



Time Use and Gender Inequality in India: Differences in Employment and Related, Unpaid Domestic, and Caregiving Activities

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to analyze time allocation by gender in ‘employment and related’, ‘unpaid domestic’, and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities for the individuals representing work in public and private spheres in India. Employing Indian Time-use data 2019, this study examines time distribution of Indian men and women in these activities. Furthermore, the variation in intensity of time allocation due to socio-economic and demographic factors of individuals has been assessed using ordinary least square regression. The study reveals important gender inequalities prevail in the time spent for all the three-activity categories. Indian men devote considerable time in ‘employment and related’ activities whereas Indian women spend more time in the other two activities. The time spent in ‘unpaid domestic’ activities by Indian women is more for those who are less educated, socially marginalized, unemployed, and belong to poorer households whereas ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities are more intensive for women who are highly educated, socially marginalized, not in the labour force and have more children at home.

Originality/value : the present study contributes to understanding the disproportionate burden of ‘employment and related’, ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities and the intersectional dynamics that play a significant role in the allocation of time use across the gender lines using the latest data available in India.

Keywords: time use; gender inequality; employment and related activities; unpaid domestic activities; unpaid caregiving activities

JEL Classification: J21, J22, J71, J82

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1. Introduction

All economic and non-economic activities form indispensable part of human life and weave the social and economic fabric of individuals as well as of the society and economy. They play an important role in maintaining the well-being of the individuals, their families and further society as a whole. While examining different economic and non-economic activities, employment related activities include essential economic activities, whereas unpaid domestic and caregiving activities include essential household activities such as cooking, cleaning, washing etc. as well as taking care of household members. Though unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are global phenomena, the time spent on these activities vary with economic development of a country. Globally 76.2 percent of total unpaid domestic and care work hours is performed by women which is more than three times as compared to men and this may be higher for developing countries (ILO, 2018).

In a developing country like India, the unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are more acute. In India, women spend 297 minutes per day in doing domestic duties, caring for children, old, sick and disabled against only 31 minutes by men (ILO, 2018). The gender inequality in division of employment and related activities, unpaid domestic and caregiving activities makes India a highly unequal country with 112 Global Gender Gap ranking out of 153 countries in 2020 (WEF, 2020) which has further slipped to 140th rank in 2021 during the covid pandemic (WEF, 2021). Therefore, the discourse on unpaid domestic and caregiving activities is especially relevant in the Indian context where women's labour force participation rate is very low and has seen a declining trend over the last decade even though Indian labour market has gone through so many structural and policy changes and, an increasing number of women are moving into the domain of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities.

For the past few decades, India has witnessed a downward trend in labour force participation rate of women due to which India is unable to tap the full potential of its labour force. Also, there is a huge gap in labour force participation of men (76.1 percent) and women (20.5 percent) in India in 2019. Many factors are held accountable for the low and declining labour force participation rate of women in India, such as women pursuing higher education (Chowdhury, 2011), increasing household incomes (Himanshu, 2011), lack of employment opportunities in rural areas (Mazumdar and Neetha, 2011), prevailing cultural and social constraints (Chowdhury, 2011) and increasing involvement of women in unpaid domestic and caregiving activities (Fletcher et al., 2017).

Furthermore, much of women's unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are characterized as informal, invisible and unrecognized in India. Marginalization of women in the workforce is intensified due to their socioeconomic position in society to carry out unpaid household activities in the family in the form of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities. The engagement of women in unpaid domestic and caregiving activities is shaped by the intersectional forces of micro and macro conditions prevailing in society and/or the economy. The level of education, age, marital status, place of residence, religion and social group, household income, household size, employment status and having children at home all act as decisive elements for spending time in employment and related activities, unpaid domestic and caregiving activities (Antonopoulos, 2009).

In this context, the purpose of this study is to examine the gender distribution in the time use of 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities in India. Their distribution is a necessary matter for empirical investigation because gender inequality in the private sphere is in itself an important right. Moreover, 'employment and

related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities are intrinsically linked as the outcomes in the public sphere, such as low wages of women or their low occupational status, depend on women's inputs in the private sphere (Ghosh, 2021). The objective of this study is to highlight the potential of time use data to impart visibility on unpaid domestic and caregiving activities in India as it is believed that unless these activities come into sight through statistics, they will remain out of mind (Mies, 1998). Further, the objective is to perceive the underlying factors responsible for time use of 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities in the presence or absence of enabling conditions—societal norms; caste; work condition; educational status; economic status; and the allocation of time among a range of unpaid activities across the gender lines in the Indian economy.

2. Review of literature

Unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are non-economic in nature and thus are said to be unrecognized, unvalued, and unaccounted (Elson, 2000). However, these activities are crucial for running the circular flow of the economy by enhancing human capabilities and productivities of the labour force (Hirway, 2015). Further, the role of women has changed over time with the effort of feminist scholars to treat both genders equally and recognize their work in the process of economic development of a country (Elson, 2000). Most of the empirical studies have established the fact that the duration of unpaid household and care work varies according to the level of economic development of the country (Hirway, 2015). There is a disproportionate burden of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities on women as they are considered to be the 'natural' providers due to their inherent reproductive characteristics (Chopra and Sweetman, 2014). In almost all economies around the world, the lion's share of unpaid care work is carried out by women. The men are considered to be the breadwinners of the families and participate in paid work in the labour market whereas women are the caregivers at home. Since women undertake unpaid domestic and caregiving activities in private spheres confined within the household walls, the burden of these activities remains invisible (Antonopoulos, 2009).

Further, households are the site of love, nurturance, solidarity as well as the breeding grounds for inequality in time spent in different activities. The unpaid domestic and care burden on women assigns them to subordinate economic positions in the market production, specifically in the labour market (Beneria, 1979) and reduces their economic empowerment (Razavi, 2007). The unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are often time-consuming and involve drudgery. They act as a 'barrier' to women's economic participation in the labour market and divide the labour market along gender lines (Hirway, 2015). Furthermore, unpaid domestic and caregiving activities are the missing link in the labour market outcomes such as labour force participation, wages, and job quality (Ferrant et al., 2014). The large burden of unpaid domestic and care work on women has a negative impact on their physical and mental well-being as well as hampers their economic opportunities and social life.

In India, 60 percent of women in urban areas and 56 percent of women in rural areas in the productive age bracket of 15-59 years are involved in unpaid domestic and caregiving activities (GOI, Economic Survey 2020) whereas economic participation of women is among the lowest in India. As proposed by human capital theory, increase in education will increase the skills of women which leads to enhancement of income generating capacities of women. Hence, women will undertake more employment and related activities (Goldin, 1990). However, this theory is not validated in India as there exists a U-shaped relationship between

education and labour force participation for women (Klasen and Pieters, 2015). One of the reasons for the declining labour force participation of women with education is that higher education relieves the pressure from women to work for a living and thus educated women spend more time on unpaid domestic and caregiving activities within households (Das and Desai, 2003).

The prevalence of traditional patriarchal norms in Indian society assigns the burden of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities to women during their childhood. Young girls are expected to help their mothers in unpaid domestic activities and caregiving activities resulting into less value of education perceived by themselves as well as by others (Dodson and Dickert, 2004), lower rates of schooling (Marphatia and Moussie, 2013) and lower school attendance among girls (Bandyopadhyay and Subrahmanian, 2008). Through gender socialization (Grusec and Hastings, 2014), young girls grow and enter into adulthood with the image of their mothers carrying out unpaid domestic and caregiving activities in their minds, which they mimic once they enter into the institution of marriage - and that too at a very young age since child marriages are common in India. The marriage imposes pressure on newly married women to impress their mother-in-laws by doing more unpaid domestic and caregiving activities within the household (Chorghade et al., 2006).

Women are often seen as secondary earners in the households and in the absence of financial necessity, families wish to keep women at homes as it is a matter of pride for them (Klasen and Pieters, 2012). Thus, social restrictions are often imposed on women belonging to higher castes (Chen and Dreze, 1995) whereas it is socially acceptable for women belonging to lower castes i.e., scheduled caste or scheduled tribe to work outside their homes for living (Kingdon and Unni, 2001). However, with rise in income or education, the Sanskritization effect is depicted by women belonging to lower castes as they emulate the behavior of higher caste women (Kingdon and Unni, 2001).

Similarly, different religions have different rules and beliefs. Islam is believed to be stricter in terms of mobility of women as compared to Hinduism, thereby reducing the engagement of Muslim women in labour market (Neff et al., 2012). Patriarchal norms are also associated with the place of residence. Rural areas are abundant in social capital and have joint families where unpaid domestic and caregiving activities get distributed among family members. However, in urban areas, women perform unpaid domestic and caregiving activities as there is no other substitute available in their households to carry out these activities. The negative repercussion of this could be observed in terms of types of work women perform in Indian labour market. The women are informally employed with no social security and are self-employed, part-time, casual or irregular worker (Budlender, 2004) to balance the unpaid domestic and caregiving activities of the households

Most of the women in India find it difficult to synchronize unpaid domestic and caregiving activities with employment and related activities. This is because unpaid household and care work is more intensive in developing countries as the tasks of unpaid work are time consuming and involve drudgery (Hirway, 2015). The set of social norms and perceptions regarding a “natural” household division of labour and failure of agents of the care diamond i.e., market, state, households and non-profit institutions (Razavi, 2007) together intensify the burden of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities and increase it in manifold in a country like India (Singh and Pattanaik, 2018). Further, in India, women are involved in unpaid domestic and caregiving activities due to three C’s i.e., social and religious ‘constraints’, lack of ‘choices’ as state and market do not provide means to support unpaid domestic and caregiving activities of women and finally, less ‘career’ options available to women that can

increase their opportunity cost of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities in the labour market (Singh and Pattanaik, 2020).

Discourse on paid-unpaid work in India reveal that, though attention has been given to understand various aspects of women's life, more action is required to achieve the targets of Sustainable Development Goals (Target 5.4) which recognize the importance of unpaid domestic and caregiving activities and suggests to be provided through public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies, as well as shared responsibility within the household. However, to understand women's unpaid domestic and caregiving activities in a developing country like India requires analysis of the complex time use among the women in unpaid domestic and caregiving activities with employment and related activities at numerous interrelated levels (i.e., educational status, economic status, type of domestic works and caste, etc.) and to ascertain the multiple factors accountable for the growing burden of these activities on women.

3. Database and methodology

3.1. Database

The present paper is based on the data from Time Use Survey conducted by the National Statistical Office (NSO) in India from January 2019 to December 2019. It covered 1,38,799 households. Members above six years of age from selected households were interviewed. All their activities from 4:00 A.M. on the day before the date of interview to 4:00 A.M. on the day of interview (i.e., 24 hours) were noted. The Time use surveys are the quantitative summaries of allocation of time between different activities over a specified period by the individuals. Thus, time use surveys are a tool to measure the contribution of women in the form of unpaid work done by women and to recognize and make visible the full extent of women's work including their contribution in the un-remunerated and domestic chores (Esquivel, 2011).

Time Use Survey by NSO in India classifies all the activities into three broad categories: SNA production activities, non-SNA activities and other activities on the basis of UN System of National Accounts. The distribution of activities in SNA and non-SNA of the individuals were recorded in three-digit codes given by The International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics. The activities were divided into nine broad categories: 1) Employment and related activities; 2) Production of goods for own final use; 3) Unpaid domestic services for household members; 4) Unpaid Caregiving services for household members; 5) Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work; 6) Learning; 7) Socializing and communication, community participation and religious practice; 8) Culture, leisure, mass-media and sports practices; and 9) Self-care and maintenance (NSO, 2020).

3.1.1. Definition and measurement of dependent variables

To understand the gender inequalities in allocation of time within households and in employment, this paper has taken into account three categories of activities as per the ICATUS classification namely, Code 1: Employment and related activities, Code 3: Unpaid domestic activities within households and Code 4: Unpaid caregiving activities for household members.

The dependent variables include total time spent in a day expressed as minutes/day in three activities: employment and related activities, unpaid domestic activities and unpaid caregiving activities¹. The Employment and related activities are considered to be the activities

¹ For detailed information on dependent variables, refer to Appendix.

performed for the labour market in exchange for pay or profit. These activities are considered to be the paid work time devoted by the individuals in paid work activities as well as in primary employment (i.e., seeking employment and travelling and commuting for employment) (Sayer et al., 2009). The unpaid domestic activities consist of household work such as cooking, cleaning, washing, care and maintenance of textiles and footwear etc. The unpaid caregiving activities include caregiving services to old, ill, disabled and children within households.

Both unpaid domestic and unpaid caregiving activities are defined as all the non-remunerated activities performed for the existence and welfare of the people within own households. These activities are not counted in calculation of national accounts. These activities are outside the production boundary of System of National Accounts (SNA) but lie in the general production boundary of SNA and also called as non-SNA activities. These activities are different from leisure and self-care activities by the 'Third-party' criterion. The unpaid domestic and caregiving activities such as preparing meals or taking care of children can be delegated to a third person but activities like watching television, playing games or going to school cannot be outsourced. The bulk of time in the households is devoted to unpaid domestic and unpaid caregiving activities.

3.1.2. Definition and measurement of explanatory variables

- Age (years) and Age group: Age entails the number of years completed by an individual and individual category of age group plays a significant role in the entry and exit of an individual in the labour market and also in the performance of household activities.
- Sector: The sector is categorized as Rural or Urban based on the geographical and population aspects. Both the rural and urban sectors vary in individual characteristics and time use of 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities in India.
- Education Level: The educational hierarchy is divided into following categories: 1) Illiterate (Reference), 2) Primary and Below Primary, 3) Upper primary/middle, 4) Secondary, 5) Higher Secondary, 6) All Diploma courses (up to secondary, higher secondary, graduation and above), 7) Graduate, 8) Post-Graduate and Above.
- Marital Status: It captures the current marital status of a person. The study categorizes the variable as unmarried (reference), currently married and widowed or divorced or separated.
- Religion: The survey notes religion of the household. However, if all the household members do not follow the same religion then the religion of the household head is assumed to be the religion of the household. For the analysis, the study categorizes religion into four broad categories: Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and others (Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Others).
- Social Groups (Caste): The social group is the unique feature of the Indian society that divides all the individuals on the basis of social hierarchy. In the study, the social group is classified into four broad categories: Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Back Ward Class (OBCs) and Others (Non-SCs/STs/OBCs). In Indian society, SCs and STs are considered as low castes and most vulnerable and marginalized sections of the society as compared to the upper castes that are most advantaged caste group (Dumont, 1980).
- Household Income: The usual Monthly Per capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE) of the household is taken as the proxy of household income. The usual MPCE is divided into five quintiles- first (reference), second, middle, fourth and highest.

- Employment Status: Time spent in various activities differ according to people's employment status. The survey collects information on usual principal activity (main paid activity) of the individuals above 6 years of age based on their engagement in gainful economic activity during the 365 days preceding the day of the survey. In the study, five categories of employment status of the individuals are considered: Self-employed, Regular wage/Salaried, Casual labour, Unemployed and Not in labour force (reference).
- Household Size: Total number of individuals living in the household.
- Number of Children in the Household: The number of children below five years of age present in a household is divided into four categories: No children (reference), one to two children, three to four children and five or more than five children.

3.2. Methodology

To estimate the gender inequalities in 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities, average time spent in a day per person has been estimated from the unit level data of Time Use Survey. The average time spent in an activity by an individual is obtained by dividing the total time spent by the participants in that activity by total number of persons (NSO, 2020). Furthermore, to determine the factors affecting the time spent on employment and related activities, unpaid domestic and caregiving activities (in minutes), OLS regression is applied.

The basic form of OLS regression is: $Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon_i$

where Y_i is the dependent variable depicting minutes spent on employment and related activities, unpaid domestic activities and unpaid caregiving activities. X_i represents socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the individuals such as age, marital status, educational level, household size, location (rural/urban), caste, religion, household monthly per capita expenditure as a proxy for household income, employment status and number of children in a household below 5 years of age as independent variables.

The dependent variable consists of large number of observations that are clustered near zero due to single day window of Indian Time Use survey. Thus, whether these zeroes occur due to mismatch of interest or non-participation in an activity cannot be ascertained. However, we have applied OLS regression based on the findings that OLS performs better than Tobit and Two-part model (Stewart, 2013).

4. Differences in Time Spent in 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic', and 'unpaid caregiving activities' across Gender

Time is a finite resource. Everyone has a time budget of 1440 minutes per day which they allocate to different types of activities. As per the Indian Time Use survey, all the activities performed in a day by an individual are divided into nine broad categories (Table 1). A significant gender gap is observed in men and women's time spent on each of these activities. The gap is highest in unpaid domestic services for household members, followed by employment and related activities and unpaid caregiving services for household members. In India, average time spent by men on 'employment and related' activities is 4 hours and 23 minutes per day whereas women spend 61 minutes on it. On the other hand, the average amount of time spent by women in 'unpaid domestic' activities is 4 hours and 3 minutes per day against 25 minutes for men. Similarly, women spend 37 minutes and men spend 11 minutes on average

on 'unpaid caregiving' activities. The gender gap in mean duration is small in activities like: 'socializing & communication, community participation & religious practice', 'culture, leisure, mass-media & sports practices', 'self-care & maintenance'. It is evident from these figures that a large degree of gender disparity exists in the time spent by the individuals in 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities across male and female in India.

Table 1: Average time spent per person (minutes/day) in different activities

Activities	Male	Female	Gender Gap
Employment and related activities	263	61	202
Production of goods for own final use	28	23	5
Unpaid domestic services for HH members	25	243	-218
Unpaid caregiving services for HH members	11	37	-26
Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work	3	2	1
Learning	102	84	18
Socializing & communication, community participation & religious practice	134	127	7
Culture, leisure, mass-media & sports practices	146	141	5
Self-care & maintenance	729	723	6
Total	1440	1440	

Source: Time Use Survey Report, 2020, NSO, Government of India.

4.1. Assessment of the contributions of factors affecting time spent on 'employment related', 'unpaid domestic', and 'unpaid caregiving', activities

Time spent in different activities by the individuals are affected by their socio-economic and demographic background characteristics. Therefore, to understand the dynamics and to explore the intersections among the factors affecting time spent in different activities by the individuals, following section has tried to examine the impact of socio-economic and demographic background characteristics of the individuals and their time spent on 'employment and related', 'unpaid domestic', and 'unpaid caregiving' activities.

4.1.1. Time Use by Age Groups

The time spent on 'employment and related' activities decrease with age for men, whereas the time spent on 'employment and related' activities initially increase and then decreases for women with the increase in age (see Table 2). It has been observed that, men in the age group 15-29 and women in 30-45 age group devote significantly more time on 'employment and related' activities as compared to other age groups in India. The age group of 15-29 is considered to be a transition period in which individuals complete their education and enter the labour market. Thus, men in this age group tend to devote more time in the labour market to establish themselves in the competitive environment and prepare their future. However, early 20s (age group) is the fertility period for women which is in conflict with the 'employment and related' activities for women. On average, women in the age group 15-29 spend approximately 17 minutes more on 'unpaid caregiving' activities as compared to women in the 6-14 age group. However, it has been observed that, the care burden of women is low among 30-45, 46-59, and

60+ age groups as compared to other age groups. In the case of 'unpaid domestic' activities, the coefficients for women are significantly higher than for men, implying more 'unpaid domestic' activities are undertaken by women. It has been observed that the highest burden of 'unpaid domestic' activities is undertaken by women in the age group 30-45 (2 hours and 18 minutes) followed by the age group 15-29 (2 hours and 3 minutes) and by the age group 46-59 (1 hour and 33 minutes). However, men tend to devote more time to 'unpaid domestic' activities in the later stages of life when their connection with labour market weakens. On average, the highest burden of 'unpaid domestic' activities is undertaken by men in the age group 46-59 (33 minutes) as compared to other age groups.

4.1.2. Time Use by Household Size

While considering household size, it has been observed that men devote more time to 'employment and related' activities in smaller families as compared to larger families. On the other hand, women in large families (comprising of more than 19 family members) devote more time (approximately 25 minutes) in 'employment and related' activities as compared to smaller families (smaller household size having 6 members or less). This may be because in large families, women may have increased their time spent on 'employment and related' activities out of economic necessity. The other explanation might be that the large families facilitate or ease the movement of women outside their homes by managing the households' activities in their absence. Further, household size is negatively related with time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities for both men and women. In households comprising of 13-18 members, women reduce their 'unpaid domestic' activities by 43 minutes, on average as compared to women in smaller families (6 members or less). For men, the time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities is on average approximately 5 minutes less in household size of 7-12 as compared to household size of 1-6. Similarly, household size is negatively related to 'unpaid caregiving' activities for both men and women. In large families, 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities of an individual get distributed among family members.

4.1.3. Time Use by Place of Residence

The place of residence also influences the time spent on the activities undertaken by individuals. The time spent on 'employment and related' activities is positively related to both urban men and women. On average, the time spent by urban men on 'employment and related' activities is 48 minutes more as compared to the rural men whereas urban women spend approximately 3 minutes more than the rural women in these activities. The time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities by urban men and urban women is low as compared to their rural counterparts. On average, urban men reduce their time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities by approximately 6 minutes whereas urban women reduce it by 12 minutes approximately. This is because in rural areas, there is a lack of availability of adequate physical and social infrastructural facilities thereby increasing the drudgery of domestic activities. The coefficient for time spent on 'unpaid caregiving' activities is negative for urban men whereas positive for urban women. Urban areas have a prevalence of nuclear families as opposed to joint families in rural areas. All the family members in rural areas raise a child together or care for each other. However, in urban nuclear families the burden of caring responsibilities disproportionately falls on women.

4.1.4. Time Use by Religious Groups

The gender-based norms are associated with religious beliefs and practices. In Islam, men tend to spend more time on 'employment and related' activities as compared to Hindu men. However, owing to the strict social norms, the women in Islam spend less time on these activities. In the case of Christianity, women spend on average 13 minutes less on 'unpaid

domestic' activities as compared to Hindu women whereas Christian women spend 10 minutes more on 'unpaid caregiving' activities as compared to Hindu women. Across all religions, the contribution of Christian men on 'unpaid domestic' activities and 'unpaid caregiving' activities is significantly positive, although small.

4.1.5. Time Use by Social Groups

While examining the time allocation across social groups, it has been observed that men devote more time on 'employment and related' activities and much less time on 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities. The women in other backward classes (OBC) spend 6 minutes more in 'employment and related' activities as compared to scheduled tribe (ST), followed by scheduled caste (SC) and others. With regard to 'unpaid domestic' activities, women in scheduled caste (SC) category spend on average 8 minutes more on 'unpaid domestic' activities as compared to scheduled tribe (ST) women, followed by women belonging to others and ST category. In case of 'unpaid caregiving' activities, scheduled tribe (ST) women spend the highest amount of time in unpaid caregiving activities, followed by scheduled caste (SC) and other backward classes (OBC). It has been observed that, women belong to marginalised and vulnerable section of the society spend more time on 'unpaid domestic' and 'unpaid caregiving' activities.

4.1.6. Time Use by Marital Status

Regarding marital status, being married is related to more time spent on 'employment and related activities' for men and less time for women. On average, married men spend approximately 28 minutes more on 'employment and related' activities as compared to unmarried men whereas married women spend 11 minutes less on 'employment and related' activities as compared to unmarried women. The effect of marriage on time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities is significantly positive and greater for women as compared to men. On average, married men increase their contribution in 'unpaid domestic' activities by 3 minutes whereas married women spend approximately 3 hours and 43 minutes more on 'unpaid domestic' activities as compared to unmarried women. In the case of 'unpaid caregiving' activities, married women also perform more caregiving activities in comparison to men. Married women devote approximately 53 minutes more on 'unpaid caregiving' activities, on average as compared to unmarried women whereas married men devote 12 minutes more as compared to unmarried men.

4.1.7. Time Use by Education Level

In terms of education, it has been observed that time spent on 'employment and related' activities is negatively related to education for both men and women. On average, men with post-graduation and above spend 36 minutes less on 'employment and related' activities than illiterate men whereas women with post-graduation and above decrease their time spent on this activity by 13 minutes as compared to illiterate women. This may be because highly educated individuals reduce their time spent on these activities due to higher productivities. Also, another plausible reason may be that an income effect may be dominant for higher educated individuals as they get higher wages which leads to less time spent on 'employment and related' activities. The increase in educational attainment increases the opportunity cost of time and therefore, decreases the amount of time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities. Thus, both higher educated men and women reduce their time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities. In the case of 'unpaid caregiving' activities, time spent by both men and women increases with education. On average, men with post-graduation and above spend approximately 7 minutes more as compared to illiterate men whereas women with post-graduation and above spend

approximately 21 minutes more as compared to illiterate women on 'unpaid caregiving' activities.

4.1.8. Time Use by Household Income

Household income is positively related to time spent on 'employment and related' activities as men and women belonging to highest income level devote more time on these activities. In the case of 'unpaid domestic' activities, it is believed that the households belonging to high income quintiles have the ability to purchase domestic help from outside. However, this does not hold true for men in this study. The amount of time spent on 'unpaid domestic' activities by males belonging to highest income quintile is 8 minutes more as compared to men in lowest income quintile. One possible explanation may be that men in higher income quintiles undertake pleasurable tasks of 'unpaid domestic' activities- '*doing it yourself*'- such as maintenance and repair of own dwelling, vehicles, shopping etc. However, women belonging to higher income quintiles spend less time on 'unpaid domestic' activities as compared to women in lower income quintiles. In the case of 'unpaid caregiving' activities, both men and women belonging to higher income quintiles spend more time on 'unpaid caregiving' activities as compared to low-income households.

4.1.9. Time Use by Employment Status

The employment status of the individuals determines how much time is available to them to devote on all three activities. According to the time availability perspective, since full time workers spend most of their time in labour market, much less time is left for household work. They spend less time in household work as compared to individuals that are not in the labour force (Bianchi et al., 2000). As expected, regular salaried men and women devote the highest amount of time on 'employment and related' activities as compared to men and women in other categories of employment status. On average, regular salaried men spend 7 hours more than the men that are not in the labour force in 'employment and related' activities whereas regular salaried women spend 5 hours and 40 minutes more than the women that are not in the labour force in 'employment and related' activities. However, the contribution of regular salaried men and women is least in 'unpaid domestic' activities. On average, regular salaried men spend 8 minutes less than the men that are not in the labour force in 'unpaid domestic' activities whereas regular salaried women spend 1 hour and 56 minutes less than the women that are not in the labour force in 'unpaid domestic' activities which is consistent with time availability perspective.

The unemployed men spend 13 minutes more than the men that are not in the labour force in 'unpaid domestic' activities whereas unemployed women spend 3 minutes more than the women that are not in the labour force in 'unpaid domestic' activities. This may be perhaps because the 'unpaid domestic' activities are said to be arduous work that needs a lot of physical efforts. The individuals that are not in the labour force comprise of young (below 15 years of age) as well as old (above 60 years). Thus, they devote less time as compared to unemployed individuals in 'unpaid domestic' activities. Moreover, unemployed men and women have time and flexibility to undertake 'unpaid domestic' activities within households. Among those that are employed, self-employed men and women devote more time than regular salaried and casual labour in 'unpaid domestic' activities. In the case of 'unpaid caregiving' activities, women that are not in the labour force devote more time in 'unpaid caregiving' activities as compared to other categories of employment status whereas unemployed men marginally spend higher time in 'unpaid caregiving' activities as compared to men that are not in the labour force.

4.1.10. Time Use by Number of Children in the Household

The time spent in ‘employment and related’, ‘unpaid domestic’, and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities also depend on the number of children below 5 years of age present in the household. It has been observed that both men and women decrease their time spent on ‘employment and related’ activities and ‘unpaid domestic’ activities when children below five years of age are present in their households. However, time devoted to ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities increase for both men and women with the increase in the number of children below 5 in the household. The care burden increases more for women as compared to men. On average, women belonging to households with 5 or more children below 5 years of age devote 1 hour and 59 minutes more on ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities as compared to women belonging to households with no children whereas men increase their time spent on these activities by approximately 39 minutes. The demand for care increases with the number of children with women spending more time in childcare and men spending less (Shelton and John, 1996).

Table 2: OLS Regression Coefficients in the Models Predicting the impact of Socio-economic and Demographic backgrounds of the Individuals on Time Spent in different activities

Variables		EA		UDA		UCA	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age Group (ref.: 6-14)	15-29	18.71*** (0.252)	15.89*** (0.155)	23.43*** (0.117)	123.07*** (0.245)	2.78*** (0.063)	16.69*** (0.099)
	30-45	11.97*** (0.410)	20.56*** (0.205)	31.17*** (0.168)	138.32*** (0.297)	3.34*** (0.088)	-8.36*** (0.144)
	46-59	-14.13*** (0.463)	17.54*** (0.235)	32.59*** (0.185)	92.93*** (0.332)	-2.76*** (0.095)	-22.23*** (0.147)
	60+	-47.38*** (0.443)	6.69*** (0.252)	30.48*** (0.182)	18.99*** (0.365)	-2.76*** (0.095)	-22.06*** (0.158)
Household Size (ref.: 1-6)	7-12	5.00*** (0.296)	2.39*** (0.143)	-4.78*** (0.096)	-24.62*** (0.206)	-5.71*** (0.065)	-14.56*** (0.116)
	13-18	3.26 (1.753)	6.11*** (0.849)	-2.39*** (0.651)	-42.73*** (1.226)	-14.46*** (0.443)	-32.02*** (0.856)
	19-23	-52.18*** (4.055)	25.85*** (2.242)	-0.67 (1.559)	-7.60** (3.387)	-26.67*** (0.808)	-71.72*** (1.714)
Sector (ref.: rural)	Urban	47.85*** (0.189)	2.81*** (0.095)	-6.21*** (0.067)	-11.67*** (0.127)	-0.49** (0.037)	2.53*** (0.064)
Religion (ref.: Hinduism)	Muslim	3.16*** (0.254)	-5.93*** (0.107)	0.14 (0.089)	8.96*** (0.174)	-0.39*** (0.050)	2.55*** (0.092)
	Christian	-39.63*** (0.408)	-9.39*** (0.247)	1.11*** (0.144)	-13.29*** (0.259)	3.78*** (0.089)	9.64*** (0.141)
	Others	-11.26*** (0.438)	-10.05*** (0.233)	-0.93*** (0.159)	5.96*** (0.300)	1.01*** (0.086)	0.92*** (0.142)
Social Group (ref.: ST)	SC	31.71*** (0.326)	3.97*** (0.196)	-3.25*** (0.117)	7.87*** (0.213)	-1.04*** (0.063)	-0.22** (0.104)
	OBC	27.79*** (0.297)	6.47*** (0.181)	-4.65*** (0.107)	-0.50*** (0.192)	-1.07*** (0.057)	-0.38*** (0.094)
	Others	25.78*** (0.312)	2.25*** (0.183)	-3.77*** (0.114)	4.00*** (0.205)	-1.68*** (0.059)	-2.16*** (0.099)

Variables		EA		UDA		UCA	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Marital Status (ref.: Unmarried)	Currently Married	28.26*** (0.367)	-11.35*** (0.167)	2.57*** (0.147)	222.61*** (0.236)	12.15*** (0.061)	52.67*** (0.102)
	Widowed	11.36*** (0.593)	-2.67*** (0.272)	46.68*** (0.336)	137.62*** (0.332)	14.18*** (0.126)	51.44*** (0.133)
	Separated						
	Divorced						
Education (ref.: Illiterate)	Primary & Below	-1.46*** (0.319)	-5.79*** (0.151)	1.34*** (0.118)	18.11*** (0.179)	0.79*** (0.058)	1.83*** (0.082)
	Middle	-0.43 (0.330)	-8.86*** (0.158)	-0.18 (0.122)	21.46*** (0.194)	2.22*** (0.059)	7.01*** (0.092)
	Second'y	2.38** (0.354)	-12.13*** (0.165)	-3.57*** (0.129)	12.67*** (0.194)	2.20*** (0.063)	8.49*** (0.107)
	Higher Second'y	-4.44*** (0.391)	-11.47*** (0.180)	-3.10*** (0.143)	7.59*** (0.246)	3.34*** (0.073)	12.86*** (0.129)
	Diploma Courses	-12.21*** (0.556)	-10.12*** (0.371)	-2.34*** (0.199)	-3.61*** (0.437)	4.55*** (0.108)	15.78*** (0.245)
	Graduate	-11.85*** (0.419)	-8.09*** (0.216)	-2.27*** (0.151)	6.03*** (0.274)	5.52*** (0.083)	17.26*** (0.149)
	Post-Graduate & Above	-36.45*** (0.623)	-13.01*** (0.385)	-4.76*** (0.213)	-4.12*** (0.408)	7.34*** (0.129)	20.96*** (0.228)
	Income Quintiles (ref.: First)	Second	6.02*** (0.260)	2.11*** (0.141)	0.91*** (0.093)	-2.76*** (0.176)	0.18*** (0.055)
Middle		12.51*** (0.262)	2.35*** (0.142)	-0.22** (0.092)	-3.67*** (0.177)	0.16*** (0.054)	2.12*** (0.092)
Fourth		12.65*** (0.287)	2.04*** (0.155)	2.12*** (0.102)	-6.45*** (0.191)	0.45*** (0.056)	2.60*** (0.096)
Highest		14.00*** (0.309)	2.05*** (0.166)	8.19*** (0.254)	-11.57*** (0.208)	0.06 (0.060)	0.40*** (0.102)
Employment Status (ref.: Not in Labour Force)	Self Employ'd	317.57*** (0.277)	180.93*** (0.273)	-3.50*** (0.133)	-74.80*** (0.203)	-5.29*** (0.058)	-10.69*** (0.093)
	Regular Salaried	420.06*** (0.319)	339.72*** (0.411)	-7.63*** (0.136)	-115.96*** (0.267)	-3.33*** (0.061)	-15.92*** (0.115)
	Casual Labour	381.85*** (0.319)	289.25*** (0.392)	-5.92*** (0.142)	-96.65*** (0.253)	-4.44*** (0.063)	-14.74*** (0.102)
	Unempl'd	26.10*** (0.418)	11.53*** (0.455)	13.30*** (0.254)	2.95*** (0.694)	0.64*** (0.122)	-0.39 (0.299)
Number of Children (ref.: None)	1-2	-4.62*** (0.210)	-7.64*** (0.105)	-4.28*** (0.069)	-35.67*** (0.134)	21.37*** (0.049)	76.04*** (0.080)
	3-4	-12.53*** (0.561)	-11.37*** (0.225)	-1.97*** (0.185)	-29.75*** (0.328)	32.01*** (0.163)	106.35*** (0.254)
	5+	-40.72*** (2.356)	-15.45*** (0.803)	-1.10 (0.799)	-34.85*** (1.388)	38.94*** (0.706)	119.18*** (1.136)
Constant		-40.81*** (0.418)	7.09*** (0.226)	10.07*** (0.157)	29.06*** (0.269)	-1.69*** (0.087)	-27.64*** (0.134)
		0.5419	0.5363	0.0541	0.4874	0.1238	0.3907

Note: Significance Level: *** p < 1%, **p < 5%, * p < 10%, EA: Employment and Related activities; UDA: Unpaid Domestic Activities; UCA: Unpaid Caregiving Activities, Robust Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The study aims to gain an understanding of the social, economic, and demographic factors explaining the allocation of time by gender in ‘employment and related’, ‘unpaid domestic’, and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities for the individuals in India. In India, the burden of ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women. They devote a large amount of time on these activities whereas men spend more on ‘employment and related’ activities. Further, the magnitude of time spent on these three activities varies significantly with socio-economic and demographic characteristics of individuals and households. Men in young age spend more time in ‘employment and related’ activities whereas young women spend more time in ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities. Household size is negatively related with ‘employment and related’ activities for men and positively related with women, whereas household size is negatively related with ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities for both men and women. Urban men and women spend more time in ‘employment and related’ activities and less time in ‘unpaid domestic’ activities as compared to rural counterparts. Further, women belonging to marginalized community (SC and ST) spend more time in ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities as compared to men. Married men spend more time in ‘employment and related’ activities whereas married women spend more time in ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities. Higher level of education is negatively associated with time spent by men and women in ‘employment and related’ activities and ‘unpaid domestic’ activities but positively related with ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities. However, higher levels of household income is positively related with time spent by men and women in ‘employment and related’ activities and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities but a discrepancy is observed in the case of ‘unpaid domestic’ activities where women belonging to higher income households spend less time as compared to men.

While examining the time allocation across gender through the lens of intersectionality it has been observed that the burden of care and unpaid household activities are more intensive for women who are less educated, not employed (unemployed and out of the labour force), poor and marginalized. A huge gender gap in the time use of ‘employment and related’, ‘unpaid domestic’, and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities may be attributed to many forms of intersectionality that exist in India, producing inequalities and vulnerability for women. On the one hand, Indian households often require that women prioritize unpaid household activities and may even be explicitly constrained by marriage, religion, caste, economic class, and on the other hand face legal, normative, and economic constraints to spend time in employment related activities.

In a country like India, the dominance of care and unpaid domestic activities among women is evident because market has failed to recognize and create opportunities for these activities, which is further combined with the non-fulfilment of essential provisioning and poor implementation of welfare schemes by the state. Further, in India, societal norms play a crucial role in women’s activity status and reduces time use in employment related activities, in addition, interceded through religion and caste, which impact women’s quality of life and representation in economic, social and political domains and their own mental, physical and emotional well-being among women. Thus, the state should increase employment opportunities for women, access to adequate physical and social infrastructure, long term care and childcare facilities to reduce the drudgery of ‘unpaid domestic’ and ‘unpaid caregiving’ activities. The redistribution of unpaid care responsibilities within household and in the

economy is the key to alleviate the gender inequality and to favor equal participation of both men and women in both public and private spheres of the Indian economy.

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Appendix

Table 3: Classification codes of activities (ICATUS)

Codes	Activity title
1	Employment and related activities
11	Employment in corporations, government and non-profit institutions
12	Employment in household enterprises to produce goods
13	Employment in household enterprises to produce services
14	Ancillary activities and breaks related to employment
15	Training and studies in relation to employment
16	Seeking employment
17	Setting up a business
18	Travelling and commuting for employment
3	Unpaid domestic services for household members
31	Food and meals management and preparation
32	Cleaning and maintaining of own dwelling and surroundings
33	Do-it-yourself decoration, maintenance and repair
34	Care and maintenance of textiles and footwear
35	Household management for own final use
36	Pet care
37	Shopping for own household members
38	Travelling, moving, transporting or accompanying goods or persons related to unpaid domestic services
39	Other unpaid domestic services for household members
4	Unpaid caregiving services for household members
41	Childcare and instruction
42	Care for dependent adults
43	Help to non-dependent adult household members
44	Travelling and accompanying goods or persons related to unpaid caregiving services for household members
49	Other activities related to unpaid caregiving services for household members

Source: Time Use Survey Report, 2020, NSO, Government of India.