



MEASURING WOMEN'S UNPAID WORK: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TIME ALLOCATION STUDIES IN INDIA

Galo Miwu¹, Dr. Sanchari Roy Mukherjee²

¹Research Scholar, Department of Economics, University of North Bengal

²Professor, Department of Economics, University of North Bengal

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ABSTRACT

Unpaid work is a key element of successful endeavours and essential to household and economic well-being. Yet, policies and measurements need to consider that women comprise more than half of the domestic work population, leading to their economic invisibility. This review gives insight from various literatures on time allocation studies in rural agrarian India focusing on measuring women's unpaid work. The research done over several decades is summarized in this report, providing a comprehensive analysis of the existing methodologies and trends ranging from time-use surveys to qualitative interviews and ethnographic studies, emphasizing the significance of combining both quantitative and qualitative methods to represent the complex nature of women's unpaid labour fully, accounting for variations across regions, socioeconomic strata, and cultures. This review shows a gap in our understanding of how women allocate their time in India. It also gives various sources regarding the activities included in NSSO and other data sources as recognition to value women's unpaid work in terms of time expended on domestic and agricultural work. The findings are significant for policy implication in the context of gender equality, economic development, and social well-being, and it is imperative to identify the importance of recognizing women's unpaid work, devising strategies to tackle gender disparity, boosting female economic Empowerment, and promoting the overall welfare of women.

KEYWORDS: Rural Women, Unpaid Work, Economic Invisibility, Time Use Surveys, Gender Parity

INTRODUCTION

Girls and women make up half of the global population. However, they should be given more opportunities to get involved in the economy because their voices, experiences, and contributions are frequently underappreciated. Gender equality and the achievement of numerous international development goals depend not only on women's rights but also on offering them opportunities. Women's Empowerment is all around the globe, yet many are unpaid. Women's Economic Empowerment and security are prerequisites for sustainable development and achieving MDGs.

Historically, Indian women were equal to men. Women's freedom of movement, access to education, reading Vedas, and choosing their marriage partner are every aspect of women's equality with men in gender relations.

In present India, women's lives remain invisible to men and women alike. This invisibility endures across the board, from the family to the entire nation. Time use study in the context of India is very crucial, where patriarchy finds its place in the highest social structure. There is no denying the fact that women have achieved and accomplished in many areas with notable progress in reducing gender gaps. However, the split of the burden of challenges between men and women in our failing world is highly disparate.

The first World Conference on Women was held in 1975 in Mexico, which focused on women's issues, and the subsequent decade was assigned as the Women's Decade to address the issues raised in the conference. CEAFF (The Convention on

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination), acted in 1979 and ratified by India in 1981, was perhaps the most critical milestone towards securing gender equality worldwide. However, even after several conferences on Women, many questions remain unanswered, and gender equality is still a far cry. We find that women have managed to grow out of their primitive roles; still, their domestic, economic, or productive work is perceived as undervalued, underrated, and unrecognized. Undervaluation of women's work exhibits the continuation of wage discrimination and less access and authority of resources, a lack of identity, and equality in infrastructural support all through because of disparity in gender work burden, and This may be primarily attributed to the socially dominant concept of what constitutes work and how it is valued. The work done by women is unpaid principally and is not considered work at all. The contribution of women often becomes invisible because women are generally regarded as socially unproductive; their contributions have yet to be acknowledged quantitatively. The imbalance in the distribution of unpaid household labour in India is an additional argument made by Irani and Vemireddy. Despite the importance of outstanding work, it is often omitted from economic evaluations and lacks complete and validated measurement instruments (Bouwman et al., 2015). Gary Becker (1965) observed that childcare and other duties are taxing and prevent people from working professions that require travel or irregular hours. The concept of the Theory of Allocation of Time captures these impacts of housework. In addition, he argues that if childcare and other household responsibilities consumed comparatively more energy than leisure and other non-market activities by men, then women who were in charge of



housework would have less energy available for the market than men. Married women's hourly wages would decrease, impacting their employment and occupations. Married men's investments in market hours would also decrease. Therefore, a large portion of the pay gap and gender-based employment segregation may be attributed to the domestic duties of married women. In addition to macroeconomic policies that neglect to acknowledge unpaid labor and instead boost the burden on the economy, this gender segregation in unpaid domestic work is an indicator of social conventions and opinions about the "natural" division of labour in the household.

