

Women In Informal Employment (Invisible Care Work)

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ABSTRACT: *The study is based on the significant contribution of women towards unpaid care work in the economy (home based care work, providing care to the children, elders and disabled family members). India accounts a large portion of unpaid household chores and activities by women. Despite the important contribution of invisible care work in overall economic development, countries are still failed in focusing and measuring the contribution of this sector. Neglecting unpaid work leads to limit the effectiveness of policies across socio-economic areas, notably gender inequality and other women empowerment segments. These activities are excluded from the accounts of almost every country's GDP, because these are considered as voluntary community services towards their family members. The UN (united nation) statistical commission, which is responsible for estimating a country domestic income, has not specified care economics in its range of system of national accounts (SNA) on the ground that it is difficult to measure monetary value of these services. These unpaid activities affect the wellbeing of women and limit their priorities towards education, health and their participation in economic activities. Despite of these tremendous services rendered by women in shaping others future has neglected and shows the government failure in computation of their efforts in monetary terms. This paper has an attempt to analyse the methods through which participation of women can be calculated and how it effect economic growth.*

Key words: Invisible Work, Care Activities, Women Status, Gender Disparities, child care, elderly care

Introduction:

Women play a prominent role in the socio-economic development of every country; in fact the position of the country can easily be identified by the level of status and role occupied by the women. Everywhere genders play different responsibilities and constraint while performing various tasks. Traditionally, women were just confined to the home based work only and their employment

outside was looked upon with disfavour. This home based work of “social reproduction” and “non-market work” which is primarily done by women is called care economics. Care includes work done by women for their children's rearing and caring, taking care of elderly parents, cooking, washing clothes, cleaning, sending children to school and many other petty work of the household for which they get no remuneration in return. These tasks are very important for the survival of a

family, but are not considered as economic activity. These wide ranges of unpaid care activities are considered as voluntary services for which the computation of value is very difficult and because of which their work are not considered in most of the countries' GDP.

The invisible works nourish and replenish the lives to build human capabilities not only to the economic production activities, but also to the social development of the nation. Despite of the tremendous efforts made by women, the major share is enjoyed by men and they get recognized for their work, while most of the women works remain unpaid and receive no attention. We need to recognize the fact that, unpaid care work has a crucial dimension of wellbeing, not only for those who benefit from the care received, but also as a cost for those who provide care, mostly women (Esquivel 2013). Men spend lots of their time to the economic activities for which they receive income and respect in return but if we look at the women's status then they spend lots of time in working whole day and even more than men without any remuneration in return and even did not receive any attention regarding their work.

In developing countries like India, girls are often forced to sacrifice their education to assist in family care work. Being

unaccounted and unaccounted the care work goes invisible which limits their contribution for skilled paid work. This means that the issues relating to women's work employment are qualitatively different from those of male workers (Beneria and Sen 1981). Just increasing paid work among women does not mean an improvement in women position instead it increases. It leads to double the burden on women with remaining household chores. In report by UN (2017) reveals the statics that over 51 percent of work done by women in India does not get monetary compensation and is unpaid labour. This report also stated that 95 percent of Indian women (120 million) in paid work are informal.

The care work reduces the productivity from women side and it is considered a main cause of reduced women participation in the work force. The part time work by women also plays an important role with the care economics, women work partly to earn for their family well being and also to remain in touch with the family members by providing their time after working. Sometimes it is the requirements of the family to fulfil the basic needs which compel the mother to work outside to provide a good future for their children if they living alone. They continue to participate in labour markets on an unequal basis with men. In 2013, the

male employment-to-population ratio stood at 72.2 per cent, while the ratio for females was just 47.1 percent (ILO, 2014). A woman enters into the paid work to meet the growing needs of the family, but the demand on women money and time is intensified. Their schedule is so complicated that it is not that much easy to perform so many responsibilities daily for the others without taking care of own. Women are so much dedicated to their work that no one can perform it so nicely and precisely. She provides care for their family because of emotional attachment to them. She works with such a great affection and love that she did not find guilty even in doing odd works for them. Despite of providing so much to the productive activities from morning till evening with their family and outside it, their contribution gets neglected.

