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Jyoti Thakur
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TIME ALLOCATION AND GENDER INEQUALITIES: A TIME-USE COMPARISON

Jyoti Thakur¹ and Reimeingam Marchang²

Abstract

Although significant progress has been achieved toward gender equality in recent decades, inequities based on gender norms, stereotypes, and unequal distribution of household work and care work responsibility still exist between women and men. Women and men's time usage patterns alter dramatically as a result of life events such as marriage and children. The data clearly shows that women in India bear the brunt of the unpaid work and therefore despite having high educational achievements, their participation in paid work is shockingly low. Firstly, this paper investigates whether there has been an increase in similarity between men and women's time utilization in India by using dissimilarity index (DI). Secondly, the paper uses data for 1998 & 2019 time-use surveys to examine whether over a period of time there is any change in the way men and women allocate their time across different activities in India. Finally, the paper explores the impact of marriage and education on the allocation of time across different activities.

Keywords: Time-use survey, Gender, Urban India, Marital Status

Introduction

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed studies related to how people spend their time gaining traction among a wide spectrum of scholars ranging from anthropologists, sociologists, economists, psychologists etc. as well as policy makers. Time became an extremely valuable resource for countries that underwent industrialization because human productivity is now evaluated and paid primarily by the clock.

As a result, in the 1900s, time budget research was included for the first time in sociological surveys looking at the socioeconomic circumstances of the working class (Szalai, 1972). In his pioneering work, Soviet economist Stanislav Strumilin (1980) analyzed time-use statistics for providing policy inputs for planning. His study is considered to be the first extensive study on the component of time. Other studies which lay the ground for time-use survey method were done by G A Prudensky (1934), Time Budgets of Human Behavior by P A Sorokin and C Q Berger (1939), K Liepmann's *'The Journey to Work'*(1944).

Time-use information is being gathered by a number of developed and developing nations for planning and research purposes.

¹ PhD Research Scholar, Development Studies, Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bengaluru. Email: jyotithakur@isec.ac.in

² Assistant Professor, Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bengaluru.

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In India, a pilot study on time-use was carried out for the first time in 1992. However, before that, several researchers had carried out small scale time-use surveys in different parts of the country. Among them the most distinguished studies were Time Allocation Study in Tamil Nadu in 1996 (Directorate of Economics), Time Use Study in 1980 (NCAER), Report on a Time Allocation Study – its Methodological Implications, 1982 (Jain and Chand). The findings of the study conducted by Jain and Chand revealed, for the first-time using time usage analysis, that women's participation in economic activities was higher than what is reported by government agencies.

Time-use statistics are quantitative summaries of how individuals spend or allocate their time over a specified period— typically over the 24 hours of a day or over the 7 days of a week. These statistics shed light on the activities individuals in the reference population are engaged in and the extent of time they are allocating for these activities (UN, 2005). These surveys have a very wide scope, ranging from individual and household behavior to understanding of paid and unpaid work performed by different categories of individuals (children, women, men etc.,). Thus, time- use surveys as a source of information on society has risen to become an important tool in the measurement of the subjective well-being of people.

Time-use studies have evolved methodologically over a period of time and today researchers can choose from myriad options of data collection. Traditionally, the most widely used method is time diaries. However, this method of data collection has been criticized because time diary entries generally rely on the respondent's recall of activities, which can be a potential source of error in data. Advancement in technology has opened the door for improvement in the overall methodology of how time-use data is captured worldwide. The Experiential Sampling Method (ESM), which uses a pager, beeper, or programmable wristwatch to randomly nudge respondents to fill out a self-report of their activity at that time, is a new method that tries to address the shortcomings of the diary method. However, this method is also prone to limitations as it involves huge investments in equipment and thus is an expensive data collection tool. Other methods which can be employed to capture the time-use data are stylized questions, observational approach, use of smart phones to collect data, Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) and Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI).

In India, the focus of most of the previous studies was on using time-use data to highlight the invisibility of women's work in India and highlighting methodological lacunae in various labour market surveys such as Employment and Unemployment Surveys (EUS) to capture women's economic contributions. However, to the best of the author's knowledge, detailed analysis of men's and women's time allocation has not been attempted yet. Thus, this paper addresses two major research gaps in the time-use literature. Firstly, it has analyzed the gender differences in allocation of time to paid and all types of unpaid work (housework, childcare, and shopping) and free time, instead of focusing on only one aspect. Secondly, owing to the fact that Time Use Survey (TUS) 2019 is the first-ever time-use dataset available in India, most of the previous literature is based on the 1998 pilot survey. Although some recent studies (Swaminathan, 2020) have used TUS 2019 data to analyze different aspects of time-use in India, this is the first paper which is comparing 1998 and 2019 data to examine the changing pattern of time-use across gender, marital status, and education levels in urban India.