The formal economy has never included unpaid labour. Unpaid labour is regarded as non-economic goods even by classical and neoclassical economists; they placed it outside the production frontier. In 1948, Kuznet considered unpaid work a part of homemakers' production, keeping it outside the purview of National Income. Any work that was not directly compensated was ignored by the neo-classical economists. In neo-classical theory, what women do is perceived as household work, and what they talk about is gossip. Men's work was considered to be the economic base of society. This discrimination is manifested by women's restriction in occupational choice, higher unemployment, and lower earnings compared to men. This explains that women's secondary economic status is a self-perpetuating cycle of discrimination and difference in labour supply. Evaluating unpaid labor, we find that women are obligated to carry out household chores due to patriarchal norms and society, not because they have a choice in the matter. This will restrict women from participating in the labour market, creating doubts about their earning capacity and contributing less than their economic potential.

The differentiation of men's and women's work thus placed women in a lower position than men's. The feminist theory argues that patriarchy or male domination exists in all societies and is the primary source of inequality and that women's role in the labour market is governed by patriarchy. Most of the non-market or unpaid activities of women within the households, such as caring for sick, children, and elderly, have been considered as "non-economic." These household activities of women were classified as 'leisure', excluding it from national income.

This polarization of work roles for men and women made Gary Becker a pioneer of 'New Home Economics'. This theory of Becker is the most complete presentation of the unitary household where the family is considered the primary societal institution. Female labour force participation was also mentioned by Mincer as an essential aspect. However, in Becker's household theory, Gronau pointed out that there needs to be a clear distinction between women's household activities like cleaning, shopping, and other household chores and leisure activities.

So, what exactly is the problem when defining women's activities? Is it the type of work she does or the time she devotes to doing one task? One has to see that the narrow definition of work creates several conceptual complications in understanding the household division of labour. The economic description of work implies only the economically productive

activities that lead to the direct production of goods and services and fails to recognize significant responsibilities of unpaid work undertaken by women, such as household chores and care-related unpaid activities, for no explicit monetary reward. As labour market force surveys cannot determine the whole amount of work included in the System of National Accounts (SNA), such as informal and subsistence labour, they either produce inaccurate information or underestimate the labour force. The concept of the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA 1993) offers a framework for distinguishing between employment and other activities, such as personal care and leisure, as well as between production and consumption's borders traditionally included only the production of products and services intended for sale. Other types of processing, such as cooking food, and services, like domestic work-related work like family care, are still excluded under the SNA 1993 production border (Mukherjee, 2011). This framework of the NSS definition has two problems: first, it defines economic activities inconsistently with its definition of the labor force, the processing of goods for one's use, and services such as cooking, child care, and household work activities are excluded from the definition of economic activities. These unpaid labourers are an essential component of productive activities and a crucial element that supports household and economic growth. Recognizing the nature of their unpaid labour is therefore needed since it has a significant impact on their economic participation.

When done in households, the government, men and women, and developing countries still need to recognize work. More data on what women and men do outside the formal market must be available. Moreover, there is no value attached to the household, although it has been recognized that they contribute substantially to National economies. Women's Unpaid labour is constantly seen as informal, unseen, overlooked, and with no monetary value. To make women's work visible, Time allocation studies play a significant role in giving value to the unvalued and undervalued. Since time-use surveys are a helpful instrument for assessing unpaid labour, they are crucial for formulating laws and other interventions to reduce these constraints. Studying time allocation assists in assessing the value of household production and offers a significant understanding of how men and women allocate paid and unpaid labour across various livelihood domains.

Review of trends in time use studies in India

Time-use surveys have a rich history in developed countries, but they have become more common in developing countries only in the last few decades. It is with the use of time use studies as a methodology that examines the minute details of how people divide their time between various activities, such as personal care, work, and leisure, and tries to justify and recognize the economic invisibility and double work burden, i.e., household work with addition to economically engaging activities undertaken by women. These researches give invaluable information into the patterns, trends, and factors influencing time allocation by documenting everyday activities. As a result, a more complex knowledge of the dynamics influencing human activities is possible. Understanding the elements of paid and neglected work is critical for breaking down the orientation disparity that continues in social orders. In



the same way as other nations, India has wrestled with the issue of neglected home-grown work, which women fundamentally perform. Lately, there has been a developing acknowledgment of the meaning of time use, which concentrates on catching up with the neglected unpaid labour and informal employment, particularly in agricultural countries like India.

