives
- Friends
- Elder children
- Crèche
- Any other

2.8 What do you do on the days when you get a weekly holiday?

2.9 What does your husband do on the days when he gets a weekly holiday?

- 2.10 Does your spouse take part in household chores?
- Yes
 - No
- 2.11 Do you have to tell him or does he do it voluntarily?
- 2.11 Which is the work he does voluntarily? (Specify)
- 2.12 How much time do you spend in household works and for kids each day?
- 2.13 How much time does your husband spend on it?
- 2.14 Have you ever tried to convince your husband about his roles in household work?
- Yes
 - No
- 2.15 You think it's necessary to have a supportive husband for working women?
- Yes
 - No
- 2.15 What in your opinion is an ideal support or contribution of the husband in the unpaid activities of a family?
- 2.17 How do you perceive your life as a working woman (managing home, kids, work etc.?)

3. Gender difference in terms of leisure time and spending vacations

- 3.1 Do you go for a morning walk? Or do you take some time to pray and plan for the day in the morning?
- 3.1.1 Does your husband go for a walk in the morning?
- 3.1.2 How much leisure time do you get at your work place?
- 3.1.3 What are your favourite leisure time activities?
- 3.1.4 How often do you get time for them?
- 3.7 Do you prefer to go out with friends or with your husband?
- 3.8 Do you get to go for official tours?
- Yes
 - No
- If (yes) how long do you go for official tours? How does it affect the family? How do you compensate for it?
- 3.9 Does your husband go for official tours? How does it affect the family? Does your husband compensate for it? How?

- 3.10 Would you like to go for official tours?
- 3.11 Would your husband like that?
- 3.12 Tell me about your dream vacation?
- 3.13 When was your last vacation as a family?
- 3.14 Do you like family outings?
- 3.15 How often do you go for them?
- 3.16 Do you dine out?
- o Yes
 - o No
- 3.17 If (yes) How often?
If (No), what are the reasons?
- 3.18 When was your last vacation?
- 3.19 When was your husband's last vacation?
- 3.20 If you stay in a joint family, do you think it has a negative influence on husbands' involvement in the unpaid activities of the family?

Interview Schedule

RURAL

❖ I. Demographic Profile

Name	:
Age	:
Marital Status	:
Gender	:
Highest Education	:
Occupation	:
Monthly Income	:
Number of Children	:
Age of the Children	:
Husband's Education	:
Husband's Occupation	:
Husband's Income	:
Number of family members	:

Family type :

II. Work and Family Commitments

1.1 Do you prefer working in your own fields/outside fields or being a (full-time) housewife?

1.2 If (yes) what are the reasons for you to work?

- To be independent financially.
- To supplement family income.
- To socialize.
- Being full time at home is boring.
- Any other reason

1.3 Do you have to work extra time? YES/ NO

1.4 Have you ever felt you are taken for granted at home? YES /NO

1.5 Is your husband OK with you working outside home in the fields? YES/NO

Or

1.6 Does your husband prefer you working at your own fields?

If yes, what are the reasons?

1.7 Have you ever felt guilty that you are not able to spend adequate time with your family, especially children?

2. The Distribution of Unpaid Commitments

2.1 What time do you get up in the morning?

- Before 4:30am
- After 4:30 but before 5:30am
- After 5:30 but before 6:30am
- After 6:30 but before 7:30am
- After 7:30am

2.2 Can you explain your pre-work time activities at home on an average day?

2.3. Can you explain your post-work time activities at home on an average day?

2.4. Can you explain your husband's pre-work time activities at home on an average day?

2.5. Can you explain your husband's post-work time activities at home on an average day?

2.6. Who gets up first at your home?

- Self /wife
- Self /husband

- Parents/in-laws
- Children
- Other

How do you manage home and children?

- Friends
- Parents/ in-laws
- Relatives
- Help of maid servant (full time/part time/live-in)
- Elder children
- Crèche
- Any other

2.7 What do you do on the days when you get a weekly holiday?

2.8 What does your husband do when he gets a weekly holiday?

2.9 Does your husband help you in your household work?

- Yes
- No

2.10 If yes, how does he help you?

2.11 How much time do you spend for household work and kids in a day?

2.12 How much time does your husband spend on it?

2.13 Do you think that your husband should help you with the household work?

- Yes
- No

2.14 If (yes) what in your opinion is the ideal support of the husband in the unpaid work of the family?

2.15 How do you perceive your life as a working woman (managing home, kids, work, etc.?)

3. Gender difference in terms of leisure time and spending vacations

3.1 When you get up in the morning what do you do first?

3.2 What does your husband do when he gets up in the morning?

3.3 How much free time do you have in a day?

3.5 What do you do in your free time?



- 3.6 Do you go out of the village for work? Or do you work in your own fields in the village?
- 3.7 Does your husband like it if you go out of the village for work?
- 3.8 Does your husband go out of the village for work?
- 3.9 When was the last time you went out of the village to spend vacations?
- 3.10 When was the last time your husband went out of the village?
- 3.11 If you stay in a joint family, do you think it has a negative influence on husband's involvement in the unpaid activities of the family?

