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## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### Research Papers (Relevant to the Research Topic)

1. Choudhury, A., Das, A. K. and Khan, J. A. (2022). The Market of Care and the Informal Economy : Understanding the Socio-Economic Determinants of Ayah Work in India. *Labour and Development*, 29(2), 64 - 79. [UGC Care Journal]
2. Choudhury, A. and Das, A. K. (2023). Ayahs and their elderly clients: An empirical study in the context of Kolkata. *Indian Journal of Gerontology*, 37(1), 31 - 47. [UGC Care Journal]
3. Choudhury, A. and Das, A. K. (2023). Care as work: ayahs and eldercare practices in India. *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 7(4), 601 - 618. <https://doi.org/10.1332/239788221X16704462186238> [Scopus-Indexed Journal]

### Research Papers (Other Areas)

1. Choudhury, A. and Das, A. K. (2021). Displaced Faces, Ageism and Human Rights: Understanding the Elderly Workforce in India's Informal Economy. *NIU International Journal of Human Rights*, 8, 194 - 211. [UGC Care Journal]
2. Choudhury, A. (2022). De-Sanitising the 'New Normal': The Lived Experiences of 'Digital Research' in context of the COVID-19 India. *Culture e Studi del Sociale*, 7(1), 66-86. [Peer-reviewed Journal].
3. Das, A. K., Ray, S. and Choudhury, A. (2024). Conflict and communication in everyday life: An exploration of intercommunity conflict in Assam, India. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1002/crq.21441> [Early view] [Scopus-Indexed Journal]

## Seminars/Conferences

1. 9th Annual Conference of Indian Health Economics and Policy Association (IHEPA), Azim Premji University, Bengaluru, India (2021) **(Online)**

**Paper presented** – Digitalization, Pandemic and Sustainability : Tele-medicine and its implications on the aging population of India.

2. The Third International Virtual Conference ILIS on ‘Research Methods in the Digital Society: Areas and Practices’, University of Salerno, Italy (2021) **(Online)**

**Paper presented** – De-Sanitizing the “New Normal” : Digital Research and the Challenges of “Academic non-membership”.

3. International Conference on ‘Post Pandemic Perspectives: Reflections and Realities’, National Institute of Technology (NIT), Agartala, India (2022) **(Online)**

**Paper presented** – Digital Aging: Understanding the Post-Pandemic Digital Culture among the Elderly in Kolkata, India.

4. International Conference on ‘Migrant Workers, Cultural (Re)production, and the Culture Industry in South Asia’, Tezpur University, Assam, India (2022) **(On-site)**

**Paper presented** – The Urban ‘Culturing’ of Rural Women: Examining Soap Operas and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation in India.

5. WAC, 2023 on ‘Marginalities, Uncertainties, and World Anthropologies: Enlivening Past and Envisioning Future’, University of Delhi, Delhi, India (2023) **(On-site)**

**Paper presented** – Families of Emotions: Examining Aging, Elderly Marriages and Affective Mobilization of Care in India.

6. Graduate Research Meet, 2023 on ‘Margins and Peripheries in South Asia’, Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati, India (2023) **(On-site)**

**Paper presented** – Sustainable Urban Spaces and Peripheral Bodies : Examining ‘Differentiated-Inclusion’ in the Smart City Phenomenon of Kolkata.

7. International Conference on ‘Changing Generations in India: Developing Collaborative Indigenous Research Methods to Understand Young Lives in India’, Tezpur University in collaboration with Queen’s University, Belfast, U. K. (2024) **(On-site)**

**Paper presented** – From generational acceptance to aspirations: Recounting the enigma of marginality and intergenerational mobilities among the *ayahs* in Kolkata, India.

## ANNEXURE I

### Interview Schedules

#### Interview Schedule (*Ayahs*)

a) Name<sup>99</sup> :

b) Age :

c) Ethnicity :

d) Religion :

e) Type of work (Part-time/Long-term/Daily-wage) :

1) When did you join the *ayah*-centre?

2) What kind of work do you perform as an *ayah*?

3) What is your day-to-day schedule in the *ayah*-centre?

4) Whom do you care for – elderly client or a child? If an elderly client, then since how many years?

5) How many years of experience do you have in caregiving?

6) How did you step into *ayah* services?

7) In which *ayah*-centre do you work and why this one?