Indira Hirway is the pioneer in India to undertake a time-use survey. In 1970, Indira Hirway and Jacques Charmes (2006) tried to show how a TUS (time use studies) can provide improved estimates and better information on the workforce, particularly women's participation in the workforce in a developing country, utilizing the data from the National Sample Survey Organization's (NSSO; 2000) 1999–2000 employment–unemployment survey and the 1998–1999 pilot Indian Time Use Survey (TUS) of Government of India (2000) using a combination of diary-keeping and recall methods to collect data on the time-use patterns of women in both rural and urban areas of India. The interviewers specifically gathered data on how individuals spent the final 24 hours of a typical day and the weekly variation day in the previous week. They also provided an understanding of women's work patterns in India and the implications for their economic empowerment participation in the labour force. Several researchers from India have carried out small-scale time-use surveys focusing on particular villages and households. Notable among these studies are:

(a) Time Allocation Study by Jain and Chand (1982) in Rajasthan and West Bengal: Jain and Chand's study sought to comprehend the patterns of time allocation in a few villages in West Bengal and Rajasthan. To finish the survey and acquire information about how people in these areas divide their time between various activities, the researchers most likely used a variety of approaches.

(b) Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Tamil Nadu, Time Allocation Study (1996): The state of Tamil Nadu's Directorate of Economics and Statistics conducted this study, which examined the state's time allocation practices. The researchers would have explored how people in Tamil Nadu distribute their time among various activities, shedding light on both market-oriented and non-market activities.

(c) Time Use Study in Selected Villages (1980s): In the 1980s, the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) carried out a study on the use of time in a few villages. This study most likely involved testing different survey implementation and activity classification strategies. Perhaps the primary goal was understanding time spent on work and non-work-related activities.

(d) Research conducted in Karnataka (1990) by Ramesh Kanbargi on Children's Time Utilization: In 1990, Ramesh Kanbargi managed an effort in Karnataka to focus on children's organizing their time habits. This study would have evaluated how kids allocate their time between different activities, providing details on their daily schedules and the variables influencing how they manage their time.

These studies experimented with diverse methodologies for conducting time-use surveys and classifying activities. The methods likely involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to capture the nuanced aspects of time allocation. The classification of activities would have aimed to distinguish between various types of work, leisure, and other engagements, providing a comprehensive understanding of

time use patterns in the specific regions and demographic groups under investigation.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research (1983) also conducted time-allocation research using a subsample of the 38th Round of the NSSO Employment and Unemployment Survey. 1998-1999, the Indian government's Central Statistical Organization (CSO) performed a time-use survey. The six states were undertaken in this pilot study. This study included Gujarat, Kerala, Meghalaya, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. The essential objectives of directing TUS in 1998-1999 were to (i) assess and decide how much men and women contribute to the economy through neglected unpaid work, (ii) examine and study how orientation of gender discrimination takes place in domestic household care activities. (iii) To explore the typical time spent every week on several activities determined by various factors, including age, sex, spot of home, instructive fulfillment, and monetary movement level (Yadav et al., N, 2021).

Methods and trends of time use studies in India and abroad

In measuring human well-being and gender equality, time-use surveys and statistics have shown to be valuable and indispensable for policymakers in recent times. Compared to other household-based surveys, time-use surveys are used in fewer countries; however, despite their acknowledged value, national statistical platforms still need to incorporate them.

Time-use surveys provide an understanding of the variations between the amount of unpaid labor performed by men and women as well as the impact of unpaid labour on the GDP of the nation. As a distinct objective and an impetus for all other pursuits, gender equality is prioritized in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). They demand that unpaid care labor be acknowledged, reduced, and redistributed to advance gender equality. Women often have fewer social, economic, and political prospects because of the unpaid work they undertake. Evaluating the data gathered as supporting documentation initiates policy talks toward a fair split of domestic and care giving responsibilities between men and women.