Gender statistics and time-use

Time-use data can reveal the details of an individual's daily life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of survey data (UN, 1997). Time-use statistics provide comprehensive detail about how men and women in a country allocate time to various activities such as paid and unpaid work, domestic and care work, volunteer work, personal and leisure activities etc. Thus, time-use data can paint a picture of the socio-economic and demographic status of the individuals in the reference population by highlighting the patterns of time allocation for various activities.

In recent years, time-use surveys have emerged as a strong tool for generating gender statistics. As pointed out by various scholars, the scope of traditional statistical sources of labour force estimates is limited to capturing paid work whereas the work done by women which is mostly unpaid labour is left outside these calculations. Thus, women's contribution in the economy of a country was always under estimated because of this statistical bias.

With the interest in women's unpaid work and gender inequalities emerging in the 1970s and the post Fourth World Conferences on Women (1995), the time-use data is seen as a major input in estimating and valuing women's unpaid work and their contribution to the economy and the well-being of the family. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995, called upon the member countries to make visible the full extent of women's contributions to economic development by "conducting regular time-use studies to measure, in quantitative terms, unremunerated work" (UN, 1995). The reason behind this clarion call was to unmask the economic contribution of women which remained out of the production boundary. Time-use data was thus seen as a useful tool for designing policies for gender equality (Hirway, 2010).

Time-use data provides a more comprehensive assessment of all forms of work. These statistics capture different activities which will fall under the category of the System of National Account (SNA) activities, Extended- SNA and even non-SNA activities. Along with the satellite accounts of household unpaid work, time-use statistics can paint an in-depth and comprehensive picture of the economy. This robust understanding will in turn help the policy makers to design policies which are more in line with the aspirations of the people. In short, time-use studies have emerged as an important statistical survey for measuring and monitoring human well-being and for policy formulation in different areas (Ironmonger, 2008).

Brief Review of Literature

Globally, one of the most significant and yet poorly understood aspects of society is how women and men spend their time. The literature is divided on the dynamics of gender inequality in time-use. On the one hand, studies are showing convergence in time allocation to paid and unpaid work among men and women because men are allocating less time to paid work and more time to unpaid work while the exact opposite is true for women (Robinson and Godbey, 1999). However, another set of studies contends that there is no convergence and in fact as a result of increased time allocation to paid work, women are actually undertaking a "second-shift" (Hochschild, 1989; Shelton, 1992; Gimense and Sevilla-Sanz, 2012).

Gender difference in time-use can be explained by two major theoretical underpinnings: economic perspective and gender perspective. Gary Becker captures the economic perspective in his work "Theory of Time Allocation" postulates that men have a comparative advantage in market production while women have the advantage in household production. Thus, to maximize the family utility, women should bear the primary responsibility for the unpaid household work while men should take up the role of the earner (Shelton, 1992). But today, women's comparative advantage in market production has grown as a result of the growing human capital. Additionally, the demand for unpaid household labour has decreased as a result of declines in the average age of marriage, declining fertility rates, shrinking family sizes, availability of electronic instruments, etc. Following this, women should have reallocated more time to paid work; yet, expectation is quite far from the reality.

The gender perspective focuses on how people's prospects, social roles, and relationships are impacted by their gender. Thus, according to this perspective, women spend more time on unpaid work not due to comparative advantage in household work or low human capital. Rather, it's the result of the power relations which work against women (Thompson & Walker, 1989). In the sexual division of labour, household work is deemed to be feminine and working outside the home is considered as masculine. However, in various countries, women have increased the time spent on market work, but men are showing reluctance in performing household chores, a way to uphold their structural and cultural dominance by displaying masculinity (Bianchi *et al*, 2012).

A World Bank report analyzed the time-use of people across various countries and observed that for men, getting married and having children translates into more money in the labour market and more leisure time at home, while for women, it means low earning and more unpaid work and less leisure time (Rubiano & Viollaz, 2019). While some studies point out that in dual-earner families, husbands put in more time for household work as compared to husbands in the single-earner family, the cause behind this change is actually the reduced time allocated to household work by the employed wife as compared to the stay-at-home wife (Berardo *et al*, 1987). Other studies observed that household work is divided on similar lines as it used to be a century ago (Cowan, 1987).