Beijing Platform for Action put emphasis on the requirement for Valuation of unpaid work. The need was felt to arrive at a better estimate of value of goods and services produced, particularly in the household sector. This also helps in estimating a more complete national income account. A more complete measurement of Gross Domestic Products (GDP) provides an indicator of how much a country produces not just for the market but for livelihood of the society. However, the System of National Accountability

(SNA) 1993 recognizes unpaid care work in the care economy as productive work, however kept outside the purview of calculation in GDP. The failure to give visibility to this work develops a problem of underestimates of the accounts of the nation and provides incorrect information about the state of economy. Both SNA and non-SNA, is an integral part of the economy and society. For better functioning of an economy with equality, it is necessary to understand the role of invisible work because these unpaid activities are an important input for designing of gender sensitive policies. Data on GDP generally not includes the goods and services produced for self consumption within the household. However, it has been estimated that the value of such goods and services can be very high, up to 50 percent to 60 percent of the national GDP (Ironmonger 1998, Luisella Goldschmidt- Clermont 1995), which means that exclusion of the unpaid care work from the accounts also reduces the cross-country comparability of the national income data. There is “ample evidence which shows that when women able to develop their full labour market potential, there can be a significant macroeconomics gains”-IMF. There is statistical invisibility of unpaid care work in the national accounts. Around \$ 16 trillion of global output is invisible and 11

trillion was non-monetised as per the global estimates (Lekha Chakraborty, 2013). These invisibilities are very common to find in the country like India where there is lack of data and orthodox nature of the society. Although the United Nations has put an attempt to measure up to some extent the amount of care work through satellite an account which helps in better estimation of care work.

In 2030 agenda of sustainable development goals (SDGs) has highlighted the need to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls under SDG5. Inclusion of unpaid care work and domestic work as target in approved agenda “Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.” (Razavi, 2016) observed that the inclusion of gender inequalities in the division of ‘unpaid care and domestic work in the 2030 Agenda was a more contentious and hard-won target.

Objective of the Study:

Effect of unpaid or invisible household work on women development.

Literature Review:

Literature review is an important in any study since it helps in identifying the problem of the study. It is based on the vast experience of the various authors and has shown that the informal economy is growing very rapidly and become an integral part of every economy, particularly in developing countries.

Morrison and jutting (2005) studied that women’s access to resources influences their economic role. Women with better education and access to health care as well as to the labour market will be more likely to get wage employment or highly qualified jobs than those excluded from these resources. The study found that gender inequalities in participation in economic activities generally are higher in Muslim and Hindu dominated countries compared with Christian and Buddhist ones.

Sudarshan (2011) in his working paper discussed about making home-based work visible. The paper draws together the substantial research done on home-based work and workers in South Asia. It discusses the emergence of home-based work in the region, its gendered nature and how it is embedded in social and economic structures. It also synthesizes available estimates of the size and contribution to national income of home-based workers, provides a review of case studies and

explores value chain approach to analyzing them. The paper finds that this is a substantial stable segment of South Asia's informal economy, and argues that home-based work cannot be understood exclusively through economic factors, since socio-cultural factors play an important role. It looks at existing policy frameworks and approaches to organizing and advocacy to create awareness and foster responsiveness from governments. The review concludes by identifying main gaps in knowledge and suggesting a future research agenda.