8) Are you interested in other career options, such as businesses?

9) How many hours a day do you devote to your *ayah* work and your own housework?

10) Where is your family staying?

11) If your family is living in Kolkata, who cares for your children when you are out for work?

12) Is your own family nuclear or intergenerational?

13) Do your children go to school?

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<sup>99</sup> Pseudonyms have been used in the thesis.



- 14) How do you fulfill their care needs?
- 15) How would you define *ayah* work?
- 16) What is your experience with the clients and clients' families?
- 17) Did you receive any training (formal) for care work? If not, from where did you learn about medicines and other complex care activities, such as using urinary catheters for your clients?
- 18) What is your husband's occupation?
- 19) In which locality do you work?
- 20) How are you allotted work in the *ayah*-centre or how do you attain your work/clients?
- 21) If you have an elderly parent, who takes care of them?
- 22) What are your expectations for the future?
- 23) How would you differentiate yourself from the *ayahs* working in the hospitals?
- 24) What do you do when your client's family discusses their 'private' matters in their homes?
- 25) In which part of the household do you have access, such as exclusion from the *puja ghars* (prayer rooms), if it occurs?
- 26) What kind of relationship do you share with your *ayah*-centre manager?
- 27) What kind of relationship do you share with other *ayahs* in your *ayah*-centre?
- 28) At any point in your work, did you feel dissatisfied or tired?
- 29) If arguments/schisms happen in care work, how are they resolved?
- 30) In some cases, I heard a few *ayahs* from other religious backgrounds wearing *shakha* and *pola* (traditional bangles) to get work in Hindu households? Is this true?
- 31) How would you view the above situation? Is religion important for receiving care work?
- 32) Do you feel the Hindu and Muslim *ayahs* are treated differently here (as receiving different payments)?

33) Are there any other middleman/middlemen who inform you and other *ayahs* about vacant posts in the *ayah*-centres?

34) Do you receive benefits from any state programmes?

**Interview Schedule (*Ayah*-Centre Managers)**

**a) Name :**

**b) Age :**

**c) Ethnicity :**

**d) Religion :**

**e) Sex :**

1) Since how many years have you been running the *ayah*-centre?

2) Are you the owner of the *ayah*-centre?

3) Was your *ayah*-centre operational during the pandemic and how it supported *ayahs* during that crisis?

4) What are the day-to-day rules for the *ayahs* to follow?

5) What kind of work do you perform in the *ayah*-centre, such as your daily routine?

6) How many clients do you receive in a day?

7) What is the most popular service they demand – elderly care, child care or household work?

8) What is your experience in the *ayah*-centre?

9) How do you view elderly care provided by *ayahs* and what is the *ayah*-centre's motivation point?

10) Do you see it as a business or social service?

11) Do you train the *ayahs* for their work or arrange any form of workshops?

12) Do you face any situations of conflict with your clients?

13) How do you select the *ayahs* for your *ayah*-centre?

14) What was your prior work experience?

15) Is there any male care provider or kind of care worker in the *ayah*-centre?

- 16) Do you appoint Muslim *ayahs* or *ayahs* from other religions? If not, why?
- 17) Do you receive any funds or schemes from the government?
- 18) Who decides the share of money the *ayah* receives and how is it decided?
- 19) What kind of documents do you ask for the security of your clients and *ayahs*?
- 20) What kind of business/market partners do you have? What is the networking of the *ayah*-centre?
- 21) Do you want to continue with such services for the next few years or in the future?
- 22) What do you think about today's *ayah* care phenomenon?

### **Interview Schedule (Elderly Clients)**

**a) Name :**

**b) Age :**

**c) Ethnicity :**

**d) Religion :**

**e) Sex :**

**f) Former Profession :**

- 1) Since how many years have you been using the services of the *ayahs*?
- 2) Why did you appoint the *ayahs*?
- 3) Apart from the *ayahs*, who manages your care?
- 4) Do you spend quality time with your son/daughter or any other family members?
- 5) What do you have, a nuclear or a joint family?
- 6) If you stay in a nuclear family, do you 'own' your house? If you have a child, is he or she supporting you with the salary of your *ayah*?
- 7) Are you a pension holder?
- 8) From which *ayah*-centre do you appoint *ayahs*?
- 9) Do you book your *ayah* on a daily basis (when you only need it) or appoint her on a monthly or long-term basis?
- 10) Does your *ayah* reside in the same household as you?