The literature of difference in time-use is dominated by the studies examining the difference in paid work and unpaid work, but the gendered aspect of childcare and leisure is often ignored (Bianchi *et al*, 2000). Lamb (1987) studies the role of fathers in various European countries and concludes that mothers spend between three and five hours actively engaging with their children for every hour that fathers do, depending on whether or not they are employed. Further, the study estimated that ninety per cent of childcare burden, ranging from planning to organizing, delegating, overseeing, scheduling etc, falls on the shoulders of women, irrespective of whether they are working or not working,

Indian Time-Use Survey: Comparing 1998 & 2019

In 1998, the government of India conducted the first pilot time-use survey in six states. In order to make the sample representative, the survey tried to cover the length and breadth of the country by selecting six states from six different regions, namely Haryana from the north, Madhya Pradesh from central, Gujarat from western, Orissa from East, Tamil Nadu from south and Meghalaya from the north-east of the country. The total number of households surveyed were 18,591. The survey was

coordinated by the Social Statistics Division of the Central Statistical Organization. The geography of India is extremely diverse, and hence, with a view to capture seasonal variations in activities, the field work was spread over one year from July 1998 to June 1999. The study had two main objectives: i) to quantify the economic contribution of women in the national economy; ii) to study the gender discrimination in the household work. A three-stage stratified sampling design was adopted to collect the data where the first stage was the district, the second stage was village/urban block and the household constituted the third stage. Due to various methodological lacunae such as low literacy levels, restrictions on women, etc., the interview method rather than diary or observation method was deemed fit to collect data. Data was collected for three types of days viz. normal, weekly, and abnormal day and the recall period was one day.

All the four UN World Conferences on Women highlighted the under-recognition of women's active participation in the global economy and placed emphasis on the need for better gender statistics. In 2019, finally, India paid heed to it and conducted its first ever all-India time-use survey. Although the methodology adopted by both the surveys is quite similar, there are some points of departure.

Both the surveys have used interview methods for data collection. The two-stages stratified sampling design was adopted for both, where FSU (first stage units) were Villages/UFS blocks and the USU (ultimate stage units) were the households. In both the surveys, information on activity particulars was collected for each household member of age 6 years and above, with a reference period of 24 hours.

However, they departed on certain aspects. TUS 1998 was a pilot and was conducted only in six states, whereas the 2019 survey is an all-India survey. While both the surveys have used interview methods to collect data, in the 1998 survey, 24 hours were split into 10-minute slots while in the 2019 survey, the slots were 30 minutes. In the 1998 survey, only one activity per time slot was recorded, whereas in the 2019 survey, a maximum of three activities per time slot was recorded. (If in a time slot only one activity was performed, the entire duration of that time slot was allotted against that activity-major activity. If in a time slot more than one activity was performed, the entire duration of that time slot was allotted equally among the activities performed in that time slot- minor activity). In the 1998 survey, data was collected for three types of days viz. normal, weekly and abnormal day, while in the 2019 survey, the day for which information on time-use was collected was either a normal day or a day other than a normal day (termed as *other day*). For a household member, a day other than a normal day might arise due to social obligations or some unforeseen reasons like illness, ceremonies, hospitalization of a household member or duties thrust upon them due to an accident, etc. besides weekly off-days, holidays or days of leave. The decision on whether a day is a normal day or other day for a household member was taken in consultation with the informant and considering the routine activities of the household members.

In the 2019 survey, The International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics 2016 (3-digit code) (ICATUS 2016) was used to record 3-digit codes of the activities of the household members. This classification was not used in the 1998 survey. Both surveys recorded the location of the activity and whether the activity was paid or unpaid. However, the 2019 survey provided details about paid and unpaid activities. Earlier the time-use survey of India was criticized for not collecting

information about the context variable (for example, location, for whom, with whom, paid/unpaid). However, 2019 TUS has managed to include some of the context variables but still the gap is not closed completely.

Methodology

The current study used respondents' reported time-use data from two nationally representative time-use surveys conducted in 1998 and 2019. The final dataset for the analysis consists of adults of urban area in the age group 18 to 64. The study classifies the population based on gender, marital status and education levels.

As mentioned above, the 1998 TUS was a pilot survey conducted in only six states whereas the 2019 TUS is an all-India survey. Therefore, in order to compare the time-use scenario, observations from only those six states were selected. Thus, the final data is from six states viz. Haryana from the north, Madhya Pradesh from central, Gujarat from western, Orissa from East, Tamil Nadu from southern region and Meghalaya from north-east region of the country. These states together create a nationally representative data. The 1998 survey collected data for three types of days: Normal, Weekly variant and abnormal day. Nevertheless, normal days constituted about 93% of all the days covered in the survey (CSO, 2000). Whereas the 2019 survey collected data on a normal day or a day other than a normal day. Thus, in order to compare the two waves, the scope of this study is restricted to normal days.