Just about 130 of the 193 UN members have carried out at least a one-time-use survey, regardless of how big or small, as of 2015; these nine are the majority. Given the broad scope of technique utilization, this is an encouraging development. Nevertheless, only about 40 countries worldwide (as of 2015) had carried out such a survey on a national level.

The first time-use surveys were conducted in any developed country was in Australia in the 1970s. An extensive informational questionnaire and two 24-hour time diaries laying out concurrent activities, along with context variables (with whom, where, and how they were delivered), were completed by randomly selected respondents (one from each household assigned at random, ages 18 to 69) as part of a systematic survey. In total, the poll registered 1,491 individuals living in the two cities. These annual and ongoing surveys focus on specific socioeconomic issues in Australian society. They all followed a systematic approach, using good concepts and techniques that generated reliable time-use data. This is a single trait they have in common.



Time-use surveys have followed a different pattern than in other developed countries, such as Japan, where surveying is done. Japan's time-use surveys adopted 24-hour time diaries and adhered precisely to the key elements of the well-established, affluent world's methodology. They monitored women's free time and unpaid labour, valued this labour in satellite accounts, and generated comparable information across borders. Survey respondents, who were picked from households having one or more members aged ten or older, completed two diary days in 2006 instead of the previous one-week period. There were twenty main categories for the activities. 200,000 people from 80,000 dwellings comprised the survey sample.

The Republic of Korea, the Philippines, and Japan carried out surveys on time-use selected individuals. From randomly selected households, three self-reported 24-hour time diaries were taken from each individual (ten years of age or above). In October of 2000, for instance, KBS conducted its Time-Use Survey, accumulating 3,500 time diaries with 15-minute time slots from 1,160 individuals. Information on the individuals who were selected and households was acquired via an extensive background questionnaire. Two context variables (location and mode of transportation) were used when gathering data for parallel activities. Amidst the additions that consist of (i) computer and Internet-related activities, (ii) child care data, (iii) classifications that are comparable to both Eurostat and the UNSD, and (iv) extra context variables, the data-collection method improved between 1999 and 2012. The survey has been conducted three times a year to compensate for seasonal differences in people's time use.

The first pilot survey took place in 1990 in New Zealand, and a national study was conducted in 1999. They relied on a 24-hour self-reported time diary that 9,159 respondents (aged 12 and older) from distinct households filled out over a week. Individuals were first visited by an investigator who took out the background questionnaire (for individuals and households) and gave them the time diary form. The investigator then returned to get the completed diary. The survey intended to analyze work-life balance, estimate the amount of time spent on volunteering and providing care, figure out changes in the economy, and acknowledge the value of unpaid labor done by both men and women. I Location, (ii) Who with, and (iii) Paid and Unpaid Work were the influencing components.

The developed countries have designed a standard method (including time-use activity classification) for conducting time-use surveys with minor variations.¹² The details highlighted here describe the major characteristics – the objectives, sampling method, data collection method, classification system, and context variables. The data are supposed to be of standard quality and are comparable across the developed countries. Researchers have also used the data in analyzing several socioeconomic concerns, and it has had various uses.

The 24 developing and emerging countries that have conducted time-use surveys can be divided into two broad categories: the countries that have conducted only small-scale surveys and the countries that have achieved national surveys. The countries with national time-use surveys are also of two types: countries that have conducted surveys as a more extensive national survey module and countries that showed a stand-alone survey using a 24-hour time diary for data collection.

Of all the emerging and developing nations in the region, only Thailand and Mongolia have adopted time-use surveys as independent endeavours. Three additional time-use surveys were conducted in 2007, 2011, and 2015, following the first time-use survey (a pilot) in 2000 in Mongolia using a 24-hour self-reported time diary. By extending the reference period and the number of those surveyed, the survey improved over time. The survey is conducted annually in March, June, September, and December. Occasionally, reports are published in the local language with initial assessments.

Under the FAO's Righting the Wrongs program, Thailand conducted its first time-use survey in 1990–91. The first national stand-alone time-use survey followed and was carried out by the NSO in 2000–01. Since then, it has been implemented three or four times yearly (in 2004, 2009, and 2014–2015). The survey's coverage and content have gotten better over time. For instance, (i) surveys from 2001 and 2004 were conducted in August; (ii) the sample size increased; (iii) the classification became more detailed—the newest survey used a five-digit classification; (iv) the time slot was reduced to five minutes in the time diary; and (v) the minimum age (of ten years) reduced to six years in the survey conducted from 2014 to 2015. To finish the time diary, one person was picked from every household. The NSO puts out regular updates on the data.

Status of time-use surveys in the selected 37 countries

Developed countries where time-use surveying is mainstreamed	Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand
No time-use survey conducted	Afghanistan, Brunei Darussalam, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Myanmar, Palau, Singapore
Small-time-use survey only	Indonesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Tuvalu and Vanuatu
Pilot time-use survey only	Philippines
Only rural or urban time-use survey	Islamic Republic of Iran – only urban time-use survey
National Modular time-use survey	Bhutan, Cambodia, Cook Islands, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Nepal, Timor-Leste, Viet Nam
National and extensive time-use survey using time diary	Bangladesh, China, India, Mongolia, Pakistan, Thailand

Source: Time-use surveys and statistics in Asia and the Pacific



India has a history of researchers conducting small-scale time-use surveys (1976–77, 1980, 1987, and 1990–91). 1990–91, the FAO conducted a small study under its Righting the Wrongs program. In 1996, the Tamil Nadu Directorate of Statistics conducted a small-scale survey. The first national time-use survey was launched in 1998–1999 by the Central Statistical Organization (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation), including six states representative of the nation (Hirway, 2015). The survey was conducted in all four seasons of the year and covered 18,648 households (CSO, 2000).

If we look into the methods used in the time-use surveys in India, they have several constraints. The level of rural literacy could be higher in India. Therefore, we could not use the diary method frequently employed in developed countries. In rural India, people follow time, places, and clocks religiously, though they have a fair sense of time while doing daily chores and activities. It is impossible to use time slots of 10 minutes in data collection. The more convenient way to survey India is through one one-hour time slot, implying careful investigation of the time used by the hour.

The Indian Time Use Survey is the first of its kind in developing economies, considering the size of the population and the nature of the work they dwell into. Since it is the first in developing economies, it had to create a suitable conceptual framework, sampling design, schedules, and methodology for data collection, classification of tabulation schemes, valuation procedures, and time-use activities. Time-use surveys (TUS) in developing countries still need to be more exploratory and mainstream in their national statistical systems. While developed countries like Australia, Eurostat, and the USA have conducted national time-use surveys, time-use studies are still a new survey technique in most countries, including developed ones (Hirway, 1999). In developed nations, time-use studies are primarily used as a data source on leisure, housework, child care, and other activities not included in official statistics. Developed nations emphasize quantifying unpaid work done at home, examining the relationship between domestic labour and the market, and laying the groundwork for monetary measurements of domestic work compared to output reported in national accounts. Within this general goal, the objectives of time-use surveys in developed nations vary significantly between countries. In India, the nature of time-use studies is mainly associated with the pilot time-use methodological survey (Hirway, 1999)

Underdeveloped and developing countries need to pay more attention to the amount of work that goes into the labour force and market-oriented activities due to the pervasive ideas and practices of methods that need to recognize these engaging work activities. The fundamental objective of time usage studies in these situations is to fill the gaps in current methods by providing precise data on economic productivity and labour force participation. Even while this is still the primary goal, these studies also serve other crucial goals, such as calculating the duration and worth of domestic labour.

The Indian survey shows the need to discuss methodologies and standardization of core terminology and definitions. For

example, reference periods, types of days, whether regular or otherwise, multiple activities paid/unpaid, market/non-market, etc. The India study has already identified the need for a 'normal day,' a 'weekly variant,' and an abnormal day in a seven-day reference week. The study has identified the need to classify activities that work can be separated into SNA, extended SNA, and non-SNA. Also, it shows the need to collect whether payment was received for the activity. With a broader dissemination of these results and further debate, a possible consensus evolved considerably, improving knowledge about paid and underpaid work and providing methodological insights.