- 11) How did your *ayah* prove beneficial to you?
- 12) Are you satisfied with the work of your *ayah*?
- 13) What is your experience with your *ayah*?
- 14) Is your *ayah* interactive and what kind of activities does she perform for you?
- 15) What kind of conversations do you have with your *ayah*?
- 16) Do you provide your *ayah* with some bonuses in the festivals?
- 17) Does your *ayah* help you in emotional healing?
- 18) Do you prefer *ayahs* from your own religious background?
- 19) When did you realize that you need an *ayah*?
- 20) With whom did you discuss or decide about it?
- 21) How did you approach the *ayah*-centres or who did it for you?
- 22) Do you feel your privacy is interrupted by the work of your *ayah*?
- 23) Where does your *ayah* sit when she works at your home?
- 24) How close are you with your *ayah*?
- 25) How do you think caregiving has changed from your own generation to that of today?
- 26) Do you feel keeping *ayahs* would make you emotionally distant from your own children?
- 27) Is there any point of tension with your *ayah* or did you face any abuse from the *ayah* or *ayahs* you booked? If so, did you complain about it?
- 28) What do you do in your free time? Does your *ayah* cook your favorite meal?
- 29) Did you teach something to your *ayah*?
- 30) In what ways do you think *ayah*-services can be improved?

### **Interview Schedule (Clients' Family Members/Care Supervisors)**

**a) Name :**

**b) Age :**

**c) Profession :**

**d) Relation with the elderly client :**

- 1) Are you living with your parent/parents or somewhere else? If yes, any specific reason?
- 2) What is your daily routine?
- 3) How do you ensure your parent's or parents' care?
- 4) To what extent are you involved in your parent's or parents' care?
- 5) How did you decide to keep an *ayah*?
- 6) Do you need to do some form of extra work with your parent or parents' *ayah*?
- 7) How do you perceive your parents' old age or ageing? Is it difficult?
- 8) Was keeping off *ayahs* a productive decision for your family?
- 9) Has the care supervision routine taken a toll on your health – mentally and physically?
- 10) Was it difficult to negotiate with the *ayahs*?
- 11) How do you make the *ayahs* understand the medical requirements of your parent/parents?
- 12) Do you have any siblings? If yes, do you share responsibilities with them?
- 13) If you are a care supervisor, how do you divide the supervision routines with your spouse?
- 14) Is care supervision mostly a woman's duty?
- 15) Are you comfortable with booking *ayahs* from different religious backgrounds?
- 16) What are your future expectations relative to the *ayahs*?

## **Focus Group Discussion Schedule (Questions)**

### **Focus Group Discussion 1 (Socio-cultural Aspects)**

- 1) Do you think religion influences your work as an *ayah*?
- 2) How do you negotiate religion in your everyday lives?
- 3) How do you adapt to your client/clients' needs?
- 4) Were there any cases of tension with the clients regarding traditional practices?
- 5) How would you discuss such issues with your *ayah*-centre manager?

### **Focus Group Discussion 2 (On State Policies)**

- 1) What kind of state facilities do you all receive?
- 2) What are your expectations from the *ayah* sector and the state?
- 3) Are there any challenges in accessing the state facilities?

## ANNEXURE II

**Table 1**

<i>Ayah</i> -Centres	Long-term <i>Ayahs</i>	Part-time <i>Ayahs</i>	Daily-wage <i>Ayahs</i>
Sebika <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Kestopur)	25	35	5 – 10
Sarathi <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Sulanggari)	45	30	5 – 10
A.T. <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Sulanggari)	10	25	3 – 6
Bikash <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Sulanggari)	20	40	3 – 6
Maya <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Jagatpur)	10	15	2 – 3
Barna <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Jagatpur)	30	40	1 – 5
Shikha <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Garia)	15	25	1 – 5
Shusrusha <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Bansdroni)	35	50	1 – 2
Devi Maa <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Baghajatin)	25	40	1 – 2
Progoti <i>Ayah</i> -Centre (Ranikuthi)	15	20	1 – 2