For the calculations presented in this article, the activities included in TUS databases have been divided into three main categories: paid work time, unpaid work time and free time (leisure and self-care). The types of activities that have been included in these main groups are presented in tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix. In order to gauge the impact of education on the patterns of time allocation, education level is divided into two categories: Uneducated (People who are illiterate) and Highly Educated (People with graduate and above education).

Further, this study used Dissimilarity Index (DI), which is an indicator of overall gender segregation of time-use in groups of activities, to capture changes in time use. DI represents the minimum amount of time either men or women need to redistribute to other activities in order to have similar time allocation among all the activities. The DI has a value between 0 and 1. Zero denotes the least amount of difference or segregation between activities; in other words, the proportion of time spent by men and women on each activity under consideration is the same. One, on the other hand, denotes the maximum dissimilarity/segregation.

The dissimilarity index is typically calculated by using following formula:

$$DI = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y} \right|, 0 \leq DI \leq 1,$$

Where x_i and y_i represent the time spent on activity i by men and women, respectively, while X and Y indicate the total time available (i.e. 1440 minute = 24 hours) to men and women respectively.

Gender Dissimilarity

This section presents dissimilarity indices which are calculated for all men and women, for single women and men and for married women and men. Analysis suggests a trend towards a marginal increase in gender similarity of time use among all men and women, as indicated by the decreased value of DI by two percentage points (Table 1). While in 1998, at an aggregate level, more than one quarter women (or men) needed to reallocate their time to other activities for achieving gender similarity in time use, this proportion has decreased to 24 per cent in 2019.

Additionally, data suggests that the impact of marital status on the time use of men and women is quite high in both the periods. The finding supports the common understanding that the way single men use their time is not drastically different than that of single women; however, dissimilarity increases drastically after marriage. Among the single population, DI was 16 in 1998, while it is nearly twice as high in the married population, at 30%. Similar trends can be observed in 2019 with minor improvements.

On this account, the difference in men’s and women’s time has remained the same between 1998 and 2019 with only marginal decrease. However, the dissimilarity index just indicates change in direction but does not indicate the change in the magnitude. Questions such as: Is it that in India women still use their time in a similar fashion as in 1998 and Do men today participate more in the household or have women increased their time allocation for paid activities cannot be answered through the Index. Thus, in order to answer all these questions, there is a need to track changes across different activities. The next section will delineate changes across various activities covering gender, marital status and education levels.

Table 1: Trends in women’s and men’s time-use indices of dissimilarity in urban India, from 1998-2019

Year	All Women and Men	Single Women and Men	Married Women and Men
1998	0.26	0.16	0.30
2019	0.24	0.14	0.29
Change	0.02	0.02	0.01

Source: Authors’ calculation based on TUS India, 1998 & 2019

Trends in time allocation: Differences between men and women

This section seeks to encapsulate the pattern of time-use of adult men and women in India. Table 2 presents trends in average time spent on various activities and changes from 1998 to 2019. The focus of this section is on the average time spent in a day per person on various activities such as paid work, unpaid work, and free time. The paid work is the work which is done for remuneration. The unpaid work is divided into housework, childcare and shopping. Free time consists of self-care time such as sleeping, eating, grooming, etc. and time spent on discrete activities such as recreation, volunteering, communication, entertainment etc. Data reveals that there is a huge difference between urban women’s and men’s time allocated to paid work; however, there is a slight decrease in the gap between 1998 to 2019. In 1998 as well as in 2019, the average time allocated per day to paid work by women was around six hours less than that of the men.

The "time-budget" for each person on this earth is the same. Everybody has 365 days in a year and every day is 24 hours. However, it is obvious that not every one of us can choose to spend time doing the things we relish the most. Therefore, time-use statistics are crucial for examining gender inequalities because they shine a light on how time allocation patterns are shaped by gender roles. Hence, the prevalent gender gap in unpaid work is the missing link to understanding the gender gap in paid work (Ferrant *et al*, 2014). In 1998, women were spending around 394 minutes (6.5 hours) per day for attending to unpaid work which has slightly decreased to 345 minutes (5.7) per day in 2019. The reason behind this decrease can be attributed to reduced family size and the availability of electronic goods to perform household chores etc. But the men spent as little as around 34 minutes (1/2 hours) per day in 1998 and which further reduced to 29.5 minutes (1/2 hour) per day in 2019. If women spent one-fourth of their time on household tasks, it is clear, they have very little time left to allocate to the market.

