Reconciling Work and Family Life: A Study of Women's Time Use Patterns, Unpaid Work and Workplace Policies

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Preface

The reconciliation of work and family life is one of the main challenges faced by working individuals, particularly women. Early exit of women from the labour market is particularly evident in urban areas where women may not have a strong social and family support system. The differential patterns of employment between men and women and the strikingly low female labour force participation rates has been a serious issue of concern among many scholars and policy makers in India. One of the reasons of low participation of women in the labour force is the non-recognition of a number of economic activities carried out by them (such as cooking, collection of fuel and fodder, house and utensils cleaning etc.). Moreover, a variety of social and family related constraints compel women to confine themselves to household activities at their prime working age. Many working women make compromises necessary to fit paid work around the family and experience the anxiety and stress of combining these roles. The non-recognition of part time work, temporary work, or flexi work has deprived women to make any choices regarding the kind of employment they should pursue and often propels them to quit from their previous occupations. Flexi-work arrangements or a flexible working hour is believed to provide an opportunity to women with childcare responsibilities to participate effectively in the labour market. However, the concept of flexi-work or part time work has not received much attention by policy makers. Countries that have introduced effective work and family reconciliation policies have contributed to higher female employment rates and have encouraged women with younger children to participate in the labour market thereby reducing the gender gaps in the labour market to a large extent.

In this context, the ILO Convention 156 on 'Workers with Family Responsibilities' assumes paramount importance. The Convention recognizes the problems of workers with family responsibilities and reiterates for a need to create effective equality of opportunity and treatment as between men and women workers with family responsibilities and between such workers and other workers. The Convention recommends that either parent should have the possibility, within a period immediately following maternity leave, of obtaining leave of absence (parental leave), without relinquishing employment and with rights resulting from employment being safeguarded. Besides other policy measures, it advocates flexible arrangements as regards working schedules, rest periods and holidays and regulation of the terms and conditions of employment of part-time, temporary and homeworkers. While 43 countries have ratified

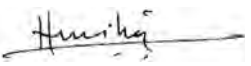
this convention and introduced policies in line with its recommendations, various developing countries, including India have not done so. Policy measures that recognize the care responsibilities of working citizens are restricted to maternity and childcare leave for women workers. The ratification of ILO Convention 156 and the implementation of its various recommendations could thus be significant in introducing various policies that can enhance the quality of work and life of the various sections of workers in our country.

The non recognition of unpaid care by the policy makers is reflected in research on the missing labour force conducted in India. These studies have been critical of the labour force surveys including National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) in capturing women's work accurately. In this context the contribution of time use surveys as a potential tool for capturing women's work cannot be neglected. Time use surveys differ from standard labour force surveys in that they ask respondents to report on all activities carried out in a specified period, such as a day or a week. Time use surveys thus provide a good basis for discussing unpaid care work in more concrete terms, and in exploring how responsibilities of care interact with the performance of other activities, such as paid work, and how such reconciliation varies along a range of individual and social characteristics. This will be useful to redesigning policies in the direction of developing flexible hours and flexible services so that it enables women to combine paid work with caring and also helps in promoting greater gender equality in the household.

In this context, the present study makes an attempt to understand the various challenges that women face in balancing their responsibilities of paid work and domestic and care work. The study tries to discern the issues in reconciliation of work and family life through analyzing the time use patterns of working women. There is also an attempt to uncover the household power dynamics and its impact on balancing work and family. Through an examination of existing social policies, the study explores the implications of these policies on women's choices of work and employment and on gender relations within the household. On the whole, the study endeavours to contribute to the policy initiatives to promote a more sustainable and equitable work-life balance. It advocates for working citizens to have access to adequate care services for children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled. It recommends parental benefits viz. maternity leave, paternity leave, and parental leave as universal benefits to all categories of workers in different sectors. Flexibility in work-hours and in the location of work would also be crucial in enabling working women and men to balance their work and family responsibilities. Such

policy initiatives would not only redistribute working patterns of both men and women and encourage women to sustain and continue in the labour market, but would also pave the way for greater equality in gender relations.

I am sure that this work will definitely prove to be a valuable asset in guiding planners, social scientists, researchers, civil society organizations and trade unions in taking up initiatives that recognize citizen's rights to care provision and enable them to effectively integrate their work and family life. The study will contribute immensely in informing policy makers and help them design appropriate policies for effective reconciliation of work and family life.



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Ellina Samantroy

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BPO: Business Process Outsourcing

CSO: Central Statistical Office

CDS: Current Daily Status

CWS: Current Weekly Status

EEO: Equal Employment Opportunity

EU: European Union

GGG: Global Gender Gap

GOI: Government of India

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IT: Information Technology

ITes: Information Technology Enabled Services

OBC: Other Backward Classes

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

NCATUS: National Classification Of Activities for Time-Use Surveys

NCEUS: National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector

NSS: National Sample Survey

NSSO: National Sample Survey Office

NSSTA: National Statistical Services Training Academy

MDG: Millennium Development Goal

LFP: Labour Force Participation

LFPR: Labour Force Participation Rate

PAJE: Prestation d'Accueil du Jeune Enfant (French)

PG: Post Graduate

PS: Principal Status

RTE: Right to Education

RWA: Residents' Welfare Association

SNA: System of National Accounts

SC: Schedule Caste

SS: Subsidiary Status

SSA: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

ST: Schedule Tribe

TDI: Temporary Disability Insurance

UPSS: Usual, Principal and Subsidiary Status

WTA: Work Time Arrangements

WLB: Work Life Balance

Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Work and Family Reconciliation: An Introduction

Work and family life balance are central in understanding the employment dilemma in the context of a highly segmented labour market and persisting gender inequalities in the world of work. Women, much more than men, devote a significant part of their time to unpaid household work, which includes caring for children, sick household members, and the elderly. Time-use surveys[1] of 26 OECD countries and three OECD enhanced engagement countries (China, India and South Africa) show that women devote, on average, more than twice as much time to household work as men (OECD 2012). The term "work-life balance" is used in policy debates concerned with the distribution of time and effort between work and other aspects of life.[2] International developments like the Beijing Declaration 1995 has recognized the importance of work-family reconciliation as essential in promoting gender equality. A significant development has been the adoption of the ILO Convention 156 'Workers with Family Responsibilities' (1981), which requires that signatories to make it an aim of national policy that all workers with family responsibilities – both women and men – can engage in employment without discrimination or, as far as possible, conflict between work and family obligations. To this end, the Convention puts forward a set of policy devices including leave policies, social care services, social security, flexible working time and work organization arrangements and workforce reintegration policies as well as gender-responsive awareness-raising and education.[3] More recently, the International Labour Conference (ILC), through the 2009 conclusions concerning gender

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1 Time use Surveys are detailed description of activities of a person in a 24 hour period. In India, Time Use Survey was conducted only once in 1998-1999 by the Central Statistical Office, India. Time use surveys differ from standard labour force surveys in that they ask respondents to report on all activities carried out in a specified period, such as a day or a week. Time use surveys tell us how much time an average person from a particular social group (such as male or female, young or old, rich or poor) spends on sleeping, eating, employment-related work, socializing, and unpaid care work such as housework and caring for children, the disabled, elderly, ill and so on, in an average day or week.

2 As brought out in the 312th session of the Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4) Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance (Fagan et al. 2012).

3 For details see 312th session of Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4) Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance (ILO 2011).

equality at the heart of decent work and the 2011 conclusions concerning the recurrent discussion on social protection (social security), has called for measures to facilitate reconciliation of work and family responsibilities for women and men, effective access to comprehensive social care services for dependants and maternity protection.[4] The present study uses the term *work-family reconciliation* instead of work-life balance since the latter is much larger in scope. The study is contextualized within the framework of the ILO Convention 156 on Workers with Family Responsibilities (1981) and discusses various issues pertaining to work-family reconciliation, thereby paving the way for new policy initiatives to be undertaken in this direction.

1.1.1 *Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No.156)*

The governing body of the International Labour Office in its 67th session on 3rd June 1981 adopted the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No.156), which came into force on 11th August 1983. The convention also follows Recommendation no. 165 'Workers with Family Responsibilities Recommendation' adopted on 23rd June 1981 that concerns equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers. The Convention recognizes the problems of workers with family responsibilities and reiterates for a need to create effective equality of opportunity and treatment as between men and women workers with family responsibilities and between such workers and other workers. Family responsibilities affect both men and women. Women, however, are affected most due to gender stereotyping of roles at home (care for children and elderly). Family constitutes a larger part of personal life and the term *reconciliation* reflects the tensions underpinning the relationship between work and family responsibilities.[5] Conflict occurs when an individual occupies two or more roles simultaneously and the expectations associated with those different roles are incompatible.[6] The Convention and its recommendations applies to all categories of workers who have responsibilities in relation to other members of their immediate family, who need their care or support, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating or advancing in economic activity. The Recommendation 165 provides appropriate directions to national policies to be formulated

[4] For details see 312th session of Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4) Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance.

[5] This was also reflected in 312th session of Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4) Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance.

[6] For details see information on International Labour Standards adopted in 67th ILC session (23 June 1981) and entered into force on 11 August 1983 retrieved from ILO website www.ilo.org.

on workers' right to vocational training and free choice of employment, employment and social security, and developing and promoting child care, family and other community services. So far, 43 countries have ratified ILO Convention 156, whereas India and many South Asian countries have still not done so. Countries that have introduced work and family reconciliation policies in line with the ILO Convention 156 have witnessed higher female employment rates and enabled women with younger children to participate in paid employment, thereby reducing the gender gaps in the labour market.

1.2 The Context

In India, as in many other countries, women's normative responsibilities of domestic work and child care may affect their work-participation rates, the occupations where they are recruited or concentrated, and their own choice of paid employment. Even as a part of Millenium Development Goal (MDG) Acceleration Framework 2010, the United Nations identified leave policies and infrastructure for childcare and dependent care as key to speeding up progress for attainment of key indicators on gender equality, poverty etc. which counters the view that work-family reconciliation is relevant only to high-income countries; it is also essential for improving livelihood strategies and social protection in the informal economy.[7]

Some studies have identified how events, experiences, and processes like instability in male-female relationships, perceived pressures on the family economy, dissatisfaction with domesticity, and expanded workplace opportunities have led some women to give priority to their paid work and career over their care roles and domestic responsibilities. At the same time, there were also women who changed from being more committed to work, to valuing children and domestic aspirations above their career ambitions (Gerson 1985). Stone, in her study of women professionals, who had given up their careers to be at home and take care of children, found that they had done so because they had been unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain flexibility, or for those who were able to, because they found themselves marginalized and stigmatized, negatively reinforced for trying to hold on to their careers after becoming mothers (Stone 2007). Stone argues that their return to domesticity does not indicate their traditionalism, rather it is the workplace, stuck in an anachronistic time warp that ignores the reality of the lives of high-achieving women such as the ones she studied, and resists and rebuffs their efforts to change it (Stone 2007: 19). Some

[7] As brought out in 312th session of Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4) Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance (Fagan et al. 2012).

other studies have also tried to explore 'sex-stereotyped' tasks as the exclusive responsibility of one sex, creating a division between 'women's work' and 'men's work and average time spent on unpaid work by both men and women. Moreover, these studies have also reported that though 'breadwinning role is shared', the sex segregation in unpaid work does not diminish (Bittman and Pixley 1997 in Bittman 2004). Though men's participation in domestic household work has increased yet the share of responsibility in childcare has not been equal for both in many countries.

Research in India indicates the pressures that individuals experience in juggling their respective roles as employees, parents, and other form of careers. Bittman and Rice (2002) have catalogued the growing time pressures for individuals and families in India in the face of extended paid and unpaid working hours, especially for women workers. It is known that the pressure of time and energy expended at home may impinge on work performance and pressures at work may impact on home and family life (Glezer and Wolcott 1998). Some studies have focused on conflicting situations which women face due to inner conflict and dual commitment and the practical difficulty of combining work with their household activities. Such studies have highlighted on the need for sharing household activities (Kaila 2005). In view of the above context it can be stated that in India, one needs to examine the time-use of women across class and socio-cultural backgrounds and understand the changes and continuities in their contribution to paid and unpaid work. As men do not participate in unpaid work in the domestic sphere or show participation in limited tasks, women come under constant pressure to manage responsibilities of care and unpaid work in the domestic sphere and of paid work. This study tries to understand how women cope with such pressures of the double burden of work, the conflicts that they may experience while fulfilling their various responsibilities and the role of organisational policies in increasing or easing out these pressures for different groups of women.

It has been noted that age, marital status, and household size are likely to influence the demand for care and the ability of men and women to meet these demands. Caste and religious backgrounds also affect men and women's perceived social roles and responsibilities and thus their time distribution (Neetha and Palriwala 2010: 97). This study tries to understand household division of labour in the context of cultural practices, exploring the variations in demands for care and domestic work and in ritual practices for women belonging to different castes and religious backgrounds and how that affected their participation in paid employment.

According to the report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO 2012), the gender gap in the labour force participation rate decreased

globally in the 1990s from 27.9 to 26.1 percentage points, with men's rates falling faster than women's, in all regions. However, in the last decade, between 2002 and 2012, this gap remained constant, with both men's and women's participation rates falling equally (ILO 2012: vii). The report also points out that women do not have equal opportunities of employment in all sectors**.** This sectoral segregation increased over time, with women moving out of agriculture in developing economies and out of industry in developed economies, and into services. In 2012, at the global level, a third of women were employed in agriculture, near half in services, and a sixth in industry. Women's industrial share only slightly rose over the last two decades as most women are moving out of agriculture and directly into services (ILO 2012: viii). For a sample of both advanced and developing countries, men were over-represented in crafts, trades, plant and machine operations, and managerial and legislative occupations. In contrast women were over-represented in mid-skill occupations, like clerks, service workers, and shop and sales workers (ibid.). It is evident that the labour market has witnessed a high level of occupational segregation.[8]

Despite high growth rates of the Indian economy in the 2000s, women's participation in the labour force has been low and has seen a decline in the recent decades (Himanshu 2011; Thomas 2012; Mazumdar and Neetha 2011; Dreze and Sen 2013). Women's labour force participation fell in rural areas from 126.49 million in 2004-05 to 106.2 million in 2009-10. In urban areas, women's labour force participation declined from 26.50 million in 2004-05 to 24.2 million in 2009-10. There was a further decline in women's labour force participation in rural areas in 2011-12, as estimated by the 68th round of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). The labour force participation for women in rural areas was 103.6 million in 2011-12 though there was a marginal increase (28.8 million) in labour force participation for women in urban areas.[9] Urban female participation, which increased in 2004-05, fell in 2009-10. It increased marginally in 2011-12, but the level of participation was lower than that in 2004-05 (Shaw 2013: 24). It is also noted that the proportion of women involved in unpaid domestic and care work is higher in urban areas and among the better

[8] Occupational segregation denotes sex segregation of occupations where women and men work in different occupations with women crowding in a relatively small number of female typed occupations. For details see Grusky, David and Charles Maria (2004), *Occupational Ghettos*, *The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*, California: Stanford University Press.

[9] The information on labour force participation was calculated from various rounds of the Employment and Unemployment Survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India. The rounds 61st (2004-05), 66th (2009-10), and 68th (2011-12) were analysed.

educated groups of women who may face less social constraints on their participation in paid employment (Thomas 2012 : 47). Thus, an increase in household income leads to women's withdrawal from paid work and their confinement to care and domestic work. Certain cultural factors and social constraints might come to the fore as income rises (see Das 2006, Olsen and Mehta 2006; Chowdhury 2011).

Various arguments have been put across to explain women's low participation in paid employment. It has been pointed out that an increasing number of women in rural areas are pursuing higher education, which has led to their decreasing numbers in the workforce (Chowdhury 2011; Rangarajan et al. 2011; Thomas 2012: 48). Neff et al. argue that an increased number of rural women pursuing higher education might lead not only to a temporary decline in their labour force participation (LFP) but could also lead to underemployment and perhaps also a permanent decline in their LFP rates in the long term. In India, there is a U-shaped relationship between educational level and LFPR, with rising educational level, the labour force participation of rural women declines; it only rises significantly again with a university degree (Neff et al. 2012: 8) Neff et al., on the basis of an analysis of NSSO data for 2004-05 and 2009-10, show that the number of rural women pursuing higher education increased after 2004, which could explain the decline in rural women's LFPR, but this trend was also seen for urban women, without a decline in rural women's LFPR. Hence, it is contended that education cannot be seen as the main reason behind women's declining labour force participation rates. The effect of increase in income for men could be a stronger factor. Wages, particularly, for lower income groups appear to have increased leading to an increase in household income and withdrawal of women from paid work (Neff et al. 2012: 26). Yet, an increase in income needs to be looked at in conjunction with social and cultural factors.

With the introduction of liberalisation policies and an expansion of the informal sector, women have been concentrated in low paying, non-standard and narrow range of sectors mostly vulnerable and insecure. An important reason for the low labour force participation rates (LPRs) of women is the underestimation of their work in the national accounting systems. A lack of statistical evidence on women's unpaid work and time use patterns have led to gross underestimation of women's capabilities and status as workers. Important economic factors that tend to reduce women's labour force participation include the discrimination that women face in finding suitable employment opportunities and in the wages received by them, as compared to men. It has been noted that women in India, in most sectors receive lower wages than men, even after accounting

for various factors such as age, education, skill and caste (Bardhan 1980, Srivastava and Srivastava 2010, Bardhan 1989). It was also found that women accounted for only a small share of the relatively high quality jobs generated in India in the recent years. Only 20 percent of the new jobs created in financing, real estate and business services went to women. Their share in computer and related activities was only 10 percent. In manufacturing, women find employment increasingly as temporary or contract workers and constituted the majority of manufacturing workers who lost jobs in India since the mid 2000 (Thomas 2012: 48).

It has been pointed out that while there is a change in attitudes toward gender roles, an increase in numbers of women acquiring higher education and joining the workforce in advanced industrialised countries, these developments have been coupled with resistance to equalisation at the workplace. Women and men continue to work in different occupations, with women crowding into a relatively small number of female-typed occupations such as teachers, secretaries, nurse. It has been argued that horizontal and vertical segregation at the workplace are principally cultural and institutional phenomena that reflect two ideological tenets. The first, gender essentialism, represents women as more competent than men in service, nurturance, and social interaction. The second, male primacy represents men as more status worthy than women and accordingly more appropriate for positions of authority and domination. Although biological differences between the sexes (women's reproductive role, men's greater physical strength) may have contributed to the initial development of these principles, they have subsequently become ideologically and institutionally entrenched and have accordingly taken on lives on their own (Charles and Grusky 2000 : 15). When employers and personnel managers internalise such stereotypes, they tend to hire, fire and promote in accord with such stereotypes. Essentialist beliefs also affect how workers come to understand their skills and abilities, women tend to regard themselves as less competent than men at male-typed jobs, even when objectively they are just as competent (ibid.: 19). All these factors then, prevent women from occupying or transitioning to well-paid positions and positions of authority.

Apart from gender inequalities as seen in women's concentration in certain industries and sectors of the economy, the devaluation of their contribution as unpaid workers has persisted. All of women's work in the domestic sphere is excluded from the realm of economic activity and not reflected in the labour force participation rate. Unpaid activities such as cooking, cleaning, shopping, caring for children contribute to household maintenance. The feminist Marxist analysis considers household structure

and familial ideology to play an indirect part in the limitation of women's participation in wage labour (Barret 1980). Viewed from the point of view of classical economics, this work reduces the cost of labour: it allows for a smaller wage fund and thus greater profits. Unpaid time spent on these activities, then, can be thought of as a 'subsidy' to capital or as a transfer or 'gift' from one institution (the household/family) to the institution of the market. That unpaid work may be important at a personal level, both to the giver and to the receiver, does not alter the fact that in its absence a higher real wage would be necessary to maintain the same standard of living for employees and their families, with consequences for cost structures and wage-profit rates. At the same time, the subsidies' unpaid work provides result in lower overall levels of workforce participation, income that could have been generated and lower levels of effective demand for goods and services that could be providing employment and generating further economic activity, especially in employment-intensive sectors (Antonopoulos and Hirway 2010: 7).

In this context the contribution of *time use survey*s as a potential tool for capturing women's work cannot be neglected in the context of larger policy discourse on understanding women's work. Time use surveys thus provide a good basis for discussing unpaid care work in more concrete terms, and in exploring how responsibility for this interacts with the performance of other activities, such as earning an income, and how it varies along a range of individual and social characteristics (Budlender 2010). This study, by making use of time use surveys and in-depth interviews, explores various aspects of women's paid and unpaid work and implications of existing policies for women's family life, career advancement and their own well-being.

In the present context, where large proportions of women participate in the modern, industrial sector, organisational policies on work-hours, paid leave and organisation of work acquire relevance, particularly for women, as norms of responsibilities of care and reproduction shape their choices of paid employment and participation in paid employment. Thus, it becomes important to study organisational policies of industrial sectors that employ a good number of women. This study looks at organisational policies on part-time work, temporary work, and flexi-work that may have greater significance for working women, as compared to men. It also tries to assess various policy initiatives, including the impact of equal opportunity policies in ensuring work and family life balance. This requires an examination of the various policy initiatives on work and family life balance in other countries and its implications for women's work, which this study has undertaken.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To develop a conceptual understanding of work and family life balance.
- To understand the dynamics of employment, unpaid care work and family life within the context of household division of labour and cultural practices, exploring the role of social norms, caste affiliations etc. in allocation of household tasks.
- To explore part-time work, temporary work and flexi work patterns among women workers in India.
- To understand the time allocation pattern of various activities undertaken by working women and assess the impact of caring responsibilities on work and family life balance and also examine the conflicting situations while reconciling work and family life.
- To explore various cross country perspective about work and family life and also examine various policy initiatives.
- To assess the impact of equal opportunity policies in the workplace for ensuring work and family life balance in India.

1.4 Methodology

The study is based on both secondary and primary data. The secondary data was collected and analysed from books, journals, periodicals, official records, published government reports including National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data and reports, the Time-Use reports of Central Statistical Office (CSO) and the various ILO documents.

The primary data was collected through *questionnaires* and *time diaries* from women workers based in Delhi and the National Capital Region (NCR). Sampling procedure has involved a sample size of two hundred respondents in the age group of 18-45 years[10] selected from sectors like education, health and social work activities, IT/ITes/BPO, manufacturing, retail and trade that have been identified by employment and unemployment surveys conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation to have a higher concentration of women workers. Case studies of women respondents were compiled through in-depth interviews. The study has tried to cover women professionals from different levels in the organisational hierarchy. Educational qualifications of respondents who formed part of this study ranged from secondary level (Class 10th) to post-graduates and above. The

[10] 18-45 years was selected as the age group of the sample since women in this age group are believed to have larger responsibilities in terms of managing household, childcare, and paid work due to the presence of smaller children in the household.

study has covered Dual Earners households or households where both the woman and her husband are engaged in paid employment. It has also covered households where the husband is present but the woman is the primary breadwinner of the household. The study has also included working women who are single parents.

Women respondents were approached and selected through the snow-ball sampling technique where the respondents contacted introduced the research team to others and so on. This research technique, even though it does not permit a completely random selection, still allows a degree of representativeness in the sample that is selected (Jupp 2006: 196).

1.4.1 *Time Use Statistics*

Time use statistics provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily or weekly basis on activities that could form a part of the System of National Accounts (SNA), non-SNA and personal services. SNA activities are those activities that fall within the Production Boundary of the UN System of National Accounts. These activities constitute the activities which are included in national income accounts. Non-SNA activities are not included in national accounts but are covered under the General Production Boundary (the time use survey conducted by India in 1998 by CSO followed the UN-SNA 1993 for classification of activities).[11] They include all delegable production of services not covered under the national income accounts. Personal services are non-delegable services, i.e. the services that cannot be delegated to others such as sleeping, watching TV etc. Time use statistics are thus, quantitative summaries of how individuals allocate their time over a specified time period – typically over 24 hours of a day or over the seven days of a week on different activities and how much time they spend on each of these activities. Time use statistics were first produced in the early decades of the 1900s in social surveys reporting on the living conditions of working class families. The long

[11] The Classification of activities is followed from the Time Use Statistics (1998-99) conducted in India that classifies various activities as the following: *System of National Accounts (SNA) Activities:* I. Primary Production Activities include Crop farming, kitchen gardening, etc. Animal husbandry, Fishing, Forestry, Horticulture, Gardening Collection of fruit, water, plants etc., storing and hunting. Processing & Storage, Mining, quarrying, digging, cutting, etc. II. Secondary Activities, Construction Activities, Manufacturing Activities, III Trade, Business and Services.
Extended SNA Activities include Household Maintenance, Management and Shopping for Own Household, Care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household, Community Services and Help to other Households.
Non-SNA Activities include Learning, Social and Cultural Activities, Mass Media, etc. personal care and self-maintenance (GOI 2001).

working hours that left little time for leisure was a concern for workers' organisations, who wished to advocate for reduction in working hours. According to Finnish time use expert Iiris Niemi, time use surveys have their origins in studies of family budgets in the early decades of 1900s. The accounting method used for research on living conditions among working class families in England and France at the end of the nineteenth century developed into a time budget or time use research tradition in which people's behaviour is measured in terms of their use of time in hours and minutes. The countries with the longest traditions of time use studies are the countries of the former Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the USA where some time use surveys were carried out before World War II (Niemi, 1995: 2). For example, in the USA during the 1920s and 1930s, diaries were used to investigate the non-market activities of farm families, urban living patterns, and the lifestyles of the unemployed (Gershuny 1995: 530).

Time use surveys were undertaken sporadically until the late 1960s, when a comparative time use study involving 12 countries was initiated. This was the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project, undertaken under the direction of Alexander Szalai (Szalai 1972). With the emerging interest in women's unpaid work and gender inequalities in the 1970s, and the World Conferences on women thereafter, time use data were seen as major inputs in estimating and valuing women's unpaid work and their contribution to the economy and well-being of the family. Time use data was thus, seen as useful for designing policies for gender equality (Hirway 2010: 254).

It is estimated that more than 100 countries in the world have conducted small or big time use surveys. These include 40 developed countries located in America, Australia, Asia and Europe or transitional economies of Europe and former USSR. Yet, time use surveys are not yet fully institutionalized, leaving aside Canada and Australia, they are not conducted regularly and periodically in any of the developed countries (Collas-Monsod 2008 in Antonopoulos and Hirway 2010 : 255). In the developing countries, some of the earlier time use surveys were conducted by research scholars, university teachers or others. Time use surveys in developing countries are still in the exploratory stage, they are far from mainstreamed in their respective national statistical systems.

There are clear differences in the objectives of conducting time use surveys in developed and developing countries. In developed countries, where it is assumed that conventional surveys are able to provide reliable estimates of the labour force, time use data are found useful in estimating non-SNA work, such as estimating and valuing unpaid work in satellite accounts,

and in understanding number of socio-economic issues such as gender inequalities, transportation, balancing family and work, loneliness of the old, social capital etc. The most common objective of the time use surveys in 56 developing countries is 'to improve workforce estimates' in the country by getting improved estimates of informal work (employment) and subsistence work (Hirway 2010: 256). The second major objective is to get accurate estimates of 'all forms of work of men and women' including unpaid domestic work and community services. The other objectives are to understand quality of life of people (China), to study status of poverty and human development of people (Nepal, Nicaragua, India), to collect information on the time use patterns of different socio economic groups residing in different regions (Palestine), 'to measure happiness of people' (Bhutan), 'to promote better provision of people infected by HIV/AIDS (Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabawe), to estimate contribution of voluntary work etc. Several countries have also made their statistical objectives explicit. These objectives have been stated as 'to develop sound methods for the future time use surveys' (India), 'to test alternative methods of data collection on time use' (Pakistan, Malaysia) or to develop globally comparable time use data (Thailand) (Hirway 2010: 256).

1.4.2 *Time-Use Survey in India*

There have been micro-level attempts to document care work and to measure the unpaid work of women – both 'economic' and 'non-economic.' Notwithstanding the efforts of feminist social scientists and activists since the 1970s, it is only in the late 1990s that documentation at the national level was initiated. The Time Use Survey of 1998-1999, which was largely the outcome of these efforts, provided the first opportunity to estimate the time spent on and value of care work and unpaid labour of women in general. Although this was a pilot survey, it continues to be the only time use data for the country (Neetha and Palriwala 2010: 92).

In India, The Central Statistical Office undertook a pilot time use survey in the period July 1998 to June 1999 with the stated objectives of: capturing activity patterns of individuals within households; assessing the extent of SNA,[12] extended or conditional SNA and Non-SNA activities in terms of time spent; providing alternative estimates for work force participation (WFP) rates; estimating the extent of paid and unpaid work and providing an estimate of value added by women. Taking into account the diversity of the country, six States were selected for the survey, namely, Haryana,

[12] The Central Statistical Office (CSO) in India follows the UN-SNA system that divides the different activities of individuals into primary, secondary, and tertiary (see footnote no.11).

M.P, Gujarat, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Meghalaya. The survey covered 18, 591 households selected through a three-staged stratified random sampling, including 77, 593 individuals of whom 40, 187 were males and 37, 406 were females (Central Statistical Office 2001, cited in Neetha and Palriwala 2010: 92). Three sets of schedules were used: one for collecting data on characteristics of the selected households, the second on details of individual members of these households, and the third on time use pattern of all members aged 6 years and above (Neetha and Palriwala 2010: 93). To capture the seasonality in the work pattern, the survey was spread over one year and was conducted in 4 sub-rounds of three months duration each. A specially designed classification schedule was used for the survey to ensure adequate coverage of activities, as well as compatibility and comparability with other national and international data. The Indian classification did not follow the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) (1997) classification which distinguishes between economic categories in terms of whether the work was done in establishments or not. The major classification groups that were used in time use survey are : primary production activities; tertiary production activities; household maintenance, management and shopping for own households; care for children, elderly, and disabled of own household; community services; learning; social and cultural activities; personal care and self maintenance. The first three are referred to as System of National Accounts (SNA) activities as they fall within the narrowly defined production boundary; the next three are Extended SNA (ESNA), activities which fall within the general production boundary; last three are non-SNA activities that do not get included in GDP and do not constitute work (Neetha and Palriwala 2010: 94). The three groups of activities are further classified at 2-digit and 3-digit levels. A 7 day reference week was used, with separate time use patterns recorded for normal days, a weekly variant allowing for a day off, and abnormal days, that could be days that saw the arrival of a guest, illness, local festival, etc. Recall method was used through trained investigators, who were mostly women. Responses from all persons of age 6 years and above were captured from the sample households. This allowed an exploration of child labor issues as well (Khati Rajivan 1999).

The Government of India envisaged to carry out the Time Use Survey across the country and for this purpose, constituted an Expert Group under the chairmanship of Prof. S.R. Hashim, former member of the Planning Commission. In order to study in detail the various classifications of activities for Time Use survey, the Expert Group decided to hand over the work of evolving a National Classification of Activities for Time Use Survey (NCATUS) to a small group of experts in the form of a sub-committee, led by S. Jeyalakshmi, Additional Director General, Social Statistics Division

(SSD), Central Statistical Office (CSO). The Expert group, in its meeting held on 29.5. 2012, decided to conduct a pilot study to test the schedule and the NCATUS in 2 states, viz. Gujarat and Bihar. Assam, Haryana and Tamil Nadu were kept as standby states (GOI 2012).

1.4.3 *Types of Time Use Surveys*

Time use surveys are basically of two types: Independent time use surveys or standalone surveys and Non-independent surveys, i.e surveys conducted as a part (module) of a major survey. An independent time use survey collects comprehensive information on the time use of the reference population without missing out any details. It has three components: a background schedule that collects information on the respondent and her/his household; the time use schedule/diary that collects data on the time use of the respondents on a single day; and context variables that elicit information on the context of the different activities of the respondent. Context variables help the respondents to recall details of their activities and hence reduce underreporting. They add to the physical, social, economic and temporal features of the environment in which the activities take place and help in classifying the activities.

Time that is connected with work, such as time spent on commuting between work and home when no productive activity for the job is performed, which is excluded from estimates of working time, is more accurately represented through the diaries used in Time Use Surveys than through Labour Force Survey questionnaires.

Time Diary used in the Study

As part of the present study, women respondents were given time use charts to note down their various activities on two days in the week. This included a time-use chart for a working day and another one for a day off from work. The 24-hour time-use chart with time slots of 30 minutes each has tried to capture all activities in the day. This study has made use of *context variables* such as 'where the activity was performed,' 'for whom the activity was performed,' and if the activity was paid or unpaid and if she received any assistance from someone in carrying out the task.[13] Such context variables have the potential to capture the multiple and simultaneous activities of women, and in what contexts they multitask. The time diaries have enabled an understanding of the differential time

[13] The study has incorporated the three context variables suggested by the Sub-Committee on Time Use Activity Classification, namely, (i) For whom (Household Enterprise, Public Enterprise and Private Enterprise); (ii) Paid or Unpaid and (iii) Where (Inside or outside household premises) (GOI 2012).

allocation patterns of women engaged in different sectors, specifically with regard to time spent on unpaid and care work and the conflicting situations experienced while reconciling work and family.

1.5 Socio-economic Profile

This section provides an overview of the socio-economic profile of the respondents which includes age, marital status, religion, caste, household type (size and children) and educational qualification.

1.5.1 Age

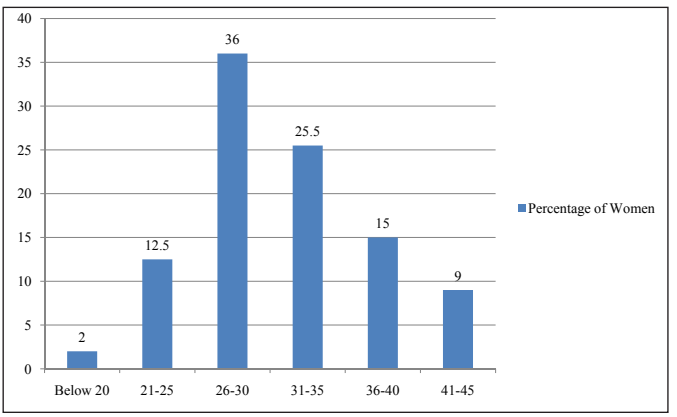
Table 1.1
Age Profile Across Sectors

		Age						Total
		20 or below 20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	
Sector	Education	0	1	13	15	12	9	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	0	2	15	14	11	6	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	1	0	12	7	4	1	**25**
	Retail	2	12	17	8	3	2	**44**
	IT	1	10	15	7	0	0	**33**
Total		**4 (2)**	**25 (12.5)**	**72 (36)**	**51 (25.5)**	**30 (15)**	**18 (9)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Figure 1.1 Age Profile Across Sectors



A significant proportion of women i.e. 36 percent were in the age group of 26-30 years, 25.5 percent in the age group of 31-35 years, 15 percent in 36-40 years and 12.5 percent respondents were in the age group of 21-25 years. A smaller proportion of women i.e. 9 percent were in the age group of 41-45 years and just 2 percent women were 20 years or below. In the education sector, most respondents i.e. 30 percent were in the age group of 31-35 years and just one respondent was in the age group of 21-25 years. In health and social work activities, maximum informants (31.25 percent) were in the age group of 26-30 years. Most respondents in the garments sector (48 percent) belonged to the age group of 26-30 years. This was also true of the retail and IT sectors that had 38.6 percent and 45.4 percent women respectively in the age group of 26-30 years.