**Note:** Information on the number of *ayahs* in each *ayah*-centre has been collected from *ayah*-centre managers.

**Table 1 : Number of *Ayahs* in each *Ayah*-centre (Source : Researcher's own)**

**Table 2**

<b>Number of work hours (for <i>ayahs</i>)</b>	<b>Wages (Daily-wage <i>ayahs</i>/per day)</b>	<b>Monthly income (Part-time <i>ayahs</i>)</b>	<b>Monthly income (Long-term <i>ayahs</i>)</b>
6 hours	Rs. 350/-	Rs. 8,000 – Rs. 15,000/- (depends on expertise)	Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 25,000 /- (depends on expertise, range of tasks, references and personal relations)
8 hours	Rs. 400/-		
10 hours	Rs. 450/-		
12 hours	Rs. 500/-		

**Note:** The wages and incomes are partially regulated relative to market standards, the state wage chart and *ayah*-centre managers' discretion.

**Table 2 : Hours and Wages (Source : Researcher's own)**



**Table 3**

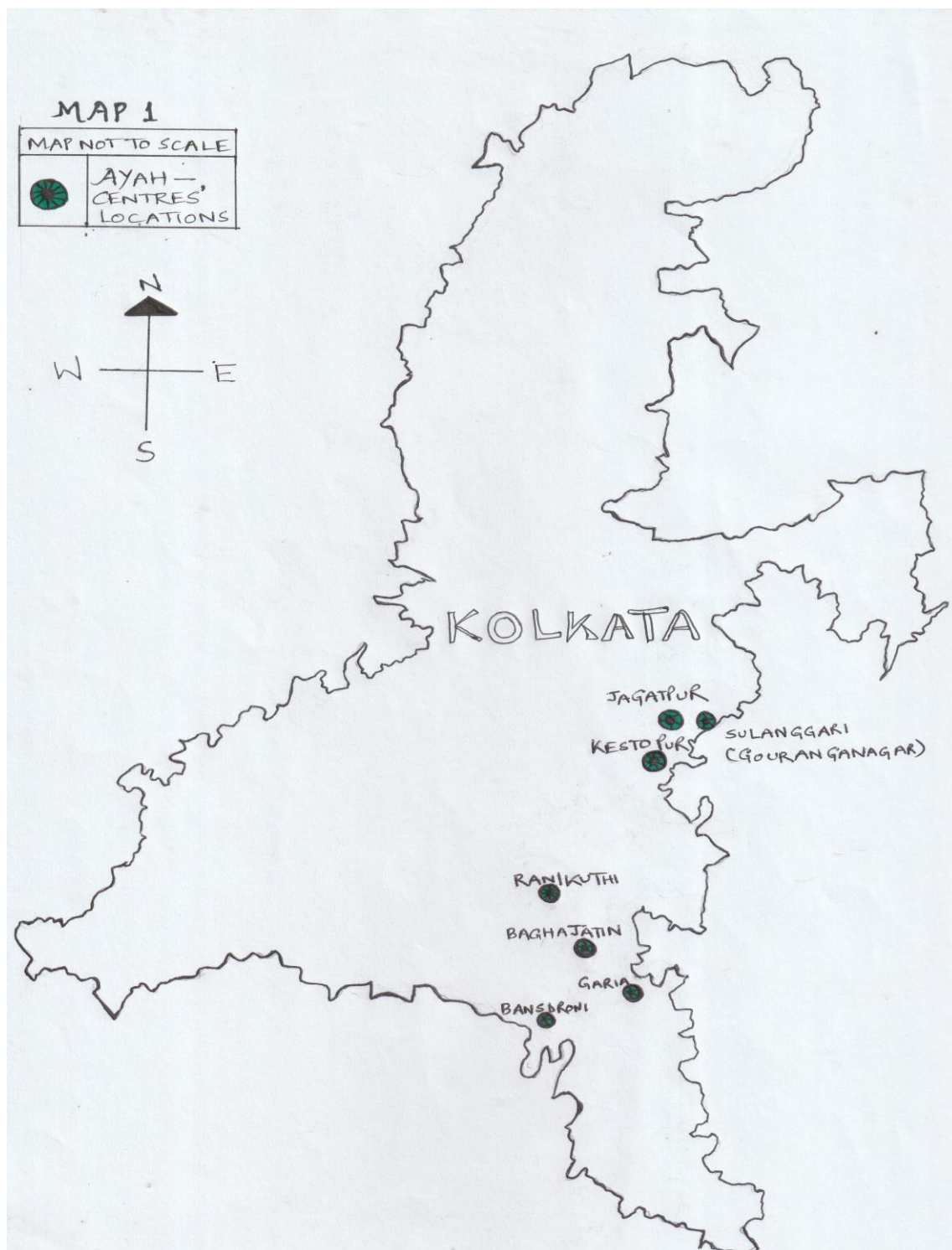
Sl. No	SCHEDULED EMPLOYMENTS	Referral Fixation/Revision Notification No. & date	Categories of Employees	Minimum Rates of Wages			
				Zone A		Zone B	
				Per Month	Per Day	Per Month	Per Day
6	CLINICAL ESTABLISHMENTS INCLUDING PATHOLOGICAL LABORATORIES AND DIAGNOSTIC CENTRES	Labr/645(Law)/ MW/2W/32/13 dated 29.12.2016	<b>Unskilled:</b> Helper, Cleaner, Ward Boy, Ward Assistant, Ayah, Attendant Durwan, Peon, Security Guard, Housekeeping Assistant, Office Bearer, Canteen Boy, Sweeper	Rs. 9841	Rs. 379	Rs. 9210	Rs. 354
			<b>Semi-skilled:</b> Lab Assistant, Blood Collector, Male Nursing Attendant, Male Medical Attendant, Trained Ayah, Receptionist, Assistant Cook, Typist	Rs. 10826	Rs. 416	Rs. 10128	Rs. 390
			<b>Skilled:</b> Nurse, O.T. Assistant, Technician, X-Ray Technician, C.T. Scan Technician, MRI Technician, Laboratory Technician, Dental Technician, Medical Record Keeper, Supervisor, Clerk, Cashier, Accountant, Cook	Rs. 11909	Rs. 458	Rs. 11142	Rs. 429
			<b>Highly Skilled:</b> Senior Nurse, Pathologist, Matron, Dietician, Biochemist, Radiologist	Rs. 13099	Rs. 504	Rs. 12258	Rs. 471