Further unwrapping of the complex unpaid work reveals various aspects of time related to gender. The lion's share across all the household work and care activities is done by women. In the study period, women's time to men's time ratio in the category of unpaid work has marginally decreased in most of the housework, but increased in childcare activities. The highest disparity among women and men is in cleaning and cooking. In 1998, the time spent by women in cleaning the house was 25 times more than the men which remained unchanged in 2019. In India, the majority of the households prefer home-cooked meals and thus, it is not surprising that a major part of women's time is allocated to cooking. Historically, the responsibility of planning and cooking the meals has been the responsibility of women in the family. Consequently, cooking has been associated with the female identity and ascribed gender roles, so much so that men in India are seldom encouraged to learn how to cook. The time use clearly highlights the tenacity of this ideology even today. In 1998, whereas women did 26 times as much cooking as men, it had declined marginally to 23 times in 2019.

Household maintenance is the only unpaid activity in which men have increased their participation substantially. This includes repair work, vehicle maintenance, paying bills, pet care etc. While in 1998 women's participation in the aforementioned activities was seven times that of men's participation, in 2019 it had plummeted to only two times.

Words like "mother" and "father" are value-laden labels because they not only indicate a person's sexual orientation (in case of a hetero sexual couple) but also specify what role they should play in raising a child. While men are encouraged to take on the role of the provider, women are viewed as caring figures in Indian society and girls are socialized from an early age to become mothers in the future. However, while father involvement in childcare has increased in many countries (Sayer, 2005), over time, it has decreased in urban India.

Two factors are looked at when examining childcare: everyday supervision and teaching/playing. Daily care includes activities such as feeding, cleaning and physical care, medical care, arrangements for schools etc. The teaching and playing category include instruction, teaching, training children, playing and sports with children etc. The findings showed that patriarchal gender norms had a significant impact on parenting in India. On the one hand, the difference in time allocated for daily

childcare among men and women is huge. On the other hand, in the teaching and playing aspects of childcare, the difference is significantly less.

The changes in the time allocated to shopping is quite intriguing. While in 1998, women used to spend 30 minutes per day shopping, in 2019, this time has been drastically reduced to nine minutes per day. The reason behind this reduction could be the advent of online shopping in India due to which people do not have to put aside separate time for purchasing household provisions.

Table 2: Distribution of average time allocated to different activities per day (in minutes) in urban India by gender from 1998 to 2019.

Activity	1998		2019		Ratio (Women/Men)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	1998	2019
Paid Work	476.4	102.5	446.7	98.1	0.2	0.2
Unpaid work	33.8	393.5	29.5	344.5	11.6	11.7
Housework						
Cleaning	4.9	124.0	3.8	96.1	25.5	25.2
Cooking	6.6	171.8	8.3	192.4	26.2	23.2
HH Maintenance	1.8	13.2	2.4	5.6	7.3	2.3
Childcare						
Daily care	6.0	45.7	3.5	29.6	7.7	8.4
Teaching/ playing	3.1	4.3	4.8	10.2	1.4	2.1
Shopping						
Shopping	10.5	30.0	6.0	9.1	2.9	1.5
Total Work*	510.1	496.0	476.2	442.6	1.0	0.9
Free time	929.9	944.1	963.8	997.4	1.0	1.0

Source: Authors' calculation based on TUS India, 1998 & 2019

*Total Work = Paid work+ Unpaid work

Changing time-use patterns and marital status

The institution of marriage is the centre of social life in all communities around the world. Depending on the legal system, religious philosophy, and culture, it may be viewed as a social contract, a religious ceremony, or both. The primary objective of this institution is to transmit cultural norms, financial resources, and prosperity to next generations. Marital status influences various aspects of the life of an individual such as economic, social and also the time aspect. Thus, how someone spends their time can be significantly impacted by the responsibilities of raising a family.

In a society like India, where marriage is viewed as a necessary social event for both men and women to lead a fulfilling life, the importance of the marriage institution increases significantly. However, marriage is a highly gendered institution in patriarchal Indian society, which bolsters the sexual division of labour. For instance, during the incidence of increased time demand from family, usually it is the wife who will respond to such a demand by decreasing her time allocation to paid work (Berk, 1985). The single and married populations are compared in this section to determine the effect of marriage on time-use patterns.

An illustration of the idea that the same institution of marriage functions as a reward for men and a penalty for women is provided by the time-use analysis of the urban labour market in India. Table 3 depicts that in 1998, the gender difference in time allocated to market work among single people was 224 minutes per day while for married it had increased to 424 minutes. The reason behind this marital status variation is twofold. On the one hand, married men had allocated more time for paid work as compared to single men. On the other hand, the gender gap became more intense because married women reduced market work time allocation. Similar trends are observed in 2019 too.