1.5.2 Marital Status

Table 1.2
Marital Status Across Sectors

		Marital status				Total
		Married & living with husband	Separated	Divorced	Widow	
Sector	Education	49	1	0	0	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	42	3	0	3	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	25	0	0	0	**25**
	Retail	40	1	1	2	**44**
	IT	32	0	1	0	**33**
Total		**188 (94)**	**5 (2.5)**	**2 (1)**	**5 (2.5)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey
* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

With regard to marital status, 94 percent of women were married and were living as couples, 2.5 percent were separated, 2.5 percent were widows and only 1.0 percent women were divorced. All women respondents in the education sector were married, while one was separated from her husband. In health and social work activities, 87.5 percent women were married, 6.25 percent were separated from their husbands and another 6.25 percent were widowed. In garment manufacturing, all women were

married. In the retail sector, 90.9 percent women were married and lived with their husbands, 2.27 percent were separated from their husbands and one was divorced. In the IT sector, apart from a woman respondent who was divorced, the rest, (96.9 percent) were married. It was found that 30 percent of women got married below the age of 20 years across all sectors.

Table 1.3
Age at Marriage across Sectors

		Age at marriage						Total
		below 20	**21-23**	**24-26**	**27-29**	**30-32**	**33 and above**	
Sector	**Education**	6	13	16	10	4	1	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	21	13	9	3	1	1	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	16	1	8	0	0	0	**25**
	Retail	15	11	9	7	2	0	**44**
	IT	2	7	14	8	2	0	**33**
Total		**60 (30)**	**45(22.5)**	**56 (28)**	**28 (14)**	**9 (4.5)**	**2 (1)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

With regard to age at marriage, it was revealed that 30 percent of the respondents got married at a very early age (below 20 years), while 28 percent got married at the age of 24-26 years, 22.5 percent in the age group of 21-23, 14 percent in 27-29, 4.5 percent in the age group of 30-32 and only 1 percent at the age of 33 and above. Further, a sectoral analysis revealed that in the IT sector, the majority of the respondents did not get married at an early age, 72.7 percent women married between the age of 24 and 32 years. In garment manufacturing, on the contrary, where education levels of women were low, 68 percent women married at an early age, at or below the age of 23. In health and social work activities also 70.83 percent women respondents were married at or below the age of 23, this was also true of 59 percent women in the retail sector. The education sector showed variations, with 38 percent women marrying at the age of 23 or below it and 30 percent women married between the age of 27-33 or later.

1.5.3 Religion and Caste

Table 1.4
Religion

Religion	No. of Respondents
Hindu	171 (85.5)
Muslim	16 (8)
Christian	9 (4.5)
Sikh	4 (2)
Total	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The majority of the respondents in the study i.e. 85.5 percent were Hindus. 8 percent were Muslims, 4.5 percent were Christians and 2 percent were Sikhs. Most Muslim respondents 56.2 percent were employed in the garments sector. The majority of Christians 66.6 percent were engaged in health and social work activities. Four women who were Sikhs were engaged in the education, garment, retail and IT sector respectively.

Table 1.5
Caste Compositions Across Sectors

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Caste	**General**	38	23	11	31	30	**133 (66.5)**
	OBC	5	15	11	10	1	**42 (21)**
	SC	6	10	3	3	2	**24 (12)**
	ST	1	0	0	0	0	**1 (0.5)**
Total		**50**	48	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Most women respondents, 66.5 percent, belonged to the 'general' caste category, 21 percent to the category of Other Backward Classes (OBC), 12 percent to castes designated as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and one respondent was from the category of Scheduled Tribe (ST).

1.5.4 Period of Stay in Delhi and Type of Accommodation

Table 1.6
Maximum time Spent in Village/Town/City/Metropolitan

		Village	Town	City	Metropolitan	Total
Sector	**Education**	3	3	22	22	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	5	6	27	10	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	13	0	10	2	**25**
	Retail	9	2	23	10	**44**
	IT	2	4	25	2	**33**
Total		**32 (1)**	**15 (7.5)**	**107 (53.5)**	**46 (23)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Most respondents i.e. 53.5 percent said that they had spent the maximum time of their lives in a city. 22.5 percent had spent maximum time in a metropolitan, whereas 16 percent had spent most part of their lives in a village. A relatively small number of respondents i.e. 7.5 percent said that they had spent a good part of their lives in a town.

With regard to the period of stay in Delhi, it was revealed that the majority of respondents i.e. 76.4 percent who had been staying in Delhi since the past 10 years or less were staying in a rented accommodation while the rest who had been staying in Delhi for 20-30 years (58.3 percent), 30-40 years (84.1 percent) and more than 40 years (89.47 percent) lived in their own accommodation.

1.5.5. Household Type, Size, and Children

Table 1.7
Type of Family (Joint/Nuclear) Across Sectors

		Type of Family		Total
		Joint	Nuclear	
Sector	**Education**	15	35	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	16	32	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	4	21	**25**
	Retail	19	25	**44**
	IT	7	26	**33**
Total		**61 (30.5)**	**139 (69.5)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 1.8
Household Size

		No. o f Household Members					
		1-2	**3-5**	**6-8**	**9-11**	**11>**	**Total**
Sector	**Education**	3	44	2	1	0	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	6	31	10	1	0	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	4	19	2	0	0	**25**
	Retail	10	23	9	1	1	44
	IT	8	18	7	0	0	**33**
Total		**31 (15.5)**	**135 (67.5)**	**30 (15)**	**3 (1.5)**	**1 (0.5)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The majority of respondents (69.5 percent) lived in nuclear families and 30.5 percent respondents lived in joint families. While 67.5 percent respondents had 3-5 members in their households, 15.5 percent formed part of households with just 1-2 members, 5 percent had 6-8 and 1.5 percent respondents had 9-11 household members. One of the respondents in the retail sector reported to have 11 members in her household.

Children

Table 1.9
Information on Number of Children

		Number Of Children							Total
		No children	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	
Do You Have Any Children	**Yes**	0	66	69	3	3	1	1	**143 (71.5)**
	No	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	**57 (28.25)**
Total		**57**	**66 (46.15)**	**69 (48.25)**	**3 (1.5)**	**3 (1.5)**	**1 (0.5)**	**1 (0.5)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis of the column show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents and parenthesis of the rows show percentage calculated from total number of respondents who have a child or have children.

It was revealed that 71.5 percent married women had children while 28.5 percent of the respondents did not have children. Further, 48.25 percent women had 2 children and 46.15 percent women had one child. One of the respondents engaged in garment manufacturing had 6 children. With regard to the age of children, it was revealed that most of the respondents had smaller children (below 5 years) i.e. 24.5 percent women had a child in the age group of 3-5 years and 18.8 percent had a child below the age of 2 years.

1.5.6 Educational Qualification and Vocational Courses

Table 1.10
Educational Qualification of Women Across Sectors

		Educational Qualification							Total
		10th	12th	Graduate	Post-graduate	Higher studies	Professional Education	Graduate and Professional Education	
Sector	Education	2	2	6	24	12	2	2	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	6	21	12	5	1	3	0	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	17	7	0	1	0	0	0	**25**
	Retail	4	18	15	7	0	0	0	**44**
	IT	0	0	23	10	0	0	0	**33**
Total		**29 (14.5)**	**48 (24)**	**56 (28)**	**47(23.5)**	**13 (6.5)**	**5 (2.5)**	**2(1)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

* Note: Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

A significant proportion of respondents in the study i.e. 28 percent were graduates. While 24 percent were educated till class 12th, 23.5 percent women were post-graduates and 14.5 percent women had studied till class 10. In the education sector, 48 percent women were post-graduates, 24 percent were doctorates employed in central universities in Delhi and one was a medical doctor. 4 percent respondents said that they had pursued professional courses after their schooling and another two 4 percent had done professional courses after their graduation. Most of the respondents i.e. 43.75 percent in the health and social work activities had completed class 12th. In garment manufacturing, majority of the respondents, i.e. 68

percent were educated till class 10th and only one out of 25 respondents was a post-graduate.

With regard to women pursuing professional courses, it was found that 20.5 percent respondents were pursuing such a professional course. The majority of these respondents pursuing a professional course i.e. 35.29 percent were engaged in health and social work sector and 17.6 percent belonged to the education sector. The lowest percentage of women pursuing a vocational course was in the IT and garment sector, i.e. 14.7 percent and 8.8 percent respectively. Women respondents mostly reported pursuing courses such as those of B.Ed. and those in the health sector were pursuing courses in laboratory management.

1.6 Outline of the Study

The second chapter describes the trends in women's work and employment. While examining the increase or decrease in women's work participation rates over recent decades, the chapter discusses the trends in women's concentration in certain forms of employment and some industry sectors. The chapter also examines the relationship between education attainment and participation in paid employment for women.

The third chapter discusses the various ways in which women try to manage their responsibilities of care and domestic work at home. It looks at how women distribute their time at home to accomplish various tasks and how they undertake various activities simultaneously. The chapter looks at the division of labour in the household and the contribution of other family members in housework and unpaid care work. It also discusses aspects of women's health and leisure since juggling between responsibilities at home and care for family members may place constraints on women's ability to take adequate rest and ensure their own well being. To understand intra-household gender relations, the chapter also examines decision making within the household.

The fourth chapter describes women's perspectives on their paid work and organisational policies. It looks at the time women spend at the workplace and time spent commuting to the workplace, the provision of breaks and rest periods between work hours and of days off in the week. The chapter examines if the workplace has a crèche for women employees and if women workers make use of the crèche for their children. Apart from these provisions, the chapter also looks at other organisational policies such as maternity and child care leave, flexible working hours, part time work etc. that might have implications for women's ability to manage their responsibilities of care and reproduction and enable work and family life

balance for men and women workers. Organisational policies as well as demands on women to manage care responsibilities are also significant for women's ability to maintain continuity in their employment and advance in their careers and the chapter analyses such issues.

The fifth chapter looks at state and organisation policies on work and family life balance in other countries and their relevance for men's and women's ability to participate in care work. It examines policies in countries that have ratified Convention 156 as well as leave and employment related policies in some countries that have not ratified the Convention. The study concludes with a summary and recommendations for policy initiatives that would bring about greater gender equality with regard to participation in care work and enable equal opportunities for women to advance in the sphere of paid employment.

Chapter Two

Women's Work and Employment in India: An Overview

2.1 The Context

The employment trends in India are a reflection of the highly complex labour market prevalent in the country. The gender differentials in labour market participation and corresponding decline in female labour force participation have raised serious concern among the policy makers, economists and the academia. Wide ranging debates on declining female labour force have been discussed in the previous chapter. Women continue to remain in a disadvantageous position as female labour force participation continues to decline over the years as reflected in various NSS rounds.

With the introduction of liberalisation policies and an expansion of the informal sector, women have been concentrated in low paying, non standard and narrow range of sectors mostly vulnerable and insecure. The majority of workers in India are in informal employment, though there are two diverging underlying trends behind this phenomenon. Firstly, the share of workers in the unorganized sector fell from 86.3 per cent in 2004-05 to 84.3 per cent in 2009-10, and further to 82.2 per cent in 2011-12. At the same time, the new jobs created in the organized sector were mostly informal in the sense that workers do not have access to employment benefits and social security. From 2009-10 to 2011-12, employment in the organized sector increased by 17.2 million. However, 84.9 per cent of this increase (or 14.6 million) was due to a rise in informal work in the organized sector (ILO, 2013). Here a question arises on the quality of employment which remains a major challenge. In fact, it also becomes necessary to understand the occupations women choose and whether their choice of occupations have enabled upward career mobility and ensured them better social security provisions?

Within this backdrop, it becomes important to investigate the labour and employment trends for women in India. The total working population in the age group of 15-59 years was 7,62,868,995 or 62 percent in 2011-12.[14] For the purpose of the present study, 18-45 age group was considered as the working age population[15] and women's participation in labour force and workforce was computed accordingly from the unit level data of National Sample Survey (NSS) across various rounds.

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[14] As per NSS 68th Round 2011-12

[15] See footnote no. 10 in Chapter One.

2.2 Women's Participation in Labour Force

There has been marked decline in female labour force participation among the working age population as discussed earlier. However, this decline is not restricted to the 15-59 age group[16] but is also reflected in the 18-45 age-group as well. In the 18-45 years age group the total workers were 555,294,802, which made up 45 percent of the population.[17] The differential labour force participation for females across rural and urban areas and its decline over the years is affected a lot by social, economic and cultural constraints emanating from various regional, ethnic, and caste differentials.

Table 2.1
Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) per 1000 population for age group18-45 (UPSS)[18]

Year	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2004-05	938	545	740	889	281	601	924	475	701
2009-10	912	415	663	863	226	556	897	361	631
2011-12	897	398	647	863	242	563	886	350	620

Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th, and 68th

The labour force participation for women was less than half the LFPR of men in both rural and urban areas in 2011-12, as reported in the 68th round of the NSSO. While the LFPR for men was 897 per 1000 population, it was 398 for women in 2011-12 in rural areas. The LFPR for women was lower in urban areas, i.e. 242 and 863 per thousand population for men in 2011-12. This showed a slight increase from women's LFPR rates in 2009-10 i.e. 226 per thousand population, but a decrease in the rates in 2004-05 i.e. 281 per

[16] See details about labour force participation rates in 15-59 age group in Chapter One.

[17] The present study has considered a sample size of 18-45 age group considering it as a peak age for working mothers with childcare responsibilities. The trends for female work force and labour force were analysed through NSS unit level data of various rounds and 18-45 age was analysed from the total working age population of 15-59 years.

[18] NSS uses three different approaches to measure employment and unemployment indicators namely; usual status (reference period of one year), current weekly status CWS (within one week reference period) and Current Daily Status CDS (based on daily activity of each day during the reference period. For the present analysis usual status is taken into consideration. (Usual status includes usual principal status (PS) and subsidiary status (SS).

thousand population. The slowdown in the pace of growth of the labour force is attributed to changes in the demographic profile of the young population, rising enrolments in elementary and secondary schooling due to the efforts of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and Right to Education (RTE), declining child labour, mechanization in agriculture, withdrawal of women and their increasing participation in household activities (Mehrotra et al. 2014: 32). The country registered substantial growth of education beyond the secondary level during the second half of the 2000s (Thomas 2012: 41). Apart from the effects of education and demography, changes in labour force participation also occur due to economic reasons. The most important among them is the income effect. The income effect explains that households have a certain level of living and if income falls below this, they tend to push their reserve labour force to supplement household income. This explanation could be valid not only for women's labour force participation but also for children, adolescents and the aged in the population. This is commonly observed in the case of a severe calamity such as a drought and in agrarian distress. But this is a temporary phase and once the income of the household increases, they tend to pull their reserve labour force back into non-work (Himanshu 2011: 52-53).

Thomas (2012) has argued that a low female LPR is responsible for pushing India's overall LPR to the bottom ranks. Out of 184 countries for which data were available in 2008, India was ranked 42nd in male LPR (in descending order of LPR), but 165th and 143rd in female LPR and overall LPR respectively.[19] It is pointed out that in India, the other side of a low female LPR is a substantially high proportion of females reporting their activity status as attending to domestic duties. In 2009-10, 34.7 percent of all rural females and 46.5 percent of all urban females in India were attending to domestic duties (Thomas 2012: 47). Women with graduate degrees and above and attending to domestic duties numbered 12.7 million in India in 2009-10, which was more than twice the population of Singapore in 2010 (Thomas 2012: 48).

2.3 Women's Participation in Workforce

The work participation rates for women have witnessed similar trends and show a decline over the years. From the table (2.2) below, it becomes clearly evident that the percentage of adult women in labour force in India is as low as 26 percent in comparison to other South Asian countries. Countries like Nepal (48 percent), Bhutan (46 percent), Bangladesh (40 percent),

[19] Based on data obtained from International Labour Organisation (ILO), available with World Development Indicators, World Bank (at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator) (Thomas 2012: 47).

and Sri Lanka (31 percent) show a higher percentage of adult women's participation in the labour force. Though many developed nations, such as United States of America (45 percent), United Kingdom (45 percent) and the Russian Federation (44 percent) also show a higher percentage of adult women's participation in the labour force.

Further, an analysis of the participation of adult women (15+) in economic activity across various countries reflect on inequalities in the participation rate of men (81 percent) and women (29 percent) in India in the year 2011. The unemployment rate for adult women (15+) is 4 percent, which is higher than the unemployment rate for men i.e. 3 percent.

Table 2.2
Participation of Adult (15+) Women in Economic Activity

Country or Area	Adult (15+) Economic Activity Rate in 2011		Percentage Women in Adult Labour Force	Adult (15+) Unemployment Rate in 2011		Source	Reference Year for Unemployment Rate
	Women	Men		Women	Men		
Afghanistan	16	80	16	10	8	HS	2005
Argentina	47	75	39	9	6	LFS	2011#
Australia	59	72	45	5	5	LFS	2011$
Bangladesh	57	84	40	7	4	LFS	2009
Bhutan	66	77	46	5	2	LFS	2011
Brazil	60	81	60	81	42	LFS	2009
Canada	62	71	46	7	8	LFS	2011$&
China	68	80	46		…		
France	51	62	45	10	9	ELFS	2011
Germany	53	67	44	6	6	LFS	2011
India	**29**	**81**	**26**	**4**	**3**	**HS**	**2010 Rs.**
Japan	49	72	41	4	5	LFS	2011
Maldives	56	77	42	24	8	PC	2006^
Mexico	44	81	35	5	5	LFS	2011
Nepal	80	88	48	2	3	LFS	2008
Pakistan	23	83	21	9	4	HS	2008$
Russian Federation	56	71	44	6	7	LFS	2011@
South Africa	44	61	42	28	22	HS	2011
Sri Lanka	35	76	31	8	4	LS	2010$!

United Kingdom	56	69	45	7	8	LFS	2011*
United States of America	58	70	45	9	9	LFS	2011*$~

Source: Women and Men in India Report 2014, Central Statistical Office (GOI 2014).

Note:

* For age group 16+

$ Refers to Civilian labour force

for 31 urban agglomerations

^ Excluding conscripts

& Excluding the territories of Yukon, Nunavut and the Northwest Territories

Rs. Excluding Leh and Kargil of Jammu & Kashmir districts, some villages in Nagaland, Andaman & Nicobar Islands. Data based on the national sample survey conducted every five years.

@Refers to age group 15-72!

• Excluding the Northern Province

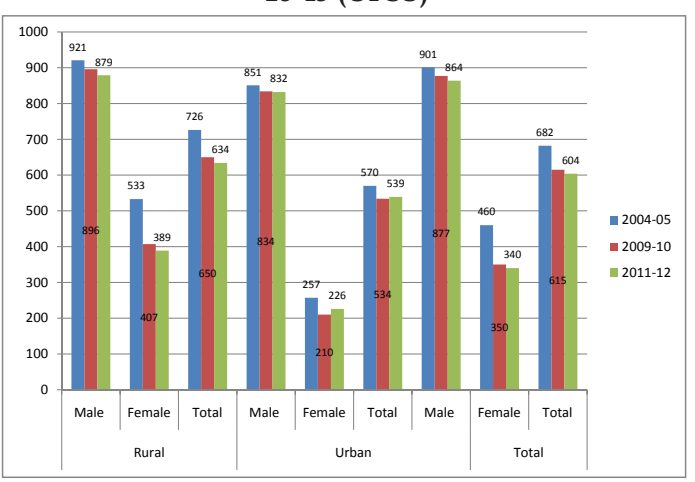
~ Excluding Puerto Rico, Guam, the US Virgin Islands and American Samoa

Table 2.3
Workforce Participation per 1000 Population For Age Group 18-45 (UPSS)

Year	Rural			Urban				Total	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2004-05	921	533	726	851	257	570	901	460	682
2009-10	896	407	650	834	210	534	877	350	615
2011-12	879	389	634	832	226	539	864	340	604

(Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th, and 68th)

Figure 2.1 Workforce Participation Per 1000 Population For Age Group 18-45 (UPSS)



An analysis of the work participation trends for men and women in the age group of 18-45 considering the usual, principal and subsidiary status (UPSS), record a decline in the participation of women in workforce and also indicate a significant gender gap between the participation rates of both males and females. The workforce participation showed declining trends for men and women, in both rural and urban areas. Male workforce participation fell from 921 in 2004-05 to 879 in 2011-12 in rural areas and from 851 to 832 in urban areas in the same period. Female workforce participation showed a more drastic fall, from 533 to 389 per 1000 population in rural areas, and from 257 to 226 in urban areas, in the same period.

However, it is pointed out that to argue that employment declined because of a decline in the supply of labour, since more people attended education in the age group 15-24 years, is to argue that there is full employment in the economy or a situation of labour shortage. Clearly, this is not the case in India. The only explanation then for an almost stagnant situation is simply that not enough jobs are being created in the economy, even with an 8 percent plus growth rate (Chowdhury 2011: 23).

Table 2.4
Sector Participation of Women (UPSS) in the Age Group of 18-45 Years in Percentage

Sector	2004-05			2009-10			2011-12		
	Rural	**Urban**	**Total**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Total**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**Total**
Garment	44.4	37.8	40.9	40.7	40.4	40.5	45.2	44.8	45.0
Retail	14.0	10.1	12.0	12.3	8.9	10.5	14.0	11.4	12.6
Education	40.5	51.0	45.5	40.8	46.8	43.8	42.5	50.1	46.2
IT & ITes	22.8	22.0	22.1	7.0	14.9	14.6	17.2	18.6	18.5
Health	35.1	44.2	40.0	46.6	41.8	43.6	35.5	42.8	40.2
Total	**25.0**	**24.1**	**24.6**	**24.1**	**23.0**	**23.5**	**27.0**	**27.0**	**27.0**

Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th and 68th.

In the present study, five different sectors were selected for primary survey due to larger concentration of women in these sectors as reported by the recent Employment and Unemployment Survey, 68th round 2011-12. These sectors were identified as Garment, Retail, Education, IT, ITes, and Health and Social Work. The above table (2.4) provides information on the concentration of women engaged in these sectors.

The 68th round of the NSSO indicated that 50.1 percent women in urban areas and 42.5 percent women in rural areas in the age group of 18-45 formed part of the education sector. Their participation in the education sector in rural areas, showed a marginal increase from 40.5 percent in

2004-05. In contrast, there was a relative decline of 1 percent, from 51.0 percent in 2004-05 to 50.1 percent in 2011-12 in urban areas. While 44.8 percent women were engaged in garment manufacturing in urban areas, 45.2 percent were engaged in this sector in rural areas in 2011-12. This was an increase from figures reported for 2004-05, 44.4 percent for rural areas and 37.8 percent in urban areas. Women were also found in significant numbers in the health sector. In 2011-12, 35.5 percent women were engaged in this sector in rural areas and 42.8 percent in urban areas. There was not much variation from figures in 2004-05, 35.1 percent and 44.2 percent in rural and urban areas respectively. Apart from garment, education and health, women were also engaged in IT and retail sectors in significant proportions. In rural areas, 17.2 percent women were engaged in the IT sector and 14.0 percent women were engaged in the retail sector in 2011-12. The percentage in the IT sector in rural areas showed a decline of 5.6 percent, from 22.8 percent in 2004-05. In urban areas, 18.6 percent women were engaged in the IT sector and 11.4 percent in the retail sector in 2011-12. The last was a decline of 3.4 percentage points from 2004-05.

Table 2.5
Nature of Employment (Usual Status) in Percentage for 18-45 Age Group

Employment Category	Temporary			Permanent			Total		
Year	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
2004-05	82.0	18.0	100	78.9	21.1	100	81.5	18.5	100
2009-10	79.9	20.1	100	78.6	21.4	100	79.7	20.3	100
2011-12	79.3	20.7	100	77.6	22.4	100	79.1	20.9	100

Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th, and 68th

Note: The table shows the percentage of male and female workforce engaged in different forms of employment. Employees with Contract up to 3 Years are classified as temporary and others as permanent workers.

The above table (2.5) shows different categories of employment, i.e. permanent and temporary for workers in the age group of 18-45 years. While 77.6 percent men in this age group were in permanent employment, only 22.4 percent women were engaged in permanent employment. Temporary employment also showed higher proportions of men, with 79.3 percent men and 20.7 percent of women engaged in such employment in 2011-12. The nature of permanent employment for women has not changed significantly over the years. While in 2004-05, the percentage of women in permanent employment was 21.1 percent, it increased slightly to 21.4 percent in 2009-10 and there was an increase by only 1 percentage point in 2011-12 i.e. 22.4 percent.

Table 2.6
Educational Profile of Workers in the 18-45 Age Group (NSS 2011-12)

	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	22.2	49.1	30.5	9.8	23.2	12.5	18.4	43.9	**25.5**
Literate through Informal/Formal Scheme	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	**0.4**
Below Primary	10.9	10.1	10.7	6.3	7.6	6.6	9.5	9.6	**9.6**
Primary	14.9	13.7	14.6	11.2	10.9	11.2	13.8	13.1	**13.6**
Upper Primary/ Middle	21.6	12.8	18.9	18.6	13.3	17.5	20.7	12.9	**18.5**
Secondary	14.8	7.2	12.5	16.6	9.6	15.2	15.4	7.7	**13.2**
Sr. Secondary	8.1	3.4	6.6	11.6	8.1	10.9	9.2	4.3	**7.8**
Diploma/ Certificate	1.4	0.6	1.1	3.1	2.6	3.0	1.9	1.0	**1.6**
Degree (Non-Tech)	4.2	1.8	3.4	13.6	12.3	13.3	7.1	3.9	**6.2**
Degree (Tech)	0.3	0.2	0.3	2.6	2.8	2.6	1.0	0.7	**0.9**
PG & Above (Non-Tech)	1.2	0.8	1.0	6.2	8.9	6.7	2.7	2.4	**2.6**
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Computed from NSS unit level data of round 68th

With reference to the educational profile of workers in the age group of 18-45 years, it was found that a large proportion of workers, both male and female, in rural areas were illiterate. While 22.2 percent rural male workers were illiterate, 49.1 percent rural women workers were illiterate. Contrastingly, in urban India only 9.8 percent male workers were illiterate and 23.2 percent female workers were illiterate. A significant proportion of male workers, 16.6 percent were educated till the secondary level and 13.6 percent were degree-holders (non-technical) in urban areas, while only 12.3 percent women workers in urban India were degree-holders (non-technical). However, with regard to higher education, women had a better position in urban areas than their rural counterparts. 8.9 percent women were post-graduates and above in urban areas in comparison to only 0.8 percent in rural areas. In urban areas, the percentage of post-graduate and above women was also higher (8.9 percent) as compared to men (6.2 percent).

Examining the relationship between education and labour force participation (LFP), the report of the World Bank (2013) points out that the highest work participation is among illiterate women in India (World Bank

2013: vii). The higher participation among the poorly educated indicates that women are forced to work for sustenance (Mahapatro 2013: 97). Women's LFP declines with schooling to Secondary School completers, but increases among those with tertiary education, creating a 'U- shaped' curve (Neff et al. 2012: 8; World Bank 2013: vii). The low levels of work participation among women with middle-level of education is ascribed to the better economic levels of households that educate girls but where women do not necessarily join the workforce. They choose marriage and childbearing in preference to further education or work (World Bank 2013: vii). Women's LFP increases with tertiary education, in part due to the availability of good opportunities for the low numbers of women educated to this level. Technical/professional education in particular has a strong effect on women's work, with little gender difference seen among the professionally qualified in urban areas (World Bank 2013: x).

Table 2.7
Women Workers in Age Group of 18-45 years in UPSS Receiving Social Security Benefit

Sector	2004-05		2009-10		2011-12	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Garment	91.5	8.5	89.2	10.2	85.2	14.8
Retail	91.3	8.7	86.7	13.3	83.6	16.4
Education	57.7	42.3	55.5	44.5	52.0	48.0
IT & ITes	68.4	31.6	70.3	29.7	74.4	25.6
Health	60.2	39.8	55.8	44.2	57.7	43.0
Total	75.5	24.5	71.6	28.4	69.4	30.6

Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th, and 68th.

The above table (2.7) provides an analysis of extension of social security benefits to women workers engaged in different sectors. Among the five sectors selected for the study, a large proportion of women workers were receiving social security benefits in the garment sector (85.2 percent) in 2011-12, which was a decline by 6.3 percent from 2004-05 (91.5 percent). A significant proportion of women in the retail sector, 83.6 percent received social security benefit, which witnessed a decline by 7.7 percent in 2004-05 (91.3 percent). However, education and health sectors also showed a decline in the percentage of women receiving social security benefits. In the education sector, their percentage dropped from 57.7 percent in 2004-05 to 52.0 percent in 2011-12, a decrease by 5.7 percent. In the health sector, there was a decline of 2.5 percent from 60.2 percent in 2004-05 to 57.7

percent in 2011-12. In contrast, the proportion of women receiving such benefits had increased only in the IT sector, from 68.4 percent in 2004-05 to 74.4 percent in 2011-12, which shows an increase by 6 percentage points.

Such differentials in extension of social security benefits to women workers indicates that more and more women are engaged in vulnerable employment due to the informal nature of their jobs and informal nature of employment within the formal sector. Women's disadvantaged position in the labour market reflects intersecting forms of disadvantage related to cultural norms, values and customs that govern the gender division of labour in production and reproduction, along with an associated division of roles, resources and responsibility. The unequal terms on which women and men enter the labour market are also related to women's primary responsibility for unpaid care work within the family and the resulting life course variations in whether they work and what they do (Thakur et al. 2009: 169; Kabeer 2010: 76). In addition, lack of education, appropriate skill training and high level of occupational segregation pushes women more towards informal employment that is characterised by low wages, temporariness, and inadequate social security benefits.

2.4 Summing Up

The present chapter provided a brief overview of the complex labour market situation prevailing in India with significant gender differentials observed in the employment trends for men and women. The chapter also provided insight into the trends on labour force participation of women and men in the age group of 18-45 from NSS unit level data. It was revealed that the labour force participation for women had declined over the years in spite of the improvement in the level of education. Though women have fared well in education up to the primary and upper primary level, their numbers have declined in higher and other professional and technical education. The concentration of women in traditional disciplines with low skill orientation disadvantages them from appropriate labour market opportunities which are at par with the current industry requirements. Such a situation contributes to higher level of occupational segregation, often, resulting in women's concentration in low-paying temporary jobs with lack of social security and no upward career mobility. Further, an analysis of the sectoral classification of women workers revealed that women were more concentrated in sectors like education, garment manufacturing, health, IT and ITes and the retail sector with marked discrepancies in extension of social security benefits. Social security benefits are extended mostly to the organized sector, with less coverage to the unorganized sector, where majority of women are concentrated. While employment in the organised sector is captured in data sources, employment in the informal sector is

not so easily captured and hence the social security coverage extended to informal workers remains limited.

Evidence from literature on social protection suggest designing of appropriate measures that establish a synergy between women's work and children's welfare and also recognize the barriers to women's advancement to the labour market which largely contribute to wider goals of economic growth, human development and social justice (Thakur et al. 2009: 169; Kabeer 2010: 326-31). Women are exposed to *life cycle risks*[20] which deprives them of better life opportunities; their opportunities are restricted by primary responsibilities of childcare and domestic work, cultural restrictions on their mobility and the gendered segmentation of employment opportunities. Therefore, in light of the above, it becomes imperative to understand the gendered nature of the lifecycle risks and inform policies that not only address women's double burdens, but also provides them with equality of opportunities within the larger framework of the human development discourse.

[20] Life cycle risks are the vulnerabilities women are exposed to right from their birth till the end of their lives. Such risks include lack of access to education, resources, paid employment, unequal division of labour in the household, early marriage, child bearing, other health risks etc. Scholars on social protection have defined life cycle risks in their works (for details see Thakur et al. 2009; "Social Protection and Vulnerability, Risk and Exclusion across the Life-Cycle" by Emma Cain {http://www.oecd.org/development/povertyreduction/43280790.pdf}).

Chapter Three

Women's Unpaid Work, Family Life and Well being: Issues in Reconciliation

3.1 The Context

Gender relations in family and women's unpaid care work are inextricably linked to women's participation in paid employment. The dilemma of unpaid work and women's contribution to paid work has contributed to many emerging debates on recognising women's work in general and understanding of various social and cultural realities where women are socially located. The persistent demands of childcare, unequal household division of labour and lack of inequitable time distribution patterns has resulted in limited labour market choices for women and encouraged them to drop out from the labour market subsequently. The chapter tries to reflect on the dynamics of employment, unpaid care work and family life within the context of household division of labour and cultural practices thereby exploring the role of social norms, caste affiliations etc in allocation of household tasks. It also attempts to understand household power dynamics and identify how women negotiate within structures of patriarchy for reconciling work and family life balance. The time allocation pattern of various activities undertaken by working women are analyzed to assess the impact of caring responsibilities on women's working lives and examine the conflicting situations while reconciling work and family life. In this context, it becomes imperative to have a thorough understanding about unpaid work, the interconnections between paid work and unpaid work, and the relation between unpaid work and women's well-being.

3.2 Understanding Unpaid Work

Unpaid care work – the housework and care of persons that occurs in homes and communities of all societies on an unpaid basis is an area that has generally been neglected by economists, as well as many development actors (Budlender 2010: 1). Unpaid labour is usually considered as non-productive work and or as production work not destined for the market. Such an aspect leads to serious conceptual problems which needs clarification. There has been invisibility, non-accountability, and non-remuneration of household work in national accounting statistics of India. Invisibility relates to patriarchal ideology having managed to include and legitimize under female roles everything connected with the care of family

and its social reproduction. Non-accountability refers to the assumption that whatever does not directly produce wealth cannot be recorded as an economic progress. Thus accountancy system are geared towards traditional economic units, their purpose being to record the production of goods and services tradable on national and international markets. And finally non-remuneration refers to the abundance of manual labour available to perform domestic work for free and its almost infinite elasticity to adjust to the changes taking place in the macro-economic environment (Campillo 2003).