**Table 3: Snippet from a Wage Chart Regulated by the State (Source :  
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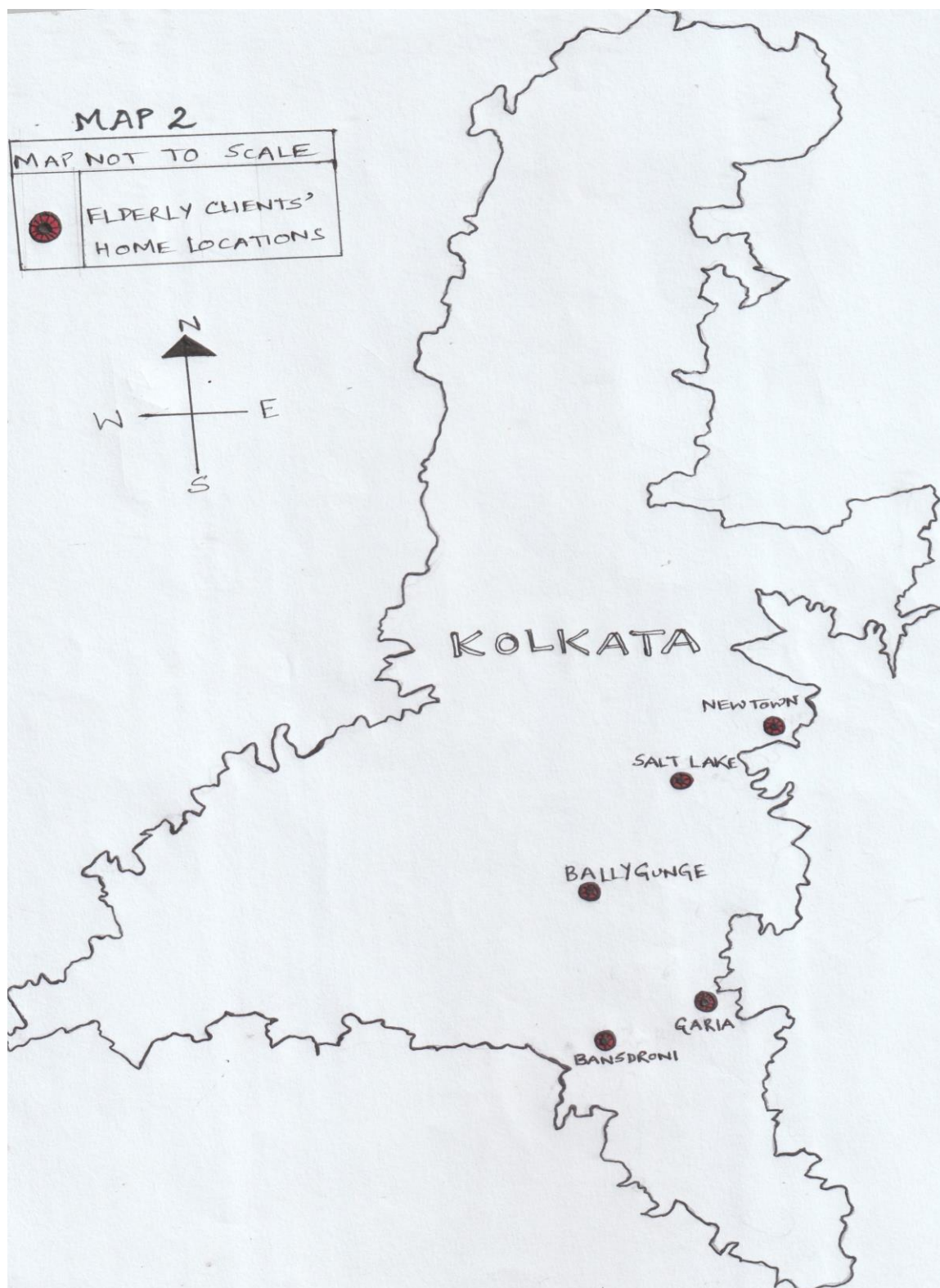
## MAPS