Time-use studies can have various policy implications in critical arrangements across different sectors of the economy. These examinations give experiences into how people apportion their chances to multiple exercises, including work, relaxation, and caregiving. (Hirway, 2015) discusses the importance of recognizing and valuing unpaid work in economic analysis and policy-making and argues that unpaid work, including household production, care work, and volunteer work, is a crucial component of the economy that is often overlooked or undervalued. The potential policy implications of time-use studies in India are applicable and relevant to labour market policies, social protection policies, gender equality policies, and environmental policies. Time use information can assist policymakers with understanding how individuals dispense and divide their time between paid and unpaid work and how this allotment shifts across various groups of the population, for example, men and women. This data can become instrumental in advancing respectable work, decreasing poverty, and improving orientation balance. In general, time-use information can give necessary knowledge into individuals' lives' social and monetary fundamental factors and assist policymakers.

According to Rajivan Anuradha Kati, implications for gender equity can be derived from time-use studies. For example, it highlights the need to recognize the contributions of women and children to national incomes and wealth by valuing unpaid productive work. It also emphasizes the importance of maintenance and caring activities, often treated as non-work, prerequisites for conventional market work, social security, and the development of future labourers who are productive. Additionally, it gives a broader perspective for building capacity among statisticians and economists to sensitize them and policymakers to the importance of time-use data. Further time-use studies can be highly instrumental in Social Welfare Policies in Understanding time allocation for unpaid care giving, particularly for vulnerable populations such as older people and children. This information can guide the development of social welfare programs to support caregivers.

According to Time-Use Measurement and Research Report of a Workshop (2000), time-use studies can have policy implications in several areas, including understanding the effects of public policies on individual behaviour, how wage, tax, Social Security, and other policies affect volunteer time, and how policies might affect the amount of volunteering. Additionally, it mentions explicitly the implications of time-use



data for understanding how cash assistance recipients spend their time in the context of welfare reform.

Time-use studies in India can inform a wide range of policies aimed at promoting gender equality, improving labour market outcomes, enhancing education and health outcomes, and addressing social welfare and urban planning challenges; however, as it is unless unpaid work is included in macroeconomic analyses, they will remain partial and wrong, and that it is time to incorporate unpaid work into labour market analyses and the design of realistic labour and employment policies.

Increased commercialization is constantly supported by economic development. Conscious macro policies like reduced trade barriers, globalization, and increased internal economic liberalization further contribute to this. This modifies how men and women use their time, as there is an increasing premium for paid work or a penalty for the time of the services women have traditionally provided with low or no monetary rewards, like child development, domestic work, looking after the sick old and elderly, etc. As more women join paid forces, there is a greater need to harmonize work and family responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

Time use studies play a crucial role in understanding how individuals allocate their time to various activities and how these patterns influence their well-being, productivity, and overall socioeconomic development. In India, time-use studies can provide valuable insights into the division of labour, gender inequality, and the distribution of household chores. Also, these analyses and studies can reveal insight into the neglected work done by people, especially women, and help in planning strategies and policies to resolve issues related to gender stereotypes, unpaid care work, and an endless balance between life and work activities.

These studies can be utilized to plan approaches that advance gender equality and help identify and address the existing gender disparities in paid and unpaid work. The conceptual and methodological issues underlying the Indian Time Use Survey are presented in this review of time-use studies. Timeuse statistics trends in India provide a more accurate picture of women's work in India by capturing the full range of activities that women engage in, including paid and unpaid.

Time-use measurements can likewise assist with uncovering the gendered division of work inside families and work outside the households and feature the manners by which ladies' work is frequently underestimated and imperceptible. By giving a more complete comprehension of women's work, time-use insights can assist with acknowledging the requirement of strategies and projects to promote gender equality and women's Empowerment. It highlights the importance of understanding people's productive time use and welfare for economic policy and planning. It provides an overview of the challenges of measuring unremunerated work in time-use studies, the differences between the Indian Time Use Survey and other time-use surveys conducted globally, and the potential insights that time-use studies can provide into the gendered division of labour in households. The paper concludes that the Indian Time

Use Survey is methodological, and many lessons have been learned about the data collection methods in India during the pilot time use survey. The paper emphasizes the need for more understanding of time-use surveys in developing countries for the welfare of people for economic policy and planning. By accounting for unpaid work and understanding how individuals allocate their time, policymakers can better address issues of gender inequality, promote work-life balance, and design policies that support economic development and social well-being.

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