Women's normative responsibilities of child care and domestic work and restrictions imposed on their movement and employment outside the house affect their participation in paid employment. It is also noted that the proportion of women involved in unpaid domestic and care work is higher in urban areas and among the better educated groups of women who may face less social constraints on their participation in paid employment (Thomas 2012 : 47). Apart from gender inequalities as seen in women's concentration in certain industries and sectors of the economy, the devaluation of their contribution as unpaid workers has persisted. All of women's work in the domestic sphere is excluded from the realm of economic activity and not reflected in the work force participation rate. Unpaid activities such as cooking, cleaning, shopping, caring for children contribute to household maintenance. It is well understood that the division of labour in the realm of unpaid work disadvantages some groups of people in that it imposes additional burdens on their time, which in turn restricts their access to opportunities to improve their lives (Antonopoulos and Hirway 2010: 1). These differences emanate from variations in class, caste, gender, ethnicity, region etc. The urgency of transforming unpaid work inequalities within households notwithstanding, it is important to understand that within a development context it is of some urgency to go beyond gender-based intra-household inequalities. The burden of unpaid work is largely ignored due to a lack of understanding of how unpaid work is linked to the rest of the economy. Entering policy spaces and envisioning interventions to reduce such forms of inequity is crucially based on making evident the connections between household production, market production and public sector policy (Antonopoulos and Hirway 2010: xxiii). In this context, time allocation in distribution of tasks within the household assumes significance to understand the underlying structural arrangements that perpetuate gender inequality.

3.3 Division of Labour in the Household

The gendered division of labour within the context of household has occupied a central position in many feminist debates that questioned the non-recognition of housework. Marxist-feminists like Maria Mies have analysed the role of housework within the context of patriarchy and capitalism (Mies 1986 {1998}). It is observed that women tend to spend more time on housework and other care responsibilities across cultures. Craig argues that women are more likely than men to multitask in the domestic sphere because men have not increased enough of their share of housework and childcare following women's entry into paid work, leaving it to women to manage responsibilities in both spheres (Craig 2007). An exploration into the time-use patterns of women would provide a clear-cut understanding of the differences in the various activities performed by men and women. This section tries to address the question of gendered inequalities in the domain of the household, particularly in allocation of housework, childcare and elderly care etc., looking at whether these responsibilities are shared by other household members or fall mainly on women? These differences are examined for women across sectors and income categories. Through the time-use survey, the study explores patterns in time spent by women on unpaid work and care responsibilities on a working day and day off from work. This section also looks at women's expectations from other household members for sharing in domestic and care responsibilities and hence their perceptions of gender roles.

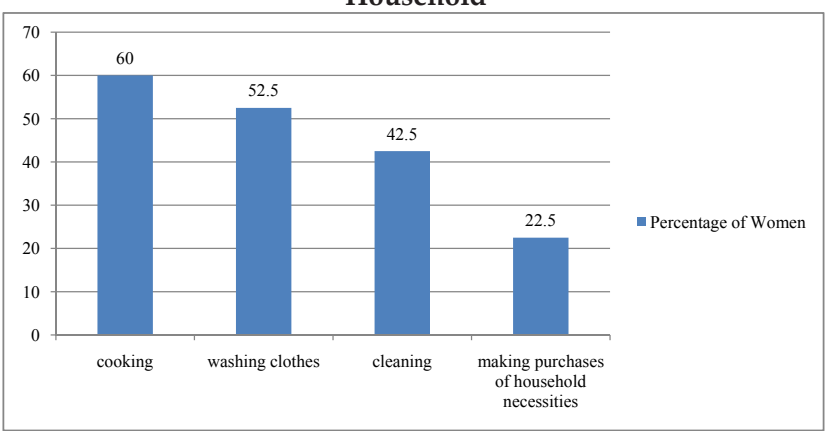
Table 3.1
Allocation of Household Tasks

	Self	Husband	Self and Husband	Domestic Worker	Self and mother/ mother-in-law/ father-in-law	Self and Domestic worker	Self and Daughter	Daughter-in-law	Self and Sister-in-law/ sister/ brother	Other Family Member (mother-in-law/ father-in-law/ mother/ father)	Total
Cooking	**120 (60)**	0	**24 (12)**	9	21	4	9	1	0	0	**200**
Cleaning	**85 (42.5)**	0	**14 (7)**	**66 (33)**	13	6	9	2	2	3	**200**
Washing Clothes	**105 (52.5)**	0	**22 (11)**	**41 (20.5)**	14	7	9	1	0	1	**200**

Who makes purchases for the Household	**45 (22.5)**	**29 (14.5)**	**85 (42.5)**	0	23	4	0	0	1	13	**200**
Total	**355 (88.75)**	**29 (7.25)**	**145 (36.25)**	**116 (29)**	**71 (17.75)**	**21 (5.25)**	**27 (6.75)**	**4 (1)**	**3 (0.75)**	**17 (4.25)**	**400 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of Women Taking Care of Different Tasks in the Household



With regard to the allocation of household tasks, as indicated in the figure above (3.1), the responsibility fell mainly on women. Tasks such as cooking (60 percent), washing clothes (52.5), cleaning (42.5), and purchase of household necessities (22.5 percent) were taken care of by most of the women themselves, while 45.2 percent made household purchases along with their husbands. Apart from these, a significant proportion of women, 44.5 percent took care of the task of washing utensils and 33.5 percent said that this was done by the domestic worker in their homes. A small proportion of women, 4 percent, made use of electronic gadgets/appliances for washing utensils.

While 39.5 percent women said that they made use of electronic appliances for cooking, 30.5 percent made use of washing machines while washing clothes and 33 percent had employed domestic workers to perform the task of cleaning. However, very few women (6 percent) said that their husbands helped them in the task of cleaning. 14.5 percent women reported that it was their husbands alone who took care of this task.

Table 3.2
Women Employing Domestic Workers (Sector-wise)

		Whether Domestic Worker is Employed		Total
		Yes	No	
Sector	**Education**	33	17	50
	Health and Social Work Activities	16	32	48
	Garment Manufacturing	0	25	25
	Retail	8	36	44
	IT	21	12	33
Total		**78 (39)**	**122 (61)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 3.3
Tasks Allocated to Domestic Worker in Households

		Tasks Allocated to Domestic Worker							
		Cleaning	**Washing Utensils**	**Cleaning and Washing Utensils**	**All Hh work**	**Cleaning, washing clothes and utensils**	**Washing Clothes and Utensils**	**N.A.**	**Total**
Whether Domestic Worker is Employed	**Yes**	9	3	14	20	31	1	0	**78 (39)**
	No	0	0	0	0	0	0	122	**122 (61)**
Total		10 (12.82)	3 (3.84)	14 (17.94)	20 (25.64)	31 (39.74)	1 (1.28)	122	200 (100)

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who employed domestic workers.

As depicted in the above table (3.2), majority of respondents, 61 percent, did not employ domestic workers in their households. It was mostly women with a monthly income of more than Rs. 15,000 who employed domestic workers. In the households of 39.74 percent women respondents, the domestic worker was allocated the tasks of cleaning, washing clothes and utensils. 25.64 percent respondents had employed domestic workers to take care of all household tasks. While 17.94 percent domestic workers carried out cleaning and washing utensils, 12.82 percent did only cleaning, 3.84 percent took care of washing utensils and 1.28 percent washed clothes and cleaned utensils.

Table 3.4
Time-Use Patterns for Housework on a Working Day for Women in Various Sectors

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent	**Less than 30 mins**	1	0	2	0	2	**5 (2.5)**
	30-60 mins	9	21	5	6	11	**52 (26)**
	60-90 mins	10	5	5	27	10	**57 (28.5)**
	90-120 mins	4	4	4	10	6	**28 (14)**
	120-150 mins	5	2	2	1	1	**11 (5.5)**
	150-180 mins	8	9	2	0	0	**19 (9.5)**
	180-210 mins	2	0	1	0	0	**3 (1.5)**
	210-240 mins	3	3	2	0	1	**9 (4.5)**
	4-5 hrs	2	1	2	0	0	**5 (2.5)**
	5-6 hrs	3	2	0	0	2	**7 (3.5)**
	6-10 hrs or more	3	1	0	0	0	**4 (2)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Figure 3.2 Time-Use Patterns for Housework on a Working Day for all Women

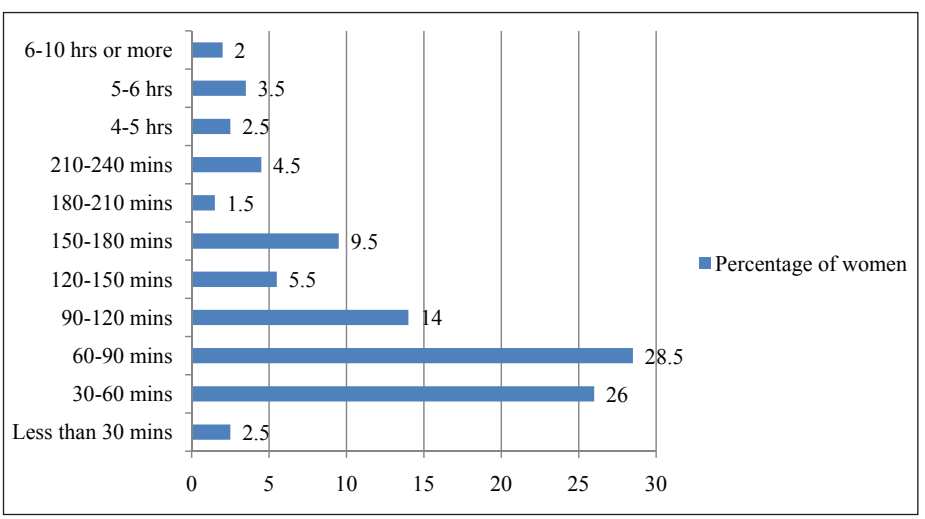


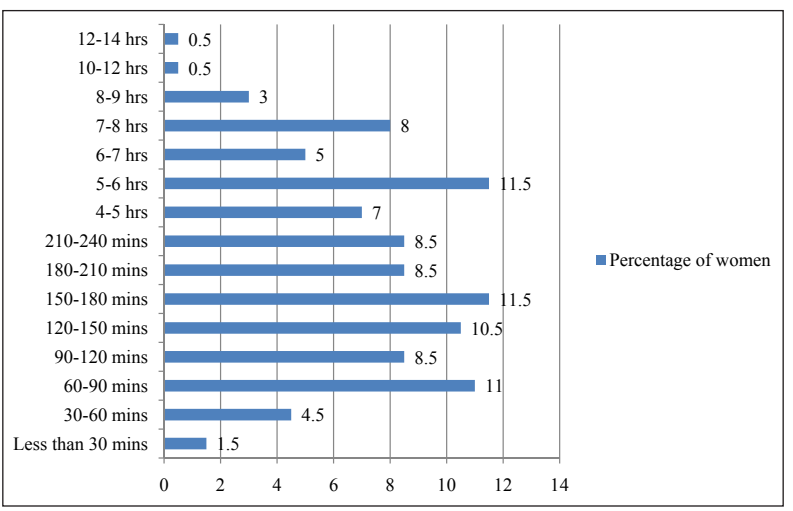
Table 3.5
Time-Use Patterns for Housework on an Off Day for Women in Various Sectors

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	2	1	0	0	0	**3 (1.5)**
	30-60 mins	3	1	3	2	0	**9 (4.5)**
	60-90 mins	4	2	2	11	3	**22 (11)**
	90-120 mins	3	5	5	4	0	**17 (8.5)**
	120-150 mins	2	7	0	8	4	**21 (10.5)**
	150-180 mins	4	6	3	4	6	**23 (11.5)**
	180-210 mins	2	3	2	4	6	**17 (8.5)**
	210-240 mins	5	3	2	3	4	**17 (8.5)**
	4-5 hrs	2	3	1	2	6	**14 (7)**
	5-6 hrs	9	5	3	4	2	**23 (11.5)**
	6-7 hrs	5	2	2	0	1	**10 (5)**
	7-8 hrs	5	7	2	1	1	**16 (8)**
	8-9 hrs	3	2	0	1	0	**6 (3)**
	10-12 hrs	0	1	0	0	0	**1 (0.5)**
	12-14 hrs	1	0	0	0	0	**1 (0.5)**
Total		50	48	25	44	33	200

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Figure 3.3 Time-Use Patterns for Housework on an Off Day for all Women



The time-use survey carried out for this study revealed that women spent 2.69 hours on an average on housework in a working day and an average 4.74 hours on a day off from work. The highest proportion of respondents (28.5 percent) said that they spent 60-90 minutes doing housework on all working days. 26 percent women spent 30-60 minutes and 14 percent women spent 90-120 minutes on housework on a working day. It was also significant that 2 percent respondents reported that they spent 6-10 hours every day on housework on a working day. These women formed a part of the education sector and health and social work activities. It was evident that these women had shorter working hours, but whatever time they were at home, they were spending on unpaid domestic responsibilities which were even longer than their working hours. In contrast, on a day off from work, 11.5 per cent respondents each spent 3-3.5 hours and 5-6 hours on housework. While 11 percent respondents spent 1-1.5 hours, 10.5 percent respondents spent 2-2.5 hours on housework on a day off from work. While 8 percent respondents spent 7-8 hours on housework, a smaller proportion of respondents, 0.5 percent each, spent 10-12 hours and 12-14 hours on housework on a day off from work. It was striking that for some women, the time spent on housework was as high as 14 hours.

3.3.1 *Childcare Activities*

The ILO Convention 156 ensures rights to workers with family responsibilities. The Convention applies to "men and women workers with responsibilities in relation to their dependent children, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating in or advancing in economic activity" (ILO Convention 156). The convention also applies to workers with responsibilities in relation to other members of their immediate family who need their care and support.[21] Childcare forms an essential part of lives of workers with family responsibilities. The international labour standards and many developed nations like the European Union have recognized the importance of policy initiatives for ensuring care rights to workers. The EU Law has been instrumental in providing positive rights for workers in respect of pregnancy and maternity and in their ongoing role as parents. The various provisions provide a range of protections to workers-carers on the grounds of their gender, as well as in respect of the type of working arrangements they are likely to engage in due to the need to organize

[21] For details, see ILO convention 156, Annexure I.

caring commitments around the demands of paid work (Busby 2011 : 107). Keeping in view the Indian social structure, women have always been associated as care givers and hence bear the sole responsibility of childcare. The policy imperatives in this regard are at a nascent stage and do not reflect on balanced gender relations. An analysis of allocation of childcare responsibilities and time spent on childcare clearly reveals that women devote more time on childcare and this responsibility has been mostly carried out by women.

Table 3.6
Allocation of Childcare tasks in Households

		Household Members Taking Care of Tasks										
		Self	**Husband**	**Self and/ or Husband**	**Domestic Worker**	**Self and Domestic Worker**	**Self and Mother/ mother-in-law**	**Other Family Member (Mother/ father/ mother-in-law/ father-in-law/ brother-in-law/ sister)**	**Child himself/ herself**	**Others (neighbours, attendants etc.)**	**N.A.**	**Total**
Tasks	**Preparing and Serving Food to the Child/children**	**114 (79.72)**	0	10 **(6.99)**	3 **(2.09)**	5 **(2.5)**	7 **(4.89)**	4 **(2.79)**	0	0	57	**200**
	Dropping Children School	**55 (38.46)**	37 **(25.87)**	12 **(8.39)**	4 **(2.79)**	0	2 **(1.39)**	6 **(4.19)**	13 **(9.09)**	3**(2.09)**	68	**200**
	Picking Up from School	**42 (21)**	19 **(13.28)**	18 **(12.58)**	8 **(5.59)**	0	2 **(1.39)**	15 **(10.48)**	21 **(14.68)**	7 **(4.89)**	68	**200**
	Picking/ Dropping to Coaching/Hobby Classes	**43 (29.37)**	11 **(7.69)**	12 **(8.39)**	2 **(1.39)**	0	4**(2.79)**	10 **(6.99)**	11 **(7.69)**	0	107	**200**
	Assisting with Homework	**64 (44.75)**	10 **(6.99)**	38 **(26.57)**	0	0	1**(0.69)**.	3 **(2.09)**	13 **(9.09)**	5 **(2.5)***	66	**200**
	Visiting the Child's School	**43 (30.06)**	24 **(16.78)**	59 **(41.25)**	0	0	1**(0.69)**	0	0	0	73	**200**
	Total	**359**	101	149	17	5	17	38	58	15	381	**600**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents, 143, who had children.

*5 respondents said they had engaged a tutor to assist their child with studies.

Table (3.6) shows the division of responsibilities of childcare in the households of women. It was revealed that a large proportion of women (79.72 percent) were taking care of the task of preparing and serving food to their children, solely by themselves. On the contrary, only 6.99 percent of the respondents were assisted by their husbands in taking care of this task. It was also found that none of the husbands were taking care of this task on their own. Among women who had school-going children, 44.75 percent were assisting them with homework without support from any other family member, 38.46 percent said that they themselves their children to school/day care centre, 30.06 percent visited the children's school on their own, 29.37 percent were picking up/dropping children to coaching/hobby classes and 21 percent said that they picked up their children from school. A total of 65.03 percent women reported that their children went to coaching centres /hobby classes. In some cases the children managed on their own in going to school and coaching/hobby classes. However, a large proportion of women, 41.25 percent said that both they themselves and their husbands visited the children's school when required.

Table 3.7
Assistance Received in Childcare

		Sector					Total
		Education	**Health and Social Work Activities**	**Garment Manufacturing**	**Retail**	**IT**	
Whether Assistance Received in Childcare	**Yes**	36	33	12	24	10	**115 (80.4)**
	No	7	8	5	2	0	**28 (19.58)**
	NA	7	7	8	18	23	**57**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents, 143, who had children.

Further analysis on assistance received from household members revealed that although 80.4 percent women did receive assistance from in-laws, parents, husband or domestic worker in tasks of childcare, 19.58 percent women did not receive any assistance (see table no. 3.7). Yet, it was also

evident that the husbands did not provide any assistance in tasks like preparing and serving food to children and their assistance was limited to tasks like dropping and picking up children from school and coaching classes, assisting with homework and visiting the child's school for Parent-Teachers' meeting.

3.3.1.1 Women's Time-Use Patterns on Childcare

The time-use patterns of women workers on childcare activities were analysed on the basis of information collated through the time-diary for an average working day and off day. These activities mainly included preparing and serving children's meals, getting them ready for school, dropping and picking up from school, assisting with home-work, visiting children's school for parent-teachers' meetings etc. The average time taken for these activities ranged from an initial 30-60 minutes to as high as 4 hours on a working day and from 30-60 minutes to as high as 6 hours in an off day.

Table 3.8
Time-Use Patterns for Childcare on a Working Day for Women in Various Sectors

		Sector					Total
		Education	**Health and Social Work Activities**	**Garment Manufacturing**	**Retail**	**IT**	
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	2	1	1	1	1	**6 (4.19)**
	30-60 mins	9	8	4	2	1	**24 (16.78)**
	60-90 mins	8	12	2	11	1	**34 (23.77)**
	90-120 mins	8	4	3	6	6	**27 (18.88)**
	120-150 mins	1	2	0	4	1	**8 (5.59)**
	150-180 mins	1	2	0	0	1	**4 (2.79)**
	180-210 mins	1	2	0	0	0	**3 (2.09)**
	210-240 mins	1	0	0	0	0	**1 (0.69)**
	N.A. or NIL	19	17	15	20	22	**93**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey,

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents with children, i.e. 143. N.A. or NIL is for women who did not have children (total 57) and those who reported that they did not spend time in active childcare.

Table 3.9
Time-Use Patterns for Childcare on an Off Day for Women in Various Sectors

		Sector					
		Education	**Health and Social Work Activities**	**Garment Manufacturing**	**Retail**	**IT**	**Total**
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	2	2	0	0	0	4 (2.79)
	30-60 mins	8	6	7	2	1	24 (16.78)
	60-90 mins	4	7	1	2	1	15 (10.48)
	90-120 mins	8	6	1	7	0	22 (15.38)
	120-150 mins	1	2	1	7	4	15 (10.48)
	150-180 mins	2	1	0	5	1	9 (6.29)
	180-210 mins	1	2	0	0	0	3 (2.09)
	210-240 mins	0	2	1	1	0	4 (2.79)
	4-6 hrs	1	0	0	0	1	3 (2.09)
	N.A. or NIL	23	19	14	20	25	101
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents with children, i.e. 143. N.A. or NIL is for women who did not have children (total 57) and those who reported that they did not spend time in active childcare.

The time-use survey revealed that among 143 (71.5 percent) women who had children, a significant proportion (23.7 percent) spent 60-90 minutes on childcare on a working day. 18.8 percent women spent 90-120 minutes, while 16.78 per cent women spent 30-60 minutes in childcare on an average working day. 5.59 percent women spent 2-2.5 hours on childcare on a working day and a smaller proportion, 2.79 percent spent 3-4 hours in childcare. In contrast, on a day off from work, 16.78 percent women spent 30-60 minutes on childcare and 15.38 percent women spent 90-120 minutes on this activity. While 10.48 percent women spent 2-2.5 hours on childcare on an off day, 6.29 percent women spent 3-3.5 hours. 4.89 percent women spent 3.5-6 hours on childcare on a day off from work. Thus, there was not much difference between women's time-use patterns on a working day and off day. The case study discussed below explores the challenges experienced by women in managing time to be devoted to both work and family.

Case A: *Dr. A works as an Assistant Professor in a reputed central university in Delhi. She is married and has an 8-year-old daughter. She narrated that earlier she lived in a joint family and it was very difficult for her to mange her work along with all her domestic and care responsibilities. She would have to do the cooking*

and other household work before leaving for work and she cooked for her family as she reached home in the evening. She described about her difficulties in balancing work and family. She mentioned about the stress created due to multi-tasking as she would simultaneously look after her daughter, give her meals and cook in the kitchen. Later on, she shifted to a nuclear family where the challenges were no less in her efforts to integrate her work and family responsibilities. Presently, she stays with her parents (since her husband has moved to Amritsar for his work), and feels relatively relaxed in managing household responsibilities. Dr. A's parents take care of her daughter's meals – picking up and dropping the child to the school bus and her homework, hence Dr. A is able to contribute more to work and feels mentally relaxed.

However, Dr. A had been going through a tough time balancing her work and taking care of her daughter since many years, because of which she did not think of a second child. It was also evident that the transition from a joint to nuclear family did not reduce her domestic and caring responsibilities which had been only her prerogative. She could only ensure a better balance between work and family responsibilities when her parents supported her in sharing these responsibilities.

The above mentioned case clearly reflects on the pressures created on women due to unpaid domestic responsibilities and care work. It further reveals about the inequalities prevalent in household division of labour and the burden of housework created on women due to invisible structures of patriarchy. Such inequalities have implications for women's choices of paid employment, continuity in employment, contribution to paid work and subsequent career growth.

3.3.2 Elderly Care

Elderly care is also an important aspect of family care, especially in households having dependent parents and dual-earner couples. Elder care and other major types of care work, such as caring for young children, share many common elements: much of the care is provided in private households and is done so 'informally' by family members; the care entails heavy use of time inputs; care is provided more often by women than by men; the care effort imposes costs in many intangible domains upon those who do it; and, the caring produces benefits for society at large (Wolf 2004: 110). Some of the studies focusing on care policies across the world emphasise on an ongoing 'crisis of care' in both high income and low-income countries. Though in many countries it is reported that given the time spent in paid work, women are not able to carry out domestic tasks and care work that had been assigned to them traditionally. Hence public and private care services have developed in some countries more than in others, to meet the growing demand for care-provisioning services

(Beneria 2010: 1506). For example, many countries of the European Union have developed public care provisioning for the aging population. In some Asian nations like South Korea, the government, since 2000 has introduced important welfare reforms to expand support for public policies regarding the care of children and the elderly. This was largely a result of economic and demographic concerns about fertility decline, care provision, and the need to activate the labour market (ibid.: 1519). Many countries that have experienced an increase in female labour force participation rate have also witnessed an increasing demand for care services that were traditionally attributed to women. However, in the context of developing nations like India that have been witnessing declining female labour force participation, it becomes important to understand the care concerns of women workers since their care responsibilities many a times compel them to withdraw from the labour market. On the contrary, the dearth of public policies on care may also result in perpetuation of gender inequality when women in paid employment find it difficult to negotiate between the demands of paid work and household responsibilities and end up devoting more time to both. Such a situation has larger implications for their overall health and well-being. Therefore, addressing the issue of elderly care becomes important not only for encouraging women to participate and continue in the labour market, but also to reduce their burden of domestic work and care responsibilities, thereby encouraging them to sustain in the labour market.

Table 3.10
Allocation of the task of Elderly Care in Households of Women in Various Sectors

		Allocation of the task of Elderly Care							
		Self	**Husband**	**Both self and husband**	**Other family member**	**Self, Husband and Other family members**	**Domestic Worker**	**N.A.**	**Total**
Sector	**Education**	3	5	11	1	0	0	30	**50**
	Health and Social Work Activities	6	4	12	1	0	0	25	**48**
	Garment Manufacturing	3	0	3	0	0	0	19	**25**
	Retail	8	0	11	1	2	0	22	**44**
	IT	1	1	17	0	0	1	13	**33**
Total		**21 (23.07)**	**10 (10.98)**	**54 (59.3)**	**3 (2.09)**	**2 (2.19)**	**1 (1.09)**	**109**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who had elderly parents or in-laws in their household, i.e. 91.

The above table 3.10 shows that among 45.5 percent women who had elderly parents or in-laws staying with them, 59.3 percent said that the elderly were looked after by themselves and their husbands. While 23 percent women reported that the responsibility of elderly care fell solely on them.

Table 3.11
Time Spent on Elderly Care by Women in Various Sectors (Working Day)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	0	3	0	3	0	**6 (6.59)**
	30-60 mins	0	0	0	11	4	**15 (16.48)**
	60-90 mins	0	0	0	1	0	**1 (1.09)**
	N.A. or NIL	50	45	25	29	29	**178**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who have elderly members staying in their household.

Table 3.12
Time Spent on Elderly Care by Women in Various Sectors (Off Day)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	0	1	0	0	0	**1 (0.5)**
	30-60 mins	1	2	0	14	2	**19 (9.5)**
	120-150 mins	0	1	0	0	0	**1 (1.09)**
	N.A. or NIL	49	44	25	30	31	178
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

A further analysis of time-use patterns of elderly care for women working in various sectors revealed that women spent comparatively less time on elderly care. Among 45.5 percent women who had elderly parents/in-laws staying with them, only 24.17 percent spent time everyday (working day and off day) taking care of the elderly. This could be because not all elderly members required active care and also due to the fact that women's

responsibilities of paid work and domestic work/child care at home left them with little time to spend with elderly parents or in-laws. The last was evident from the variation in time spent by women on a working day and an off day. They gave more time to elderly care on a day off from work. While 16.48 percent women spent 30-60 minutes on elderly care on a working day, 6.59 percent spent less than 30 minutes a day, and one of them reported spending 60-90 minutes everyday in taking care of the elderly. On a day off from work, while a woman respondent said she spent less than 30 minutes in elderly care, 20.87 percent women spent 30-60 minutes and one woman spent 120-150 minutes in elderly care. The above analysis makes it clear that women who had elderly parents in the household had some responsibility towards them, which was reflected in the time allocated towards managing this responsibility. More specifically, since some of them had to spend more than two hours along with handling their domestic responsibilities, it indicated the difficulties they may have experienced in managing elderly care with their other responsibilities of domestic work and paid work.

3.3.3 Gender Dimensions of Household Division of Labour: Expectations from Husband

The National Time Use Survey conducted by the Central Statistical Office in India in the year 1998-99 reported that men spent only 3.19 hours on an average on Extended SNA Activities,[22] while women spent longer hours i.e. 30.46 hours on an average in a week (GOI 2001). These inequalities in household division of labour are perpetuated through cultural arrangements prevalent in different societies and exhibit differential patterns for men and women. As Bittman has rightly pointed out, time that men devote to unpaid family responsibilities is half of that spent by women. Almost regardless of their position in the life course, men's weekly hours of unpaid work tend to be a fixed quantity. The time women spend in unpaid work varies throughout the life course, expanding and contracting in accordance with their responsibility for others (spouse, children, or a frail relative) (Bittman 2004: 225). The largest shifts in women's time-use are associated with the care of young children (Bittman and Pixley 1997: 101-11). A reduction in men's paid work hours generally results in greater leisure time, so that men literally can chose between (paid) work and leisure. For women, however, it is statistically more likely to be a choice between paid and unpaid work (Bittman 2004: 225). A similar trend is evident from

[22] Extended SNA Activities include Household Maintenance, Management and Shopping for Own Household, Care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household, Community Services and Help to other Households (GOI 2001).

the findings of the national time-use survey conducted in India in 1998-99, which revealed that men spent longer hours (122.27 hours) on non-SNA activities,[23] on an average in a week, than women (118.61).[24]

Among the 94 percent women who lived with their husbands, 67.5 percent said that they expected their husbands to contribute in domestic and care work, while 32.44 percent did not expect their husbands to contribute in the same. As depicted in table (3.13) below, a significant proportion of respondents who were graduates, i.e. 20.21 percent expected greater participation from their husbands in domestic and care work. Among respondents who were post-graduates, while 15.42 percent women expected their husbands to participate more in household responsibilities, a smaller percentage, i.e. 8.51 percent did not have such expectations. Respondents who were educated till the intermediate level (10+2) also showed consciousness towards equality in gender relations as 15.42 percent said that they expected their husbands to contribute in domestic chores and care responsibilities. Just 9.04 percent of respondents who had studied till the intermediate level did not have such expectations.

Table 3.13
Educational Profile of Women and Expectations from Husband in Household and Care Work

		Whether Expect Husband to Contribute in Domestic and Care Work			Total
		Yes	No	N.A.	
Educational Qualification	Matriculation	17 (9.04)	7 (3.72)	5	29
	Intermediate	29 (15.42)	17 (9.04)	2	48
	Graduate	38 (20.21)	15 (7.97)	3	56
	Post-graduate	29 (15.42)	16 (8.51)	2	47
	Higher Studies	8 (4.25)	5 (2.65)	0	13
	Professional Education	4 (2.12)	1 (0.53)	0	5
	Graduate and Professional Education	2 (1.06)	0	0	2
Total		127 (67.5)	61 (32.44)	12	200

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who were living with their husbands, i.e. 188.

[23] Non-SNA Activities include Learning, Social and Cultural Activities, Mass Media, etc. personal care (leisure and relaxation) and self-maintenance (GOI 2001).

[24] For details, see Report of the National Time Use Survey (GOI 2001).

On analyzing inter-relationship between women's income and their expectations from husbands (see table 3.14 below), it was found that a significant proportion of women, 28.19 percent who expected husbands to contribute in household and care work had a monthly income of income of Rs. 5001-10,000.This could be because of the fact that women with lower monthly income could not hire domestic worker, as bought out in the previous section (See Section 3.2) 15.42 percent women who wished for greater participation from husbands in domestic and care responsibilities earned a monthly income of Rs. 10,001-15,000 and 5.31 percent of such women earned Rs. 15,001-20,000. In the higher income categories, it could be noted that the proportion of women who expected husbands to contribute in household chores was greater than those who did not have such expectations. 3.19 percent women who expected their husbands to contribute in household work earned a monthly income of Rs. 45,001-50,000. None of the women in this income category reported that they did not wish their husbands to participate more in household and care work. Among 6.91 percent women who earned a monthly income of Rs. 50,000 or more, while 4.25 percent expected greater participation of husbands in domestic and care work, 2.65 percent women did not have such expectations.

Table 3.14
Income of Women and Expectations from Husband in Household and Care Work

Whether Expect Husband to Contribute in Domestic and Care Work				
		Yes	**No**	**Total**
Income	**5001-10,000**	53 (28.19)	30 (15.95)	**83 (44.14)**
	10,001-15,000	29 (15.42)	11 (5.85)	**40 (21.27)**
	15,001-20,000	10 (5.31)	1 (0.53)	**11 (5.85)**
	20,001-25,000	2 (1.06)	5 (2.65)	**7 (3.72)**
	25,001-30,000	3 (1.59)	2 (1.06)	**5 (2.65)**
	30,001-35,000	7 (3.72)	2 (1.06)	**9 (4.78)**
	35,001-40,000	4 (2.12)	4 (2.12)	**8 (4.25)**
	40,001-45,000	5 (2.65)	1 (0.53)	**6 (3.19)**
	45,001-50,000	6 (3.19)	0	**6 (3.19)**
	50,001>	8 (4.25)	5 (2.65)	**13 (6.91)**
Total		**127**	**61**	**188**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who were living with their husbands, i.e. 188.

Table 3.15
Tasks In Which Husband Is Expected To Contribute

	Expectations From Husband In Household And Care Work	Total
Tasks	Cooking	18 (9.57)
	Cleaning/Washing, Child Care and Education and purchase of Household Necessities	6 (3.19)
	Cooking, Cleaning, Washing	5 (2.65)
	Children's Care, Education	27 (14.36)
	Elderly Care, Child Care and Making Purchases for Household	23 (12.23)
	Making Purchases for Household Necessities	5 (2.65)
	Cooking and Purchase of Household Necessities	2 (1.06)
	Cooking and Children's Care and Education	16 (8.51)
	All Household tasks	25 (13.29)
	Do not Expect Husband to Contribute in any Task	61 (32.4)
Total		188 (100)

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents who lived with their husbands, i.e. 188.

3.4 Work and Family Life Balance: Exploring Challenges

Women experience innumerable challenges while juggling between work and family, which varies across different cultural contexts and has larger implications for their choice of paid employment, health, balance in maintaining family relations and overall well-being. As aptly pointed out by Bittman, if one asks, "how do family responsibilities affect the life chances of men and women?" then the answer is that family responsibilities do not harm the careers of men but have adverse affects on the careers of women (Bittman 2004: 225). However, such conflicting situations that women often encounter were not perceived as such by many functionalists who maintained that division of family roles by gender was unproblematic, inequalities in power remained invisible and thereby, conflict in the household was considered pathological (Parsons, 1956 in Layte 1999: 1). On the contrary, contributions of feminist scholars like Ann Oakley have looked more critically at housework and have emphasised on the labour involved in household tasks and women's attitudes to

them. Such a move shed light upon the implicit sexism and allowed the processes within households and between partners to be portrayed as structured inequality, even oppression, rather than as a 'natural' part of a monolithic institution called 'the family' (Layte 1999: 2). Such arguments created interest among many feminist scholars to investigate the gender inequalities in the household by linking unpaid domestic labour to paid labour (Mies 1998, Berk 1980).

In this context, the present section discusses women's perceptions on the challenges they faced in balancing their work and family life and on the roles and responsibilities they valued more than the others. The section further goes on to analyse women's time-use patterns on paid work, housework and on their own leisure and personal care.

Table 3.16
Women's Responses on their Ability to Spend Time with Family (Sector-wise)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Whether Woman Respondent is able to spend Enough Time with Family	**Yes**	23	25	3	18	17	**86 (43)**
	No	27	23	22	26	16	**114 (57)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Among all women surveyed, 57 percent said that they felt that they did not get enough time to spend with family due to their work pressures (see table 3.16), while only 43 percent reported that they could spend time with their family. The table also reveals that women who could spend some time with family were working in sectors like education, health, and social work. These sectors did not have long-working hours and were not based on target oriented work. In contrast, in the garment manufacturing sector, where working hours were longer and there was no paid weekly off, only 12 percent respondents said that they managed to spend time with family.

However, 61 percent women said that they did go out for a vacation with family or friends. Most of these women formed part of the education and health sectors; 76 percent women in the education sector and 68.75 percent women engaged in health and social work activities said that they did go for a vacation with their families. The majority of these women went out for a vacation annually. In contrast, just one of the respondents in the garment sector could go out for a vacation with her family as she had higher monthly earnings, in the range of Rs. 15,000-20,000 a month.

Table 3.17
Roles that are considered Important by Women

	Sector					Total
	Education	**Health and Social Work Activities**	**Garment Manufacturing**	**Retail**	**IT**	
Role of Wife/Mother	9	5	2	4	4	**24 (12)**
Role of a Working Professional	2	2	0	1	3	**8 (4)**
Both Are Equally Important	39	41	23	39	26	**168 (84)**
Total	**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

With regard to roles considered important by women, it was revealed that the majority of women i.e. 84 percent, were of the opinion that both the roles that they performed – the role of a wife/mother and of a working professional were equally important for them. While 12 percent reported that they considered the role of a wife or mother to be important, only 4 percent considered the role of a working professional to be more important. Since most of the respondents believed that they needed to perform both their roles effectively, it is important to analyse how far they were successful in balancing between different roles. Also, were they able to spend some time on their personal care and leisure? The challenges experienced by women while integrating the demands of various roles assigned to them has larger implications on their health and overall well-being. The time-use patterns of women on various activities analysed through the time-use survey provides a clear picture about the pressures experienced by women in responding to the competing demands of work and family life balance.

Table 3.18
Average Hours spent by Women Respondents on SNA, Extended SNA and Non-SNA Activities on a Working Day and Off Day

Activity	Average Time Spent on Working Day (in hrs)	Average Time Spent on Off day (in hrs)
SNA	7.29	NIL
Extended-SNA	2.69	4.74
Non-SNA	11.5	16.67
Total	21.48	21.41

* Average time spent on each activity is calculated by first multiplying the frequency with mid-point of range of hours spent on SNA/Ex-SNA/Non-SNA activities per day and then adding total no. of hours and finally dividing by 200 which is the total no. of respondents.

Note: Average Number of hours spent on different activities was calculated on the basis of the Time use survey (primary survey) carried out as part of this study. SNA activities include all paid activities carried out by respondents. Extended-SNA activities include household work including making purchase of necessities for the household, childcare and elderly care. Non-SNA activities include pursuing vocational/educational activities, leisure and family time, personal care and miscellaneous activities viz. time spent on commuting to workplace, children's school etc (GOI 2001).

As reflected in the above table 3.18, on an average working day, women spent 7.29 hours on SNA activities.[25] They spent an average of 2.69 on extended-SNA activities (including household work, childcare and elderly care) and 11.5 hours on Non-SNA activities (including pursuing vocational/educational activities, leisure and family time, personal care and miscellaneous activities viz. commuting to workplace, market, children's school/bus-stop etc.). In contrast, on an average off day, women spent longer hours on both Extended SNA and Non-SNA activities. While the average time spent on Extended SNA activities was 4.74 hours, 16.67 hours were spent on Non-SNA activities on an off-day.

The increasing demand to carry out unpaid domestic activities becomes more prominent when women tend to spend more time on domestic activities even on an off day. Society's allocation of housework to women is increasingly acknowledged as a crucial part of the mechanism of gender stratification. Housework is not only a task that is inequitably assigned to women and undervalued by society as a whole, but also plays a substantial part in disadvantaging women in the rest of the economy (Ferree 1980: 89).

Moreover, Non-SNA activities are usually considered as 'no work' activities. No work is important because: (1) rest and leisure are necessary

[25] For details of time spent on paid work, see table number 4.4 in Chapter Four.

for physical and mental health of human beings; and (2) a part of it (namely, reading, studying, skill training, self-development activities and so on) contributes to improving human capabilities (Antonopolous and Hirway 2010: 1). Hence, non-SNA activities are considered equally important in the context of ensuring physical and mental well being of a worker and information on non-SNA activities enables policy makers to make a more informed decision with regard to designing policies on work and family life balance.

3.4.1 Time-Use Patterns on Non-SNA Activities: Commuting Time, Vocational and Academic Training and Leisure

Recommendation 165 of ILO Convention no. 156 also emphasizes on the need for designing measures like public transport to improve the conditions of workers in general that can have a favorable impact on those workers with family responsibilities. Such measures could be promoted through public and private action.[26] The importance of *context variables* has been recognized in the 2012 Pilot Time Use Survey conducted in India as context variables add to physical, social, economic and temporal features of the environment in which various activities take place.[27] Objective and subjective dimensions of context variables like mode of transport, physical location, spatial location etc. are important in the context of developing countries for improving transportation and infrastructure planning.[28]

In this regard, an analysis of Non-SNA activities, specifically *commuting time*, revealed that most women, i.e. 45.5 percent commuted to work by public transport and a significant proportion 21.5 percent also used their own vehicle. 12 percent women reported that they commuted to work through the company vehicle. A large proportion, 46.15 percent of those who used public transport said that they took 30-60 minutes to reach their workplace. 20.87 percent women who used public transport took 60-90 minutes. Those who used their own vehicle, however, took less time. 44 percent women took less than 30 minutes to reach their workplace.

[26] For details see Appendix on ILO Convention 156, Recommendation 165, Section 7, No. 34.

[27] The fourth meeting of the Expert Group on Finalization Of National Classification Of Activities for Time-Use Surveys (NCATUS) under the chairmanship of Prof. S.R. Hashim (Former member, Planning Commission of India), held on 17.12.12 came out with decisions for coding of activities like "travelling" (including waiting time for transport). This was incorporated in Pilot Time-Use Survey conducted in the states of Bihar and Gujarat in 2012 (GOI 2012).

[28] As discussed by Indira Hirway in her presentation 'Contextual Aspects of Episodes' on November 6, 2012 at IAFFE-IATUR Training workshop on 'Understanding The Economic Contribution Of Women And Men', held at National Statistical Services Training Academy (NSSTA), Greater Noida.

Describing her difficulties in reaching for work on time in the morning, one of the respondents in the retail sector said that in their present system of reporting to work, half a day's salary was deducted even if a person was late by 10 minutes. "*That is a disappointment as one feels that one is in office and is working but is not being paid for the day's work. Given the traffic situation in the city, one could get late on some days, which was beyond one's control. Women have extra responsibilities at home and may get late in reporting to work due to such responsibilities.*" This respondent advocated that all employees should be provided transport facilities by the employer. Therefore, the findings of the time-use survey and in-depth interviews with the respondents revealed the challenges experienced by women in commuting to work and also, waiting for transport. Such challenges add to the already existing situations of stress that working women have to undergo in managing work and family, thereby affecting women's overall well-being.

With regard to time spent in *pursuing vocational and academic activities*, it was revealed that only 9 percent could manage time to pursue the same on a working day. Further, among these women, the time spent on such activities was limited to only 30-90 minutes. While 1.5 percent of them spent less than 30 minutes, 4 percent spent 30-60 minutes and 3 percent spent 60-90 minutes in academic and vocational training activities on a working day. On the contrary, only 6 percent of women were able to spend some time in vocational and educational activities on a day off from work. The time spent by most women on these activities ranged from 30-60 minutes. While very few women spent 60-90 minutes, the least number of women reported spending 150-180 minutes on the pursuit of vocational and academic activities.

With regard to time spent on *leisure (watching T.V., listening to music, relaxing/conversation with family members etc.)*, majority of women, i.e. 85 percent reported that they spent less than 150 minutes or 2.5 hours with their families and on leisure activities on a working day. While 1 percent respondents said they spent just 2 hours on leisure. However, on a day off from work 24 percent respondents could spend 1.5-2 hours, 14.5 percent could spend 2-2.5 hours, 12 percent spent 4-5 hours and 11.5 percent managed to spend 2.5-3 hours on leisure activities.

The time spent on sleep as recorded by the time-use survey found that the majority of women, i.e. 46.5 percent slept for 5-8 hours on a working day, while 27 percent women slept for 4-5 hours. 19 percent managed just 4 hours or less of sleep on a working day, reflecting on a greater pressure on women to balance work and family leading them to reduce their sleeping hours. On a day off from work, a significant proportion of women i.e. 32.5 per cent reported that they could sleep for more than 4 hours, 16.5 percent

slept for 6-7 hours, 15.5 percent for 5-6 hour and 12 percent slept for 4-5 hours. A smaller percentage of women, 3.5 percent could manage only 4 hours or less of sleep.

With regard to time spent on *personal care and miscellaneous* activities (including time spent on commuting from one place to another), it was found that 27 percent women spent 4-5 hours, 23.5 percent spent 3.5-4 hours, 14.5 percent spent 3-3.5 hours and 9.5 percent spent 2.5-3 hours on these activities on a working day. On an off day, 20.5 percent respondents spent 4-5 hours, 18 percent spent 5-6 hours, 14.5 percent spent 3.5-4 hours, 13.5 spent 2.5-3 hours and 7.5 percent spent 3-3.5 hours on personal care and miscellaneous activities.

The majority of women respondents, 98 percent spent less than 16 hours on Non-SNA activities on a working day. The remaining 2 percent spent 16-17 hours on Non-SNA activities. Women spent more time on Non-SNA activities on a day off from work. Most women, 80 percent spent 12-19 hours on Non-SNA activities. 10 percent women spent 19-24 hours on Non-SNA activities on their day off from work. Women's time-use patterns for non-SNA activities revealed that Non-SNA activities captured through context variables, provide information about the background in which the activities were carried out. Such information would not only reflect on social location of women within work and family, thereby highlighting their conflicting situations, but also inform policy makers in redesigning appropriate policies that enable women to overcome situations of conflict and maintain a balance between time devoted to paid/unpaid work and to their personal well-being and overall development.

3.5 Decision Making in the Household

Women's role in decision making within the household has implications on their overall well-being and *agency*[29] building, which has been reiterated by scholars like Amartya Sen (1977), Bina Agarwal (1977 in Agarwal et al. 2006) etc. who have contributed to the economics of family. As Sen had argued, women's already low bargaining power is compounded by their tendency to value the well-being of their family members more than their own, to silently accept their fate, and to engage reluctantly in hard bargaining. Sen however, focused on the low well-being and restricted agency of women. On the contrary, an alternative view on intra-household inequality was advocated by scholars like Agarwal. She argues that

[29] Sen defines agency as the ability to set and pursue one's own goals and interests, of which the pursuit of one's own well-being may be only one. A person's actions come to fore on how she acts or refuses to act and her motives for choosing one action over another (Sen 1977 in Agarwal et al. 2006).

women's overt compliance with social norms does not necessarily mean they have accepted the legitimacy of intra-household inequality; it might merely reflect their lack of options. Such observations have emphasized clearly on recognizing women's *agency* through *capability approach*.

Further, an agency oriented approach would not only reflect on access to life choices but also it encompasses a broader world-view on recognizing the importance of women's ability to take decisions that empowers them and also ensures their overall well-being. Decision making within the household addresses larger questions on understanding intra-household inequality and also helps in understanding women's choices for paid employment and at the same time, maintaining family stability. In this context, the section discusses about the dynamics of decision making within the domain of the household.

Table 3.19
Decision Making in the Household

		Who takes Decision					Total
		Self	**Husband**	**Both take decision collectively**	**Any Other Family members**	**N.A.**	
Type of Decision	**Decisions regarding children's education**	35 (17.5)	13 (6.5)	114 (57)	0	38 (19)	**200 (100)**
	Decisions regarding household expenditure	46 (23)	28 (14)	117 (58.5)	9 (4.5)	0	**200 (100)**
	Decision regarding purchase of household assets	32 (16)	28 (14)	131 (65.5)	9 (4.5)	0	**200 (100)**
	Decisions related to your own career	72 (36)	10 (5)	117 (58.5)	1 (0.5)	0	**200 (100)**
	Decisions related to Husband's Career	10 (5)	96 (48)	86 (43)	1 (0.5)	7 (3.5)	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The above table (3.19) indicated that collective decisions by both husband and wife were taken mostly in cases related to purchase of household assets (65.5 percent), household expenditure (58.5 percent), decisions related to women's career (58.5 percent), decisions regarding children's education (57 percent) and decision regarding husband's career (43 percent). With regard to decisions taken independently by women, it was revealed that women were taking more decisions with regard to household expenditure (23 percent) and purchase of household assets (16 percent), in comparison to men (14 percent each for both). However, in a smaller proportion of cases (9 percent), decisions with regard to household expenditure and purchasing of assets were taken by other family members (father-in-law/mother-in-law etc.). As far as decisions related to husband's career were concerned, in a greater proportion of cases, i.e. 48 percent, the husband himself was taking the decision and in 43 percent cases, decisions were taken collectively by both husband and wife. In contrast, only 36 percent women took independent decisions on their own career.

The above findings clearly reflected on intra-household inequalities with regard to decision making and also indicated that the conventional roles of women managing the household get reinforced when their decision making is confined more to household affairs. But when it comes to decision making related to career choices, women tend to value the preferences of family members more and may sacrifice their own ambitions.

3.6 Women's Health and Well-being

The time-use patterns of working women, as analyzed in the previous sections, revealed that women spend more time on household and care activities, as a result of which they spent limited time on personal care and leisure. Such constraints on time spent on non-SNA activities may have implications for their health, leading to increased stress and related biological and psychological problems. The concept of work-life balance includes not only family life, but also all parts of people's life outside work, such as personal development, volunteer activities, hobbies and activities undertaken for the sake of one's health and essential for one's well-being (Kawaguchi 2013: 36). Studies on working families show that work-life imbalance leads to decreased psychological well-being stemming from increased stress at home and at work (Offer and Schneider : 811).

An analysis of women's health, lifestyle and well-being revealed that most women could have their meals on time. Yet, it was significant that 16 percent women said that they were not able to have their meals on time.

It was evident that pressures of paid work and household responsibilities resulted in women giving less attention to their own health and well-being.

3.6.1 *Participation in Religious Practices, Rituals, and Community Activities*

Apart from this, religious practices and rituals formed an essential part of the everyday activities of women. With regard to the observance of fasts, it was found 73 percent women observed fasts. While 71.3 percent Hindu women observed fasts, the proportion of Muslim women who did so (93.7 percent) was particularly high. Most of the Hindu women who fasted, 70.49 percent belonged to the 'General' caste category, 19.67 percent were OBC and 9.83 percent were Scheduled Castes. Most of the Muslims (60 percent) who observed fasts belonged to the OBC and the rest, 40 percent belonged to Scheduled Castes. Among the Christians too, 77.7 percent women observed fasts and 50 percent Sikh women said that they observed fasts. Most of these Christian women and all Sikh women belonged to the 'General' caste category.

A majority of women respondents 93.5 percent said that they participated in rituals. While 59.35 percent among them participated in rituals everyday that included daily prayers and worship, 13.9 percent respondents participated in rituals only during festivals. Women did not report significant participation in community activities. Only 16.5 percent women said that they participated in community activities that included *kirtan, jagran,* church activities and Residents' Welfare Association (RWA) activities.

3.6.2 Fitness

With regard to doing regular exercises, only 18 percent women reported that they exercised regularly. Most of these women belonged to the education and health sectors. Women in these sectors had better work-life balance due to shorter work hours compared to sectors such as retail, IT and garment manufacturing where work-hours were long, there was no flexibility in timings and no provision for a paid weekly off. The monthly income of most women who exercised ranged from Rs. 5000-15000 (58.3 percent), indicating that it was not as though women from higher-income groups were more health conscious; it was more a matter of attitude and awareness as those engaged in education, health, and social work activities paid greater attention to their health and fitness. The rest (82 percent) said that they did not exercise or did so irregularly. Walking, jogging and doing Yoga were the preferred forms of exercises.

Table 3.20
Illness Diagnosed in Women Engaged in Various Sectors

		Whether Diagnosed With Any Major Illness		Total
		Yes	No	
Sector	Education	6	44	50
	Health and Social Work Activities	8	40	48
	Garment Manufacturing	2	23	25
	Retail	7	37	44
	IT	2	31	33
Total		**25 (12.5)**	**175 (87.5)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The above table no. 3.20 shows that though the majority of women (87.5 percent) were not diagnosed with any major illness, yet women who reported to have been diagnosed with major illness (12.5 percent) complained of ailments such as asthma, cyst, heart disease, liver problems, thyroid, backpain, stress and typhoid, hypertension which were reported in sectors like education and health. However, women in the retail sector experienced diverse health problems such as cervical, dengue, hypertension, kidney stone, miscarriage, thyroid problem and typhoid. Some of the respondents suffering from hypertension had difficulties in managing work and family responsibilities due large family size (6-8 members in a joint family). These women did not receive much assistance in household tasks from other family members and did not employ a domestic worker to share their domestic responsibilities. Very few respondents in the IT sector reported of major illnesses; but did not disclose the nature of illness. Among those who reported exercising regularly (18 percent), only 5.5 percent suffered from major illnesses. The majority of those exercising regularly (94.4 percent) did not suffer from any major illness.[30]

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter through the findings of field-research and time-use survey has highlighted the pressures that women experienced in integrating their work and family lives. Issues of division of household labour,

[30] For details, see table on Health and Fitness in *Appendix Tables*.

health, and well-being are critical to an understanding of the challenges of reconciling work and family life. With regard to contribution to household labour, since many women lived in nuclear families, they lacked the support of other female relatives. Even as women devoted long hours to paid work, their commitment to their roles and responsibilities as mothers and wives remained a priority for them, often creating situations of conflict and tensions. This was brought out by case studies of women workers who spoke of the difficulties in managing child care and domestic responsibilities. Women's expectations from husbands indicated their desire for greater equality in gender roles, even as they continued to do their best to fulfill both their responsibilities of paid and unpaid work. In their efforts to juggle between work and family, women often neglected their own health and well-being, which was evident from reduced time spent on sleep and leisure on a working day and the fact that only a small proportion of women exercised regularly. Many women mentioned about suffering from stress and related health problems. Such an analysis clearly brings out how differences in gender roles, organization of work and responsibilities in the household lead women to bear the unequal share of housework and care work. Gender inequalities were evident not only in the long hours women spent on unpaid work in the household, but also in aspects of decision-making. Women's roles as managers of the household meant that they had a say in decisions on household expenses and purchase of assets, but not for major decisions related to their career. It was evident that women valued the preferences of family members more and many a times had to sacrifice their own ambitions.

Appendix Tables (Chapter Three)

Table 3a.1
Electronic Gadgets used for Household Tasks

	Cooking	Washing Clothes	Washing Utensils	Cooking and Washing Clothes	Cooking, Cleaning and Washing Clothes	Don't use electronic gadgets	Total
No. of Women Respondents	11 (5.5)	61 (30.5)	8 (4)	61 (30.5)	7 (3.5)	50 (25)	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 3a.2
Total Time Spent on Extended SNA Activities on a Working Day (for Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent	Less than 30 mins	0	0	2	0	2	**4 (2)**
	30-60 mins	1	6	3	2	5	**17 (8.5)**
	60-90 mins	6	4	3	9	7	**29 (14.5**
	90-120 mins	5	5	1	8	3	**22 (11)**
	120-150 mins	3	6	4	6	4	**23 (11.5)**
	150-180 mins	7	13	4	6	4	**34 (17)**
	180-210 mins	7	4	2	2	2	**17 (8.5)**
	210-240 mins	5	4	4	8	3	**24 (12)**
	4-5 hrs	7	1	2	2	1	**13(6.5)**
	5-6 hrs	4	3	0	0	0	**7 (3.5)**
	6-7 hrs	3	0	0	0	0	**3 (1.5)**
	8-9 hrs	1	2	0	0	0	**3 (1.5)**
	9-11 hrs	1	0	0	1	0	**2 (1)**
	NIL	0	0	0	0	2	**2 (1)**
Total		50	48	25	44	33	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 3a.3
Total time Spent on Non-SNA Activities Working Day (for Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Time Spent (in hrs.)	6-7	0	0	1	0	0	1 (0.5)
	7-8	0	4	0	4	0	8 (4)
	8-9	2	3	2	5	2	14 (7)
	9-10	3	9	4	19	5	40 (20)
	10-11	8	5	2	4	5	24 (12)
	11-12	7	7	4	3	7	28 (14)
	12-13	10	10	4	3	4	31 (15.5)
	13-14	9	3	2	6	1	21 (10.5)
	14-15	6	4	3	0	2	15 (7.5)
	15-16	3	2	3	0	6	14 (7)
	16-17	1	1	0	0	0	4 (2)
Total		50	48	25	44	33	200 (100)

Source: Primary Time-Use Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 3a.4
Commuting to Work (for Women in All Sectors)

Mode of Commuting		No. of Respondents
	Own Vehicle	43 (21.5)
	Company Vehicle	24 (12.0)
	Public Transport	91 (45.5)
	Walking	41 (20.5)
	On Vehicle or Public Transport	1(0.5)
	Total	200

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Table 3a.5
Health and Fitness (for Women in All Sectors)

		Whether Diagnosed With Any Major Illness		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether Exercising Regularly	Yes	2 (5.5)	34 (94.4)	36
	No	15 (9.14)	149 (90.95)	164
Total		17	183	200

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Chapter Four

Work and Family Integration: Perceptions on Organizational Policies

4.1 The Context

The sustenance of women in the labour market depends largely on effective policies at the workplace to reconcile work and family life balance. Women who enter the labour force at an early age and have childcare and family responsibilities are in double burden and may spend less time on labour market activities due to their domestic household responsibilities. The increasing trend towards informalisation with increase in contract employment has deprived many workers from access to all social security benefits. In this context, organizational polices have been mostly in favour of permanent employees, most women workers who are in contract employment and part-time employment remain in a disadvantageous position, not being eligible for many social security benefits like maternity and childcare.

As per the existing practice in India, the central government employees are entitled to 180 days of maternity leave and 15 days of paternity leave. As per the recommendations of the 6th Central Pay Commission, all women employees having minor children may be allowed total leave of upto two years (i.e. 730 days) for taking care of upto 2 children whether for rearing the children or looking after any of their needs like examination, sickness, etc. Child care leave should also be allowed for the third year as leave not due and commuted leave up to 60 days (without production of medical certificate). However, no child care leave shall be given for a child who is eighteen years of age or older (GOI 2008). [31] At present, employees working in various state governments do not have the provision of extending maternity leave to 180 days but restrict it to 90 days. But in case of paternity leave, some state governments provide 15 days of paternity leave to their male employees, at par with the rules for central government employees. Further, there is lack of uniformity in the extension of leave benefits for employees working for various state government institutions.

[31] The Sixth Central Pay Commission was set-up to recommend systemic changes for transforming the Central Government organizations into modern, professional and citizen friendly entities that are dedicated to the service of the people and harmonizing functioning of the Central Government Organizations with the demands of the emerging global economic scenario. The Report of the 6th Central Pay Commission came out in March 2008 (For details see GOI 2008, Report of the Sixth Central Pay Commission, pp. 277-279).

The private sector, on the other hand, has its own leave rules, which vary from one organization to another.

In most organizations, the employee-related workplace policies and practices rest on the age-old assumption of male employees having a dependable support system back home, run presumably by their wives to take care of their familial responsibilities and also personal needs, allowing them time and energy to focus exclusively on their professional contribution and growth (Saxena and Bhatnagar, 2009). But in the present day context, since women are engaged in many professional endeavours and there is also an increase in dual-earner families, reconciling the demands of paid work and household work and care responsibilities becomes challenging. Such a situation creates an increasing pressure on women workers, due to the institutionalization of gender stereotypical roles which categorises them as traditional care givers. It thus becomes important to examine state and organizational policies that would encourage more women to take up paid work and at the same time, ensure greater gender equality in sharing of domestic and care roles. In this context, the present chapter explores the perceptions of women workers towards organizational policies. It also discusses various existing policies at the workplace on work-life balance and highlights the challenges faced by women in integrating work and family life.

4.2 Employment and Career Mobility

The nature of women's employment and occupational segregation of sexes has existed since many years. Many studies have uncovered the truth behind creation of "occupational ghettos" where women confine themselves to 'women jobs' and men do 'men jobs' (Charles and Grusky 2004).The concern here is about how long women continue to be in the workplace and whether the workplace has provided a favourable environment that not only encourages women to continue to work but also enables them to move to the higher echelons in their career mobility. Many researchers have linked occupational feminization to disadvantaged outcomes in terms of pay, prestige, power and attractiveness of the occupation concerned, both for women entering the occupation, and also for the occupation as a whole (Acker 1990; Reskin and Ross 1990; Standing 1989, 1999; Webb 1891 in Jarman et al. 2012).Women's age of joining employment is closely related to women's career mobility. Women who join at a younger age have increased scope for greater occupational rewards in terms of pay and enhancement of social status. However, it also becomes important to analyse whether such women have scope for upgradation of their skills within employment for further advancement in their careers and continue to have prospects to retain themselves in long-

term employment? Whether increasing demands of family and childcare affect their long-term employment prospects due to intermittent breaks in their career for maternity and childcare?

Table No 4.1
Age of Joining Employment – Across Sectors

		Age						Total
		18-20	**21-23**	**24-26**	**27-29**	**30-32**	**33 and more**	
Sector	**Education**	4	13	21	7	3	2	50
	Health and Social Work Activities	8	21	7	4	6	2	48
	Garment Manufacturing	1	8	7	6	2	1	25
	Retail	12	12	14	3	2	1	44
	IT	10	15	6	2	0	0	33
Total		**35 (17.5)**	**69 (34.5)**	**55 (27.5)**	**22 (11)**	**13 (6.5)**	**6 (3)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The majority of women workers across all sectors, 34.5 percent, had taken up employment at an early age of 21-23 years. While 27.5 percent of them had taken up employment at the age of 24-26 years, 17.5 percent joined employment at the age of 18-20 years and 11 percent at the age of 27-29 years. A relatively smaller percentage i.e 6.5 percent of women respondents said that they took up employment between the age of 30-32 and 3 percent at the age of 33 and more, respectively.

Table 4.2
Nature of Employment (for Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	**Health and Social Work Activities**	**Garment Manufacturing**	**Retail**	**IT**	
Nature of Employment	**Permanent**	30	31	5	37	25	**128 (64)**
	Temporary	8	13	19	5	8	**53 (26.5)**
	Contract	12	4	1	2	0	**19 (9.5)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The above table 4.2 revealed that most women workers across all sectors were in permanent employment (64 percent). However, a significant proportion worked as temporary (26.5 percent) and contract workers (9.5 percent) respectively. Since many of the respondents had joined employment at a younger age and were in permanent employment, it becomes imperative to understand about their workplace environment and policies and analyse how they have been favourable in encouraging young women to continue and contribute more in their organizations.

Case B: *Mrs. B works as a computer operator on a contractual basis at one of the central universities located in New Delhi. Mrs. B was engaged in a sales job for many years where she had a good salary and prospects for upward mobility. It is because of her daughter that she had to give up her career in sales and shift to other alternatives. After the birth of her daughter, she worked in a school for some years, before joining work as a computer operator in the university. Whereas her earnings in sales were as much as Rs. 45,000 a month, now she manages to earn just around Rs. 15,000 in a month. Her work timings are from 10 to 5 pm. Since she stayed very far from her place of work, she spent three hours in commuting from home to office and back.*

Mrs. B described the various problems and issues pertaining to her employment as a contract worker at the university. Since her employment is on a contract basis, they did not have any security of employment and lacked all entitlements of permanent employees. 'We are like daily wagers,' she said. There is no mechanism for contract employees becoming permanent even after being employed for a certain number of years. There are employees who have been working for some 15 years, but they have not been made permanent. There is no increase in the salary except for a few hundred rupees. For instance, if someone is earning Rs. 519 per month, the raise would be just to Rs. 538, an increase of 10-20 rupees. The contract employees do not get any paid leave. They do not have an off on Saturday or Sunday. Even on days of festivals such as Diwali, they do not get a paid leave. She said that there were two communities at the university – one of permanent employees and the other of contract employees. "The permanent employees consider themselves to be in a position of power and privilege and exercise authority over contract employees. They might comment on the dress of a female employee. They also resort to things such as fiddling with the salary. So we have to be bold." The contract employees were hence very vulnerable, she further added, "there is insecurity of employment, so we cannot easily question or protest any decision or action at the workplace."

Mrs. B highlighted that the contract employees were not entitled to maternity benefit. The only facility offered to contract employees was the facility for the delivery of the child at the ESI hospital. She said, "In fact many female employees post-poned pregnancy and avoided expanding their families for the fear of losing

their jobs. There have been cases of women losing their jobs due to taking leave for child birth. So they repent their decisions of going ahead with child birth." Mrs. B mentioned that all employees, however, had access to the crèche facility in the university. Anybody could make use of the crèche facility by paying a monthly fee of Rs. 500.

The above mentioned case reflects on the disparity between conditions of work and employment between permanent and contract workers. It highlights the vulnerability of contract workers and also indicates the need for strengthening of policy measures that aim at equal protection for both permanent and contract/part-time workers. Article 7 of the ILO Convention 156 states that all measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities, including measures in the field of vocational guidance and training, shall be taken to enable workers with family responsibilities to become and remain integrated in the labour force, as well as to re-enter the labour force after an absence due to those responsibilities. [32] Further, Recommendation no. 165 of Convention 156, Section IV, para 21 states that *the terms and conditions of employment, including social security coverage of part-time and temporary workers should be, to the extent possible, equivalent to those of full-time and permanent workers respectively; in appropriate cases, the entitlement may be calculated on a pro-rata basis. Part-time workers should be given the option to return to full-time employment when a vacancy exists and the circumstances which determined assignment to part-time employment no longer exists.*[33]

Though the convention recognizes the importance of both permanent and temporary/part-time workers, and also recommends return to full-time employment for the latter, yet such provisions have not been incorporated in the existing policy framework in India. Part-time and contract workers who form a large part of the unorganized sector, have limited access to social security provisions. Keeping in view the problems identified for these workers, the government of India established the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) under the chairmanship of Dr. Arjun Sengupta in the year 2004 to promote inclusive growth and extension of social security provisions to all workers. Following the recommendations of this report subsequent steps were undertaken to safeguard the interests of unorganised workers. Significant among them is the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act 2008 that ensures provision of social security benefits to all unorganised workers. Though the act was welcomed, it was critiqued for focusing more on welfare schemes than on

[32] See annexure on ILO Convention 156

[33] For details, see Section IV of C 156 on Terms and Conditions of Employment, para 17-23.

rights of workers. Also, many workers work as contract and temporary workers within the formal sector, who fall outside the purview of labour legislations and hence remain deprived of social security benefits and worker rights. Moreover, globalization has brought about tremendous flexibility in the labour market with subsequent shifts in the nature of work, leading to many debates on the role of labour regulations in the current era of globalization. Though the country has many labour legislations pertaining to various kinds of workers, yet many of them have not been amended with changing times. The flexible and dynamic labour market scenario in India has made contract work or temporary work as a regular phenomenon instrumental in creating employment opportunities for the masses. Therefore, there is a need to contextualize the provisions of the law with the changing labour market trends and subsequently make amendments wherever necessary.

Table No.4.3
Upward Career Mobility for Women (In all Sectors)

		No. of Times Promoted Since Joining					Total
		Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than 3 times	
No. of Years in the Organisation Where Employed at Present	**0-5**	117	5	3	0	0	**125**
	6-10	37	5	2	2	0	**46**
	11-15	11	3	1	1	0	**16**
	16-20	3	0	1	1	2	**7**
	20>	3	0	2	1	0	**6**
Total		**171 (85.5)**	**13 (6.5)**	**9 (4.5)**	**5 (2.5)**	**2 (1)**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

As shown above (table no. 4.3) majority of the respondents, i.e. 85.5 percent had never been promoted. Out of these respondents, 68.42 percent had been working at their present place of work for 0-5 years, 21.63 percent for 6-10 years, 6.43 percent for 11-15 years and 1.75 percent each for 16-20 and more than 20 years. A total of 6.5 percent respondents said that they had been promoted once since they joined their present organization/employer. Out of these, 38.46 percent had been employed in their present place of work for less than 5 years and another 38.46 percent for 6-10 years, 23.07 percent respondents had been working in the same organization for 11-15 years. A relatively smaller proportion of women, 4.5 percent said that they had been promoted twice since they joined work with their present employer. 33.3 percent of these women had been employed in their present organization for less than 5 years, 22.2 percent had been employed for 6-10 years and

11.11 percent each for 11-15 and 16-20 years. 22.22 percent respondents had been employed for more than 20 years in the organization in which they worked at present. A smaller proportion of respondents out of the total sample, 2.5 percent said that they had been promoted three times since they joined work at their present organization. The majority of them, 40 percent had been employed for 6-10 years in the same organization. A smaller proportion, 1 percent of respondents reported that they had been promoted more than thrice since they took up work in their organization. All of them had been employed in the organization for 16-20 years.

This clearly reveals that women workers had not been receiving promotion at regular intervals. On the contrary, for those workers who received promotion, the number of years spent in employment was not commensurate with the number of times they were promoted. Such a trend reflects on lack of opportunities for women's upward career mobility.

On further analyzing the upward mobility of women across sectors, it was found that most respondents in the education sector (82 percent) had never been promoted. The majority of them (63.4 percent) were working at their present place of work for less than 5 years. 18 percent respondents in this sector reported that they had been promoted at least once. Most of these respondents had been employed at their present place of work for more than 6 years. In health and social work activities too, most women (81 percent) reported that they had never been promoted. Most of these women (53.8 percent) had been working in their current employment for less than a year. Only a small proportion of women, 18.75 percent said that they had been promoted at least once. 12.5 percent of them had been employed at their present place of work for less than 5 years, 4.16 percent for 11-15 years and one woman respondent had been employed for more than 20 years.

In the retail and the IT sectors, 86.36 percent and 84.8 percent women workers respectively, had never been promoted. The majority of them had worked at their present place of work for less than a year. Only 13.63 percent women in the retail sector and 15.15 percent women in the IT sector said that they had been promoted at least once. Most of the women who said so had been employed for 6-15 years in their present organization. It was significant that in garment manufacturing, none of the women respondents had ever received promotion. The majority of them, 80 percent, had been employed in the manufacturing unit for less than 5 years. The remaining 20 percent had been employed for 6-10 years, but had never received a promotion. These women were basically engaged in the tasks of thread cutting and tailoring. Their inability to upgrade their skills and low educational qualifications could be significant factors that deprived them of opportunities for upward economic mobility. Apart from this, the

dearth of organizational policies for skill enhancement, vocational training, work-family integration etc. has deprived women from moving up the career hierarchy. Moreover, women's family responsibilities and burden of housework and childcare has also constrained them from advancing in their careers. Though ILO Convention 156 Recommendation no. 165, Section III, para 25 states workers *with family responsibilities should enjoy equality of opportunity and treatment with other workers in relation to preparation for employment, access to employment, advancement within employment and employment security,* and many countries have designed policy initiatives for workers with family responsibilities, India has not seen much progress in this direction. In fact, the existing policies in India are confined only to maternity and childcare leave for women restricted to certain sectors.

4.3 Work Hours, Paid Leave, and Overtime

Long working hours without sufficient leave, coupled with the competing demands of work and family life balance can adversely affect women's health and overall well-being. Many scholars have also pointed out on the negative impact on women's health due to the pressure of integrating work and family (Paludi and Neidermeyer 2007). The ILO convention no. 156, Recommendation no. 165, Section IV, para 18 states: *Particular attention should be given to general measures for improving working conditions and the quality of working life, including measures aiming at – (a) the progressive reduction of daily hours of work and the reduction of overtime, and (b) more flexible arrangements as regards working schedules, rest periods and holidays, account being taken of the stage of development and the particular needs of the country and of different sectors of activity.* In this context, regulation on working hours, overtime and provisions of paid leave are important aspects in improving conditions of work and quality of working life.

The Sixth Central Pay Commission of Government of India, recommended the introduction of the concept of staggered working hours for women employees as it would give flexibility to employees to work either early or late depending on their requirements at the home front. Under this scheme, 11 AM to 4 PM will be core hours during which all women employees will necessarily need to be present in the office. They will, however, have the option of either coming up to one and a half hours earlier or leaving up to two hours late depending upon the actual time they have clocked in. The time may be adjusted in case the office follows different work hours. For this arrangement to succeed, biometric entry/exit would be required.[34] However, such provisions for flexible work-timings are not implemented in all government institutions/organizations in India. Though some

[34] For details see GOI 2008, Report of the Sixth Central Pay Commission, pp. 277-279.

private sector organizations, basically the IT companies do promote flexi-work timings for both women and men employees.

Table 4.4
Work Hours for Women in Various Sectors

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Work Hours	4-5	6	12	0	1	1	**20 (10)**
	6-8	44	32	15	20	20	**131 (65.5)**
	More than 8	0	4	10	23	12	**49 (24.5)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

Work-hours for most women, 65.5 percent ranged from 6-8 hours every day. Only a small percentage of women, 10 percent worked for 4-5 hours. These women mainly formed a part of the education (30 percent) and health/social work sector (60 percent). It was significant that 24.5 percent women said that they worked for more than 8 hours each day. Most of them said that their job requirements entailed overtime work. Work-hours were particularly long for women in the retail and IT sectors. 52.2 percent women in retail and 24.5 percent women in the IT sector reported spending more than 8 hours at work.

Table 4.5
Women Workers Eligible for Paid Leave in the Age group of 18-45 in UPSS

Sector	2004-05		2009-10		2011-12	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Garment	16.0	84.0	14.1	85.9	13.0	87.0
Retail	16.5	83.5	17.7	82.3	15.4	84.6
Education	75.2	24.8	71.8	28.2	72.2	27.8
IT & ITes	74.2	25.8	72.2	27.8	81.3	18.7
Health	62.5	37.5	60.3	39.7	62.3	37.7
Total	**49.3**	**50.7**	**50.2**	**49.8**	**49.7**	**50.3**

Source: Computed from NSS Unit level data of Rounds 61st, 66th, and 68th.

Among all sectors that formed part of this study, education and IT sectors had larger proportion of women workers who were eligible for paid leave. While 81.3 percent women in the IT sector were eligible for paid leave in 2011-12, an increase by 7.1 percent from 2004-05, 72.2 percent women in the education sector were also entitled to paid leave. The education

sector witnessed a decline in women eligible for paid leave by 3 percent, as compared to 2004-05. This could be attributed to the increase in contractual and temporary employment in the sector in the past decade. The health sector had 62.3 percent women eligible for paid leave in 2011-12. The retail sector had 15.4 percent women entitled to paid leave and the garment sector had only 13.0 percent women who were eligible for paid leave in 2011-12. While the percentage of women eligible for paid leave had fluctuated slightly over the three rounds – 16.5 percent in 2004-05 and 17.7 percent in 2009-10, the garment sector showed a decline of women entitled to paid leave by 3 percent in 2011-12, as compared to 2004-05.

Further, findings from the primary survey revealed that the majority of respondents, 67.5 percent had a day off from work in the week. 30.5 percent respondents had two days off from work in a week. It was mostly in the education sector (56 percent) and IT sector (45.5 percent) that a significant proportion of women had two days off from work. A woman respondent, who worked as a Senior Manager in the IT sector, said that she had 3 days off in a week. It was significant that 3 women in the retail sector, who worked as security guards, reported that they did not have a weekly off. These women had long working hours without weekly day for rest, indicating that work-life balance was particularly tough for these women.

Table 4.6
Types of Paid Leave in a Year (For Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Types of Paid Leave in a Year	Casual leave	6	6	1	8	0	**21 (10.5)**
	Earned leave	0	0	1	2	0	**3 (1.5)**
	Medical leave	0	0	0	0	1	**1 (0.5)**
	No paid leave	20	23	23	18	0	**84 (42)**
	All of the above	8	1	0	0	0	**9 (4.5)**
	Casual, Earned, Medical and maternity leave	5	6	0	7	6	**24 (12)**
	Casual and Medical	1	0	0	4	0	**5 (2.5)**
	Casual, Earned, Medical, Maternity and Child Care	9	11	0	4	25	**49 (24.5)**
	casual, medical, maternity	1	1	0	1	1	**4 (2)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200**

Source: Primary Survey
*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

It was significant that a large proportion of women, 42 percent said that they had no paid leave it at all, viz. casual leave, earned leave, medical leave etc. It was only women who had permanent jobs in central universities, who were entitled to casual, medical, earned, maternity, childcare and study leave. Apart from the education sector, it was the IT sector that guaranteed better provisions for paid leave. 75.75 percent women in the IT sector said that they were entitled to casual, earned, medical, maternity and child care leave. 18.18 women in this sector said that they were entitled to casual, earned, medical and maternity leave. One respondent in the IT sector was entitled to casual, medical and maternity leave and another one could avail only medical leave. In the health sector, 47.9 percent were not entitled to any paid leave. 22.9 percent respondents were entitled to casual, earned, medical, maternity and childcare leave and 12.5 informants could avail of casual, earned, medical and maternity leave. Another 12.5 percent respondents in this sector were entitled to only casual leave. One respondent said that she was entitled to casual, medical and maternity and significantly, another one said that she was entitled to all kinds of paid leave, viz. casual, earned, medical, maternity, childcare and study leave. In the retail sector, 40.9 percent respondents were not entitled to any paid leave, while some of them were entitled to casual and medical leave. The majority of women (92 percent) in the garment sector were not entitled to any paid leave.

4.4 Childcare Policies at the Workplace

In a globalized context, family policies become a key instrument in developing countries to promote empowerment of women, considering them in their role as mothers and workers. One of the substantial contradictions of globalization refers to the fact that on the one side women in these countries demand more participation in society as workers, and at the same time, demand of care also increases (Minguez 2012). The feminization of 'care' and dearth of childcare polices in developing nations like India has slowed the progress in the achievement of gender equality and empowerment of women. Family and childcare responsibilities occupy a prominent place in the lives of many working women. Therefore recognizing women's roles both as a care giver and a worker remains an important policy concern to achieve overall equality for women.

Many studies have carried out extensive empirical analyses in developing countries with the aim of examining how care is provided and distributed within the family and the household, by the state, the market and the community, and how it interacts with the economy of goods in several developing countries. These studies have been useful to define subsequent social policies (Budlender 2007). In this context, there is a need to explore

existing childcare policies at the workplace in India. The Sixth Central Pay Commission of the Government of India recommended the setting up of crèches to be made mandatory in offices where the employees, male and female, have preschool or primary school going children. Such a provision would also enable male employees to keep their children in these crèches. These could be run on contributory basis so that appropriate standard of facilities is maintained.[35] Despite the recommendations, for setting up of day-care centers/crèches in offices or major residential areas, most government departments have not created such facilities.

Table 4.7
Availability of Crèche at Workplace (For Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Crèche at Workplace	Yes	22	4	1	0	0	**27 (13.5)**
	No	28	44	24	44	33	**173 (86.5)**
Total		50	48	25	44	33	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

It was significant that 88 percent of women respondents reported that no awareness sessions were organized at their workplace to inform them about policies such as maternity benefit, or other such entitlements. Only 12 percent respondents said that their employers informed them about such policies at the workplace. The above table 4.7 revealed that most of the respondents (86.5 percent) across all sectors reported that there was no crèche facility at their workplace. Only 13.5 percent respondents had a crèche facility at their place of work, mostly in the education sector. None of the women in the retail and IT sectors had a crèche at their workplace and only one respondent engaged in garment manufacturing had crèche facility at her manufacturing unit. The ILO Convention no. 156 gives specific recommendations for employers and state authorities to provide crèche facilities for children of workers. Section V, para 25 of Recommendation no. 165 states : *The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organizations concerned, take appropriate steps to ensure that child-care and family services and facilities meet the needs and preferences so revealed; to this end*

[35] For details see GOI 2008, Report of the Sixth Central Pay Commission, pp. 277-279.

they should, taking account of national and local circumstances and possibilities, in particular – (a) encourage and facilitate the establishment, particularly the local communities, of plans for the systematic development of child-care and family services and facilities, and (b) themselves organise or encourage and facilitate the provision of adequate and appropriate child-care and family services and facilities, free of charge or at a reasonable charge in accordance with the workers' ability to pay, developed along flexible lines and meeting the needs of children of different ages, of other dependents requiring care and of workers with family responsibilities.

But in the Indian context, the recommendations of the 6th CPC regarding establishment of crèches is only extended to government employees. However, appropriate steps for provision of basic childcare facilities need to be taken in all other sector in order to ensure work and family reconciliation.

Table 4.8
Entitlement to Maternity Leave (For Women in Various Sectors)

		Sector					Total
		Education	Health and Social Work Activities	Garment Manufacturing	Retail	IT	
Whether entitled to maternity leave	**Yes**	22	17	0	5	16	**60 (30)**
	No	28	31	25	39	17	**140 (70)**
Total		**50**	**48**	**25**	**44**	**33**	**200 (100)**

Source: Primary Survey

*Figures in parenthesis show percentage, calculated from the total number of respondents.

The majority of respondents, 70 percent were not entitled to paid maternity leave. This was reported basically in sectors like retail, health and social work and garment manufacturing sectors. Only 30 percent respondents reported that they could avail of maternity leave. Most of these women 36.6 percent belonged to the education sector. In the IT sector, while 51.15 percent reported the lack of this benefit, 48.48 percent women said that they were entitled to paid maternity leave.

The recommendations of the ILO convention no. 156 are significant in this regard. Section IV, para 22 of the recommendation states that *(1) either parent should have the possibility, within a period immediately following maternity leave, of obtaining leave of absence (parental leave), without relinquishing employment and with rights resulting from employment being safeguarded.*[36] Para 23 in the

[36] For details see Recommendation R 165 – Workers with Family Responsibilities, 1981 (No. 165), Section IV (See Appendix II).

same section mentions *(1) it should be possible for a worker, man or woman, with family responsibilities in relation to a dependent child to obtain leave of absence in case of its illness. (2) It should be possible for a worker with family responsibilities to obtain leave of absence in the case of the illness of another member of the worker's immediate family who needs that worker's care or support. (3) The duration and condition of the leave of absence referred to in sub-paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Paragraph should be determined in each country by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation.*

Since the provisions of maternity leave in India are not been universally applicable to public and private sectors, there is marked discrepancy with regard to extension of benefits across sectors. As evident from the primary survey data, most of the respondents were deprived of maternity benefits across all the sectors studied. Further, the part-time and contract workers were more vulnerable and formed an excluded group in terms of access to policies on maternity and childcare. Therefore, there is a need for an inclusive approach that protects the rights of all workers and brings them within the purview of policy framework.

4.5 Organization Policies on Work Life Balance: Perspectives of Women Workers

It is recognized that effective work and family life reconciliation encourages men and women to participate in labour markets and promotes gender equality. There is criticism towards these theses, for example, family policies based on providing assistance to mothers as workers and caretakers contribute to reproduce traditional distributions of family gender roles. However, studies carried out have shown that the strategies in developing countries aim to favour the access of women to the labour market, therefore promoting conciliation of work and family (Minguez 2012). But a question which arises is how far these policies have been successful in ensuring effective integration of work and family life and encouraged women to sustain in the labour market? However, the study revealed that the reconciliation of work and family life remains a challenge for women due to structural and cultural constraints that are largely ignored by policy makers. The institutionalized patriarchal norms where women are perceived as unpaid workers and the cultural constraints that do not allow women to negotiate with structures of patriarchy can only be overcome when there is balance in gender relations. Such a balance can only be achieved with equitable division of labour within the household and redesigning of policies that promote sharing of responsibilities. Effective workplace policies on family and care in India can contribute immensely to encourage women to opt for paid work. In this context, the study brings out various suggestions provided by women workers engaged

in the different sectors for effective integration of work and family life, improvement in safety measures for women workers and for provision of better quality employment.

4.5.1 Insights from the field

Women across different sectors felt the need for flexibility in their work, demanding flexibility in time of reporting to work, and the provision for part-time work and to work from home on some days. Women in the retail sector asked for shorter work hours and 5 days of work in the week, instead of 6 days. A respondent working in the IT sector said, *"There should be a crèche at the workplace. Employees should be given the option to work from home. Women employees should get six months maternity leave and one year sabbatical if required like government employees get."* A woman engaged in the education sector was of the opinion that regular health check-ups should be carried out and medical facilities should be made available at the workplace.

The suggestions given by women who formed a part of this study indicated that the entitlements provided to permanent government employees were seen as the benchmark for organizational policies elsewhere. Employees in sectors characterized by long working hours such as retail, health (particularly in private hospitals) and IT felt the need for a better work-life balance. Women's jobs were particularly insecure in these sectors. Pregnancy and motherhood could often entail a break from employment due to the shorter maternity leave or the absence of it in some cases. As one of the women respondents in the retail sector argued, *"maternity leave should be increased by at least 4-6 months. Lack of or inadequate maternity leave is the only reason why women leave their career and focus on family. Maternity leave should be made mandatory for at least 6 months."*

It was also evident that some women felt the need for greater equality in gender relations at home and equal opportunities for men and women in the work sphere. A respondent in the health sector was of the opinion that there should be childcare leave for men. A woman in the education sector argued that for a woman to advance and manage her work and family, husbands needed to be more understanding.

Many women respondents stressed that employers should ensure their safety. This was a concern particularly with women employees in the IT sector who worked longer hours, stretching to night shifts and travelled long distances to and from work. Many of them said that working women should be provided with a special cab or vehicle for commuting.

The perspectives from the field highlighted on many important policy changes that need to be undertaken for ensuring effective work-life balance based on the principle of gender equality.

4.6 Summing Up

The chapter has discussed various challenges faced by women in their working lives in relation to their career mobility, insecurities associated with nature of employment, lack of flexibility in working hours, leave arrangements and provision of maternity and childcare facilities at the workplace. The primary survey and case studies revealed that women working as contract workers, in particular, faced innumerable problems while reconciling paid work and demands of domestic and care responsibilities. Issues like lack of access to basic provisions i.e. paid leave, periodical increments, promotion and lack of mechanism to provide them the status of permanent workers after serving for a considerable period of time in a particular organization reflected on the vulnerability of contract workers. It was clearly evident that organizational policies across sectors were not favourable for promoting career mobility for women workers. Many sectors like IT, manufacturing, retail etc. were found to have long working hours. With regard to policies on childcare and maternity, many sectors did not have adequate provisions, in spite of the fact that women formed a large number of employees like in garment manufacturing units. The suggestions provided by women workers highlighted on many important policy concerns like flexibility in working hours, encouragement of part-time work, work from home, establishment of crèches at workplaces, increase in maternity leave up to 6 months in all sectors at par with entitlements of government employees, introduction of childcare leave for men to promote greater equality in gender relations and effective work-life reconciliation. Women workers expected employers to provide them facilities for commuting to the workplace and emphasized the need for safety measures, particularly when working in night shifts.

Chapter Five

Policies on Care: A Cross-Country Perspective

5.1 Introduction: 'Care' in Policy

The need for family and social policies aimed at reconciling work and family obligations becomes imperative in a context where both men and women are engaged in paid employment. Women, as traditional care givers, in particular, find themselves under increasing pressure to manage responsibilities of both paid work and unpaid domestic and care work. It is pointed out that the underestimation and little attention paid to 'care work' by governments will, in the short run, lead to a 'care crisis' of unforeseen consequences in many regions of the world (Minguez 2012: 284). The question that concerns policy is that how this situation can be changed? Bittman points out that there has been a lot of discussion about how employment can be reconfigured in a 'family friendly way.' Broadly, there are three means of reducing the undesirable effects of family responsibilities by redistributing unpaid work at home. Firstly, there could be renegotiation of responsibilities within households leading to a more equitable division of labour between men and women. Secondly, the household could outsource some of their domestic labour to the market (thereby reducing the burden of unpaid work faced by women). Thirdly, the state could absorb some of the responsibilities formerly performed by households (Bittman 2004: 226). The incorporation of 'care' in policy and its recognition as a right would not only enable integration of work and family life, but would also ensure a balance in gender relations when men also equally form an integral part of the care agenda.

Though questions of care have received greater attention in policy agendas of developed nations, yet, such questions also need to be addressed in the context of developing countries where women are often engaged in vulnerable employment and lack decent working opportunities. Such initiatives would contribute in addressing the issue of inequality and protecting 'care rights' from a broader human development perspective. This is true for India where large numbers of women are engaged in informal, vulnerable employment. As mentioned earlier, India has not ratified the ILO Convention 156 and policies on work-family reconciliation are limited to the organised sector. In this context, the present chapter looks at policy initiatives across the globe that are directed at sharing the burden of domestic and child care responsibilities of the household and those that promote gender equality and work-life balance for working individuals,

particularly women. It aims to assess the need for such policies in India for promoting women's greater participation in the workforce and for reducing disparities in opportunities, pay and upward mobility for men and women.

Internationally, the work-family debate has broadened to include individuals without children and dependent relatives, as well as 'non-traditional' households such as gay couples and grandparents raising grandchildren (Bailyn et al. 1996 in Deven et al. 1998: 2). There is also an increasing interest in the relationship between employment and communities and the community involvements of women and men, following a recognition that "the increased emphasis on paid employment by both men and women has decreased citizen participation in community life" (ibid.: 6). These considerations have led an American team of researchers to decide that in their studies of paid work and family the use of the word family would go well beyond the narrow definition of immediate kin. As they put it, "We intend to apply it to all those involvements and commitments that a person has outside of his or her employment. We use it, therefore, almost metaphorically, to stand for all aspects of an individual's personal life" (ibid.). A similarly broad perspective was adopted in a report from the European Commission Positive Action Co-ordinating Group (1996): "Reconciling employment and family obligations is not just an economic or equality issue ... It extends beyond the world of work into every aspect of the social, political, cultural and personal lives of Europeans" (European Commission Positive Action Co-ordinating Group 1996: 3 in Deven et al. 1998: 2).

The term Work-Life Balance (WLB) spread across the globe after the WLB campaign initiated in 2000 by British Prime Minister Tony Blair. The L (life) in WLB includes not only family life, but also all parts of people's life outside work, such as personal development, volunteer activities, hobbies and activities undertaken for the sake of one's health. However, in relation to more active participation by women, it is important to achieve compatibility between work and family life, particularly housework and child rearing (Kawaguchi 2013: 36).

The appropriateness and usefulness of applying 'family' or 'family life' to such wide-ranging areas, in fact to any aspect of the individual's life that is not employment, might be questioned. Rather, it may be useful to limit 'family' and 'family life' to relationships and activities engaged in with members of the wider kin network, while conceptualizing other relationships, activities and commitments as separate from the family – and

applying separate terminologies. The concept of reconciliation, although widely used within the EU, is nowhere clearly defined. It does, however, appear to be a very broad concept. It certainly involves the relationship between different activities – certainly paid work and unpaid caring, but also other activities such as social life, personal development and civic participation. It also involves the relationship between a wide range of stakeholder groups, each with particular interests. In a paper on the possible applications of new technology to promote the reconciliation of working and caring, Cullen and Clarkin (1994) identify five 'stakeholder' groups: carers, the cared-for, employers, services and the labour market (Deven et al. 1998: 3). A recent guide to good practice to support the reconciliation of employment and child care, produced by the European Commission (European Commission DGV, 1997), adds three other groups: families, local communities and the wider society (Deven et al. 1998). This chapter, while examining the work-life policies across different countries and regions, looks at the roles assigned to these different stakeholders in the various policies.

5.2 Global Gender Gap (GGG) Index

While many global indexes tend to be tied to income levels, the Global Gender Gap Index is disassociated from the income and resource level of an economy and instead seeks to measure how equitably the available income, resources and opportunities are distributed between women and men (Global Gender Gap 2014). A discussion of the findings of the Global Gender Gap report in the recent years is relevant for understanding gender equality in terms of men's and women's participation in paid employment and distribution of unpaid domestic and care work. The Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories (sub-indexes): Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment. The Global Gender Gap Index was first published in 2006 with a view to creating a comprehensive gender parity index that is able to track gaps over time relative to an equality benchmark, thus providing information on a country's progress relative to itself as well as to other countries (Global Gender Gap 2014: 30).

The four Nordic countries (Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) that have consistently held the highest positions in previous editions of the Global Gender Gap Index continue to hold privileged positions. While many developed economies have succeeded in closing the gender gap in education, few have succeeded in maximizing the returns from this investment. The Nordic countries are leaders in this area too – all five

countries (Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark) feature in the top 25 of the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index. This occurs due to a combination of factors: the labour force participation rates for women are among the highest in the world; salary gaps between women and men are among the lowest in the world, although not non-existent; and women have abundant opportunities to rise to positions of leadership. These patterns vary across the Nordic countries, but, on the whole, these economies have made it possible for parents to combine work and family, resulting in high female employment, more shared participation in childcare, more equitable distribution of labour at home, better work-life balance for both women and men and in some cases a boost to declining fertility rates. Policies in some of these countries include mandatory paternal leave in combination with maternity leave, generous federally mandated parental leave benefits provided by a combination of social insurance funds and employers, tax incentives, and post-maternity re-entry programmes. Together these policies have also led to relatively higher and rising birth rates occurring simultaneously with high female workforce participation in the Nordic countries, compared to other OECD economies such as Korea, Japan, Germany, Austria, Italy and Spain, where both birth rates and participation are lower. The Nordic experience points to fewer problems with ageing in the future, as well as higher labour activity and a more robust economy. Finally top-down approaches to promoting women's leadership have also been applied. In Norway, since 2008, publicly listed companies have been required to have 40% of each sex on their boards. Other countries, including emerging markets, are adopting similar measures (World Economic Forum 2013: 16-21).

As elaborated in the Global Gender Gap Report, 2014, Iceland (1) holds the top spot for the sixth consecutive year and therefore continues to be the country with the narrowest gender gap in the world. Iceland's overall score moves up due to improvements in the *Economic Participation and Opportunity* and the *Political Empowerment* sub-indexes. In the year 2014, Iceland ranks 7th on the *Economic Participation and Opportunity* sub-index; it has fully closed the educational gender gap and ranks first on the *Political Empowerment* sub-index. Iceland is among the top ten countries to have seen its legislators, senior officials and managers' female-to-male ratio increase over the past nine years. Iceland is among the top 10 on the *Ability Of Women To Rise To Positions Of Enterprise Leadership*, highlighting the success of the country in maximizing the return from its investment to female education. Iceland also has the longest paternity leave coverage (90 calendar days), one amongst many policies in the country (and in other

Nordic countries) to provide policies to help combine work and family (The Global Gender Gap Report 2014: 19).

Finland (2) continues to hold the second position for the third consecutive year. Finland is the highest ranking country from the European Union. Finland ranks 21st on the *Economic Participation and Opportunity* sub-index, and has fully closed the *Educational Gender Gap*. Finland is the second best country from the region on the *Labour Force Participation* Indicator And *Wage Equality For Similar Work* indicator. Like Iceland, Finland is among the top ten countries with the highest share of women employed in the non-agricultural sector (percentage of total non-agricultural employment) as well as on the *Ability Of Women To Rise To Positions Of Leadership*. Together with Sweden and Norway, Finland is one of the countries with the lowest *female average minutes spent per day on unpaid work* indicator – and the highest share of women on boards of listed companies (14 percent for Finland, 17 percent for Sweden and 37 percent for Norway). Finland is also the third - highest ranking country when it comes to length of paternity coverage. Norway (3) ranks third for the third consecutive time and has increased its score by 4.7 percent since 2006. It is the second best country on the *Economic Participation and Opportunity* sub-index, with the sixth largest climb over the nine past years on the *Wage Equality for Similar Work* indicator. It has fully closed its Educational Attainment gender gap and is the strongest performing country from the region on the Wage for equal work indicator. It is also the best country overall when it comes to the *Ability Of Women To Rise To Positions Of Enterprise Leadership*.

Norway has the smallest difference – 57 minutes – between the *average minutes spent per day on unpaid work by men and women*. Sweden (4) ranks fourth for the sixth consecutive time. The country ranks 15th on the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index, and 5th on the Political Empowerment sub-index. Sweden performs in top twenty on the Labour force indicator as well as on the *Estimated Earned Income* indicator. Denmark (5) ranks seventh on the Political Empowerment sub-index and is among the 25 countries that have closed their Educational Gender gap. It also ranks 12th on the *Economic Participation and Opportunity* sub-index. Denmark is the best performing country on the *Estimated Earned Income* indicator and is the only country where, on average, women earn more than men, with a female-to-male ratio of 1.02. It is also the county with the highest *average minutes spent per day by men on unpaid work* (The Global Gender Gap Report 2014: 20).

Table 5.1
Global Rankings, 2014: Global Gender Gap (Overall[37]) and Economic Participation

	Global Gender Gap (Overall)		Economic Participation & Opportunity			Global Gender Gap (Overall)		Economic Participation & Opportunity	
Country	Rank	Score[38]	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Iceland	1	0.8594	7	0.8169	Romania	72	0.6936	60	0.6825
Finland	2	0.8453	21	0.7859	Honduras	73	0.6935	91	0.6391
Norway	3	0.8374	2	0.8357	Montenegro*	74	0.6934	49	0.7109
Sweden	4	0.8165	15	0.7989	Russian Federation	75	0.6927	42	0.7257
Denmark	5	0.8025	12	0.8053	Vietnam	76	0.6915	41	0.7260
Nicaragua	6	0.7894	95	0.6347	Senegal	77	0.6912	71	0.6624
Rwanda*	7	0.7854	25	0.7698	Dominican Republic	78	0.6906	63	0.6794
Ireland	8	0.7850	28	0.7543	Sri Lanka	79	0.6903	109	0.5908
Philippines	9	0.7814	24	0.7780	Mexico	80	0.6900	120	0.5519
Belgium	10	0.7809	27	0.7577	Paraguay	81	0.6890	85	0.6461
Switzerland	11	0.7798	23	0.7797	Uruguay	82	0.6871	59	0.6841
Germany	12	0.7780	34	0.7388	Albania	83	0.6869	78	0.6534
New Zealand	13	0.7772	30	0.7517	El Salvador	84	0.6863	89	0.6415
Netherlands	14	0.7730	51	0.7106	Georgia	85	0.6855	66	0.6751
Latvia	15	0.7691	16	0.7931	Venezuela	86	0.6851	73	0.6617
France	16	0.7588	57	0.7036	China	87	0.6830	76	0.6555
Burundi	17	0.7565	1	0.8630	Uganda	88	0.6821	97	0.6311
South Africa	18	0.7527	83	0.6473	Guatemala	89	0.6821	72	0.6622
Canada	19	0.7464	17	0.7928	Slovak Republic	90	0.6806	88	0.6431
United States	20	0.7463	4	0.8276	Greece	91	0.6784	87	0.6434
Ecuador	21	0.7455	45	0.7154	Swaziland*	92	0.6772	99	0.6239
Bulgaria	22	0.7444	39	0.7288	Hungary	93	0.6759	69	0.6683
Slovenia	23	0.7443	22	0.7827	Azerbaijan	94	0.6753	52	0.7087
Australia	24	0.7409	14	0.8010	Cyprus	95	0.6741	75	0.6560
Moldova	25	0.7405	11	0.8077	Czech Republic	96	0.6737	100	0.6216
United Kingdom	26	0.7383	46	0.7140	Indonesia	97	0.6725	108	0.5984
Mozambique	27	0.7370	19	0.7892	Brunei Darussalam	98	0.6719	36	0.7360
Luxembourg	28	0.7333	29	0.7529	Malta	99	0.6707	116	0.5686
Spain	29	0.7325	84	0.6470	Belize	100	0.6701	79	0.6530
Cuba	30	0.7317	113	0.5798	Ghana	101	0.6661	64	0.6772

[37] The overall Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories (sub-indexes): Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment (The Global Gender Gap Report 2014).

[38] An un-weighted average of each sub-index score Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment is used to calculate the overall Global Gender Gap Index score. As in the case of the sub-indexes, this final value ranges between 1 (equality) and 0 (inequality), thus allowing for comparisons relative to ideal standards of equality in addition to relative country rankings (The Global Gender Gap Report 2014).

Argentina	31	0.7317	96	0.6312	Tajikistan	102	0.6654	58	0.7007
Belarus*	32	0.7300	6	0.8203	Armenia	103	0.6622	82	0.6478
Barbados	33	0.7289	20	0.7885	Japan	104	0.6584	102	0.6182
Malawi	34	0.7281	3	0.8298	Maldives	105	0.6557	110	0.5904
Bahamas	35	0.7269	5	0.8223	Mauritius	106	0.6541	121	0.5507
Austria	36	0.7266	68	0.6704	Malaysia	107	0.6520	104	0.6174
Kenya	37	0.7258	9	0.8104	Cambodia	108	0.6520	77	0.6540
Lesotho	38	0.7255	32	0.7449	Suriname	109	0.6504	115	0.5688
Portugal	39	0.7243	44	0.7192	Burkina Faso	110	0.6500	43	0.7220
Namibia	40	0.7219	38	0.7326	Liberia*	111	0.6461	94	0.6366
Madagascar	41	0.7214	37	0.7335	Nepal	112	0.6458	122	0.5470
Mongolia	42	0.7212	10	0.8082	Kuwait	113	0.6457	106	0.6083
Kazakhstan	43	0.7210	33	0.7414	India	114	0.6455	134	0.4096
Lithuania	44	0.7208	35	0.7384	United Arab Emirates	115	0.6436	123	0.5152
Peru	45	0.7198	98	0.6271	Qatar	116	0.6403	101	0.6197
Panama	46	0.7195	48	0.7123	Korea, Rep.	117	0.6403	124	0.5116
Tanzania	47	0.7182	53	0.7077	Nigeria	118	0.6391	55	0.7064
Costa Rica	48	0.7165	105	0.6155	Zambia	119	0.6364	86	0.6444
Trinidad and Tobago	49	0.7154	54	0.7072	Bhutan	120	0.6364	93	0.6368
Cape Verde	50	0.7133	107	0.6077	Angola	121	0.6311	111	0.5878
Botswana	51	0.7129	8	0.8166	Fiji	122	0.6286	125	0.5065
Jamaica	52	0.7128	40	0.7284	Tunisia*	123	0.6272	130	0.4634
Colombia	53	0.7122	50	0.7107	Bahrain	124	0.6261	126	0.4803
Serbia	54	0.7086	67	0.6704	Turkey	125	0.6183	132	0.4532
Croatia	55	0.7075	65	0.6753	Algeria	126	0.6182	136	0.3930
Ukraine	56	0.7056	31	0.7483	Ethiopia	127	0.6144	103	0.6177
Poland	57	0.7051	61	0.6808	Oman	128	0.6091	128	0.4707
Bolivia	58	0.7049	92	0.6379	Egypt	129	0.6064	131	0.4609
Singapore	59	0.7046	18	0.7899	Saudi Arabia	130	0.6059	137	0.3893
Lao PDR	60	0.7044	13	0.8016	Mauritania	131	0.6029	129	0.4661
Thailand	61	0.7027	26	0.7677	Guinea*	132	0.6005	74	0.6561
Estonia	62	0.7017	56	0.7055	Morocco	133	0.5988	135	0.4000
Zimbabwe*	63	0.7013	47	0.7130	Jordan	134	0.5968	140	0.3580
Guyana	64	0.7010	117	0.5652	Lebanon	135	0.5923	133	0.4321
Israel	65	0.7005	90	0.6392	Côte d'Ivoire	136	0.5874	112	0.5817
Chile	66	0.6975	119	0.5523	Iran, Islamic Rep.	137	0.5811	139	0.3589
Kyrgyz Republic	67	0.6974	62	0.6801	Mali	138	0.5779	118	0.5547
Bangladesh	68	0.6973	127	0.4774	Syria	139	0.5775	142	0.2975
Italy	69	0.6973	114	0.5738	Chad	140	0.5764	70	0.6645
Macedonia, FYR	70	0.6943	80	0.6511	Pakistan	141	0.5522	141	0.3094
Brazil	71	0.6941	81	0.6491	Yemen	142	0.5145	138	0.3596
* New countries 2014									

Source: The Global Gender Gap Report 2014.

India

India occupies 134th position in the global rankings on economic participation and opportunity and its overall ranking in Global Gender Gap is 114 amongst 142 countries. According to the report, India has experienced a steady improvement of its overall score since 2010, with a slight decrease in 2014 due to a drop in scores on the Economic Participation and Opportunity and Educational Attainment sub-indexes. Since 2006, India has experienced the largest decrease (in absolute and relative value) on its Health and Survival sub-index score because of an important drop in its Sex ratio at birth score. In 2014, India is below average on three sub-indexes: *Economic Participation and Opportunity*, *Educational Attainment* and *Health and Survival*. In fact, it is the second-lowest performing country on Health and Survival, just ahead of Armenia. On the other hand, India is among the top twenty best-performing countries on the Political Empowerment sub-index. India is part of the twenty worst-performing countries on the Labour force participation, Estimated earned income, Literacy rate and Sex ratio at birth indicators. India has the highest difference between women and men on the average minutes spent per day on unpaid work—a difference of 300 minutes. It is also among the countries with the highest difference in the female and male percentage of total R&D personnel (FTE). India has one of the lowest percentages of firms with female participation in ownership (Global Gender Gap 2014: 30).

Table 5.2
Medium Human Development: India Rank and Score

	Global Gender Gap[39]		Gender Development Index[40]		Gender Inequality Index[41]	
	Rank	Score	Ratio of female to male HDI	Rank	Value	Rank
India	114	0.6455	0.828	132	0.563	127

Source: The Global Gender Gap Report, 2014; Human Development Report 2014: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience

[39] The Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories (sub-indexes): Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2014).

[40] A composite measure reflecting disparity in human development achievements between women and men in three dimensions – health, education and living standards (Human Development Report 2014: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience).

[41] A composite measure reflecting inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market (Human Development Report 2014: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience).

However, many of the South Asian countries show better global rankings on economic participation and opportunity, namely Bhutan (93rd), Nepal (122nd), Sri Lanka (109th) and Bangladesh (127th). The Global Gender Gap indices for other South Asian nations are also lower than India (114th) with Bangladesh on the 68th position and Sri Lanka and Nepal on the 79th and 112th position respectively. Even with regard to the Gender Development Index, India's rank is 132 and in Gender Inequality Index, India's rank is 127 amongst 142 countries.

5.3 Ratification of International Labour Standards (ILO Convention 156: Workers with Family Responsibilities, 1981)

As is emphasized in the Preamble of the ILO Recommendation no. R165, "recognizing that the problems of workers with family responsibilities are aspects of wider issues regarding the family and society which should be taken into account in national policies," adopting the recommendations of the convention becomes important for any national policy that endeavours to ensure a better integration of work and family for its working citizens. Countries in the European continent were the first ones to ratify the ILO Convention 156 on 'Workers with Family Responsibilities.' While Sweden and Norway ratified it in 1982, Finland followed soon in 1983. Greece and France ratified the convention in 1988 and 1989 respectively. Countries such as Australia, Japan and South Korea too ratified the convention in the coming years and introduced policies promoting gender equality and work-life balance. Australia ratified the convention in 1990, Japan in 1995 and South Korea in 2001. As mentioned earlier, 43 countries have ratified the ILO Convention 156. The following table (no. 5.3) provides a list of countries that have ratified the ILO Convention 156 after it came into force.

Table 5.3
Ratification of ILO C156 - Workers with Family Responsibilities, Convention 1981 (No.156)

Date of entry into Force: 11 Aug 1983

	Country	Date		Country	Date
1.	Albanaia	11 Oct 2007	23.	Lithuania	06 May 2004
2.	Argentina	17 March 1988	24.	Mauritius	05 April 2004
3.	Australia	30 March 1990	25.	Montenegro	03 June 2006
4.	Azerbaijan	29 Oct 2010	26.	Netherlands	24 March 1988
5.	Belize	22 June 1999	27.	Niger	05 June 1985
6.	Bolivia, Plurinational State of	01 Sept 1998	28.	Norway	22 June 1982

7.	Bosnia and Herzegovina	02 June 1993	29.	Paraguay	21 Dec 2007
8.	Bulgaria	03 April 2006	30.	Peru	16 June 1986
9.	Chile	14 Oct 1994	31.	Portugal	02 Ma 1985
10.	Croatia	08 Oct 1991	32.	Russian Federation	13 Feb 1998
11.	Ecuador	08 Feb 2013	33.	San Marino	19 April 1988
12.	El Salvador	12 Oct 2000	34.	Serbia	24 Nov 2000
13.	Ethiopia	28 Jan 1991	35.	Slovakia	14 June 2002
14.	Finland	09 Feb 1983	36.	Slovenia	29 May 1992
15.	France	16 March 1989	37.	Spain	11 Sep 1985
16.	Greece	10 June 1988	38.	Sweden	11 Aug 1982
17.	Guatemela	06 Jan 1994	39.	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	17 Nov 1991
18.	Guinea	16 Oct 1995	40.	Ukraine	11 April 2000
19.	Iceland	22 June 2000	41.	Uruguay	16 Nov 1989
20.	Japan	09 June 1995	42.	Venezuela, Bolivian Republic of	27 Nov 1984
21.	Kazakhstan	17 Jan 2013	43.	Yemen	13 March 1989
22.	Korea, Republic of	29 March 2001			

Source: www.ilo.org

5.4 Models of Care

At the theoretical level, there are at least three main models of care provision. A first model relies predominantly on the market while minimizing public policy interventions. Care needs then are mostly met with initiatives at the private level, such as with privately organized day care centers, old age homes run by non-profit institutions, after school programmes, and maternity leave negotiated at the level of the firm or any employing institution. This does not exclude some intervention on part of the state, but the emphasis is on the market as the main mechanism to meet family needs (Beneria 2010: 1516). To a great extent, this model applies to the United States and to other countries whose policies regarding care have been developed only to a relatively small degree. It responds to the non-universal view of access to care provisioning, leaving it in the private sphere where households take the main responsibility. In the United States, nearly half of all workers do not have access to paid sick leaves, including more than twenty-two million women. Even fewer have access to paid sick day policies allowing them to visit a doctor or stay at home to

care for sick children; only one in four low-wage workers is provided with this health benefit. For those without paid sick days, short-term health needs can mean missing work and pay or even being fired. Hence, the U.S. model in many ways represents the logical outcome of a neoliberal regime, namely, the difficulties that lower-income families face under such regimes (ibid.: 1516-17).

A second model, in contrast, relies on a more interventionist state, taking the responsibility of providing various degrees of care provisioning for all socioeconomic levels. Such a model is based on the notion of care as a citizen's right, corresponding to what Nancy Fraser has called the 'Universal Caregiver Welfare State.' Although the degree of 'universality' may vary, the model is predicated on the view that reconciliation policies fall within the public domain, responding to concerns about social reproduction, and to the needs of the larger population, so that greater equality in the access to care is provided. In comparison with the United States, European countries have taken more definite steps toward the adoption of this model. Since the 1990s, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has been promoting a social policy discourse that has clearly shifted from a neoliberal pro-market agenda to a more interventionist approach in matters having to do with reconciliation. The new approach has been described as 'inclusive liberalism,' which emphasizes the 'centrality of employment' in the neoliberal state, 'the removal of barriers to work,' and the need to support 'the development and use of human and social capital.' In this sense, public support for child care and other policies of reconciliation are viewed as a way to promote employment – particularly that of mothers – and to increase productivity (Beneria 2010: 1517).

Despite the different discourses feeding arguments for a universal caregiver state, most countries fall within a third 'mixed model' of care provisioning, combining public policies with private and marker-oriented initiatives. They have developed multiple combinations of policies and practices that differ in the degree to which they lean towards the first or second model. The result is a wide range of policies and a complex web of public/private care provisioning systems. A good example is that of France, where women's overall activity rate reached 65.6 percent in 2007 and most women continue working when they have children. Despite differences related to income, education, and training, the country has implemented a series of 'pro-family' arrangements, such as subsidies and tax breaks, to meet the needs of a majority of households. Even though there are a variety of government subsidies and public services, families often have to find private solutions for their care needs, thus perpetuating inequalities between families that can afford the cost and those that cannot (Beneria 2010: 1517-18).

5.4.1 Two Main Views behind the Policies

Beneria distinguishes between the two main views behind these policies. The feminist view implies that one of the primary objectives of reconciliation is the reduction of women's burden of care and the construction of gender equality (Beneria 2010: 1520).

By contrast, the OECD type of approach mentioned above represents a functionalist view – in the sense that reconciliation policies are conceptualized as a way to facilitate the functioning of the economy rather than from the perspective of pursuing gender equality. Both arguments – functionalist and feminist – tend to coexist in current debates but it is important, as Beneria argues that the differences between them remain clear (ibid.).

In recent decades, rising consciousness around the issue of providing care in families has been accompanied with intense debates and new policy initiatives in many countries, such as those in the European Union, South Korea and Australia (ibid. : 1525). The following section broadly discusses the various family and social policies introduced and implemented in various countries, which are relevant for bringing about the integration of work and family responsibilities of workers. The later sections examine country-specific policies and to what extent they have succeeded in bringing about greater work-family integration and equality in gender relations.

5.5 Leave Policies for Working Parents

Currently ILO suggests minimum 14 weeks of maternity leave. However the latest convention passed in 2000: C183 Maternity Protection Convention, 2000, was ratified by only 13 countries. India and other South Asian countries have not ratified this convention. The older convention –C103 Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952 was also not ratified by India, or by Bangladesh and Pakistan, though it was ratified by 33 countries (Anam 2008). The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 in India stipulates that a woman shall be entitled to maternity benefit for twelve weeks, i.e. six weeks up to and including the day of her delivery and six weeks immediately following that day. The employer is responsible for providing benefits to the workers under the maternity benefit act.

In several countries, particularly in the west, parental leave is available for those who have worked for their current employer for a certain period of time. The duration of leave varies from nine weeks in *Ireland* to two years in *Bulgaria.* In *Belgium*, *Norway* and *Switzerland,* the woman may decide to work until delivery and take leave at a later stage, i.e. during the post-natal period. Leave is often extended if delivery is premature. In *Norway*,

the father also may take up to 12 weeks of paid post natal leave if he is the principal care giver (ibid.).

In *France* and *Germany* leave can be extended on an unpaid basis without loss of the job or job related benefits. In *Belgium*, the period of paid leave can be extended as unpaid leave up to the end of the fifth month for mothers who breastfeed, and in *France* and *Norway,* nursing breaks for women who return to work are provided by law (ibid.). In *Spain* women receive 75% of their salary as part of maternity leave. In *Denmark* and *France* they receive 90%. *Belgium*, the *Netherlands* and *Germany* allow 100% up to a maximum amount (ibid.).

Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland and the *UK* all provide paid maternity leave and transfer women to non-strenuous jobs as soon as the pregnancy is confirmed (ibid.).

An example of generous parental leave is *Sweden*, where all working parents are entitled to 18 months' paid leave per child, the cost being shared between employer and State. The system in *Bulgaria* is even more generous, providing mothers with 45 days of 100% paid sick leave prior to the due date, 2 years paid leave, and 1 additional year of unpaid leave. The employer is obliged to restore the mother to the same position upon return to work. In addition, pregnant women and single mothers are not supposed to be retrenched from employment (ibid.).

In 2000, parental leave in *Canada* was increased from 10 weeks to 35 weeks divided between the two parents, which can be expanded to a year. In Canada parental leave is paid for by the Employment Insurance system (ibid). The below table (no. 5.4) provides details about the status of maternity leave benefits of selected countries, with an analysis of various models of care provisioning undertaken by different countries.

Table 5.4
Status of Maternity Leave Benefits of Selected Nations

Country or Area	Length of Maternity Leave	Percentage wage paid in covered period	Provider of Benefit
Afghanistan	90 days	100	Employer
Argentina@	90 days	100	Family allowance funds (financed through state and employer contributions)
Australia%	18 weeks	…	Social Assistance system financed by the State
Bangladesh	16 weeks	100	Employer
Bhutan			

Brazil	120 days	100	Social Insurance
Canada # © ^	17 weeks	55	Federal & State. Employment Insurance
China	90 days	100	Social Insurance
France^	16 weeks	100	Social Security & Health Insurance Benefits
Germany	14 weeks	100	Statutory health insurance scheme, employer
India	12 weeks	100	Employer
Japan &	14 weeks	0	1/8 National Treasury,7/8 Employment Insurance
Maldives			
Mexico	12 weeks	100	Social Security
Nepal	52 days	100	Employer
Pakistan	12 weeks	100	Employer
Russian Federation ^ ~	140 days	100	Social Insurance Fund
South Africa`	4 months	60	Unemployment Insurance Fund
Sri Lanka!	12 weeks	86,100	Employer
United Kingdom $	52 weeks	90	Employer
United States of America	12 weeks	…	No national program, cash benefits may be provided at the state level

Source: UNSD, as mentioned in Women and Men in India Report 2014, Central Statistical Office

Notes:

…Not available

Duration of maternity leave depends on the province. For Federal and Ontario, maternity leave is 17 weeks, while in Quebec, it is 18.

$ Consisting of 26 weeks of ordinary maternity leave and 26 weeks of additional maternity leave.

@ In addition, a means tested birth grants is paid in lump sum.

% a lump sum payment is paid for each child.

^ up to ceiling

© Federal and State. Related to family income and tax benefits.

~ additional birth grant is paid in lump sum.

& A further re-engagement of 10% on return to work.

` Maximum amount of 60% depending on level of income of the contributor for a maximum of 17.32 weeks.

! 86% of wages for workers paid at a time-rate/piece-rate and 100% to employees covered by the Shop and Offices Employees Act.

5.6. Statutory Approaches to Workplace Flexibility

Employment statutes aimed at increasing the rights of individual employees to adjust their working hours have been introduced in many high-income countries. A 2007 review of 20 OECD countries found that all countries except one had laws which facilitated the change of the number or scheduling of contractual working hours for employees (Hegewisch and Gornick, 2008). Work-family reconciliation is perhaps the most prominent target for flexible working policies. However, statutes reflect a variety of policy objectives, from encouraging a return to education and lifelong learning, to work sharing as part of policies designed to reduce unemployment, to gradual retirement and enhancing work-life balance more broadly across the life cycle. After the introduction of the Lisbon employment objectives of the European Union (EU) and its targets for increased labour force participation of women and (older employees), as well as by national implementations of the 1996 EU Parental Leave Directive and the 1997 EU Part-time Directive, many countries have recently amended or introduced legislation to increase the scope for employees to vary their working hours (Fagan and Hebson 2006). Legislative approaches to workplace flexibility can be broadly differentiated into three Groups:

- Statutes which make rights to flexible working conditional to specified activities, such as the care for young children or dependent adults.
- Statutes which provide access to flexibility not as an employment right, but as part of protection against discrimination either on the basis of sex or, more broadly, family care-giving responsibilities.
- Statutes which provide flexible working rights to all employees, irrespective of their reason for seeking change.

The majority of flexible working statutes, like the UK Right to Request, fall into the first group and are particularly targeted at increasing the possibility of combining responsibility for children with paid employment. Universal flexible working time statutes, which provide identical rights to all employees wishing to adjust their working hours without prioritising any particular reason for seeking change, have been introduced in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and, to some extent, Finland (where a right to reduced hours depends on the employment of an unemployed person to replace the lost hours). Such 'universal' laws, however, were not introduced to substitute for all rights to flexible working, but are generally in force in parallel to statutes targeting rights more specifically at certain groups and lifetime circumstances, such as the possibility of taking parental leave on a flexible basis.

5.6.1 Polices on Part-time Employment

The most common framing of flexible working rights is as a right for parents temporarily to reduce their working hours, as a variant of parental leave. Part-time employment is part of any model of care provisions, since it implies that the proportion of time not dedicated to the labour market can be used for family needs. However, as Beneria has pointed out, women normally take up this type of employment, and this tends to lower their possibility for advancement in the labour market. For this reason – and for the fact that it tends to offer less favourable working conditions than full-time work and with fewer possibilities for advancement – part-time work is mostly viewed as discriminatory for women. Yet, what it implies for workers varies by country. For example, the prevalence of part-time work in the Netherlands has generated policies that do not penalize it in terms of wages, promotions, and fringe benefits in general. Thus, at least in principle, part-time workers in the Netherlands are not subject to wage differentials or to other forms of discrimination as in other countries. This is not to say that, to the extent that mostly women participate in part-time employment in order to facilitate family care, it represents a de facto form of gender inequality (Beneria 2010: 1518-19).

In many countries, parental leave is credited with pension and social insurance contributions, reducing the earnings and retirement penalty typically faced by parents as a result of part-time work. Job-protected temporarily reduced hours options are now available as part of parental leave in 12 out of 15 EU member states and in Norway (Hegewisch and Gornick, 2008; Fagan and Hebson, 2006 in Hegewisch 2009). In some countries, parents are offered considerable flexibility in the number of hours they work. For example, in Norway, parents are entitled to paid parental leave on a full-time basis for one year, but are able to combine this with working 50, 60, 75, 80 or 90 per cent of their usual working hours for up to three years. Likewise, in Belgium, full-time job protected parental leave of three months can be extended for up to 14 months when it is combined with 80 per cent of usual working hours (Vandeweyer and Glorieux, 2008 in Hegewisch 2009). In Germany, parents are able to work between 15 and 30 hours per week for up to three years after the birth of a child, at the end of which they are entitled to return to an equivalent job (with the agreement of the employer, it is possible to take one of the three years at a later stage); a similar scheme is available to French parents. The use of such flexible options by working parents depends on a number of factors, including the administrative ease with which they can be accessed and combined with parental leave pay (as well as structural factors such as childcare availability and the overall length of leave). The Norwegian

scheme, which was introduced in 1996 but used by only about one in ten parents, was reformed recently to simplify the procedures and extend the leave period to three years. Although official evaluations are not yet available, according to the Director General of the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality, first indications are that the regulations are increasingly taken up, including by fathers (Hegewisch 2009: 4-6).

5.6.2 Carers' Rights to Reduced or Flexible Working

Since 2007, carers for dependent adults in the UK have identical rights to parents of young children to request alternative working practices. A similar law, largely based on the UK Right to Request, was introduced in New Zealand in 2008. However, several countries, such as Belgium and Germany, provide specific leave periods for caring purposes, which may be taken as a reduction in working hours. Other countries, such as Finland or Norway, also provide for the possibility to reduce working hours either to care for someone else or because of one's own health. The regulations are similar to those which apply to parents of older children. A rather different approach to flexible working has been adopted in several states of Australia. Instead of providing access to flexible working as a direct employment right, people with care-giving responsibilities (childcare as well as care for elderly or sick relatives) were explicitly included as a category to be protected against discrimination, through an amendment in 2001 of the New South Wales (NSW) 1977 Anti-Discrimination Act. This approach was subsequently also adopted in Victoria. The amendment provides protection from direct and indirect discrimination on the basis of care-giving responsibilities and obliges the employer to make 'reasonable' accommodation in the organisation of work. The amendment was primarily targeted at reforming working time arrangements and working conditions through flexible work practices; accommodation may cover all aspects of work organisation, including home based work, relocation, notice periods and overtime requirements. In principle, this approach is similar to EU and UK case law which particularly has increased access to part-time work, and to a lesser extent, flexible working, for working mothers. The advantages of the NSW approach are that men and women, and parents and carers are treated equally (although the need to prove individual discrimination makes this more difficult to implement for employees than a direct employment right (Hegewisch 2009: 7-8).

5.7 Country-Specific Policies on Work-Life Balance

5.7.1 European Union/Countries

The European Union/Countries is known to have a generous system of leave policies for working parents, keeping in view the changing nature

of work and employment relationships. Such changes have also led to the evolution a new regulatory framework that prioritizes workers rights. The EU law provides directives that not only aim at the reconciliation of unpaid care/paid work conflict, but also has a more liberal foundation through its directives that are aimed at protecting against discrimination on the grounds of part-time working and temporary contractual status (Busby 2011: 9).[42] The approach adopted by Directive 96/34/EC[43] is to equalize the protection of employment for payments of young children who require time away from work for family-related reasons. The directive explicitly recognizes that such duties need not be the exclusive responsibility of women by giving equal rights to both parents. According to Busby, the alleviation of assumptions of gender stereotyping in such policy directives is commendable as is its reliance on pre-existing arrangements within Member states' national welfare systems for its execution which leaves the status quo firmly intact and prevents it from being a policy-leader. The fact that such leave may be unpaid adds further to the entrenchment of gendered roles as decisions regarding who should take parental leave are likely to be influenced by the fact that, for many families, loss of the women's (lower) wage for an extended period will have less financial impact than the loss of her male partner's wage (Busby 2011: 117). In their renegotiated agreement on parental leave, the social partners have made some improvements to the existing Directive, which are incorporated in the council directive 2010/18/EU. Along with extending its provisions to adoptive parents, the new Directive increases the length of leave available from three months to four months. To encourage fathers to take parental leave, the Directive provides that at least at least one month's leave must be non-transferable and will be lost if not taken. Busby, however, argues that with no substantive improvements in mandatory levels of pay for either maternity or parental leave it is difficult to see how the dual goals of equality between men and women and the achievement of a better balance between work and private family life can be reconciled (Busby 2011: 117).

Zhao et al. (2011) elaborates on the variations in employment-related policies to support parents across European countries. For example, Sweden has generous parental leave plans that attempt to involve fathers in the leave scheme, but still find that the part time and full time jobs to which women are likely to return are not so career oriented (Moen 1989; Hass 2003 in Zhao et al. 2011: 726). Great Britain is rather similar to the USA

[42] The directive on part-time working was Council Directive 97/81/EC of December 1997 and the directive on temporary contractual status was Council Directive 1999/70/EC of 28 June 1999 (Busby 2011).

[43] For details of the Directive see website : http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:31996L0034

in leaving most of the managing to the couple and having few services (Lewis 2006 in Zhao et al. 2011: 726). In the south of the EU government services and leave schemes are more limited and extended family play a major role in child care and support (Gallie and Russel 2009 in Zhao et al. 2011: 726).

I. Iceland

In Iceland, it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs to ensure the implementation of leave policies to working parents. Maternity leave is for three months, out of which a month may be taken before the birth of the child. It can be extended by two months if the mother suffers any complication during or after the birth of the child. The payment consists of 80 percent of earnings up to a maximum ceiling of € 6,000 per month, for those who have been in the workforce during the preceding 24 months. Mothers working shorter part-time hours receive lesser payment and others (including students) receive a flat rate payment. Paternity leave is also for a period of three months and payment given to fathers is the same as the maternity leave. Parental leave can be taken for three months after the birth of the child. It can be taken in one continuous period or as several blocks of time. Lesbian or homosexual couples can also apply for leave (Einardottir and Petursdottir 2006: 145-146).

Flexible Working

Employers are required by law to make the necessary arrangements to enable men and women to balance family life and work, including the arrangement of work in a flexible manner and parents being able to take leave from work in case of serious or unusual family circumstances (Einardottir and Petursdottir 2006: 146).

II. Finland

Finland is an exceptional European country that combines a high level of expenditure on the public provision of social services and a remarkably high proportion of the female population in full-time employment. While other Scandinavian countries, such as Sweden or Norway, spend a comparable proportion of GDP on social services and have high rates of female labour force participation, a relatively high proportion of this participation is in part-time employment (Bittman 2004: 224). The maternity leave is for 105 working days (between 30-50 days can be taken before the birth). Finland has a system of earnings related benefit, with payment averaging 66 percent of earnings; half of all mothers with an employment contract receive full pay during the first three months of maternity leave. Mothers who are not employed and those whose annual earnings are less than € 6,513 before the

birth get a minimum flat-rate allowance of € 15.20 a working day (Salma et al. 2006).

The Finnish government, in cooperation with social partners, carried out a paternity leave campaign in 2002-03 to disseminate information about the extended paternity leave available since 2003 and to encourage the use of family leave by men. According to information released by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, by the end of 2006, fathers in Finland made use of fewer than 4 per cent of parental leave days, and according to a study published by the Social Insurance Institute, paternity leave tended to be taken by men with higher incomes. Legislative amendments made during this period introduced incentives for men to take family leave, inter alia, by linking extended paternity leave to the taking of a minimum period of parental leave and increasing the allowance paid during family leave periods (Equality of Opportunity and Treatment)(Bittman2004).

III. Norway

In Norway, maternity leave and parental leave is the responsibility of the Ministry of Children and Equality and paternity leave is the responsibility of the Ministry of Children and Equality. Maternity leave is for a period of 9 weeks: 3 weeks before the birth and six weeks following birth. If the mother or child is ill and hospitalized after delivery, maternity leave can be postponed. Payment includes 100 per cent of the earnings of an employee. All women employed for six of the last 10 months prior to delivery are eligible for leave and who have earned at least half the basic national insurance benefit payment over the previous year. Non-employed women receive a flat payment. Paternity leave is for two weeks at the time of birth (called daddy's days) and an additional 6 weeks during the child's first year. Leave for a father is not paid by the government, but payment is negotiated and paid by the employer. The maximum length for parental leave is 54 weeks. Of these, nine weeks are for mothers (maternity leave) and six weeks are for fathers (father's quota). The remaining 39 weeks (parental leave) is a family entitlement and may be taken by either mother or father (Brandth and Kvande 2006: 173-74).

Childcare leave or Career Breaks

Each parent in Norway has the right to one year of unpaid leave after parental leave. Parents with a child aged 12-36 months are entitled to receive cash benefit ('cash-for-care' scheme) on condition they do not use a full-time place in a publicly-funded childcare centre. The main criterion for eligibility, therefore, is not parental employment status, but parents not using a particular type of service. Each parent of a child under 12 years has

a right to 10 days leave when children are sick, or 15 if they have more than two children (Brandth and Kvande 2006: 174).

Flexible Working

Breastfeeding mothers in Norway may reduce their working hours by two hours per day, with payment from the employer. Parents have a right to part-time work to care for children, until children are 10 years old (Brandth and Kvande 2006: 174).

IV. Sweden

The foundations of a policy supporting dual-earner/dual-carer model were laid in Sweden in the 1960s and the 1970s. This policy was informed by the new notion of women and men as equals as far as employment and responsibility for children were concerned. In this new model, public childcare and parental leave were seen as cornerstones. The main objective of such policies has usually been the integration of women into the labour force. However, in Sweden, the move towards a more gender equal society involved not only women but also men. This is reflected in the government's argument at the time parental leave was introduced: "... the division of labour between men and women locks men as well as women into different roles and obstructs free personal development. The demand for gender equality does not only concern changes in women's circumstances but also in men's. For women the changes concern, among other things, increased employment opportunities and for men the opportunity to take greater responsibility for children. The government must, through actions in different areas of social life, change the position of men as well as women" (*Regeringens proposition 1973:47* p. 43; translated by Nyberg 2004: 1-2)

Parental leave

In 1974, maternity leave was replaced with parental leave, which meant that the principal entitlement to leave following the birth of a child was no longer reserved for the mother, but could also be used by the father. What was remarkable was that parental leave at that time was completely gender neutral, *i.e.* no part of the parental leave was reserved for the mother, as is the case in other countries and in Sweden today (Nyberg 2004: 11). At present, parental leave in Sweden is for 480 days. To encourage greater paternal involvement in child-rearing, a minimum of 3 months out of the 18 is required to be used by the "minority" parent, in practice usually the father, and some Swedish political parties on the Left argue for legislation to oblige families to divide the 18 months equally between both parents (Anam 2008).

Leave to Care for Sick Children

Parents with children under the age of 12 are entitled to a temporary parental leave with income compensation following the same principles as the regular parental leave. Temporary parental allowance includes a leave of up to 60 days annually, granted under circumstances of a temporary nature, such as illness of the child or child-minder, or the child's adjustment to a new preschool. An individual cohabiting with the child's parent is also entitled to a temporary parental allowance, and it can, under certain circumstances, be transferred to a friend or relative (Bjornberg and Lillemor Dahlgren 2003: 25).

Job flexibility

The most common form of job flexibility in Sweden is called 'flextime,' which is a type of employment that allows employees to work their choice of a few hours in the morning and/or a few hours in the afternoon, as long as the employee works the total weekly hours for which they are hired. Parents usually use their 'flextime' for childcare (Bjornberg and Lillemer Dahlgren 2003: 16).

V. Denmark

In Denmark, maternity leave, paternity leave and parental leave is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour. The length of maternity leave is 18 weeks, which includes 4 weeks of leave before the birth and 14 weeks following the birth of a child. Eligibility for an employee is based on a period of work of at least 120 hours in 13 weeks preceding the paid leave. Women who have just completed a vocational training course for a period of at least 18 months or who are engaged in paid placement as part of a vocational training course are also eligible for the leave. Unemployed people are entitled to benfits from unemployment insurance or similar benefits. Students are entitled to an extra 12 months educational benefit instead of the maternity leave benefit. Paternity leave is for two weeks. Its eligibility criteria is the same as for maternity leave. The entitlement of parental leave is per family. The length of the leave is 32 weeks, until the child is 48 weeks. It is possible to return to work on a part-time basis, with a reduced benefit payment spread over this extended period of leave (e.g. a parent may work half-time and thus prolong the leave period from 32 weeks to 64 weeks) This is subject to agreement with the employer (Rostgaard 2006: 95-97).

VI. France

Maternity leave in France is the responsibility of Ministry of Social Affairs, Health and Solidarity). The duration of maternity leave is 16 weeks: at

least four weeks before the birth and at least 10 weeks following the birth, with two weeks which can be taken before or after. The payment consists of 100 percent of earnings, upto a maximum ceiling of € 2,589 a month. All employees and self-employed workers are eligible for the leave (Fagnani 2006: 116).

The length of paternity leave is two weeks and payment is same as for maternity leave. The leave must be taken four months following the birth of the child and all employees and self-employed workers are eligible for the leave (Fagnani 2006: 116). Section 87 of Act no. 2005-1579 introduced *parental leave* and corresponding allowance and that the Act on the Financing of Social Security for 2007 established "family support" leave (ILO 2008: 366). Parental leave can be taken until the child reaches three years. This entitlement is per family. Parents taking leave may work part time, the payment is reduced. All employees are eligible for parental leave parental leave if they have worked at least one year for their employer before the birth of a child.

With respect to the early childhood benefit, several measures have been implemented to promote care, maintenance and education for infants. In particular, the early childhood benefit programme or PAJE[44] provides for a wider choice of childcare facilities so that parents wishing to carry on an occupational activity have a real choice of childcare. Early childhood benefits include: a means-tested birth/adoption grant, a means-tested monthly allowance paid from the child's birth to their third birthday or from the arrival of the adopted child, a supplement for free choice of working time, a supplement for free choice of childcare at a rate based on family income.[45] Furthermore, the introduction of the PAJE was accompanied by the launching of a plan to increase the number of places available in nurseries for children, by measures to increase the number of child-minders and by tax credit for enterprises that incur expenditure on childcare for their employees (ILO 2008: 366).

The act on Equal Pay for Men and Women was adopted on 23 March 2006. The Act requires that the enterprises show the measures they have taken to promote the reconciliation of professional life and family life in the annual status report comparing general conditions of employment and training. Enterprises are also required to negotiate the working and employment conditions of part-time employees. The Act provides for financial assistance or relief for enterprises that take measures in favour of workers

[44] PAJE stands for Prestation d'Accueil du Jeune Enfant (French: Provision of Services for Young Children).

[45] For details see 'The French Social Security System: Family Benefits,' http://www.cleiss.fr/docs/regimes/regime_france/an_4.html, accessed 17.10. 2014.

with family responsibilities, and consolidates employees' entitlements to parental leave and training (ILO 2008: 366).

VII. United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the Department of Trade and Industry is responsible for the implementation of employment-related policies to support parents. Maternity leave is for a maximum period of 52 weeks and a woman can start to take her leave from the beginning of the 11th week before her baby is due. Payment is 90 percent of woman's average earnings for six weeks and a flat-rate payment of £108.85 (approximately € 156) for 20 weeks. The remaining 26 weeks are unpaid. Paternity leave is to be taken during the first eight weeks of the child's life. Payment is on a flat-rate of £108.85 (approximately € 156) a week. Parental leave is thirteen weeks per parent per child (i.e. an individual right), till the child is 5 years old. It may be taken in blocks or multiples of one week, up to four weeks per year (Moss and O'Brien 2006: 217-18).

Flexible Working: the right to request and the duty to consider

Employees (mothers and fathers) who have parental responsibility for a child under 18 years have a legal right to apply to their employers to work flexibly (to reduce working hours or work flexi-time). Employers have a legal duty to consider these requests and may refuse them only 'where there is a clear business ground for doing so… (and must give) a written explanation explaining why (Moss and O'Brien 2006: 220).

VIII. Greece

In Greece, the leave provisions related to work and family reconciliation are the responsibility of the Department of Employment and Social Protection. Maternity leave in Greece is for 17 weeks, where 8 weeks must be taken before birth and 9 weeks after birth. Payment is 100 percent of earnings. Paternity leave is for two days at the time of the child's birth. Parental leave is three and a half months for every child for each parent and may be taken in several blocks of time subject to agreement with the employer (Kazassi 2006: 132-33).

Childcare Leave or Career Breaks

The right to work reduced hours was initially granted only to women employees in the public sector .The New Civil Servants Code (Act No. 3528/2007) adopted by the Greek Parliament on 24 January 2007 strengthens the previously existing measures to assist civil servants to reconcile work and family responsibilities. Most importantly, the right

to childcare leave – either in the form of reduced daily hours of work or a nine-month period of paid leave of absence – has been extended to fathers, only if the entitlement is not used by the mother. However, the male civil servant cannot make use of this entitlement, if his spouse is not working, except in cases where the spouse is not in a position to care for the child due to a serious disability. Further, the three-month paid leave in the case of adoptions is only available to women. Hence, these principles are not in conformity with the principle of equal treatment and under convention 156 of the ILO, measures taken in favour of workers with family responsibilities must be made available to men and women equally (ILO 2008: 368).

IX. Slovenia

In Slovenia the various leave provisions regarding parental care are the responsibility of Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs (Stropnik 2006: 187). The ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations notes that the Employment Act (Act no. 42/2002) prohibits direct and indirect discrimination based on a number of grounds, including family status and "other personal circumstances" and prohibits the employer from requisition of job applicant's information on family or marital status, pregnancy and family planning. The Act places a general obligation on the employer "to allow the workers easier adjustment of their family and business obligations" and recognizes the right to special protection in employment due to pregnancy and parenthood. In cases of disputes concerning the exercise of such special measures of protection, the burden of proof is on employer. During such leave, wage compensation is guaranteed. Under the Parental Care and Family Benefits Act (Act no. 110/2003, amended by Act no. 47/2006), workers have the right to take maternity leave, paternity leave on the grounds of birth or adoption, either on a full-time or a part-time basis (ILO 2008: 413). The maternity leave is for 105 calendar days or 15 weeks, which includes 4 weeks before birth and 11 weeks following birth. Payment is 55 percent of the minimum wage and 100 percent of average earnings for women who are insured (i.e. covered by parental leave insurance that forms part of the social security insurance). Paternity leave is for 90 calendar days or about 13 weeks. Fathers are obliged to take at least 15 days of full-time leave during the maternity leave. The payment consists of 100 percent of average earnings during the first 15 days of the parental leave, during the remaining 75 days the father is paid social security contributions based on the minimum wage. Parental leave is 260 calendar days. Each parent is entitled to half the total, but this individual right may be transferred between parents (Stropnik 2006: 187-88).

Job-flexibility

Both parents have the right to work part-time until the child reaches the age of three. The ILO committee particularly noted that these entitlements are also available to self-employed parents, including independent workers, private company owners and farmers and that, during part-time work, the state compensates the worker for lost income up to the level of the minimum wage and covers social security contributions. Further, the committee notes that in addition to providing a legislative framework for the application of Convention 156, the government is implementing a number of measures to promote the Convention's application in practice under the National Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. In this context, guidelines and recommendations for companies on measures of work-family reconciliation are being developed by the government and an annual award competition for family friendly companies is under preparation (ILO 2008: 413).

X. Spain

In Spain, leave and employment related policies are the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the National Institute of Social Security. Maternity leave is for 16 weeks, out of which 6 weeks must be taken following the birth, while the remaining 10 weeks can be taken before or after birth. Mothers (except those who are self employed) may take leave part time except for the six weeks following birth. The mother needs to be making social security contributions at the beginning of the leave or be receiving unemployment contributory benefit and have contributed to social security at least 180 days in the previous 5 years. Employed mothers have the right to transfer up to 10 of their 16 paid weeks of maternity leave to the father on condition that they take six weeks after giving birth, that their partner fulfills contributory requirements, and that the transfer does not endanger their health. The father is entitled to two days of paternity leave after the birth of a child and receives 100 percent of earnings, paid by the employer. Each parent is also entitled to take parental leave until three years after childbirth. Workers taking leave are credited with social security contributions, which affect pension accounts and health cover, but only for the first year. During the first year, return to the same job position is protected; after the first year, job protection is restricted to a job of the same category (Escobedo 2006: 194-96).

Flexible Working

During the first nine months after the child's birth, employed mothers are entitled to one hour of absence during the working day without loss of earnings, which is paid by the employers. This period can be divided

into two half-hours or be replaced by a half-hour shortening of the normal working day.

It is pointed out that although EU law and policy, to some extent, recognize and seek to remedy the unpaid care/paid work conflict, its economic foundation has meant that attempts at its resolution have often placed emphasis on the 'paid work' side of the equation to the detriment of the 'unpaid care' aspect. Such policy, it is argued, is governed by the ideology that ascribes a low value to unpaid care work and is rooted in the characteristics of those who traditionally engage in both (Busby 2011: 5).

XI. The Netherlands

The provision of leave for maternity and childcare is the responsibility of the Department of Social Affairs and Employment. The length of maternity leave is sixteen weeks, six weeks before the birth and 10 weeks after the birth. The payment given is hundred percent of the earnings. The length of paternity leave is two working days at the birth of a child. The payment is hundred percent of the earnings. Male and female employees who are the partner of a woman giving birth or who acknowledge the child are eligible for the leave. Parental leave is thirteen times the number of working hours per week per parent per child, to be taken up to the child's eighth birthday. All employees who have completed one year's continuous employment with their present employer are eligible for the leave. With the agreement of the employer, parental leave can be taken in two or three blocks of time (Groenendijk 2006: 161-62).

Each parent is entitled to four weeks leave when a child is placed for adoption (or long-term fostering), with payment equivalent to maternity leave. For adoptive parents the same regulations for parental leave apply as for other parents (ibid.).

Time off for the Care of Dependents

Short-term leave up to a maximum of 10 days a year can be taken to care for a sick child living at home, or a sick partner or parent. The employer is required to pay 70 percent of the employees earnings. In addition, a 'reasonable amount of time' can be taken by an employee with very exceptional personal circumstances (e.g. a broken water pipe, a death in the family, a child suddenly taken ill); this can last from a few hours to a few days. The employer is required to pay 100 percent of the employee's earnings.

5.7.2 United States of America

At the federal level, the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA) was enacted to give workers the right to job-protected leave of absence

from work for family or medical reasons on a gender neutral basis. Five states, including California, Hawaii, New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, provide paid leave and at the birth of a child through temporary disability insurance (TDI) programs or through paid leave at the birth of a child through temporary disability insurance (TDI) programs or through paid family leave insurance. The eligibility requirements, which generally include minimum past earnings or work hours, and the fact that wage replacement is only partial, may limit use by low-income parents (Busentsev and Vroman 2007 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732).

Flexibility

Some U.S. employers have experimented with approaches to implementing greater workplace flexibility for low-wage workers. Some of these mechanisms include recruiting to specific shifts so workers can plan for these schedules, "shift bidding," cross-training staff for greater organizational flexibility, and investment in technology to support work at home (Levin-Epstein; WFD Consulting 2006 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732).

However, only a small sector of the labour market is covered by collective bargaining representation (Hollister 2004 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732), and family issues have been less a focus of those contracts than other benefits. Health insurance and retirement schemes are regularly available only through full time employment for both men and women. Light notes that almost half of American employers do not offer health insurance (Light 2004 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732). Family leave and sick leave are also very limited and the small businesses and agencies that employ many women are not required to meet the federal family leave requirements and may not have formal sick leave policies. In addition, couples may not feel free to exercise these policies because of fears of job security (Voydanoff 2004 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732).

Vacation and overtime (out of the regulated work hours) policies are also not quite well developed in the USA and more erratic in terms of timing with considerable fewer days of vacation and holidays than in other developed countries. Overtime is often not required even in industries that are not in collective bargaining with unions. Shift work frequently rotates more often than is recommended for employee adjustment. Among dual earner couples one in three have shift work for at least one partner. Parents who work alternating shifts have many stresses, with night shifts being most difficult for young mothers (Presser 2000, Perry Jenkins, Goldberg, Pierce and Sayer, 2007 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732). Child care arrangements are often unstable in the USA especially as parents rely on informal caregivers. Part time work may allow more hours for a parent to care for children and

other family members, but usually at great costs in terms of wage rates for time worked and loss of most or all benefits. In fact motherhood is itself correlated with lower wages (Avellar and Smock 2003 in Zhao et al. 2011: 732).

Public and Private subsidies are in short supply in the USA. The largest public program, the federal-state Child Care and Development Fund, serves only about 14 per cent of eligible children (NACCRRA 2006 in Zhao et al. 2011: 733). The most common employer strategies are creating tax dependent care assistance plans and providing information about care options and a small proportion of employers provide on-or near-site care, subsidized or emergency.

In terms of career and work expectations the early years of employment have the least flexibility, vacation, and leave options, with strong expectations in white collar jobs, professions, and management to work more than the agreed work week. This phenomenon is 'exempt from labour practices' clause which allows for no overtime to be paid for such extra work (Zhao et al. 2011: 733). The market economy in the USA and the local government has arranged for some supportive services. After-school programs are commonly available in most communities providing for elementary school children, help with home work and supervised play. Some communities are now subsidizing adult day care for the disabled and the frail elderly which allows them to stay with their families who can have regular employment. Camps and day programs are widely available to cover the long summer school break. Because these services are delivered by a multitude of not-for-profit organizations, small businesses and local government entities, the knowledge about availability, eligibility and possible subsidies requires families to do a lot of comparison shopping and coordination (Zhao et al. 2011: 734).

In the USA work and family balancing is viewed as each family's problem and not a societal challenge. In addition to whatever stress occur in the specific job demands of dual employed couples, the families face a culture that expects them to handle any other problems on their own (Zhao et al. 2011: 734). Dual employment is itself a strategy for dealing with the uncertainties of jobs in a constantly changing global work demand. The finding that women make most of the accommodations to family stresses by curtailing number of hours in the work place or going in and out of jobs has at least two rationales. One reason is that the gendered wage differences still prevail and that less compensation is lost by her curtailing workplace participation. Secondly, a woman's job is less likely to have the health care benefit and the man's job may be more critical to maintain the coverage. Thus, it is argued that the stress that is experienced has

immediate implications, the rewards are far down the road and such policies therefore invoke a gendered response from families. Women are more influenced than men by their children's needs and their spouse's job requirements in cutting back hours or leaving employment (Maume 2006 in Zhao et al. 2011: 734).

5.7.3 Canada

In Canada, provincial and territorial policies vary in the length of leave, flexibility of use, eligibility etc. Federal workers and workers for the territorial governments are regulated by the federal policy. Maternity leave is 15-18 weeks depending on the jurisdiction. The payment is 15 weeks at 55 percent of average insured earnings up to a maximum ceiling of CAN$413 per week. There is no payment for the first two weeks which is treated as a 'waiting period.' Paternity leave is for four days: one day before birth and three days post the delivery of the child. There is no payment for this leave (Doucet and Trembley 2006: 78-81).

Flexible Working

In the federal and Quebec jurisdictions, a pregnant woman or nursing mother may ask her employer to temporarily modify her duties to assign her to another position, if continuation of her present duties puts her health or that of her unborn child or nursing infant at risk (Doucet and Trembley 2006 : 82).

5.7.4 Australia

In Australia, the employment conditions of employees are detailed in *awards,* which are usually occupational or industry based prescriptive documents determined by industrial tribunals. There is no general entitlement to statutory maternity leave, but around 45 per cent of female employees have access to paid maternity leave through industrial awards or workplace agreements, primarily in public sector employment. The amount of paid leave that is granted varies significantly across employers. Similarly, there is no general entitlement to statutory paternity leave. But around a third of male employees have an employment right to some level of paid paternity leave as specified in the award or workplace agreement that determines their wages and conditions. Parental leave is fifty-two weeks per family around the birth or adoption of a child (up to the age of five years). Except for the week following the birth of the child when both parents may take leave parental leave, the remainder of the leave may only be taken by one or other parent (the child's nominated primary care provider) (Alexander 2006: 58-60).

5.8 Work-Life Policies in Asian Countries that have Ratified ILO Convention 156

I. South Korea

Beneria points out that the intense debate and recent policy transformations around reconciliation in Europe are not unique. In South Korea, since 2000 the government has introduced important welfare reforms to expand support for public policies regarding the care of children and the elderly. This was largely a result of economic and demographic concerns about fertility decline, care provision, and the need to activate the labour market (Beneria 2010). South Korea has experienced a decline in male wages, a significant increase in women's labour force participation and an erosion of the male-breadwinner household model. In particular, women were no longer able to engage in care work to the same degree as they had traditionally (Peng 2010).

Alarming demographic trends in Korea, particularly an unprecedented decrease in the fertility rate and an increase in the ageing rate, have been viewed as emerging social risks since the late 1990s (Baek et al. 2011: 144). Dual-earner families are not always a choice but a necessity for middle income groups. As women join the workforce, additional social services are needed to replace their traditional care giving in the family (ibid.: 145). The necessity to address the consequences of these trends led to important political changes in the Korean Care Regime. As Peng argues, Korea's tensions around these issues resulted in a shift of its care provisioning from a model of 'extensive familialism' to one of 'modified familialism' that includes public policies to help families with the responsibilities of care work (Peng 2010). First as a basic social safety net, the National Basic Livelihood Security Act was completely revised in 1999. This policy provides public work programs, medical assistance, child care, elder care, school fee subsidies and counselling services. Second, as family-related issues emerged as urgent national imperatives, the government enacted in the Basic Act for Healthy Families in 2003 to support the maintenance and development of families. In 2006, the government proposed the Basic Plan for the Low-Fertility and Ageing Society and invested social capital in related policies (Baek et al. 2011: 146).

Child Care in South Korea

The Infant Care Act enacted in 1991 was the first legislation that acknowledged the responsibility of central and local governments and the public for child care. In 2006, the Saessak Plan, which strengthened the role of the government in child care through 'mid-to-long-term childcare plans

(2006-10),' was introduced by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2006). The plan included, for example, doubling the number of public child care facilities to accommodate 30% of children by 2010, increasing the number of recipients of basic child care subsidies, and establishing an income-related subsidy. The subsequent government, however, shifted the focus to financial efficiency in policy-making. It introduced a voucher system in 2009, whereby the government subsidizes families that purchase child care facilities or establishing public facilities (Baek et al. 2011: 146).

While the government has had some success in reducing the economic burden on families, families still shoulder 50.3 percent of the child care costs (Baek et al. 2011: 147). The government has adopted various methods to regulate the quantity and quality of child care providers. It has established qualifications for heads of facilities and teachers, evaluation certifications of child care facilities, and an authorization system for establishing and operating private child care facilities. Moreover, the government sets annual guidelines for standard child care service fees. It does not, however, restrict the prices for extra curricular activities provided in the facilities, which add to the families' burden despite increasing government support (Baek et al. 2011: 148).

There are three children's benefits in Korea: *the support for child care services, the fostering allowance* and *the parental leave allowance*. The support for child care fees includes five programs: free child care for children with disabilities, basic subsidies for children aged 0-2, child care fee support for children in low-income families on a sliding scale, child care support for families with two or more children, and free child care for children age five (also applicable to those age six if they did not receive fee support at the age of five). The fostering allowance was introduced in 2008, to cover the fostering expenses for infants aged one or younger who are not enrolled in child care facilities or kindergartens, based on their family's financial situation. The parental leave allowance allows workers with children under three to apply for leave for one year. In April 2010, the age limit was raised to six years. All workers who have paid employment insurance for over six months can receive a monthly allowance of KRW 500,000 during parental leave (Baek et al. 2011: 149-50).

Elder Care in South Korea

The elder care regime in Korea includes medical services offered under National Health Insurance (NHI) and care services covered by Long-Term Insurance (LTCI). These services are funded by insurance contributions (Baek et al. 2011: 146). In 2009, only 4.9 percent of seniors were covered by LTCI, which suggests that family remains the primary caregiver. This

may reflect the continued influence of the traditional patriarchal system in Korea (ibid.). Two types of facilities provide long-term care services: institutions (i.e. licensed nursing homes, retirement homes and other residential establishments) and in-home care (i.e. home-visit care, home-visit bathing, home-visit nursing, day and night care and short-term respite care) (ibid.).

Working-Time Arrangements and Work-Life Balance in Korea

The status of women in Korea has been improved during the past two decades since the 1987 Equal Employment Opportunity Act. The Act aimed to eliminate gender discrimination against women in the workplace and thereby improve the socioeconomic status of working women as well as promote their welfare by protecting maternity and vocational status. It prohibits gender discrimination in recruitment, hiring, wages, vocational education and training, deployment, promotion, retirement, and dismissal (Kim, 2005 in Kim 2008: 465). After the declaration of the Platform for Action and Strategic Plans for Gender Mainstreaming in the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women (Beijing, China), Korea adopted the 1995 Women's Development Act in order to promote gender equality and women's development in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. The Act requires that a government plan specifying fundamental direction, goals, and source of funding for women's policy be established and implemented every five years. In 2000, the Ministry of Gender Equality was established for the purpose of formulating national policies regarding gender equality, women's leadership and workforce development, and women's social and political participation (Kim 2007 in Kim 2008: 465).

As a result, women's participation in economic activities has increased. According to Korea's National Statistical Office, the participation rate of women in economic activities was 42.8 percent in 1983, and 47.8 percent in 1994. By 2004 it had increased to 53.9 percent (OECD 2005), but it was still low compared to Western countries, such as the United States (69.2 percent), the United Kingdom (69.6 percent) and Sweden (76.6 percent). So, Korea still has far to go in improving women's status (Kim 2008: 465). The Confucian family tradition in Korea has regarded women's exclusive responsibility as being to provide familial care. Women's increased labor market participation has reduced the traditional caring capacities of households, and so the need to accommodate work and family has emerged as the main concern of working mothers (Won, 2005). The Korean government has developed family-friendly policies in response to the increase of female civil servants since the amendment of the National Civil Service Act in 1994. It has started to view family-friendly policies as important tools for recruiting women and supporting their career

advancement efforts (Kim 2007). The parental leave program has been implemented since 1995, and the part time work system since 2005. The family-friendly benefits available to the civil servants include ante-natal leave (one day of paid leave per month during pregnancy), health leave (one day of paid leave per month for women), maternity leave (90 days of paid leave before and after the birth of a child), paternity leave (three days of paid leave at the birth of a child), parental leave (one year of leave for each child, maximum three years), leave for family reasons (one year of leave for caring for a sick family member), leave for accompanying a spouse (up to three years of leave when accompanying a spouse going abroad for work or study), breast-feeding leave (one hour paid leave per day for caring for a child before the child's first birthday), on-site childcare, childcare subsidies, space and facilities for breastfeeding or pumping breast milk in the workplace, part-time work plans, and cafeteria benefit plans (MOGAHA, 2003, 2005a in Kim 2008:469). In general, the government organizations provide generous leave policies but changes in work arrangements are rarely offered.

Male-centered practices such as long working-hours and informal meetings after work also discriminate against women, who are required to combine family responsibility with work; that is, the organizational culture may still reflect male values and tend to be gendered (Acker 1990 in Kim 2008: 472). Since the family-friendly programs are not properly bundled, real change would require providing the right combination of family-friendly policies. More serious is that the civil servants are reluctant to take advantage of family-friendly programs. They may not only fear the loss of career opportunities, as in the Western countries, but they may also be influenced by gendered organizational practices and cultures (Kim 2008: 473).

In the context of the policies of private organizations, it is pointed out that although work sharing through Work Time Arrangements that accounts for WLB must be the key element of employment policies aimed at increasing the employment rate in the mid-to-long term, there are still widespread negative perceptions regarding part-time or flexible work in Korea (Kim and Hwang 2009: 8).

Companies are so accustomed to employment practices centred around full-time, standard male workers that they are unskilled in the managing of diverse human resources by allowing working-time discretion or hiring part-timers. They are also concerned about the negative consequences of work sharing such as higher labour costs (due to increased fixed costs) and business discontinuity. Unions and women's organizations also remain wary of advocating part-time work or more flexible work hours, concerned that although WTA may incur job opportunities, workers may get caught

up in non-standard jobs that are low paid and lack employment security (Kim and Hwang 2009 : 4-5).

By age group, the economic participation rate among women in their late thirties and forties have remained unchanged since the late 1990s. This shows that even after they become relatively free from childcare responsibilities, they experience challenges in returning to the labour market after a career disconnect (Kim and Hwang 2009: 4).

II. Japan

When Japan's total fertility rate reached a postwar low of 1.57 in 1989, it provided a major stimulus for promoting Work-Life Balance (WLB). Official reports and plans attributed the low fertility rate to a progressive tendency towards late marriage and declining fertility among couples. It was acknowledged that there were progressive inroads into workplace by females due to raised aspirations and advancement in higher education. Women then faced difficulties in balancing child rearing with jobs. WLB policies in Japan, thus, owe their origin to work related problems faced by women, gender equality problems and the problem of a declining birth rate (Ikezoe 2014: 108-9).

The Charter for Work-Life Balance drawn up in December 2007, highlights working hours as a primary focus for concrete measures. It sets out to reduce long working hours, encourage workers to take their annual paid leave and promote the use of flexible working hour systems. On the problem of working locations, it aims to promote tele-working and working at home, as well as mentioning female labour problems, prohibition of discrimination, fair condition, and the introduction of balanced treatment systems to meet the increase in part-time workers. It also cites measures to develop infrastructure for child rearing and nursery care (Ikezoe 2014: 110). Kawaguchi argues that the motive behind the policy of the 40-hour working week, introduced in 1997, which applied to all companies was pressure from overseas resulting from trade friction. WLB policies in the 2000s were introduced to control the declining birthrate. Thus, achieving gender equality was not necessarily the main objective of these policies (Kawaguchi 2013: 38-9).

Childcare leave in Japan

In Japan's system of childcare leave, leave can be taken until the child reaches one year of age, i.e. 52 weeks. When both parents take leave, leave can be taken until the child reaches one year and two months of age. When a child is not admitted to a nursery centre, leave may be taken until a child reaches one year and six months of age (Ikezoe 2014: 112). The Child Care

and Family Care Leave Act 1991 (Amended 2005) stipulates that while on leave, workers will receive half their wage as a Childcare Leave Benefit under the employment insurance system. It guarantees a short-time work system and an exemption from overtime work for workers with a child aged under three years. Workers whose children have not yet started elementary school have the right to take sick/injured child care leave, in order to enable such workers to take care of their children if unwell (Kawaguchi 2013: 38). Meanwhile, although applying for childcare leave is left to the worker, an employer cannot refuse a child care application (Ikezoe 2014: 112-13).

In comparison to other countries, Japan's system is less generous than Germany and France (where leave can be taken up to three years), but still allows a maximum of 18 months. Unlike France and the UK, the husband can take childcare leave during the wife's postnatal leave, and because a second childcare leave may be taken in this case, Japan supports both men and women in balancing work and family life (Ikezoe 2014: 112-13).

Flexible Working Styles – Japan

a. Irregular working hours: Companies are allowed to fix irregular working hours as long as weekly working hours averaged from actual hours worked within a fixed period do not exceed 40 hours, they are not treated as exceeding statutory working hours.

b. Flextime Systems: Under the Labour Standards Act, article 32.3, the workers have discretion over their hours of starting and finishing work, on condition that they provide a certain number of labour hours within a certain period of time (the settlement period). That is they can start and finish work freely within time bands of several hours in the morning and the afternoon. A 'core time band' of several hours on either side of noon is set, when labour must always be provided. On the other hand, some companies set 'super-flextime systems' with no specified core time (Ikezoe 2014: 118-119).

In some ways flextime systems in Japan cannot be seen as necessarily contributing to WLB, as they only offer freedom in the time of starting and finishing work and the prescribed total working hours must be worked within the settlement period. If flex-time systems could be used in combination with part-time work, they would make a great contribution to WLB. Japan's flexible working hour system was codified in a form that meets the need of companies, in response to the need for a policy on working hour reduction and the increasing service orientation of the economy, its purpose was to ensure the flexibility of business management. In that case,

Japan's system offers flexibility for companies but not for workers (Ikezoe 2014: 119-20).

After examining the objectives of the government in introducing WLB policies, Kawaguchi looks at the reasons why companies promote WLB policies. A nationwide survey conducted in 2009 revealed that irrespective of the scale of the company, the reason cited by the largest number of them was 'to fulfill our corporate social responsibility.' Judging from the history of the government's requirement that companies provide support for achieving compatibility between work and family as a measure to counter the declining birthrate, there can be no doubt that the term 'social responsibility here refers to contributing to measures to counter the declining birth rate. In Japan's culture, it is perhaps easier for companies to accept WLB measures as steps to counter the declining birth rate, rather than measures to promote gender equality.

Nursery Care in Japan

Like other countries, Japan has developed very diverse systems, although Japan, unlike in France and the UK does not have a system of free early-years education. Numbers of approved nursery centres, certified nursery centres, non-approved nursery center (including nursery care facilities within companies) and others have increased since the various programmes were first started. However, there is still a mismatch between supply and demand, with many infants still waiting for places (Ikezoe 2014: 123).

5.9 ILO Convention no. 156: Non Ratifying Countries

A large number of countries, i.e. 140 have not ratified the ILO Convention No. 156. Among these countries, there are some who have few policies for work-life balance, particularly pertaining to maternity and childcare. The sub-section below examines some of these policies and their implementation in Asian and South Asian countries that have not ratified the convention. India is also one of the countries that has not ratified the convention and there are many reasons that are identified for non-ratification of the convention. The huge informal economy and increasing informalisation of employment relations has been a major challenge for policy makers in extending social security provisions to large numbers of workers in India. Moreover, the statistical invisibility of most of the women workers in the informal sector further deprives them of many social security and care benefits. The notion of flexible working hours or part-time work has not achieved much attention in policy directives in India. Apart from this, the provisions of the existing labour laws are not much in line with the recommendations of the convention and need to be amended. Presently,

the country has only maternity and childcare policies implemented in certain sectors. Towards the end, this section discusses the policies that have been introduced in India.

Table 5.5
List of countries that have not Ratified ILO Convention No. 156

1	Afghanistan	24	Chad	47	Germany
2	Algeria	25	China	48	Ghana
3	Angola	26	Colombia	49	Guinea-Bissau
4	Antigua & Barbuda	27	Comoros	50	Guyana
5	Armenia	28	Congo	51	Haiti
6	Austria	29	Costa Rica	52	Honduras
7	Bahamas	30	Cuba	53	Hungary
8	Bahrain	31	Cyprus	54	India
9	Bangladesh	32	Czech Republic	55	Indonesia
10	Barbados	33	Cote	56	Iran
11	Belarus	34	D'lvore	57	Iraq
12	Belgium	35	Democratic Republic of the Congo	58	Ireland
13	Benim	36	Denmark	59	Israel
14	Botswana	37	Dijibouti	60	Italy
15	Brazil	38	Dominica	61	Jamica
16	Brunei Darussalam	39	Egypt	62	Jordan
17	Burkina Faso	40	Equatorial Guinea	63	Kenya
18	Burundi	41	Evitrea	64.	Kiribati
19	Cabo Verde	42	Estonia	65	Kuwait
20	Cambodia	43	Fiji	66	Kyrgystan
21	Cameroon	44	Gubon	67	Lao's People Democratic Republic
22	Canada	45	Gambia	68	Latvia
23	Central African Republic	46	Georgia	69	Lebonon
70	Lesotho	94	Pakistan	118	Suriname
71	Liberia	95	Panama	119	Swaziland
72	Libya	96	Papua New Guinea	120	Switzerland
73	Luxemburg	97	Philippines	121	Syrian Arab Republic
74	Madagascar	98	Poland	122	Tajikistan
75	Malawi	99	Qatar	123	Tanzania

76	Malaysia	100	Romania	124	Thailand
77	Maldives	101	Rwanda	125	Timor-Leste
78	Mali	102	Saint Kitts and Nevis	126	Togo
79	Malta	103	Saint Lucia	127	Trinidad and Tobago
80	Marshall Islands	104	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	128	Tunisia
81	Mauritiana	105	Samoa	129	Turkey
82	Mexico	106	Sao Tome and Principe	130	Turkmenistan
83	Republic of Maldova	107	Saudi Arabia	131	Tuvalu
84	Mongolia	108	Senegal	132	Uganda
85	Morocco	109	Seychelles	133	United Arab Emirates
86	Mozambique	110	Sierra Leone	134	United Kingdom
87	Myanmar	111	Singapore	135	United States
88	Namibia	112	Solomon Islands	136	Uzbekistan
89	Nepal	113	Somalia	137	Vanuatu
90	New Zealand	114	South Africa	138	Vietnam
91	Nicaragua	115	South Sudan	139	Zambia
92	Nigeria	116	Sri Lanka	140	Zimbabwe
93	Oman	117	Sudan		

Source: www.ilo.org

5.9.1 Policies in Countries that have not Ratified ILO Convention no. 156

The maternity leave policy available to women in Bangladesh is 12 weeks which is paid at 100 percent. However, interestingly enough, there are no specific laws that exist for management level (women) workers. The law that exists "Bangladesh Srom Ain, 2006" or The Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006 given in Chapter IV called Maternity Benefit, refers to workers engaged in manual work mainly in factories, etc. In fact the definition of worker given in Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006, Chapter I, Section 2 (Lxv) is "any person, including an apprentice, employed in any establishment or industry, either directly or through a contractor, to do any skilled, unskilled, manual, technical, trade promotional or clerical work for hire or reward, whether the terms of employment be expressed or implied, but does not include a person employed mainly in a managerial or administrative capacity."

The leave period that is guaranteed to non-management women workers is similar to Pakistan, Singapore and Sri Lanka from the Asian region. Most Middle Eastern countries offer even lower number of days as

maternity leave. However, Bangladesh got worldwide attention in 2004 when female garments workers took to the streets because of non-implementation of the law by garments factory owners. The General Secretary of the National Garment Worker's Federation alleged that most women were compelled to leave their jobs after the birth of their babies and if they wanted to start work again in the same factory they would have to start as new workers with lower salaries instead of being re-instated to their former positions; some factory owners did provide leave to their workers but did not pay them as per the provisions of the law. There are at least 1,800,000 workers in the garments sector, 85 percent of whom are women. In developing countries such as Bangladesh, where labour is cheap and easily available due to rampant population growth, perhaps women not returning to work after pregnancy is not even a problem as there are new and young women willing to replace them (Anam 2008: 96). The rest of the facilities such as flextime, personal leave days, four-day work week, etc. are unheard of in Bangladesh (Anam 2008: 96).

In Sri Lanka, a woman worker[46] is entitled to maternity leave for 12 weeks. Employees covered by the Shop and Offices employees Act receive 100 percent pay while others receive 86 percent of the pay. There is no provision of paid/unpaid paternity leave in the labour and employment laws of Sri Lanka. In China, working women are entitled to 13 weeks of maternity leave, which is funded through social security.[47]

5.9.2 India

In India, the provisions for care, specifically, maternity leave and child care leave are managed by the employer. Presently, the length of maternity leave provided under the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 is 12 weeks, that includes six weeks up to and including the day of her delivery and six weeks immediately following that day.[48] However, the central government employees are entitled to 180 days of maternity leave and 15 days of paternity leave as per the recommendations of the Central Pay

[46] "woman worker" means a woman (other than a woman employed in or about the business of a shop or an office or a woman whose employment is of a casual nature) employed on wages in any trade, whether such wages are calculated by time or by work done or otherwise and whether the contract of employment or service was made before or after the commencement of this Ordinance, and whether such contract is expressed or implied, oral or in writing (Maternity Benefits Ordinance, 1941).

[47] Website of Human Rights Watch (http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/us0211web_chart.pdf), accessed on 15.12.14.

[48] As mentioned in the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, No. 53 of 1961, Gazette of India.

Commission. Further, the women employees have also the provision of child care leave to be taken upto two children. Recently, the Supreme Court of India passed a judgment for uninterrupted childcare leave for two years which also includes leave for examination and sickness. [49]

In India there is now a legal requirement for organizations with over 100 employees to develop Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) programmes at the workplace and provide EEO reports annually to the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA) (Burgess, Henderson and Strachan 2005 in Palanivel and Sinthuja 2012: 217).

5.10 Concluding Remarks

As the discussion in this chapter has shown, developed countries, with a favourable legislation and more developed family policies in terms of conciliation of work and family, have achieved higher levels of equality regarding gender roles. In developing countries however, social practices related to care are embedded in traditional cultural contexts that are difficult to modify without policy initiatives that favour a change among the collective awareness (Minguez 2012: 295). This is the case in India, as has also been brought about by findings from the primary survey presented in previous chapters.

The designing and implementation of policies that promote the reconciliation of work and family responsibilities including affordable, quality care services for children, parental and other leave schemes are essential and must be extended to all workers. For such initiatives to bring about effective changes towards greater gender equality, they must be accompanied by campaigns to sensitize public opinion on equal sharing of employment and family responsibilities between women and men.

[49] As per Supreme Civil Appeal No. 4506 of 2014, Kakali Ghosh vs. Chief Secretary, Andaman & Nicobar Islands. A bench of justices SJ Mukhopadhaya and V. Gopala Gowda set aside the order of Calcutta High Court which had held that Central Civil Services (Leave) Rules do not permit uninterrupted CCL (Child Care Leave) for 730 days.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The reconciliation of work and family is viewed as integral to social protection strategies and programmes aimed at enhancing the social and economic security and well being of families and, in particular, of working mothers. If properly designed, work-family reconciliation measures can also contribute to gender equality both in the labour market and in personal life.[50] While there has been great progress in recent decades in engaging women in the labour force, there has been considerably less advance on improving the conditions under which they work, recognizing their unpaid work, eliminating discriminatory practices and laws related to property and inheritance rights, and providing support for childcare. Ensuring that women and men have equal opportunities to generate and manage income is an important step towards realizing women's rights. Moreover, children's rights are more likely to be fulfilled when women fully enjoy their social and economic rights (UNICEF 2006). Even the Beijing Platform for Action on Work and Family Reconciliation calls on governments to promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men.

Some of the important policy agendas advocated by the declaration include adoption of appropriate protection of labour laws and social security benefits for part-time, temporary, seasonal and home-based workers; promoting career development based on work conditions that harmonise work and family responsibilities; ensuring through legislation, incentives and/or encouragement, opportunities for women and men to take job-protected parental leave and to have parental benefits, promotion of equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women, including, through appropriate legislation, incentives and/or encouragement, the facilitation of breastfeeding for working mothers; developing policies, inter alia, in education to change attitudes that reinforce the division of labour based on gender in order to promote the concept of shared family responsibility for work in the home, particularly in relation to children and elder care; examining a range of policies and programmes, including social security legislation and taxation systems, in accordance with national priorities and policies, to determine how to promote gender equality and flexibility in the way people divide their time between and derive benefits from education and training, paid employment, family responsibilities, volunteer and other activities and to promote the benefits from these

[50] As brought out in 312th session of Governing body of ILO in November 2011, (GB.312/POL/4)Policy Development Section on Work-Life Balance (Fagan et al. 2012).

activities. Likewise, the action platform calls for the private sector, non-governmental organizations and unions to apply measures regarding temporary leave, changes in hours of work, educational and informational campaigns, and the provision of services such as child care at the workplace and flexible working hours (ILO and UNDP 2009).

In this context, understanding the challenges of integrating work and family life and maintaining a balance between the demands of paid work and unpaid work has been a central theme of discussion in this study. It is usually a preconceived notion that researches on work and family life focus on conflicting situations women come across in trying to establish a balance between work and family life reconciliation which reflects the managerial perspective. Many studies in the developed economies have focused on extension of leave arrangements like child care and maternity and paternity leave to women workers. However, the critical perspectives developed about such studies emphasized that restricting childcare provisions to women workers somehow legitimizes the gender differentials and assigns childcare responsibilities to be the sole prerogative of mothers, thereby perpetuating inequalities. However, the discourse now has shifted to a different level where men and women redistribute the responsibilities of care and the state also recognises the right to care (Busby 2011). Moreover feminist legal scholarship has also moved from an instrumentalist to a more complex approach that recognizes the normative, institutional and discursive dimension of law and its dynamic and contradictory relationship with the social (Fudge 2013). Feminists have insisted that care responsibilities, in particular, are not simply women's issues, but matters of social responsibility and global justice, hence it is crucial for labour law to take social reproduction more seriously (Fudge 2013).

The present study highlighted on various issues pertaining to work-family negotiations and brought out clearly the dearth of policies in this regard. An analysis of average time use patterns of working women reflected on the differential and unequal distribution of time in both paid and unpaid activities, thereby reiterating the need to consider time use data as a very reliable and valid source to design policies on work and family life balance. The study thus, highlighted on pertinent issues with regard to gendered nature of housework and the non- realization of most of women's work in national polices.

The study was divided into five chapters which may be summarized as follows:

The *first chapter* contextualized the study by highlighting the role that women play as primary caregivers in families across different societies.

As the burden of care and domestic work falls largely on women, policies that encourage the redistribution of work and responsibilities and enable women to balance their work and family life assume special significance. The chapter discussed the recommendations of the ILO Convention 156 'Workers with Family Responsibilities' that emphasizes the need to create effective equality of opportunity and treatment between men and women workers with family responsibilities and between such workers and other workers. The chapter also highlighted the issue of devaluation of women's work. All of women's work in the domestic sphere is excluded from the realm of economic activity and not reflected in the labour force participation rate. Feminist economists have argued for unpaid care work to be taken into account in statistics and in policy making. Time use survey as a tool for capturing paid and unpaid work is essential to the larger policy discourse on understanding women's work. This study, by making use of the time-use survey has highlighted the pressures that working women, engaged in different sectors and different kinds of employment, face in managing their domestic and professional responsibilities. The chapter then outlined the objectives, methodology and sample of the study and presented the socio-economic profile of women respondents.

The *second chapter* provided a brief overview of the complex labour market situation prevailing in India and highlighted the gender differentials observed in the employment trends for men and women. It was revealed that the labour force participation for women had declined over the years in spite of the improvement in the level of education. An analysis of NSS unit level data (68th Round, 2011-12) on education level of workers in 18-45 age group revealed that female workers were mostly illiterate, educated up to upper primary/middle level and were holding degrees in traditional disciplines in both rural and urban areas. Though some women in urban areas had a better position as they were post-graduates and above, but a question which arises here is whether their access to higher education has also led to improved labour market participation? In fact, the concentration of women in traditional disciplines and a lack of appropriate skill training have restricted them in finding a suitable job as per the current market requirements. Such a situation was highlighted in the analysis on sectoral participation of women in 18-45 age groups where women were mostly engaged in sectors like education, garment manufacturing, health, IT/ITes and the retail sector. However, in spite of a high growth rate of the Indian economy, not enough jobs are created and women remain confined to low-paying and insecure employment in some sectors. In this regard, an assessment of the extension of social security benefits to women workers across sectors as analyzed from various NSS rounds further reflected on a declining trend of provision of

these benefits to women workers. Literature on women's work and social protection highlighted that women's participation in paid work is affected by domestic responsibilities, social norms and the gendered nature of risks that women experience throughout their life, which also constrains their career advancement and often puts them at crossroads in balancing work and family. The chapter thus outlined the macro-trends of women's work and employment and provided the context for policy initiatives that can enable equality in opportunities and work-family reconciliation for both men and women.

Based on the findings of field-research and time-use survey, the *third chapter* highlighted on the pressures that women experienced in integrating their work and family lives. It was found that the responsibility of household tasks fell mainly on women. Domestic chores such as cooking, washing clothes, cleaning, and purchase of household necessities were taken care mostly by the women themselves, while a significant proportion reported that their husbands' contribution in sharing of responsibility of housework was mainly confined to making purchases for the household. Women also largely managed childcare themselves as the husbands' contribution was limited to tasks like dropping and picking up children from school and coaching classes, assisting with homework and visiting the child's school for Parent-Teachers' meeting. In their efforts to juggle between work and family, women often neglected their own health and well-being, which was evident from reduced time-spent on sleep and leisure on a working day and the fact that only a small proportion of women exercised regularly. Gender inequalities were evident not only in the long hours women spent on unpaid work in the household, but also in aspects of decision-making. Whereas, they had a say in decisions on household expenses and purchase of assets, for more strategic decisions such as those related to their career, they often valued the preferences of other family members. While exploring the challenges between work and family life, it was found that women experienced innumerable challenges and since they considered both the role of a mother and the role of a working professional as equally important, it became difficult for them to do justice to both. Such revelations became very prominent in their time-use patterns which indicated marked discrepancies in average hours spent on SNA, Ex-SNA and Non-SNA. Apart from this, it was also evident that majority of women desired greater equality in gender roles as they expected their husbands to contribute more in sharing domestic work and childcare responsibilities.

The *fourth chapter* discussed about the perceptions of women workers on organizational policies and also endeavored to contextualize the provisions of Convention 156 in informing policies on work-family reconciliation.

It focused on various challenges faced by women in their working lives in relation to their career mobility, insecurities associated with nature of employment, lack of flexibility in working hours, leave arrangements and provision of maternity and childcare facilities at the workplace. The findings of the primary survey and case studies brought out very clearly the vulnerability of contract workers. Contract workers lacked access to basic provisions i.e. paid leave, maternity leave, periodical increments, promotion and lack of mechanism to provide them the status of permanent workers after serving for a considerable period of time in a particular organization. It was clearly evident that organizational policies across sectors were not favourable for promoting upward career mobility for most of the women workers. Many sectors like IT, manufacturing, retail etc. were found to have long working hours without any flexibility in timings. With regard to policies on childcare and maternity, many employers across different sectors did not provide adequate provisions, in spite of the fact that they engaged larger number of women as employees, particularly in sectors like garment manufacturing and the retail sector. The suggestions provided by women workers highlighted on many important policy concerns like flexibility in working hours, encouragement of part-time work, work from home, establishment of crèches at workplaces, increase in maternity leave up to 6 months in all sectors at par with entitlements of government employees, introduction of parental leave policies extended to both men and women to promote greater equality in gender relations and effective work-life reconciliation. It was further revealed that women workers expected employers to provide them facilities for commuting to the workplace and emphasized the need for safety measures, particularly when working in night shifts. Finally, the perceptions of women workers on organizational policies revealed that the existing practices at their workplaces were not much in line with the provisions of the ILO Convention 156.

The *fifth chapter* provided a comparative analysis of various policies on care and work-life balance across different countries in the context of ratification of Convention 156. Countries that have ratified ILO Convention 156, in particular, have introduced effective policy measures. As the discussion in this chapter showed, countries with a favourable legislation and more developed family policies in terms of reconciliation of work and family, have achieved higher levels of equality regarding gender roles. The analysis presented by the Global Gender Gap report also highlighted the differences in gender equality indicators across countries, revealing that countries with effective work-life balance policies showed greater equality not just in economic participation, but also in terms of the distribution of unpaid work between men and women. The policies examined across countries were based on various approaches namely, market intervention,

state intervention or combination of both public and private initiatives. Though the developed countries have generous provisions on maternity and parental leave, yet, the developing nations had a long way to go. In addition to maternity leave, policies on part-time, flexi work etc., parental leave, and elder care have occupied a prominent place in the developmental agendas of countries like the European Union, South Korea, Australia, USA, Japan etc. On the contrary, the developing nations have only reported to have policies restricted to maternity and child care. Since notions about care are deeply embedded in social and cultural contexts, and the state intervention on care is limited in such countries, it becomes imperative to address the issues of care, keeping in view the cultural matrix of such countries exhibiting diversities in composition of population. More specifically, the Indian context, which portrays tremendous diversity in terms of caste, religion, region, ethnicity, class etc. demands a thorough understanding about the existing gendered practices across social groups before initiating any policy measures on care, effective work-life balance, and empowerment of women.

The chapter thus, argued that it was not just the introduction of work-life balance and care policies that were important in India and other developing countries, but policy measures need to be accompanied by campaigns to sensitize public opinion for greater equality in gender roles.

From the discussion and analysis in the study as summarized above, it becomes evident that women have often found it difficult to negotiate within the gendered structure of social relations. Their traditional roles as care-givers were reinforced since the division of labour within the household remained unequal. Hence there is a need for redesigning of appropriate gender-sensitive policy measures that not only aim at addressing unpaid care work through extension of state-sponsored care facilities, but also emphasise on redistribution of unpaid care and domestic responsibilities, thereby altering gender relations that get institutionalized through social and cultural norms. Some of the policy recommendations in this regard are discussed below.

Policy Recommendations

The policy framework adopted in India like some other developing nations has not aimed at altering of gender relations, rather the extension of childcare leave to working mothers itself has normalized childcare activities as the prerogative of women as deeply entrenched in the very nature of patriarchy. Introduction of parental leave policies where men are also involved in childcare would lead to major transformation in gender relations. Countries must design policies appropriate to their own contexts, teasing out margins for action to foster life-work reconciliation and the socialization of care. This may involve reinforcing the potential of existing policies in specific sectors, among them programs centring on the poorest people (ILO and UNDP 2009).

The following are some of the recommendations that have emerged from the study:

- ***Capturing Unpaid Work*:** There is a need to capture the magnitude of care work and mark the statistical invisibility of such work through adoption of regular time use surveys with context variables appropriately captured across different social groups. Women and men's time distribution patterns would inform social policies that are to be designed for work family reconciliation. The conducting of national time-use surveys at regular intervals would enable policy makers to understand the gendered vulnerabilities that women come across throughout their lifecycle. Moreover, there is also a need for gender mainstreaming of labour force surveys with certain additional questions on care provisions extended across various sectors which will facilitate an understanding about the critical concerns related to care and access to such services. More specifically, questions on women's withdrawal from workforce, access to care services in families, questions on cultural constraints and institutional barriers across regions, communities and different social groups would enable an understanding of distribution of care functions deeply embedded in different social structural and cultural arrangements of our society. As the ILO-UNDP report points out, among its many advantages, a time use analysis helps to pinpoint the degree of responsibility for productive and reproductive work of certain social actors. Information must also be collected on current availability of care (from both public and private sources), working conditions for those employed, and the opportunities available to them to adequately reconcile work and family responsibilities (ILO and UNDP 2009: 141).

- ***Research Studies on Work and Family Life Balance:*** Studies need to be undertaken to highlight on the challenges experienced by women in negotiating work and family. These studies need to focus on providing a comparative picture about policies across countries and also inform about the good practices adopted in certain countries. The impact of these policies also needs to be assessed through these studies, sponsored by the government and other international agencies. Such studies would provide policy directions for redesigning appropriate policies on work and family life balance.
- ***Approach to Care:*** *Care* to be incorporated as a social security agenda and the approach to care should be based on the ideals of social justice where polices should aim at redistribution of both paid and household unpaid work. The feminist concerns on situatededness of knowledge and *standpoint epistemologies* have very aptly negotiated for a more particularistic approach which is sensitive to women belonging to diverse social groups. Such epistemic privileging located in the standpoint of the marginalized or disadvantaged, and all women regardless of social location, occupy this position. Standpoint feminists have continually emphasised on knowledge being located in women's everyday/ every night world, which need to be analysed within broader relations of ruling or social structures (Harding 1987; Smith 1987, 1999). Many feminist scholars advocating on social protection have led a call for de-feminizing care and in order to do this we will need, on the one hand, the objectification of family policies towards acknowledgement and externalization of unpaid care work, as a possible form of social policy, and on the other hand, family policies that favour gender equality in the field of family, market and the different institutional contexts where decisions are taken (Kabeer 2008).
- ***Provision of Care Services:*** As per the recommendations of the 6th Central Pay commission and the recommendations of the ILO Convention 156, it is imperative for the state and the employers to set-up appropriate services for child care, affordable or free of charge in accordance with the workers' ability to pay. By transferring some domestic tasks and care giving to the market and public services, countries can increase and formalize already existing employment niches and create new jobs. This not only offers a new source of jobs and progress toward equality, but also offers the potential for creating decent work, all of which help combat poverty (ILO

and UNDP 2009). It was evident from the findings of the study that an absence of adequate childcare facilities at the workplace or around it was a critical factor resulting in interruptions in women's employment and career. Women who had to continue with their employment due to financial pressures, found it extremely difficult to reconcile the demands of paid work with family responsibilities. Improved access to affordable care provisions at the workplace would have positive implications for career choices and well-being of women employees. In this regard, the state may develop an existing mechanism to strengthen the existing policy framework on provision of care services to employees.

- ***Provisions for Transport:*** Many women respondents who formed part of this study pointed out the difficulties in commuting and the long hours they spent in commuting to and from work. As also recommended by ILO Convention 156, it is important for employers in India to take measures to provide transport facilities to employees so that they save upon the valuable time spent on travelling so that they overcome the conflicting demands of reconciling unpaid care and paid work. As the recommendation of the convention contends, such measures would have a favourable impact on workers with family responsibilities (ILO Convention 156, Recommendation 165, Section VII, No. 34).
- ***Regulatory Framework*****:** The existing labour legislations in India are not much in line with international labour standards and hence the possibility of ratification of the Convention becomes a complex issue. Hence there is a need for amendment of the existing labour laws to protect the interests of workers in a globalised economy and also taking necessary steps towards incorporating the provisions of Convention 156 within the existing national legislations.
- ***Protection of Informal Workers*****:** Women workers in the informal sector face the highest potential conflict between work and family life, since they are not covered by current welfare initiatives or labour legislation regarding maternity and workers with family responsibilities. For this reason, policies to reconcile work and family must deal with the issue of informal and precarious employment (ILO and UNDP 2009). Hence informal workers need to be protected with favourable legislative measures that not only provide basic social security provisions, but also lead to reduced time pressures in domestic work through redistribution of work between both men and women. More specifically, parental benefits viz. maternity leave, paternity leave and parental leave should be

extended as universal benefits to the most vulnerable of workers: own-account and unregistered wage workers in the informal sector groups. Such workers should also have access to adequate care services for children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled.

- ***Role of Employers*:** The findings of the study revealed that most of the employers did not undertake any responsibility to organize orientation programmes for sensitizing the employees about various organizational policies on work and family life balance. As mentioned in Chapter Four, 88 percent of women respondents reported that no awareness sessions were organized at their workplace to inform them about policies such as maternity benefit or other such entitlements. Only 12 percent respondents said that their employers informed them about such policies at the workplace. Though such policies were restricted only to provisions like maternity and childcare, yet many workers were not aware about their rights and also the legal protection available in the country. Lack of awareness and effective implementation of policies for reconciliation of work and family life had implications for continuity in employment and upward career mobility of women. Therefore, it is imperative for the employers to create awareness and disseminate appropriate information to the employees.
- ***Parental Leave Policies:*** Care policies existing in India perceive women as the main caregivers with limited roles provided to men to share care responsibilities equally. Such practices further reinforce women's roles as traditional caregivers and deprives them of many labour market opportunities. Keeping in view the declining labour market participation rate of women, it becomes necessary to design policies that engage both men and women in managing care responsibilities. Such policies would not only encourage labour force participation for women, but would also contribute in redistribution of time and ensure a balance in gender relations. From the cross-country analysis in Chapter Five, it was further evident that countries with more developed family policies for conciliation of work and family had achieved higher levels of equality in gender roles. Many countries not only entitle men to paid paternity leave but have policies that encourage parents to share parental leave entitlements. The introduction and effective implementation of such policies across different sectors in India would thus, be a significant step in promoting greater sensibility towards gender equality.

- ***Recognizing Part-Time and Flexi-Work*:** Flexibility in work-hours and in location of work has been recognized as crucial in enabling working women and men to balance their work and family responsibilities. Countries that have introduced such policies and brought about changes in work arrangements and schedules have provided working parents with greater options that have enhanced their work performance, with opportunity for upward career mobility along with managing their family responsibilities. This has also been one of the main recommendations of the ILO Convention 156 that advocates flexible arrangements as regards working schedules, rest periods and holidays (ILO Convention 156, Recommendation 165, Section IV, No. 18). What also becomes important in this context, as the recommendations of the convention suggests, is the regulation of the terms and conditions of employment, including social security coverage for part-time and temporary workers so that they do not suffer any discrimination.
- ***Role of Labour Departments:*** The active engagement of Labour Departments is crucial to ensuring entitlements such as maternity benefit, paternity benefit to the workers. Labour departments need to be strengthened by engaging women officers who would carry out inspections at work-sites to monitor compliance with labour laws and also check whether employers in different establishments have set-up adequate care facilities for their employees. Cases of non-compliance should have stringent penalties and the amount of fine imposed on employers needs to be increased.
- ***Sensitization Campaigns:*** In developing countries, the objective of addressing care needs is not only to reform social policies, but to bring about a change in the attitudes and values that perceive women as solely responsible for care work. Therefore, it is advocated that social and family policies need to be developed in these countries in the framework of a dual perspective: on the one hand, facilitating the externalization of family services through its provision by state and market, in order to promote increased economic participation of women, and on the other hand, promoting educational policies that remove cultural barriers that explain unequal distribution of domestic tasks and traditional gender roles (Minguez 2012 : 295). The acknowledgement of economic activities carried out by women in developing countries is much more difficult due to cultural expectations of men and women, as women are not even expected to work under the same conditions as men (ibid.). Thus, campaigns to sensitize public opinion on equal sharing of employment and family responsibilities between women and men need to be initiated by different social actors.

- ***Role of Labour Unions and Civil Society Organizations:*** Policies on work-life balance need to be formulated in consultation with various stakeholders through tri-partite meetings. Since labour unions and women's organizations have a larger role to play in recognizing the voice and 'agency' of women workers, there is a need for the unions to create awareness about the rights of workers.
- ***Efforts towards the Ratification of ILO Convention 156:*** Since the convention has a broader scope for not only protecting the rights of workers but also ensuring family well-being, there is a need to identify the problems, assess the gaps and institutional machinery for designing effective work-life balance policies. The competent authorities need to design appropriate policies in line with provisions of the convention in order to ensure protection of workers' rights. Such efforts at the initial stage would pave the way for exploring possibilities for prospects of ratification in future.

In view of the above, it becomes imperative to redesign a gender sensitive approach in policy making to address the complex issues and challenges experienced by women workers in reconciling work and family life balance. Such a policy endeavor would not only enable women's greater participation and sustenance in the labour market through a redistribution of their working hours at the workplace and within the household, but would also ensure their overall well-being and better quality of life. International labour standards such as the ILO Convention 156 have been instrumental in guiding many policy decisions across countries in initiating work-life balance policy reforms. International instruments and good practices of ratifying countries would not only enable an understanding of various cross-country perspectives and challenges they had faced in redesigning work life balance policies but would also provide fresh impetus and future directions for new policy initiatives to be undertaken in this direction.

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Annexure I

ILO Convention No. 156 - Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981

Preamble

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Sixty-seventh Session on 3 June 1981, and

Noting the Declaration of Philadelphia concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation which recognises that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity", and

Noting the terms of the Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers and of the resolution concerning a plan of action with a view to promoting equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1975, and

Noting the provisions of international labour Conventions and Recommendations aimed at ensuring equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, namely the Equal Remuneration Convention and Recommendation, 1951, the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention and Recommendation, 1958, and Part VIII of the Human Resources Development Recommendation, 1975, and Recalling that the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, does not expressly cover distinctions made on the basis of family responsibilities, and considering that supplementary standards are necessary in this respect, and

Noting the terms of the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965, and considering the changes which have taken place since its adoption, and

Noting that instruments on equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women have also been adopted by the United Nations and other specialised agencies, and recalling, in particular, the fourteenth paragraph of the Preamble of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979, to the effect that States

Parties are "aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women", and

Recognising that the problems of workers with family responsibilities are aspects of wider issues regarding the family and society which should be taken into account in national policies, and

Recognising the need to create effective equality of opportunity and treatment as between men and women workers with family responsibilities and between such workers and other workers, and

Considering that many of the problems facing all workers are aggravated in the case of workers with family responsibilities and recognising the need to improve the conditions of the latter both by measures responding to their special needs and by measures designed to improve the conditions of workers in general, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers: workers with family responsibilities, which is the fifth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts this twenty-third day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and eighty-one the following Convention, which may be cited as the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981:

Article 1

1. This Convention applies to men and women workers with responsibilities in relation to their dependent children, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating in or advancing in economic activity.

2. The provisions of this Convention shall also be applied to men and women workers with responsibilities in relation to other members of their immediate family who clearly need their care or support, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating in or advancing in economic activity.

3. For the purposes of this Convention, the terms "dependent child" and "other member of the immediate family who clearly needs care or support" mean persons defined as such in each country by one of the means referred to in Article 9 of this Convention.

4. The workers covered by virtue of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article are hereinafter referred to as "workers with family responsibilities".

Article 2

This Convention applies to all branches of economic activity and all categories of workers.

Article 3

1. With a view to creating effective equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, each Member shall make it an aim of national policy to enable persons with family responsibilities who are engaged or wish to engage in employment to exercise their right to do so without being subject to discrimination and, to the extent possible, without conflict between their employment and family responsibilities.

2. For the purposes of paragraph 1 of this Article, the term "discrimination" means discrimination in employment and occupation as defined by Articles 1 and 5 of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958.

Article 4

With a view to creating effective equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, all measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities shall be taken —

(a) to enable workers with family responsibilities to exercise their right to free choice of

employment; and

(b) to take account of their needs in terms and conditions of employment and in social security.

Article 5

All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities shall further be taken —

(a) to take account of the needs of workers with family responsibilities in community planning; and

(b) to develop or promote community services, public or private, such as child-care and family

services and facilities.

Article 6

The competent authorities and bodies in each country shall take appropriate measures to promote information and education which engender broader public understanding of the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers and of the problems of workers with family responsibilities, as well as a climate of opinion conducive to overcoming these problems.

Article 7

All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities, including measures in the field of vocational guidance and training, shall be taken to enable workers with family responsibilities to become and remain integrated in the labour force, as well as to re-enter the labour force after an absence due to those responsibilities.

Article 8

Family responsibilities shall not, as such, constitute a valid reason for termination of employment.

Article 9

The provisions of this Convention may be applied by laws or regulations, collective agreements,

works rules, arbitration awards, court decisions or a combination of these methods, or in any other manner consistent with national practice which may be appropriate, account being taken of national conditions.

Article 10

1. The provisions of this Convention may be applied by stages if necessary, account being taken of national conditions: Provided that such measures of implementation as are taken shall apply in any case to all the workers covered by Article 1, paragraph 1.

2. Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall indicate in the first report on the application of the Convention submitted under article 22 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation in what respect, if any, it intends to make use of the faculty given by paragraph 1 of this Article, and shall state in subsequent reports the extent to which effect has been given or is proposed to be given to the Convention in that respect.

Article 11

Employers' and workers' organisations shall have the right to participate, in a manner appropriate to national conditions and practice, in devising and applying measures designed to give effect to the provisions of this Convention.

Article 12

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 13

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General.

2. It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 14

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 15

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organisation of the registration of all ratifications and denunciations communicated to him by the Members of the Organisation.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organisation of the registration of the second ratification communicated to him, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the date upon which the Convention will come into force.

Article 16

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations full particulars of all ratifications and acts of denunciation registered by him in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 17

At such times as it may consider necessary the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 18

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides:

(a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall ipso jure involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 14 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force;

(b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 19

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.

Annexure II

R 165 - Workers with Family Responsibilities Recommendation, 1981 (No. 165)

Recommendation concerning Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women Workers: Workers with Family Responsibilities

Adoption: Geneva, 67th ILC session (23 Jun 1981)

Preamble

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and having met in its Sixty-seventh Session on 3 June 1981, and

Noting the Declaration of Philadelphia concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation which recognises that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and

Noting the terms of the Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers and of the resolution concerning a plan of action with a view to promoting equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1975, and

Noting the provisions of international labour Conventions and Recommendations aimed at ensuring equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, namely the Equal Remuneration Convention and Recommendation, 1951, the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention and Recommendation, 1958, and Part VIII of the Human Resources Development Recommendation, 1975, and

Recalling that the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, does not expressly cover distinctions made on the basis of family responsibilities, and considering that supplementary standards are necessary in this respect, and

Noting the terms of the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965, and considering the changes which have taken place since its adoption, and

Noting that instruments on equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women have also been adopted by the United Nations and other specialised agencies, and recalling, in particular, the fourteenth paragraph of the Preamble of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979, to the effect that States Parties are aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women, and

Recognising that the problems of workers with family responsibilities are aspects of wider issues regarding the family and society which should be taken into account in national policies, and

Recognising the need to create effective equality of opportunity and treatment as between men and women workers with family responsibilities and between such workers and other workers, and

Considering that many of the problems facing all workers are aggravated in the case of workers with family responsibilities and recognising the need to improve the conditions of the latter both by measures responding to their special needs and by measures designed to improve the conditions of workers in general, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers: workers with family responsibilities, which is the fifth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts this twenty-third day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and eighty-one, the following Recommendation, which may be cited as the Workers with Family Responsibilities Recommendation, 1981:

I. Definition, Scope and Means of Implementation

(1) This Recommendation applies to men and women workers with responsibilities in relation to their dependent children, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating in or advancing in economic activity.

(2) The provision of this Recommendation should also be applied to men and women workers with responsibilities in relation to other members of their immediate family who need their care or support, where such responsibilities restrict their possibilities of preparing for, entering, participating or advancing in economic activity.

(3) For the purposes of this Recommendation, the terms ***dependent child*** and ***other member of the immediate family who needs care or support*** mean persons defined as such in each country by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation.

(4) The workers covered by virtue of subparagraphs (1) and (2) of this Paragraph are hereinafter referred to as workers with family responsibilities.

2. This Recommendation applies to all branches of economic activity and all categories of workers.

3. The provisions of this Recommendation may be applied by laws or regulations, collective agreements, works rules, arbitration awards, court decisions or a combination of these methods, or in any other manner consistent with national practice which may be appropriate, account being taken of national conditions.

4. The provisions of this Recommendation may be applied by stages if necessary, account being taken of national conditions: Provided that such measures of implementation as are taken should apply in any case to all the workers covered by Paragraph 1, subparagraph (1).

5. Employers' and workers' organisations should have the right to participate, in a manner appropriate to national conditions and practice, in devising and applying measures designed to give effect to the provisions of this Recommendation.

II. National Policy

6. With a view to creating effective equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, each Member should make it an aim of national policy to enable persons with family responsibilities who are engaged or wish to engage in employment to exercise their right to do so without being subject to discrimination and, to the extent possible, without conflict between their employment and family responsibilities.

7. Within the framework of a national policy to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, measures should be adopted and applied with a view to preventing direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of marital status or family responsibilities.

8. (1) For the purposes of Paragraphs 6 and 7 above, the term ***discrimination*** means discrimination in employment and occupation as defined by Articles 1 and 5 of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958.

(2) During a transitional period special measures aimed at achieving effective equality between men and women workers should not be regarded as discriminatory.

9. With a view to creating effective equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, all measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities should be taken--

(a) To enable workers with family responsibilities to exercise their right to vocational training and to free choice of employment;

(b) To take account of their needs in terms and conditions of employment and in social security; and

(c) To develop or promote child-care, family and other community services, public or private, responding to their needs.

10. The competent authorities and bodies in each country should take appropriate measures to promote information and education which engender broader public understanding of the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers and of the problems of workers with family responsibilities, as well as a climate of opinion conducive to overcoming these problems.

11. The competent authorities and bodies in each country should take appropriate measures--

(a) To undertake or promote such research as may be necessary into the various aspects of the employment of workers with family responsibilities with a view to providing objective information on which sound policies and measures may be based; and

(b) To promote such education as will encourage the sharing of family responsibilities between men and women and enable workers with family responsibilities better to meet their employment and family responsibilities.

III. Training and Employment

12. All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities should be taken to enable workers with family responsibilities to become and remain integrated in the labour force, as well as to re-enter the labour force after an absence due to those responsibilities.

13. In accordance with national policy and practice, vocational training facilities and, where possible, paid educational leave arrangements to

use such facilities should be made available to workers with family responsibilities.

14. Such services as may be necessary to enable workers with family responsibilities to enter or re-enter employment should be available, within the framework of existing services for all workers or, in default thereof, along lines appropriate to national conditions; they should include, free of charge to the workers, vocational guidance, counselling, information and placement services which are staffed by suitably trained personnel and are able to respond adequately to the special needs of workers with family responsibilities.

15. Workers with family responsibilities should enjoy equality of opportunity and treatment with other workers in relation to preparation for employment, access to employment, advancement within employment and employment security.

16. Marital status, family situation or family responsibilities should not, as such, constitute valid reasons for refusal or termination of employment.

IV. Terms and Conditions of Employment

17. All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities and with the legitimate interests of other workers should be taken to ensure that terms and conditions of employment are such as to enable workers with family responsibilities to reconcile their employment and family responsibilities.

18. Particular attention should be given to general measures for improving working conditions and the quality of working life, including measures aiming at--

(a) the progressive reduction of daily hours of work and the reduction of overtime, and

(b) more flexible arrangements as regards working schedules, rest periods and holidays, account being taken of the stage of development and the particular needs of the country and of different sectors of activity.

19. Whenever practicable and appropriate, the special needs of workers, including those arising from family responsibilities, should be taken into account in shift-work arrangements and assignments to night work.

20. Family responsibilities and considerations such as the place of employment of the spouse and the possibilities of educating children should be taken into account when transferring workers from one locality to another.

21. (1) With a view to protecting part-time workers, temporary workers and homeworkers, many of whom have family responsibilities, the terms and conditions on which these types of employment are performed should be adequately regulated and supervised.

(2) The terms and conditions of employment, including social security coverage, of part-time workers and temporary workers should be, to the extent possible, equivalent to those of full-time and permanent workers respectively; in appropriate cases, their entitlement may be calculated on a pro rata basis. (3) Part-time workers should be given the option to obtain or return to full-time employment when a vacancy exists and when the circumstances which determined assignment to part-time employment no longer exist.

22. (1) Either parent should have the possibility, within a period immediately following maternity leave, of obtaining leave of absence (parental leave), without relinquishing employment and with rights resulting from employment being safeguarded.

(2) The length of the period following maternity leave and the duration and conditions of the leave of absence referred to in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph should be determined in each country by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation.

(3) The leave of absence referred to in subparagraph (1) of this Paragraph may be introduced gradually.

23. (1) It should be possible for a worker, man or woman, with family responsibilities in relation to a dependent child to obtain leave of absence in the case of its illness.

(2) It should be possible for a worker with family responsibilities to obtain leave of absence in the case of the illness of another member of the worker's immediate family who needs that worker's care or support.

(3) The duration and conditions of the leave of absence referred to in subparagraphs (1) and (2) of this Paragraph should be determined in each country by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation.

V. Child-care and Family Services and Facilities

24. With a view to determining the scope and character of the child-care and family services and facilities needed to assist workers with family responsibilities to meet their employment and family responsibilities, the competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, in particular employers' and workers'

organisations, and within the scope of their resources for collecting information, take such measures as may be necessary and appropriate--

(a) to collect and publish adequate statistics on the number of workers with family responsibilities engaged in or seeking employment and on the number and age of their children and of other dependants requiring care; and

(b) to ascertain, through systematic surveys conducted more particularly in local communities, the needs and preferences for child-care and family services and facilities.

25. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the public and private organisations concerned, take appropriate steps to ensure that child-care and family services and facilities meet the needs and preferences so revealed; to this end they should, taking account of national and local circumstances and possibilities, in particular--

(a) encourage and facilitate the establishment, particularly in local communities, of plans for the systematic development of child-care and family services and facilities, and

(b) themselves organise or encourage and facilitate the provision of adequate and appropriate child-care and family services and facilities, free of charge or at a reasonable charge in accordance with the workers' ability to pay, developed along flexible lines and meeting the needs of children of different ages, of other dependants requiring care and of workers with family responsibilities.

26. (1) Child-care and family services and facilities of all types should comply with standards laid down and supervised by the competent authorities.

(2) Such standards should prescribe in particular the equipment and hygienic and technical requirements of the services and facilities provided and the number and qualifications of the staff.

(3) The competent authorities should provide or help to ensure the provision of adequate training at various levels for the personnel needed to staff child-care and family services and facilities.

VI. Social Security

27. Social security benefits, tax relief, or other appropriate measures consistent with national policy should, when necessary, be available to workers with family responsibilities.

28. During the leave of absence referred to in Paragraphs 22 and 23, the workers concerned may, in conformity with national conditions

and practice, and by one of the means referred to in Paragraph 3 of this Recommendation, be protected by social security.

29. A worker should not be excluded from social security coverage by reference to the occupational activity of his or her spouse and entitlement to benefits arising from that activity.

30. (1) The family responsibilities of a worker should be an element to be taken into account in determining whether employment offered is suitable in the sense that refusal of the offer may lead to loss or suspension of unemployment benefit.

(2) In particular, where the employment offered involves moving to another locality, the considerations to be taken into account should include the place of employment of the spouse and the possibilities of educating children.

31. In applying Paragraphs 27 to 30 of this Recommendation, a Member whose economy is insufficiently developed may take account of the national resources and social security arrangements available.

VII. Help in Exercise of Family Responsibilities

32. The competent authorities and bodies in each country should promote such public and private action as is possible to lighten the burden deriving from the family responsibilities of workers.

33. All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities should be taken to develop home-help and home-care services which are adequately regulated and supervised and which can provide workers with family responsibilities, as necessary, with qualified assistance at a reasonable charge in accordance with their ability to pay.

34. Since many measures designed to improve the conditions of workers in general can have a favourable impact on those of workers with family responsibilities, the competent authorities and bodies in each country should promote such public and private action as is possible to make the provision of services in the community, such as public transport, supply of water and energy in or near workers' housing and housing with labour-saving layout, responsive to the needs of workers.

VIII. Effect on Existing Recommendations

35. This Recommendation supersedes the Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities) Recommendation, 1965.

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