The patterns of unpaid labour that men and women engage in continue to be highly influenced by gender. How much time will be allocated to unpaid work compared to paid work, how much time is spent on different tasks during unpaid work etc, are decided to a large extent by the gender of the individual. In recent times, the proportion of women who are enrolled in educational institutions has gone up in India; for example, in 1989, gross enrolment ratio at secondary level³ was 27 which had risen to 75 in 2019. However, their involvement in domestic work had not diminished in line with this trend; in 1989, single women worked nine times as much as single men did, and this ratio was four times in 2019. This unceasing gender disparity in domestic work is stemming from the prevalent gender stereotype that women are ultimately destined to manage the "grah grihasti" (household). In accordance with the discriminatory gender norms, married women in India are tethered to the home by household duties and undertake 13 times more unpaid work than married men, a disparity that has significantly expanded by 14 times in 2019.

Literature suggests that in many countries (ex. USA) the participation of men in unpaid activities has increased over a period of time (Sayer, 2005), but this change has not appeared in India yet. In 2019, married men on an average spent around 4 minutes and 5 minutes per day on cleaning and cooking, respectively. Interestingly, single men had increased their cooking time from 8 minutes per day to 14 minutes per day over the previous survey. The old saying "Kitchen is a woman's place" pretty well sums up the attitude of society towards these two activities that are deemed as markers of femininity. While it is often argued that the current generation does not support/ascribe to such an attitude, a recent study conducted in 2015 demonstrated that even the current generation too holds these deep-rooted biases. Around 52% of young respondents believe that the primary duty of a woman is to do household chores and to raise children. This establishes the fact that not much has changed when it comes to how Indian society views certain activities as reserved for women

³ Secondary level is significant for Indian women because earlier, women used to drop out after 8th standard due to unavailability of high schools in the village and parents' reluctance to send a girl child to faraway places for education.

Table 3: Distribution of average time allocated to different activities per day (in minutes) in urban India by Gender & Marital Status from 1998 to 2019.

	1998				2019				Ratio (women / men)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		1998		2019	
	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
Paid Work	363.1	519.8	139.2	86.4	338.5	493.6	139.4	80.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2
Unpaid work	23.3	34.1	209.3	435.7	27.2	27.7	127.1	397.1	9.0	12.8	4.7	14.4
Housework												
Cleaning	5.1	4.2	84.3	136.4	5.5	2.7	42.7	109.7	16.6	32.5	7.8	40.5
Cooking	7.8	5.1	90.0	192.9	13.7	4.8	71.5	222.5	11.5	37.6	5.2	46.2
HH Maintenance	1.7	1.7	10.0	14.0	2.0	2.5	4.6	6.0	6.0	8.0	2.3	2.5
Childcare												
Dailycare	0.8	7.7	4.3	55.1	0.5	4.7	1.2	36.8	5.8	7.2	2.6	7.9
Teaching/ playing	0.4	4.1	2.0	4.9	1.1	6.3	2.1	12.0	4.7	1.2	1.9	1.9
Shopping												
Shopping	7.5	11.3	18.6	32.5	4.4	6.7	4.9	10.1	2.5	2.9	1.1	1.5
Total Work*	386.4	553.9	348.4	522.1	365.7	521.3	266.5	477.4	-	-	-	-
Free time	1053.1	885.0	1087.7	913.2	1073.7	918.1	1172.2	961.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0

Source: Authors' calculation based on TUS India, 1998 & 2019

* Total Work = Paid work+ Unpaid work

Educated & Uneducated: A comparison

Globally, the last few decades have seen significant transformations in the gender structures, but despite all the improvements, the juggernaut of gender equality has been stalled (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Gender equality is based on the conviction that women should also have a share in economic development and should also have equal opportunity to access education and employment. However, Paula England argues in the essay "*The Gender Revolution - Uneven and Stalled*" that the gender revolution has only paid attention to one aspect of the revolution and completely ignored the other end of the coin, which is connected to the undervaluation of women's labour. As the low value attached with the work women do has not changed, women have more incentive to join paid work while men have low incentives to join the realm of unpaid work. Therefore, regardless of a woman's employment status, taking care of the household is still her responsibility, and she has to strike a careful balance between that responsibility and her career, while men continue to have the luxury of focusing solely on their paid jobs.

The previous sections clearly established that the gender revolution in paid work never knocked on the doors of India. The participation of women in paid work has always been low and stagnant, especially in urban quarters, and men seldom participate in household work. However, can a route to gender equality in time use be found in education? This section provides a snippet of comparison between how the uneducated and educated population spend their time in urban India.

Women in India seem to be stuck in the mire of low and stagnant participation in paid activities. Unlike many western countries where the instrument of education has facilitated women's entry as well as upward mobility in the labour market, in India, education has failed to have any substantial impact. In 1998, among the unmarried population, the participation of men was twice that of women irrespective of the educational level. Even in 2019, the nation is unable to bridge the enduring gender gap.

Marriage appears to have a greater impact on the labour force participation than the achievements on the educational front. Across both the analysis periods, the time devoted to paid work by married men was four times that of women. Usually, it is expected that women with high education will allocate their time to market work as with high education, the opportunity cost of not working also increases; but in India, the effect of the husband's income is higher. In 1998, uneducated women allocated 123 minutes per day to paid work while educated women invested 127 minutes. However, in 2019, uneducated married women spent 113 minutes and surprisingly, educated married women spent only 97 minutes on market work. The decline in the time allocation to market work might be due to the nature of the jobs available for uneducated women in urban India. The decrease in paid labour hours among educated women after marriage can be attributed to the income impact, since a more educated woman is more likely to marry an educated man with a high salary (Goldin, 1994).

Education has also played a significant role in influencing people's attitudes, values, and beliefs. Data shows that when it comes to paid and unpaid employment, education in India is unable to even scratch the surface of gender inequity. The burden of household work which is the unpaid component of total work falls squarely on the shoulders of women in the household. No matter whether

the woman is educated or uneducated, she is invariably picking up much more than her fair share of household work. Women modify their careers for family life much more than men do.

Women in India devote a significant amount of time to cooking among other home tasks. In 1998, on an average, both uneducated and educated unmarried women allocated one hour per day for cooking while among the married, uneducated women invested three hours and educated women spent two hours cooking. Over a period of time, the time allocated for daily childcare activities such as bathing and feeding the children etc has come down among the educated and uneducated population while time invested in teaching and playing has increased among both the groups. This is an indication that parents in India are aware about the quality of time spent with their kids. However, the increase in time allocated to children's learning activities is marginal for men but significant for women, especially married educated women. This evidently shows that educated women prefer to invest time in their children instead of investing in a paid job.

Shopping is a very significant activity in everybody's lives because of which a substantial amount of time, money as well as efforts are dedicated to this exercise. For some, it can be recreational but some others can find it laborious. In India, the time allocated to this activity has changed drastically across both genders and education groups. Earlier, educated unmarried men used to spend nine minutes per day shopping while married men shopped for around 12 minutes per day which has declined to 5 minutes and 8 minutes respectively. Although shopping is considered as a female bastion, among this demographic group too, shopping time has shrunk. Earlier, educated unmarried women allocated 15 minutes per day and married women spent a whopping 28 minutes per day for procuring provisions for the household; but now, unmarried women are shopping for only six minutes and married women for 10 minutes per day. Similar trends are observed for the uneducated population. The significant reduction in shopping time may be due to the predominance of e-commerce today, where shopping with a click is the norm rather than the exception.

Table 4: Distribution of average time allocated to different activities per day among uneducated and educated (in minutes) by Gender & Marital Status

Activities	1998				2019			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
Uneducated								
Paid Work	445.2	498.2	210.5	123.4	355.1	475.7	143.3	112.9
Unpaid work	28.0	39.4	189.0	411.7	27.2	23.0	178.2	329.7
Household work								
Cleaning	6.6	9.0	71.2	128.4	5.6	2.4	51.4	103.8
Cooking	9.6	8.4	82.2	173.6	12.6	7.2	108.4	200.2
HH Maintenance	0.4	1.1	7.0	15.4	2.6	3.8	1.8	8.7
Childcare								
Dailycare	1.1	8.6	5.2	54.4	0.0	0.4	8.0	1.2
Teaching/playing	0.0	0.7	0.8	1.0	2.6	3.9	3.7	8.4
Shopping								
Shopping	10.3	11.7	22.6	38.9	3.8	5.1	4.9	7.4
Total Work (Paid & Unpaid)	473.2	537.6	399.5	535.1	382.3	498.7	321.4	442.6
Free time	963.9	901.3	1037.2	900.2	1057.2	937.9	1118.0	975.6
Highly Educated								
Paid Work	265.7	488.4	119.7	126.8	331.0	473.3	201.5	97.4
Unpaid work	23.9	37.6	167.6	402.7	27.1	29.5	108.7	386.8
Household work								
Cleaning	4.7	2.5	72.2	108.5	5.6	2.2	33.3	96.7
Cooking	8.1	3.3	71.8	193.8	13.7	3.4	62.9	214.7
HH Maintenance	1.8	1.6	4.2	12.0	1.4	1.8	3.4	5.6
Childcare								
Dailycare	0.6	8.3	1.6	54.1	0.3	5.4	0.9	42.3
Teaching/ playing	1.0	9.9	3.2	9.6	1.1	9.1	2.1	17.1
Shopping								
Shopping	7.8	11.9	14.7	24.8	5.0	7.7	6.3	10.4
Total Work*	289.6	526.0	287.3	529.5	358.1	502.8	310.3	484.2
Free time	1150.1	912.4	1149.3	906.2	1081.6	936.6	1128.7	954.6

Source: Authors' calculation based on TUS India, 1998 & 2019

* Total Work = Paid work+ Unpaid work

Conclusion

Today, we live in a world where Benjamin Franklin's quote – "*remember that time is money*", is more significant than ever before. The modern world is characterized by a fast-moving lifestyle where time is a highly significant commodity. All over the world, policy makers and researchers are interested in understanding how people spend their time in order to understand their lives.

The result presented in this paper suggested that in India, the relationship between time-use and inequality has not improved in the last two decades. The strong grip of public-private dichotomy is

still prevailing where men are dominating the public sphere and women are banished to the devalued private sphere. According to the dissimilarity index calculations, there is a two-fold difference in how married men and women use their time compared to unmarried men and women.

India's performance has been appalling, ranking among the five worst performing nations in the world in terms of economic parity (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2019). It is peculiar that India is still unable to encourage more women to enter the labour industry despite having excellent educational attainment, a declining fertility rate, and other positive factors. The solution to this mystery lies in our understanding of time-use patterns among different sections of the society.

India is a society that puts enduring emphasis on women's involvement in reproductive work, whereby women are appreciated more for their contributions to their families than for their professional accomplishments. These cultural ideals and social expectations inhibit women's progress toward gender parity in both the public and private domains. Against this backdrop, it does not come as a surprise that in terms of paid work, nothing has changed over the past 20 years; women continue to allocate around six fewer hours each day than men towards remunerative work. Additionally, marriage has a detrimental impact on how much time women devote to paid jobs, and following marriage, unpaid labour takes precedence for women. Women's paid work time allocation appears to be negatively impacted by increased levels of women's education. It seems to be counterintuitive that in urban India, uneducated women allocate more time for market work, may be due to economic necessities, and educated women allocate more time to household production.

The good news is that while women continue to do the majority of unpaid labour in Indian households, men are starting to take on a few household tasks like cooking and home maintenance, even though they still despise cleaning. Nevertheless, cultural ideals still persist, and while women continue to perform 23 times as much cooking as men, men prefer less feminine household tasks like repair, bill-paying, vehicle maintenance, and pet-care. The impact of e-commerce can be seen directly on shopping time which has reduced drastically.

Although child bearing is a role exclusive to women, there is a pressing need to recognize that raising children is a joint obligation between both parents. The results demonstrated that parenting in India is significantly impacted by patriarchal gender norms and hence, women continue to be the children's main caregivers. In contrast, father involvement in childcare has grown in many countries while men's involvement in childcare and rearing has dropped in urban India over time. Mother's involvement in daily childcare is around 8 times more than that of the father.

The whole debate over paid work vs unpaid work revolves around women. The demand for gender equality is construed as only providing women equal access to education and jobs. This gender egalitarian view has resulted in an uneven gender revolution wherein women are "allowed" to enter the "male sphere", but what about the "femalesphere"? Despite the fact that women are more educated and employed than ever, they continue to handle the majority of household and familial responsibilities. Ironically, the demand that men should also share the responsibility of the household work is not even part of mainstream public debate in the country. The time-use survey can provide profound understanding about the paid work and have the potential to make unpaid work visible. India's quest of gender equality cannot be fully realized without bridging the gender gap in paid work, which in turn

cannot be accomplished without addressing the lopsided distribution of domestic chores. There is a need to neutralise domestic work as a moral, human obligation and recognise that "cooking and cleaning is a basic life skill, not a gender role".

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Appendix

Appendix A1: Activities included in three main time categories in TUS 1998

Paid Work Market Work	Unpaid Work	Free Time
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - primary production activities - secondary activities - trade, business and services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - household maintenance, management and shopping for own household - care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social and cultural activities, mass media, etc. - community services and help to other household - learning - personal care and self—maintenance

Appendix A2: Activities included in three main time categories in TUS 2019

Paid Work	Unpaid Work	Free Time
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment & related activities - Production of goods for own final use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unpaid domestic services for household members - Unpaid care giving services for household members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work - Learning - socializing and community participation and religious practices - Culture, leisure, mass media and sports practices - Self care and maintenance

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Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India

Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008

E-mail: balasubramanian@isec.ac.in; Web: www.isec.ac.in