Sen, Gita (2013) have studied the Millennium development goals (MDGs) which reflect the program and policy implementation. The paper analysed that MDGs based on the specific poverty reduction programs and empowerment which was based on the multiple dimensions. It was being considered that Poverty alleviation would be more effective if women have offer equal resources and opportunities as men, as well as resources specific to their 'care' (World Bank, et. al, 2012). The study focused on the development agendas of rural poor women with the multiple targets like inheritance right, equal participation, wages, and voice in local development planning and access to productive activities

Ruth, Alsop (1993) emphasised on the complexity of gender relation and the difficulties faced by planning interventions. Men and women from different social and economic groups of different communities perform their roles as per their culture. This culture determines the woman's relation with the men. The author has found that how narrow the projects by the state are detrimental for women where the strategic needs of the women are not met.

Budlender, Debbie (2007) studied about the engagement in SNA and care work in the six countries. It was being noticed that men's are more respected and recognized for their work, whereas women's contribution to work get neglected. The paper used the Tobit estimation for the estimation of care work in different countries on specific grounds and calculated the care work on the basis of education, sex, income, expenditure, marital status and family size. The paper also found that the families having children force women to do more care work as compared to those who don't have and also reflected that these trends are similar in almost all countries.

Bhattacharya, Shrayana (2008) examined the participation of the women in the workforce in the urban Delhi. The author studied that factor behind the women's

participation, which gives a major push to women is the participation in higher education, reduction in the time spends in care and domestic work at the household and the safety at the public spaces. The time spent in the care work consumes a lot of time which does not allow women to reduce their burden of the household.

Estimation of Unpaid Care Work:

In India efforts to collect data on unpaid care work began in 1980s. A pilot survey was conducted in six states of India which found that this home based work constitute more than 30 percent of state GDP (Bhattacharya 1985; Sen and Sen 1985). A time use study gives a complete picture of society by providing detailed information on how people spent their day i.e. 24 hours in different economic and non-economic activities. This technique makes us available complete information on time spent by individuals on a daily and weekly basis. It is a powerful tool to understand disproportionate distribution of unpaid care work on women. Time use survey

provide better estimation of work and workers as well as of national income and contribute significantly to towards improvement in conventional economics statistics (formulating macroeconomic policies for the entire society)..

Based on the findings from analysis of time use data from Argentina, Nicaragua, India, the Republic of Korea, South Africa and Tanzania concluded that women tend to spend more time on unpaid care work than men as the mean time for women is more than twice that for men (Budlender 2008). The gender gap is most discernible in India, where women spend nearly 10 times as much time on extended work included in national income than men. The gender differences were found to be more pronounced in case of India and Tanzania. Debbie Budlender constructs time use survey across six different countries and concluded that women in every country account a large portion in the domestic work every day. It is explained by the below mention table.

Table 1: Minutes per day spent doing unpaid household work

Country	Men	Women
Argentina	101	293
India	36	354
Republic of Korea	38	224
Nicaragua	66	318
South Africa	91	273
Tanzania	44	262

Source: Budlender, D. 2008

Through time use survey Debbie tried to explain the women contribution towards household work and explained in the table that in every six countries the burden of invisible work is alone on women shoulders. In case of India it is more than any other country, the share of men is almost negligible in comparison of women. And, if it is calculated in monetary terms than it constitute large amount in the country's GDP.

A term satellite account was also developed for the first time by the UN (United Nation) to estimate the amount of non industrial sector in national accounts. The need was felt because of incomplete information on national economies worldwide. To make care visible and a priority among policy makers can be carried out through household satellite account. Since, the developing countries produces several goods and services within their household which results in underestimation of income data and overestimate the poverty of these countries. In all societies, whether developed or underdeveloped, women indulged in unpaid care work are more than men and this leads to economic invisibilities and statistical underestimate of women work (Beneria, 1995). As per the HDR (human development report)

67% of world care work is done by women alone and 10% of the global income is earned by them and merely 1% of the global property is owned by them (Beena George, 2009). On the basis of this incomplete information government continues to set the various social and economic policies for the country. The opportunity cost or replacement cost is a method measures the value of unpaid care work by calculating the monetary value of doing work in labour market. It calculates the value of hours spent in domestic work and the hour rate she could make if she works in paid work. Replacement cost estimates the value of domestic services if someone buys it from the market.

Rajivan (1999), analysed average time spent by male and female with respect to children and elders as explained in the table below. It is being observed that in almost every activity related to care is done by female rather than male particularly in the child care activities. If we look towards the section of physical care for children than women works for almost more than double as compared to the men. In teaching, supervising and helping children women spends more time. They spend more than seven hours in teaching, nearly five hours in giving company to their children. Even the

distribution of time in providing physical care to their elders, sick and disable parents or members, women devotes more

than five and half hours in a week than the men who devotes near about three hours.

Table 2: Average time per week (hours: minutes) spent on unpaid care activities by male and female.

Activity	Male	Female
Physical care for children	04:21	10:37
Teaching, Training for children	05:49	07:06
Accompanying children	3.82	4.94
Physical care for sick, disable, elderly	3.88	05:40
Accompanying adults	03:29	03:20
Supervising children	06:29	08:49
Supervising adults	05:46	04:21
Travel for care of children	02:48	03:20
Travel for care of adults	02:19	03:16

Source: Rajivan 1999-2000 and Budlender 2007

Table 3: Hours spent on work by sex, day and type

Type of work	Weekdays		Saturday		Sunday	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Economic	8.1	3.1	6.6	2.3	2.9	1.2
Unpaid care	0.3	5.3	0.5	5.3	1	5
Domestic	0.2	3.7	0.3	4	0.6	3.9
Childcare	0.2	1.6	0.2	1.4	0.4	1.2
Total work	8.4	8.4	7.1	7.6	3.9	6.2

Source: Budlender (2007).

The above table crystal clears the women's pattern towards average number of hours spent on different types of work. Overall, husband spent 49.9 hours in performing economic activities whereas wife spent 19.0 hours. In contrast to this wife spent more time towards unpaid care work, she spent 36.8 hours in caring activities towards their child and elders whereas, husbands spent only 3.2 hour towards these activities. Thus if we look at the

overall status wives spent more time than their husbands towards working on an average each week.

These both above mentioned tables states that women do much hard work than men whole day, she do work for others without any remuneration in return (paid and unpaid). Despite of this tremendous effort, their contribution get ignored and not included while estimating the accounts.

Time Use Survey (TUS) can increase the understanding towards this issue and can overcome from the System of National Account (SNA), and can help government in estimating national account or GDP of a country.

Conclusion:

It is clear from the above that responsibility of care that fall on women violates the basic human rights towards attainment of education, political participation and healthy live. This universal issue shows the government failure in designing social and economic policies that can help women in reducing the burden of unpaid care that they face alone. Unfolding the statistical invisibilities through time use measurement disclose a comprehensive picture of women contribution of the economy.

Though the various empowerment measures for women economic and social development, but remains underperform if they devote their considerable time in invisible home based work. This unpaid work promotes more gender inequality and poverty from women point. Without incorporating care economics in the macroeconomic policy, it will remain partial and wrong. It is essential for policy makers to maintain a keen eye on this highly gendered issue. Proper Gender

statistics are needed to monitor and to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of policy developments. Thus, these development policies should recognize the centrality for human wellbeing. The dream of women empowerment can be realised by integrating household work with decision making, de-engendering stereotypes, policy making and national income account.

Policy suggestions:

Various strategies are needed to promote change towards the invisible care work like through various programmes, media and audio-visual strategies. It is necessary to identify care work at the national policies level to promote more equitable burden of the unpaid care work. Providing clear data that are needed to estimate the opportunities cost of care activities through satellite accounts that can help in identifying the proportion of unpaid work in system of national accounts. Governments at all levels should make gender-disaggregated analysis of time use statistics in order to ensure that the time spend on unpaid care work by women is accounted in gender sensitive programmes and schemes. The extension of labour laws, social protections and regulations can better support women by providing child care facilities because it is the major cause of restraining women to the employment sector.

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