**Map 1**



(Source : Researcher's own)

## Map 2



(Source : Researcher's own)

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- I have been explained the aims of the study in detail and I allow the researcher to use a pseudonym in the primary report in place of my real name.
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- I allow the researcher to audio record my interview when required.
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### Researcher's details

Ahana Choudhury

Research Scholar

Department of Sociology

Tezpur University

Assam

Signature of researcher

Signature of the research participant/Thumb impression

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### Chapter 1

#### Introduction

##### 1.1 Ethics and Production : Care Work

*'Neither we move away, nor we are always together! We not only work for elderly clients but also for restoring values. But this work also takes a lot of energy' (Shanti, 30 years, part-time ayah)*

Sitting leisurely in a tea shop with a cup of warm brewing tea, Shanti Didi, an exhausted *ayah* recounted her compelling and emotive experiences on caregiving. Over the decade, the popular writings and discourses on care work claimed validity through two paradoxical camps, either humanism or inequality. Though studies on care work located mutuality, relationality, purity and the solidarity of moral co-existence, the edges of exploitation, oppression, burden as well as vulnerability also persisted. But the actors involved in care work, moving within and across its structure through their generative powers, i.e., *ayahs*, *ayah*-centre managers, their elderly clients and kindred of elderly clients, present a complex reproduction of knowledge, ideologies, activities, responsibilities and fleeting emotions. Today, this is primarily visible in the mundane context of Kolkata, the capital city of the Eastern Indian state of West Bengal.

In the discourse of care work in Kolkata, Shanti Didi denotes the shaping of her life-course to the work of an *ayah* that holds her essence, her identity, the quality of her relationship with the others and her intrinsic 'self', that reflects her performance across different institutions such as her home, her elderly clients' homes, the *ayah*-centres, etc. The *ayahs* are paid care workers who offer instrumental, functional, and emotional care to their clients, specifically the elderly. On the other hand, *ayah*-centres are establishments that organise, marketize and distribute the care work of the *ayahs* under the supervision of an *ayah*-centre manager (discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and 3) (Image 1). Apart from the structural order, the routine care work of the *ayahs* also reveals an intersubjectivity in communication, ethos, familialism and the meaning-making practices of ageing and care in Kolkata. Foregrounding this, the chapter introduces the primary elements of this research such as the research problem, questions, and objectives. It analyses the socio-demographic and historical context of the development of *ayahs'* care work as well as elderly care in Kolkata and the larger India. To examine the broader knowledge constructs on care, the chapter also traces the existing scholarships that explore ageing, care and care work practices in India and across the globe. It reviews the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings,