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Unpaid Work in the SNA Revisions: Implications for the Care Economy

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Abstract

The valuation of unpaid household service work is necessary for a better measure of total economic growth and living standards. Also, care work, both paid and unpaid remains crucial to the future of decent work, and policies are needed from the governments for the organization of care industry. Current research indicates that care services could contribute towards employment generation and women's empowerment. The main objective of this paper is two-fold, first, review the state of various nationally representative and internationally comparable Time Use Surveys, and subsequently examine the women's unpaid work and care economy implications, second, use the Indian time use data to empirically verify the implications of women's unpaid care work for labor force participation. Our analyses indicate that women in different states of India typically engage in various caregiving responsibilities and the magnitude or intensity remains higher than the men members. Our results specified an inverse relationship between labor force participation and the magnitude or intensity of engagement in unpaid caregiving activities for women, with higher degrees of correlation in urban areas. This negative relationship is also confirmed by alternatively considering women's engagements in non-SNA or unpaid activities. The results suggest that reductions in women's unpaid work could lead to higher levels of participation in the labor market. These answers are crucial and could provide some useful insights for the development of care economy in India. (Word Count: 228).

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Unpaid Work in the SNA Revisions: Implications for the Care Economy

Surajit Deb

1. Background and Objectives:

The valuation of unpaid household service work is necessary for measuring economic output, and the account of living standards requires that the value of non-market activities are incorporated within the existing scope of the System of National Accounts (SNA). It is claimed that women spend around two to ten times more time on unpaid care work than men around the world. Previous researchers have demonstrated how the existing measures of marketable services and outputs had left out women's care services in the valuation of gross domestic product (GDP). The regular implementation of Time Use Surveys (TUS) started in some developed economies as early as the 1970s and in developing economies following the Beijing Conference in 1995 (Charmes 2015). Although several countries have their nationally representative and internationally comparable TUS data, there are still many countries with no time-use data. According to ILO (2016), the problem of women shouldering a disproportionate share of unpaid work remains particularly acute in developing countries. Current research indicates that investing in the labor-intensive care economy could generate high levels of return through growth in women's employment and an increased level of social wellbeing. The 14th Meeting of the Advisory Expert Group on National Accounts considered extending the existing scope of the SNA to value the non-market activities performed within and between households without monetary compensation.

The issues that remain important in the current context are: i) what are the review proposals and whether they are adequate to capture the unpaid work within the SNA's output framework, ii) as to what extent different countries have undertaken the time use or labor surveys so that adequate data and information are ready to evaluate the values of unpaid work, iii) what are the evidences on unpaid work, particularly the women's contribution, iv) what are the implications for the care economy development from available research in world regions, and finally, v) what are the broad implications of women's unpaid caregiving work for the labor

force participation from the TUS information on an emerging economy? This paper provides an attempt to some of these issues in a systematic manner.

The main objective of this paper is two-fold, first, review the state of various nationally representative and internationally comparable TUS, and subsequently examine the women's unpaid work and care economy implications, and second, use the Indian TUS data to empirically verify the implications of women's unpaid care work for their labor force participation. The plan of the paper is as follows: section 2 examines the SNA revision proposals. A discussion on the state of TUS data across economies as well as the recent International Conference on Labor Statistics (ICLS) guidelines are provided in section 3. We provide an account of the evidences on unpaid component of women's work on different world regions in section 4. A discussion on the scope of the care economy and the current views are provided in section 5. The examination of the relationship between women's unpaid care work and labor force participation is carried out in section 6. This section uses the state-level information on time spent in caregiving activities of the member from the activity classification as per the International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics (ICATUS), 2016. Apart from verifying the gender differences across states, we explore on the hypotheses whether the states with lower participation in paid work are also the states with higher participation in household caregiving, non-SNA activities or unpaid household work. A final section summarizes the results and concludes.

2. SNA Proposals on Unpaid Work

The literature on unpaid family caretaking work has a long tradition, where scholars have attempted to estimate the value of home production, unpaid domestic and care work and integrating them in the SNA. This includes the works by Nordhaus and Tobin (1973), Kendrick (1972, 1979), Eisner et al. (1982), Ironmonger (1994, 1996, 1997), Goldschmidt-Clermont and Pagnossin Aligisakis (1999) and others. In fact, the categorization of SNA activities into SNA production activities, non-SNA production activities and non-economic (personal) activities seems to have been influenced by this body of literature. Today, there is a growing literature, which attempts to measure the unpaid domestic and care work in many European countries and

also in the USA. In fact, the availability of household surveys with information on time use and working conditions of the household has enabled performing these examinations. The challenges involved in the measurement of unpaid household service work have been longstanding. For many years now, it has been debated whether its value should be included within estimates of output and economic growth. The production boundary of national accounts is a conceptual line drawn between economic and non-economic activity, and unpaid labor on housework, childcare, cleaning, meal preparation, and care for the children, elderly and sick are not valued in GDP data. The production activities in national economic accounts include: (i) SNA production activities; (ii) non-SNA production activities (food preparation, childcare, adult care, making and care of textiles, upkeep of dwelling and surroundings, repairs and maintenance of dwelling and of household equipment, household management and shopping, gardening and pet care) and unpaid work for the community, and (iii) non-economic activities (physiological and recreational activities and self-education).

As part of its work to advance the Research Agenda of the SNA 2008, the Inter-Secretariat Working Group on National Accounts (ISWGNA) established subgroups to address issues of relevance to the update of the SNA 2008 for measuring economic and social developments such as digitalization, globalization, and well-being and sustainability. The area group on unpaid household service work is one of the five groups established with a focus on wellbeing and sustainability. The issues under consideration that how to include the valuation of unpaid work includes a subset of questions. According to UN (2020), these could be such as: i). whether the production boundary should be extended for unpaid services and if so, should leisure time also be valued to better reflect the complete economic experience of households? ii). should additional value be added to GDP to capture an extended GDP including unpaid household service work and should this be recorded as part of the existing supply use tables within the core system of national accounts? iii) should supplementary tables be used for recording unpaid household activities in physical and monetary terms? iv) should a full set of time accounts be produced to measure how paid work time, unpaid work time and leisure time are proportioned across the population? v). how should unpaid work be valued for and can productivity levels be measured within the valuation process? vi). is it possible to create monetary valuations of unpaid work in volume terms?

It is argued that the only way to comprehensively account for economic growth is by extending the existing scope of the System of National Accounts (SNA) to value the non-market activity performed within and between households without monetary compensation (UN 2020). The draft guidance notes as the outcome of the Meeting of the Advisory Expert Group on National Accounts on Unpaid Household Service Work has put forward the definition and concepts as: unpaid household services should include any activity which meets the third-party criterion i.e. contracted out to a market service provider (UN 2020). It also recommended the categories that could be used as a guide for identifying the types of productive activity, which would meet the criterion, for assigning a value, viz., unpaid childcare, adult care, nutrition, transport, household management services, laundry and clothing services, informal volunteering, shopping, information services, and other unpaid household production not elsewhere classified. The committee recommended two alternative approaches to measure and value households unpaid service work, viz., the input approach and output approach. The input approach tries to monetize unpaid household service work by estimating the “sum of costs” of the various inputs needed to produce the relevant services: labor, capital services, and intermediate consumption.

It is suggested that, TUS data should be collected on a regular basis, at least once every five years to produce valuations of the unpaid labor. The TUS should be consistent and designed to collect as much activity meeting the third-party criterion as possible. A replacement cost approach to valuation of hours worked should be followed using gross wage rates paid to employees involved in the production of equivalent market services. The imputed adjustments for taxes and subsidies and gross operating surplus should be made for comparability with the valuations of market production in the core national accounts. The output approach should be used as an alternative where TUS data is not available and the input approach cannot be applied. The basic mechanism for valuing unpaid household service work in the output approach is to multiply quantities for each of the relevant household services with prices of similar services exchanged on the market. The consumption of services is mostly collected by using administrative or survey data. It is suggested that the market equivalent prices for unpaid household services should be carefully designed for valuing the particular types of unpaid household services. Furthermore, to arrive at an estimate of the value added generated by unpaid household service work, a reliable household expenditure survey should be used to estimate

intermediate consumption of goods and services purchased from the market and used in the production of unpaid household service work. The committee more generally recommended the approach to arrive at the highest possible quality estimates for the output of unpaid household service work from the resulting numbers from the input and output approaches. Finally, the committee recommended to derive estimates of extended GDP factoring in unpaid household service production to accompany the traditional GDP measures. It is therefore agreed upon that the exclusion of unpaid household service work may directly impact welfare if economic policy biases intervention to favor the paid economy over unpaid household production. Giannelli et al (2010) estimated the size and value of unpaid family caretaking activities at a European level by merging the information of an EU household survey with a time use survey (TUS) data. For Europe as a whole, the total monetary values of unpaid family domestic work and unpaid family childcare work ranged between 20.1 per cent and 36.8 per cent of EU's GDP.

3. Time Use Survey Information and Women's Work:

The TUS are a crucial data sources to inquire into the magnitude of unpaid care work, and especially its gender dimension. This data remains as the most widely accepted source of gender-disaggregated data on the nature and duration of time spent in paid work, unpaid work and total work. Time-use survey data give insights into time poverty; differentials in earnings; interrelationships of employment, unemployment and education in rural and urban areas; everyday well-being patterns; extent, type and timing of market work; reconciliation of the work–family balance; measurement of human capital through schooling and time spent by parents with children; and access to and consumption of services like energy and communication technologies (UNESCAP, 2021). The estimates based on time-use survey data in 64 countries (representing 66.9 per cent of the world's working-age population) indicates that 16.4 billion hours are spent in unpaid care work every day. This is equivalent to 2 billion people working eight hours per day or a full-time shift for no remuneration (ILO, 2018).

Box 1: Definitions of the components of ‘unpaid care work’ by the Resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labor utilization adopted by the 19th ICLS in 2013.

Persons in own-use production work are defined as all those of working age who, during a short reference period, performed any activity to produce goods or provide services for own final use, where:

- (a) “any activity” refers to work performed in the various activities under paragraph 22(b) and (c) for a cumulative total of at least one hour;
- (b) production of “goods” (within the 2008 SNA production boundary) covers:
 - (i) producing and/or processing for storage agricultural, fishing, hunting and gathering products;
 - (ii) collecting and/or processing for storage mining and forestry products, including firewood and other fuels;
 - (iii) fetching water from natural and other sources;
 - (iv) manufacturing household goods (such as furniture, textiles, clothing, footwear, pottery or other durables, including boats and canoes);
 - (v) building, or effecting major repairs to, one’s own dwelling, farm buildings, etc.;
- (c) provision of “services” (beyond the 2008 SNA production boundary but inside the General production boundary) covers:
 - (i) household accounting and management, purchasing and/or transporting goods;
 - (ii) preparing and/or serving meals, household waste disposal and recycling;
 - (iii) cleaning, decorating and maintaining one’s own dwelling or premises, durables and other goods, and gardening;
 - (iv) childcare and instruction, transporting and caring for elderly, dependent or other household members, etc.;
- (d) “for own final use” is interpreted as production where the intended destination of the output is mainly for final use by the producer in the form of capital formation, or final consumption by household members, or by family members living in other households:
 - (i) the intended destination of the output is established in reference to the specific goods produced or services provided, as self-declared (i.e. mainly for own final use);
 - (ii) in the case of agricultural, fishing, hunting or gathering goods intended mainly for own consumption, a part or surplus may nevertheless be sold or bartered.

Persons in volunteer work are defined as all those of working age who, during a short reference period, performed any unpaid, non-compulsory activity to produce goods or provide services for others, where:

- (a) “any activity” refers to work for at least one hour;
- (b) “unpaid” is interpreted as the absence of remuneration in cash or in kind for work done or hours worked; nevertheless, volunteer workers may receive some small form of support or stipend in cash, when below one third of local market wages (e.g. for out-of-pocket expenses or to cover living expenses incurred for the activity), or in kind (e.g. meals, transportation, symbolic gifts);
- (c) “non-compulsory” is interpreted as work carried out without civil, legal or administrative requirement, that are different from the fulfilment of social responsibilities of a communal, cultural or religious nature;
- (d) production “for others” refers to work performed:
 - (i) through, or for organizations comprising market and non-market units (i.e. organization based volunteering) including through or for self-help, mutual aid or community-based groups of which the volunteer is a member;
 - (ii) for households other than the household of the volunteer worker or of related family members (i.e. direct volunteering).

Source: ILO (2019).

It may be mentioned that paid works are SNA activities that are produced for the market and include work done for corporations, quasi-corporations, non-profit or government sectors as well as work in households for primary production, non-primary production, construction and other services for income. The paid care works are performed for pay or profit by care workers in a range of occupations, such as nurses, domestic workers, personal caretakers, teachers and doctors. The adoption of ICATUS, 2016 by the United Nations Statistical Commission at its 48th Session in 2017 contributed to the improvement of the international harmonization and comparison in time use statistics. Its categories are aligned with the 19th ICLS definition of work and forms of work as well as with the SNA production boundaries. Broadly speaking, the unpaid care work includes all the non-SNA productive activities falling within the general production boundary. ILO (2019) provided various forms of work in relation with the production boundaries of the System of National Accounts. By following the Guide to Producing Statistics on Time Use: Measuring Paid and Unpaid Work (United Nations Statistical Division, 2004) and the ICATUS guidelines, unpaid care work has been defined by including three categories of the classification, viz., unpaid domestic services for own final use within households, unpaid caregiving services to household members, and community services and help to other households. Box 1 elaborates the resolution of the 19th ICLS highlighting the definitions of the components of unpaid care work.

A major problem in the international comparison of time use statistics is the absence of a harmonized classifications of time-use activities. Thus, while many developing countries use the International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics (ICATUS), the Harmonized European Time-Use Survey (HETUS) classification is used in Europe including Eastern Europe as well as in North Africa and in some transition countries. The Classification of activities for time-use for Latin America and the Caribbean (CAUTAL) is used in Latin America, while some countries, viz., Australia, New Zealand and United States have developed their own classifications for time-use statistics. Many countries still use classifications that are not uniform and lacks detailed and exact information. Although, the data collection on time spent in paid and unpaid work is a challenge and the methods of data collection remains different, the time-use surveys are the main sources of data for the measurement of unpaid care work. The most reliable data on time-use are based on diaries or responses on activities on a reference period of a week.

Recently, many household surveys have added modules on time-use in short tasks surveys based on 24-hour diaries. The 21st ICLS recognized the need to harmonize the international statistical standards on work, employment and labor underutilization adopted in the 19th ICLS with the ICATUS 2016 adopted in the 48th session of the United Nations Statistical Commission in 2017.

4. Evidence on Gender Division of Unpaid Work:

Women's participation and choice in the labor market is often determined by their care responsibilities. Previous studies analyzing time-use data from select countries found significant gender differentials in the time spent on water and firewood collection (Budlender, 2008, Hiraway and Jose 2011, Hiraway 2011, ADB, 2015, Chopra and Zambelli 2017). It may be mentioned that Folbre (2006) earlier provided some possible approaches to the development of indices that could potentially measure the gender differences in responsibility for the financial and temporal care of dependents. Since women are also supposed to fulfill the family responsibilities of childcare, cooking, cleaning and domestic chores, their time allocation on account for leisure and paid market work gets reduced. It has generally been estimated that women dedicate 3.2 times more time than men to unpaid care work, but spend 0.3 times the time dedicated by men in paid work (Charmes 2019). Many time-use surveys have found that married women spend substantially more time on unpaid care and domestic work. (UNESCAP, 2021). It also found several sub-regional patterns, thus women in Cambodia, Republic of Korea and Thailand spend relatively less time on unpaid care and domestic work than do women in Azerbaijan, India, and Turkey. The women's time spent on unpaid care and domestic work as a ratio of men's time in unpaid care and domestic work varies widely across the region, from as high as 11 times in Pakistan to just 1.7 times in New Zealand (ADB and UN Women, 2018).

It is observed that the paid care work sectors, viz., domestic workers, nurses, teachers and childcare assistants are often represented by women. These occupations are also marked by low wages and inadequate social protections. Time-use surveys are the best available mechanism to collect data on women's time spent on unpaid care tasks. These could be domestic chores or caregiving services to family members or even volunteer work and community service.

UNESCAP (2021) from analyzing the ILO data in 121 countries found evidence that care-related occupation remains predominant for women. It maintained that the burden of total work (unpaid care and paid work) is highest on women in Asia and the Pacific among all regions as well as the global average. Additionally, women bear a large load of the unpaid care work, compared with men within the region. ILO (2018) indicated the persistence of gender roles and the lack of effective policies to address this gap. It also points to much larger work pressures on women in low- and middle income countries, in comparison with high-income countries.

According to ILO (2018), women perform 76.2 per cent of the total amount of unpaid care work, 3.2 times more time than men at the global level. Since the unpaid caregiving provides the majority of care needs, it has the capacity to make substantial contribution to the economy and social well-being. The ILO (2018) estimates based on time-use survey data in 64 countries (representing 66.9 per cent of the world's working-age population) show that 16.4 billion hours are spent in unpaid care work every day. The great majority of unpaid care work consists of household work (81.8 per cent), followed by direct personal care (13 per cent) and volunteer work (5.2 per cent). Across the world, without exception, women perform three-quarters of unpaid care work, or 76.2 per cent of the total of hours provided. The study also finds that women dedicate on average 3.2 times more time than men to unpaid care work: 4 hours and 25 minutes per day, against 1 hour and 23 minutes for men. Women spend more time in unpaid care work than men in every region, ranging from 1.7 times more in the Americas to 4.7 times in the Arab States. Globally, unpaid care work is most intensive for girls and women living in middle-income countries, those married and of adult age, with lower educational achievement, resident in rural areas, and with children under school age. It is generally argued that inequalities in unpaid care work and the labor-force participation are interrelated. The evidence also seems to suggest that unpaid care work is one of the main obstacles for women moving into better quality jobs, affecting the number of hours spent by women in paid work, their status in employment and working conditions.

ILO (2019) provided a compilation of 133 time-use surveys carried out in 76 countries through diaries and national surveys. According to ILO (2019), the time spent in unpaid care work ranges from the maximum of 345 minutes (5 hours and 45 minutes or 24 per cent of a 24-

hour day) for Iraq (2007) to the minimum of 11.7 per cent in Taiwan, China. The average time devoted to unpaid care work for women at the global level (including 75 countries) is 277 minutes (4 hours and 37 minutes or 19.7 per cent of a 24-hour day), whereas the men's average of unpaid is 111 minutes (1 hour and 51 minutes or 7.7 per cent of a 24-hour day). The average time spent by women and men in paid, unpaid and total work in 75 countries indicates that women devote 2.51 times more time in unpaid care work than men. The men spend a little bit more than half (0.57) times more time than women in paid work, but women spend 1.13 times more time than men in total work. These evidences on the disproportionate care responsibility of women have mostly been held responsible for the observed gender disparities in the world of work, viz., the employment and wage gaps, occupational and vertical gender segregation and women grouped in feminine job categories.

5. Care Economy Implications

It is maintained that care work involves both physical and emotional labor and constitutes activities that are fundamental to human society. According to UNESCAP (2022), the care economy refers to paid and unpaid care work provided by people as part of human survival, welfare and reproducing the labor force. As mentioned before, the SNA definitions by and large leave out care work and are yet to be integrate the appropriate data. Since most of the care work remains unrecognized as productive work, it is also referred as the 'hidden care economy'. As the world's population is ageing, the demand for care work is likely to increase in the coming years (ILO 2019). It is observed that some care services are paid, while others are unpaid. The paid workers include those working in health care, social care, education and childcare, eldercare, care for people with disabilities as well as mental health services. The evidence so far also indicated that women through their unpaid care services meet the major share of the care needs across the world. Some contemporary research studies have indicated that investing in the labor intensive care economy could generate high levels of return through growth in women's employment and better well-being. Thus, the funding of various care services is conceived as policy tools to create new opportunities for women in education and paid employment.

The unpaid care work has been established as a policy target in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN General Assembly 2015). The target 5.4 under SDG-5 on gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls, calls for recognition of unpaid care work through the provision of promoting women's economic empowerment, and recognizing and investing in the care economy of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibilities. The "3-R strategy", indicating recognize-reduce-redistribute the unpaid care work identifies an interlinked set of policy and program intervention points, and aims at the transformation of care economy towards gender equality, human development inclusive and sustainable growth (Elson 2008). Moving on to the question of how to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work, it is inferred that the recognition of the unpaid care work would require national level coordination on the care economy and inclusion of unpaid care work in national statistics. The interventions for the reduction of unpaid care work would demand public investments in social care service infrastructure as well as in physical and rural infrastructures. Finally, the redistribution of unpaid care work would mean no gender discrimination in the labor market and ensure work-life balances. A report by ILO (2018) provided an extended 5R Framework, which combines the Triple R Framework – recognizing, reducing and redistributing unpaid care work – and the Decent Work Agenda to visualize the care services with social justice. Thus, policies to reward and promote the representation of care workers adequately were recommended to achieve the high road to care service provisions in the 5R Framework where care is a decent work opportunity. UNESCAP (2022) used the concept of 'care diamond' in this context refers to the four main institutional actors, which are the state, markets, households and communities. It indicates that instead of women within the households performing the bulk of the care work, all four actors should be involved in the care provision.

It may be mentioned that care investments also promote the other SDG goals, viz., SDG 1 (ending all poverty), SDG 3 (healthy lives and promotion of well-being for all at all ages), SDG 4 (inclusive and quality education for all), SDG 8 (decent employment for all and inclusive growth) and SDG 10 (reduction of inequalities). It is anticipated the need for workers will increase for caregiving to the elderly in many developed countries and across the OECD region. While, there could be different approaches to respond to the care needs, a study by UN (2019) maintained that while the informal unpaid care can save the public spending on care budgeting

but compromise on the quality of health and well-being in the UNECE region. It is also suggested that the SNA framework can be used to estimate the output and service contribution of caregiving services and analyze the production and employment linkages with the rest of the economy. According to UN-Women (2018), the recognition of unpaid care work and the care economy requires the following steps: i) National level legislation and policy coordination on the care economy, ii) Inclusion of unpaid care work in national statistics through the gathering of qualitative and quantitative data, particularly time-use data, iii) Valuation of unpaid care work and exploring its linkages to other economic and social phenomena such as labor force participation, gross domestic product (GDP), inequalities and poverty, iv) Compensation of unpaid care work time through social transfers (such as payment of childcare or elderly care wages to or social security coverage for full-time homemakers).

A study carried out by the UK Women's Budget Group (WBG) for the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) examined the impacts of fresh public investment in health and care for seven high-income OECD countries (De Henau et al. 2016). This second ITUC care economy report provided evidence that increasing public investment could boost employment and contribute to economic growth in several emerging economies, viz., Brazil, Costa Rica, People's Republic of China, India, Indonesia and South Africa (De Henau et al. 2017). Similarly, Consing, et al (2020) used the SNA framework to measure the wellness sector's relevance in a given economy. This study used the input-output analysis to derive the production and employment linkages of the sector for selected Asian countries over two time periods. It is evident that the episode of COVID-19 emphasized the need for investment in the care economy. A report by the UNECE and UN Women (2021) argued for strengthening investments in the care economy distinguished over short and medium/ long-term strategies. It recommended policy measures in five main areas, viz., i) fiscal and tax policy impacts on the care economy, ii) economic stimulus for the care sector, iii) employment protection measures and subsidies for the care sector, iv) protect income of care workers, and v) provide direct support to paid care work like improved working conditions.

6. Indications from Indian Time Use Survey Data:

A policy brief on India's Vision 2047 recently stressed the importance of investing in the care economy within the context of the G-20 agenda of striving for just and equitable growth (Ban et al. 2023). It recommends that ensuring greater gender equality in the distribution of paid and unpaid work, provisioning care services as public good, investing on social protection systems can be socially transformative to enhance India's GDP. The aspects of declining female labor-force participation have remained one characteristic feature of the world of work in India. The alternative explanations offered in the literature ranges from lack of job growth in formal sectors, prevailing social norms, gender gap in education and skills, lack of safety and independent decision-making etc. It is however also argued that the extent of women's participation can be better understood only after interpreting the TUS information that provides data on the magnitude and intensity of women's participation in family and child-care responsibilities. Hirway (2011, 2015) and Hiraway and Jose (2011) by using the first time use survey data in specific states for 2008-09 have argued that the census and NSSO underestimated work participation for women in SNA activities. The National Statistical Office in India conducted the latest TUS during January-December 2019, and provided for the first time consistent data on all the major states of India (GoI 2020). These data provided some clear suggestions that the scale and intensity of women participants remained higher in unpaid domestic services at the all-India level.

The Indian TUS data provide information on the gender gaps in participation and time involvement in nine different time use activities broadly covering employment, own-use production, unpaid domestic services, learning, socializing and self-care. It also presents comprehensive information on how individuals spend their time on paid or unpaid and SNA or non-SNA activities. The classification of activities in the Indian TUS is executed according to activities of SNA Production, non-SNA production and other remaining activities. The Indian TUS of 2019 recorded the participation and time spent of respondents in nine different time use activities. The major divisions of the TUS activity classification were categorized following the ICATUS 2016. The nine major division of the activities used in collection of information on time use are: 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.

In this section, we first examine the gender-wise extent and intensity of participation in unpaid caregiving services across states of India. Subsequently, we explore on the empirical analysis to discern whether the burden of unpaid caregiving services works as a constraint for female labor market participation in India. In Figure 1, we provide the ranking of states based on female to male ratio of percentage of persons (15-59 years) participating in a day in unpaid caregiving services for household members. The data reveals that the participation of women in unpaid caregiving services remains much above than the participation of men. Although, the extent of the divergence between female and male participation varies across states, the female participation remained twice the level of male participation at the all-India level. The extent of female participation remained about three times of the male participation in some of the states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. We subsequently attempt to capture the intensity of participation in unpaid caregiving services by focusing on the average time spent in a day by female and male participants. Figure 2 represents the ranking based on female to male ratio of minutes spent in a day on an average per participant (15-59 years) in unpaid caregiving services for household members. The data makes it clear that the average time spent in a day by female participants are about one and half times than the time spent by male participants in almost all the states.

If the labor force participation by women in paid work is low due to their time poverty of engaging in household caregiving work, then an inverse relation between the LFPR and participation in unpaid caregiving services could be apparent. Figure 3 and 4 provide the ratio of female to male LFPR and percentage of persons participating in a day in unpaid caregiving services for household members in rural and urban India, respectively. The data reveals negative correlation between the two, although relation appears to be more prominent in the urban India. Caregiving remains mostly non-marketed and unpaid activities and therefore covered under the non-SNA activities in India. The inverse relation between the ratios of female to male LFPR and

participation on non-SNA activities is noticeable for both the rural and urban parts of India (Figure 5 and 6). This relationship is also examined by considering the average time spent in a day by female and male participants in non-SNA activities. Thus, figure 7 and 8 provide the ratio of female to male LFPR against the average minutes spent in a day per participants in Non-SNA production in rural and urban parts of India, respectively. We again observe a negative relationship between the ratios of female to male LFPR and average time spent per participants for both rural and urban India, with higher degrees of correlation for urban areas. Finally, a negative correlation is also evident in figure 9 and 10, where the ratio of female to male LFPR and percentage of persons participating in unpaid activities are depicted for rural and urban India, respectively.

Previous research has examined the role played by women's unpaid care work upon their labor force participation in paid work. Some evidences do indicate that the unpaid care responsibility is one of the reason for women to be out of the labor force. We have observed inverse relationships between the unpaid work engagements and participation in labor force (SNA work activities) for females at different states in India. These results would signify that reductions in women's unpaid work could lead to higher levels of their labor force participation in India. It may be mentioned that women typically engage in paid work that are compatible with their caregiving responsibilities, thereby mostly engaging in part-time or informal work and self-employment. The overall implications of the result in this section is that an equal sharing of unpaid care work between female and male is likely to be accompanying with higher levels of female labor-force participation, thus emphasizing the potential for developing a paid care sector in India.

7. Summary and Implications:

It is generally accepted that there are many weaknesses in the process of GDP measurement and the exclusion of unpaid household services from the production boundary of the SNA and the treatment of own-account-services services possibly remains as one of the crucial challenging issues of the system (De Rock, 2021). Women typically spend disproportionately more time on

unpaid care work than men and these additions to their paid activities often create the ‘double burden’ of work for women. According to ILO (2018), care work, both paid and unpaid, is crucial to the future of decent work. The ageing societies, changing families, women’s secondary status in labor markets or inadequate social protections demands the organization of care work from governments, employers, trade unions and individual citizens. Alternatively, any deficits in care service provision and its quality could create a care crisis and additionally worsen the gender parities at work. The target 5.4 of SDG-5 (Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls) includes recognizing and valuation of the unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibilities within the household and the family as nationally appropriate. Furthermore, achieving target 5.4 “through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies” requires bearing upon the achievement of other SDGs, particularly, SDG-3 on health, SDG-4 on education and SDG-8 on decent work.

This paper had the objective of examining the aspects of women’s unpaid work and subsequently infer on the care economy implications. We first provided an examination of the SNA revision proposals to measure the unpaid household service work. A review on the state of various nationally representative and internationally comparable TUS was provided, and subsequently women’s unpaid work and care economy implications were examined. We also provide empirical analysis on the implications of women’s unpaid caregiving work for their labor force participation in paid activities by utilizing the recent state level TUS data from India. Our results broadly indicated an inverse relationship between the LFPR and participation or intensity of engagement in unpaid caregiving services for both the rural and urban parts of India, with higher degrees of correlation for urban areas. This relationship is also examined by considering the average time spent in a day by female and male participants in non-SNA activities. We again observe a negative relationship between the ratios of female to male LFPR and average time spent per participants in Non-SNA production for both rural and urban India, with higher degrees of correlation in urban areas. Finally, a negative correlation is also evident between women’s LFPR in paid activities and their participation in unpaid activities or participants in non-SNA activities. These results would signify that reductions in women’s unpaid work could lead to higher levels of their labor force participation in some regions of

India. The overall implications of our result is that an equal sharing of unpaid care work between men and women is likely to bring in greater female labor-force participation and fulfill the potential for care sector in India.

The inclusion of target 5.4 under SDG-5 also recognizes the current imbalance in the division of unpaid care work between women and men. It is maintained that countries would require specific policies to fulfil this target. The unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men observed in various states in different degrees signifies violation of women's rights and also constraints on the women's empowerment in India. It is generally agreed upon that the low labor force participation of women may not always imply that they work for fewer hours, since their unpaid work is not captured in the usual labor surveys. The family, household and caring works by women are not paid in several states of India, and these family responsibilities are sometimes causes of women's engagements in low-paid informal activities. The disproportionate share of unpaid domestic care work among women is often associated to the low labor force participation and lack of paid employment opportunities. The continuous fall in the labor-force participation for females and its low levels is also evidenced in the recent Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS) data of 2022-23 for various states (GOI 2023). How policy makers in India address the issues concerning women's unpaid care work along with low or declining female labor force participation in formal work bears crucial implications for achieving gender equality in the world of work.

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Figure 1: Ranking based on Female to Male Ratio of Percentage of Persons (15-59 years) participating in a day in Unpaid Caregiving Services for Household Members

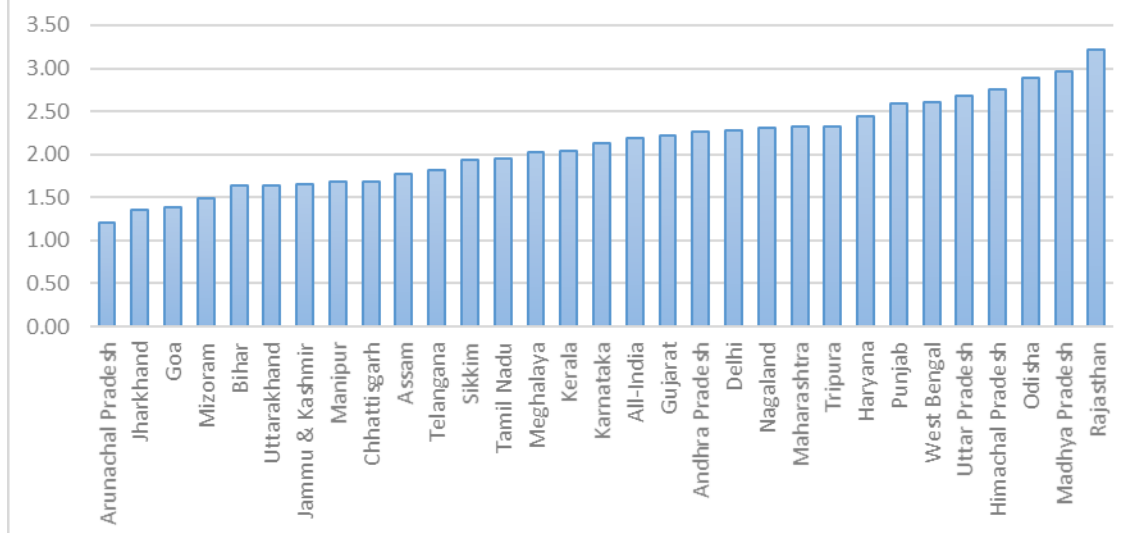


Figure 2: Ranking based on Female to Male Ratio of Minutes spent in a day on an average per participant (15-59 years) in Unpaid Caregiving Services for Household Members

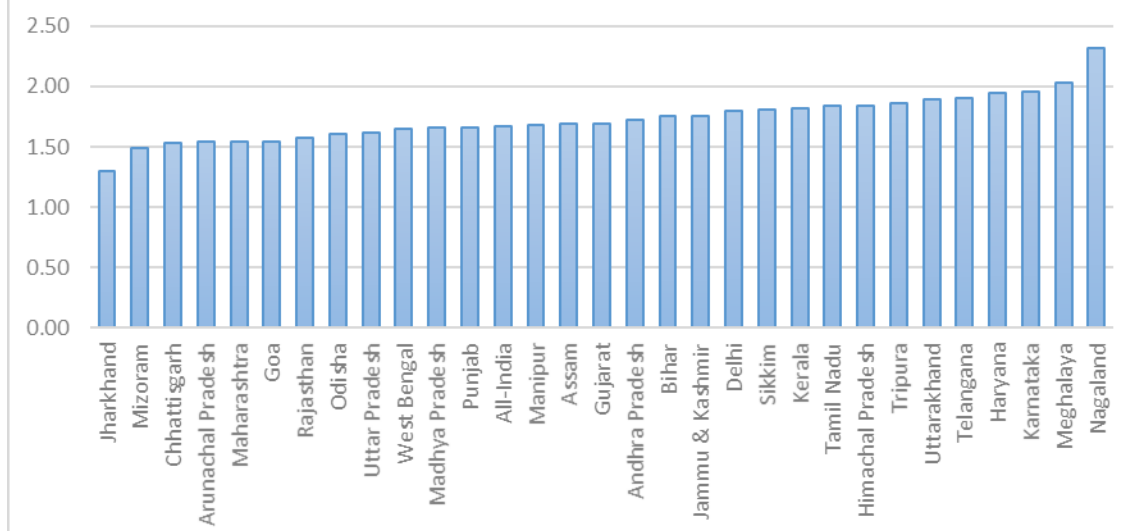


Figure 3: Ratio of female to male LFPR and percentage of persons participating in a day in unpaid caregiving services for household members, Rural.

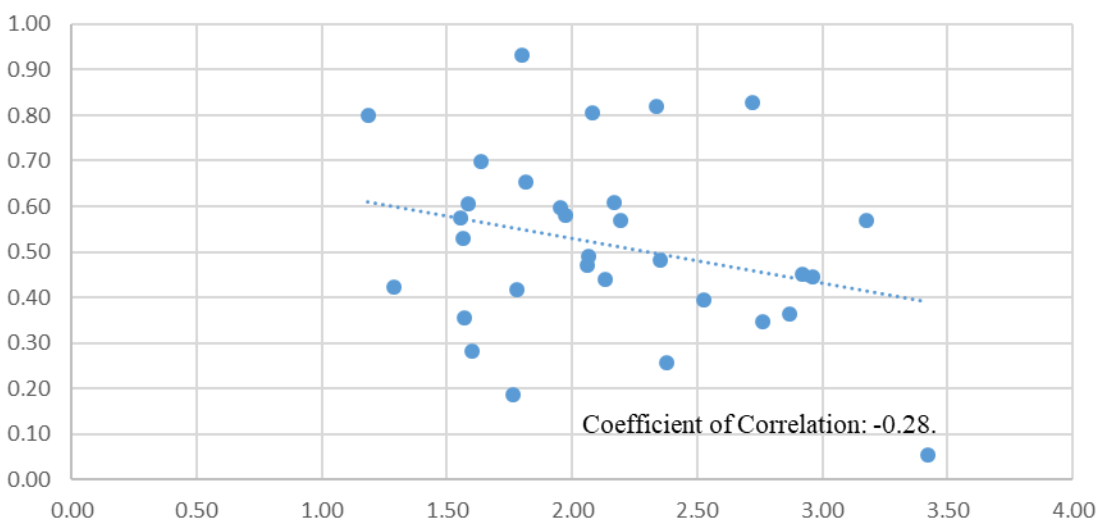
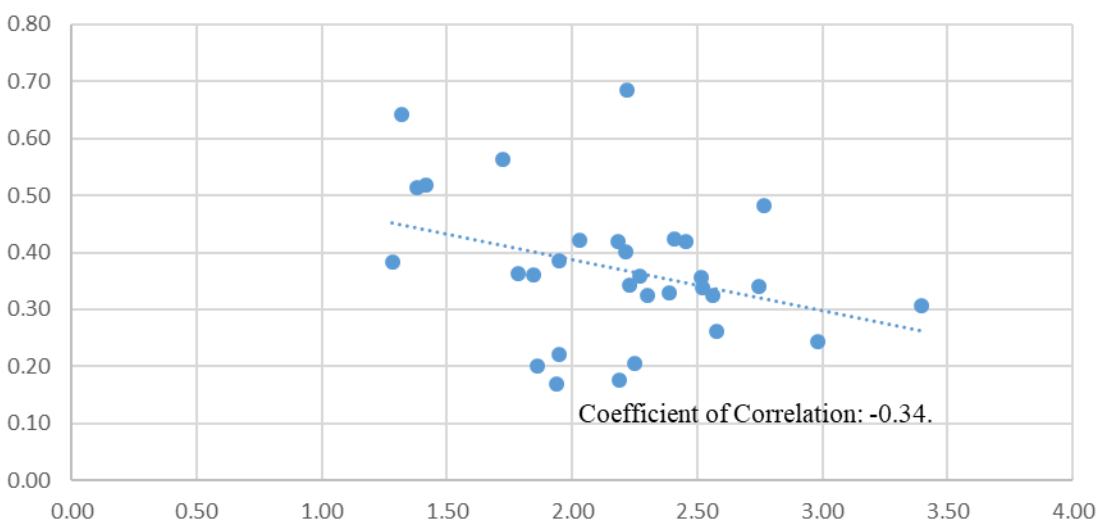
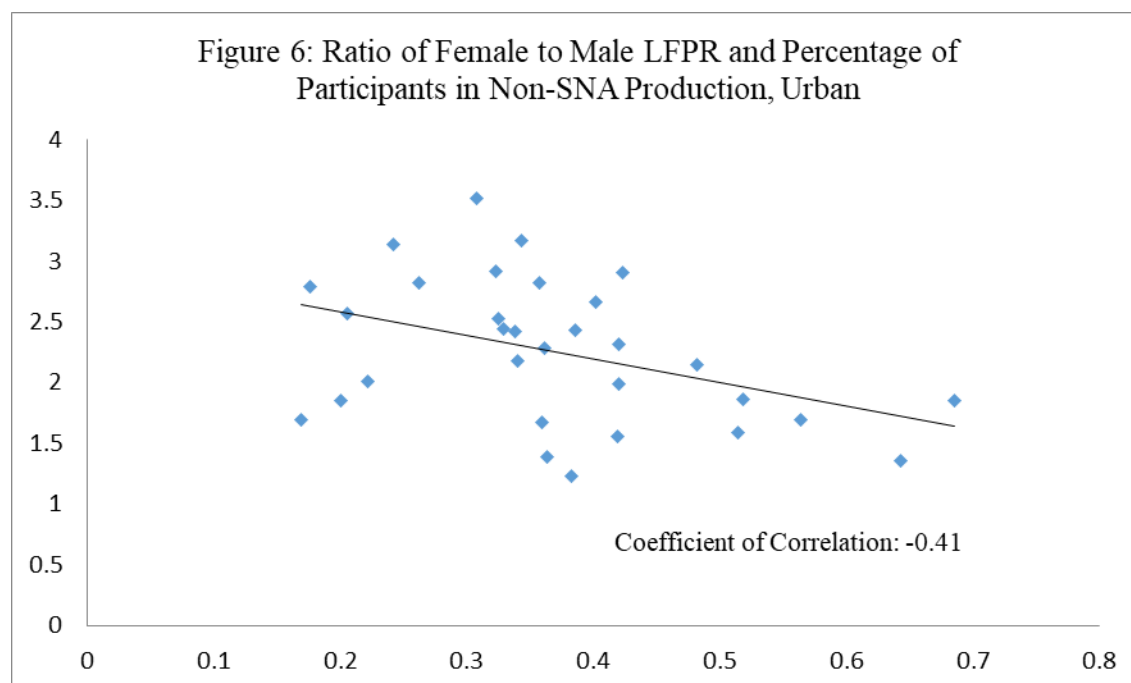
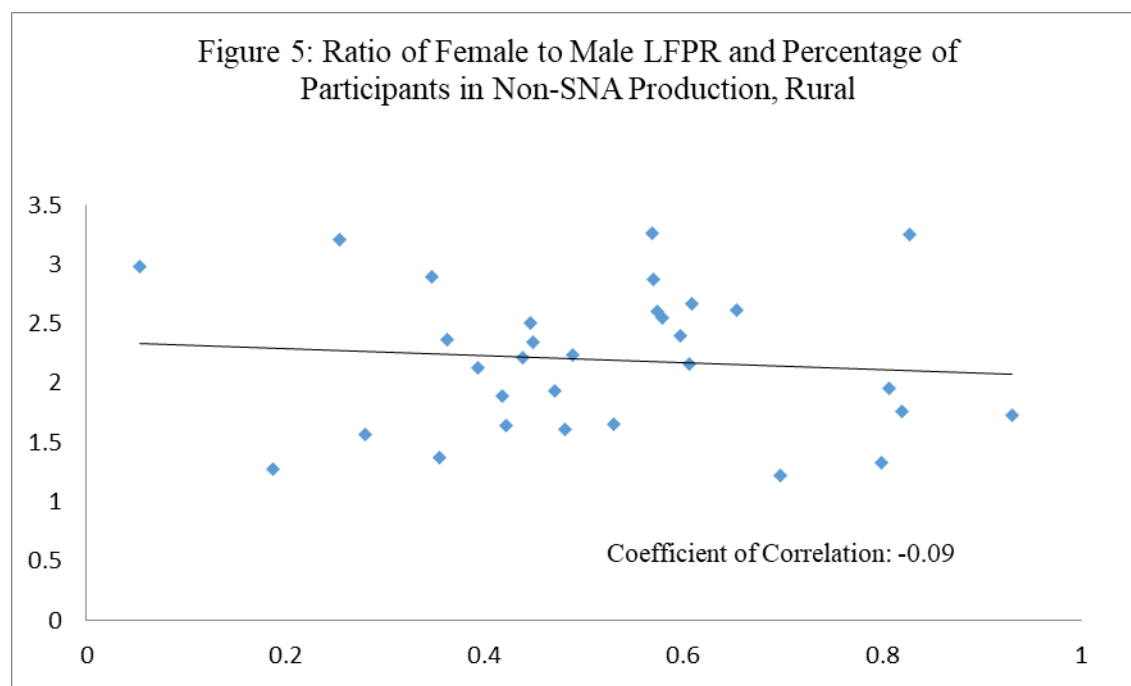


Figure 4: Ratio of female to male LFPR and percentage of persons participating in a day in unpaid caregiving services for household members, Urban.





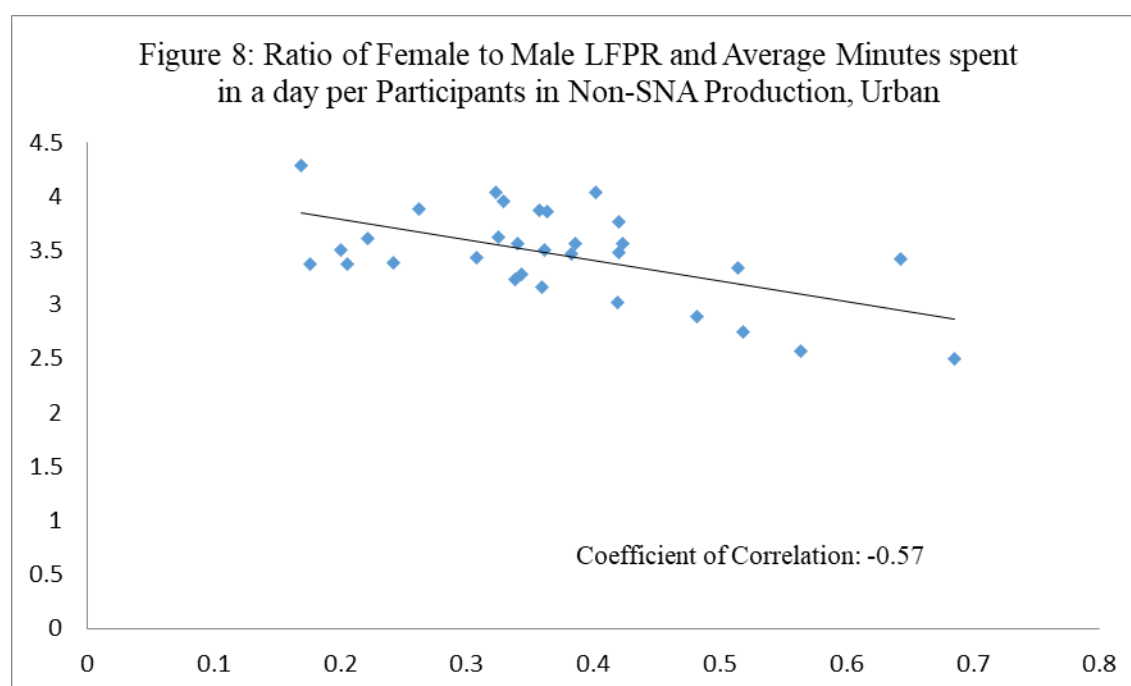
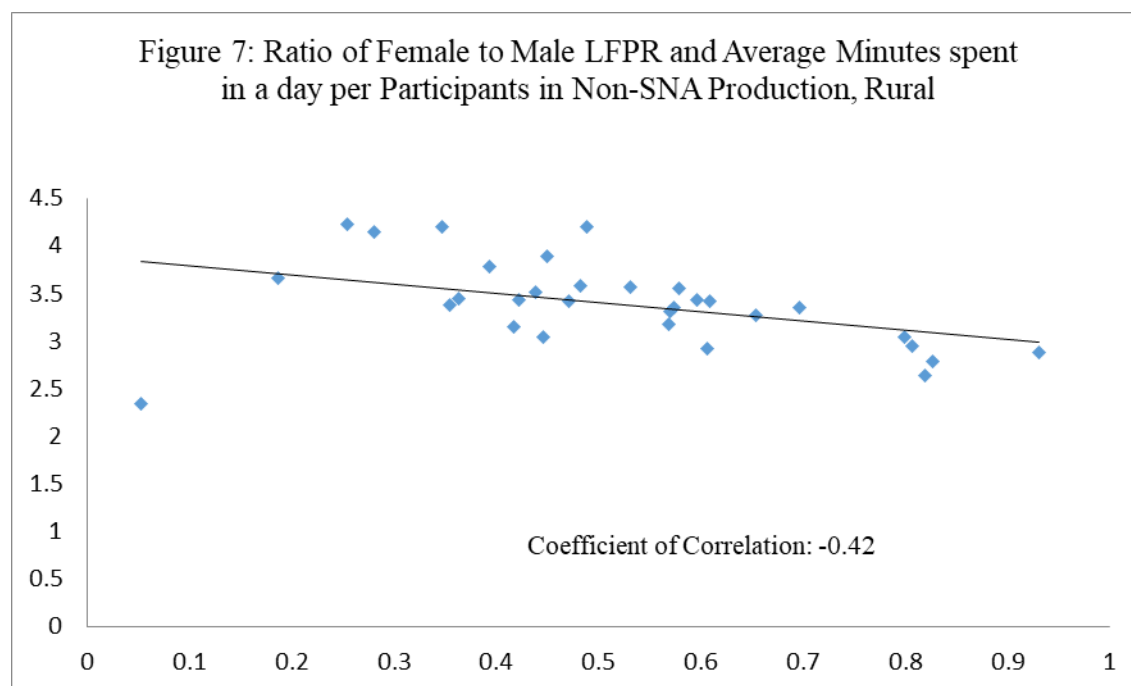


Figure 9: Ratio of Female to Male LFPR and Percentage of persons participating in a day in unpaid activities, Rural

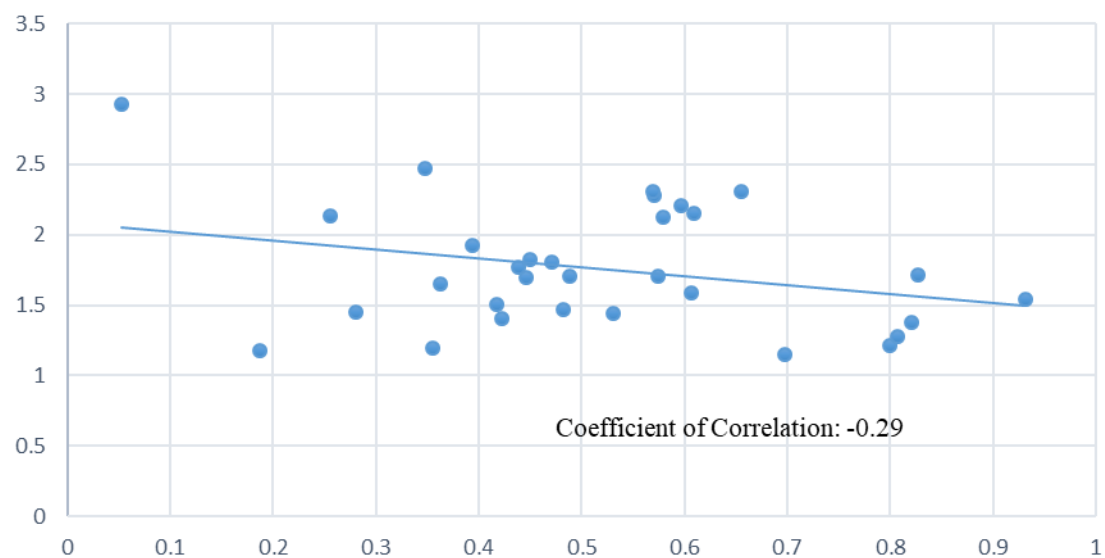


Figure 10: Ratio of Female to Male LFPR and Percentage of persons participating in a day in unpaid activities, Urban

