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RESEARCH ARTICLE

UNPAID WOMEN WORKER AS DISGUISED EXCLUSION: INVESTIGATING FROM RURAL VARANASI

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ABSTRACT

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Key words:

Unpaid work, Exclusion, wpr, Unskilled labour.

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INTRODUCTION

More than in any other area, it is in the recording of the work done by women that serious inaccuracies and measurement failures occur. As a result, their participation in the economy is undermined. Census after Census, women's contribution has been rendered invisible by failing to quantify their work inputs, especially in agriculture and the unorganized sector. There are basically two kinds of work. Work for which payment is received and work for which no payment is made. Women are known to work longer hours than men and to participate in the work force to a far greater extent than is measured by the data gathered in the census. But a lot of the work they do is unrecognized, leave alone rewarded with equal remuneration. Traditionally, men spend most of their time on tasks for which payment is received or tasks that are clearly within the realm of "economic activity" (Mehta, 2000). However, while a large number of women work outside the home and are remunerated for the work they do, most women spend several hours doing work for which no payment is received. This seems as a disguised exclusion of rural household women from the mainstream of economy. The effort of the present paper is to only investigate this fact from the rural Varanasi.

Concerning Observation

A bench of Supreme Court (Justice A.K. Gandhi and Justice G.S. Singhvi) of India observed that the censuses of India had

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clubbed housewives, sex-workers, beggars and prisoners as non-workers or non-productive workers, leading to a great concern to the court of law and intellectuals. "This bias is shockingly prevalent in the work of census. In the census of 2001, it appears that those who are doing household duties like cooking, cleaning of utensils, looking after children, fetching water, collecting firewood have been categorized as nonworkers and equated with beggars, prostitutes and prisoners who, according to census, are not engaged in economically productive work......". The gratuitous services rendered by wife with true love and affection to the children and her husband and managing the household affairs cannot be equated with the services rendered by others A wife/mother does not work by the clock. She is in constant attendance of the family throughout the day and night unless she is employed and is required to attend the employer's work for particular hours. She takes care of all the requirements of husband and children and provides invaluable guidance to them for their future life..... This approach of quoting women, who are home-makers, with beggars, prostitutes and prisoners as economically non-productive workers Be trays a totally incentive and callous approach to the dignity of labour so far as women are concerned, and is also indicative of a strong, gender bias against women."

The court further observed, "Lack of sensitiveness to and recognition of their work mainly contributes to women's high rate of poverty and their consequential oppressions in society, as well as various physical, social and psychological problems.

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Courts and tribunals should do well to factor in these considerations while assessing compensation for housework who are victims of road accidents and quantifying the amount in the name of fixing 'Just compensation'." (wikigender.org, 2014)

Defining Unpaid-Work

Unpaid work is essentially that work which does not receive direct remuneration. It includes unpaid work that falls within the production boundary of the system of National Account (SNA) as well as unpaid work that falls within the general production boundary but outside the production boundary (Non-SNA) (Hiraway, 2014). The former unpaid work, which is a part of the conventional economy and is expected to be covered under national income accounts, includes three types of work: first, Unpaid family work in family enterprises; second, Subsistence production of goods by households for own consumption and free collection of products, also for own consumption (such as, water, fuel-wood, fish, fruit etc.) (Hirway, 2014).

The latter work, i.e., unpaid non-SNA works, on which 35 percent to 50 percent of total work time is spent by economies; includes duty activities for household upkeep (cooking, washing, cleaning, shopping for own household etc.), care work (care of children, the old, the sick, disabled and others that need care) and unpaid voluntary services. Unpaid SNA work, which is covered under national income accounts, is expected to be visible in national statistical systems (Hiraway, 2014). While unpaid non-SNA work, which is outside the national income accounts, is usually invisible in national statistical systems. This paper presents only facts about unpaid-SNA work.

Other Definitions of Unpaid Work

Unpaid (especially non-SNA) work is viewed differently by many. Some view it at unpaid care that is a constituent part of the care economy. Care can be defined as meeting physical and emotional requirement of dependents adults, children and others. According to Nancy Folbre, care is the work that involves connecting to other people, to help people meet their needs (Folbre, 1995). It is an intrinsic good of development, as it is essential for maintaining the works and for reproduction. Unpaid care refers to the un-remunerated care extended to own household members, relatives and community. UNRISD (2010) has divided unpaid care into direct care (mainly physical care and teaching children etc.) and indirect care (minding children, accompanying them to places etc.).

Indirect care also includes household upkeep. The unpaid care provided by household is the most important part of care, as it keeps family together and nurtures human and social values. Many other scholars place the emphasis of unpaid work as 'work that uses time and energy of household members to produce goods (such as food-meals and snacks etc) and services to raise the well-being of households. As the macro level, this work raises the overall well being of the economy. Unpaid work B productive use of human labour, and it contributes to human capital formation by bringing up children and by nurturing them. It also takes care of depreciation of labour to enable them to go back to work the next day. Unpaid work is therefore on important component of the economy (Hiraway, 2014).

Categories of Unpaid Work

Work for which no payment is received includes two categories of tasks (indiatogethor.org, 2015):

A) Tasks that are considered as necessary for survival but which are not included in "economic activity" and in calculations of National Income in any country, that is, domestic work like cooking, cleaning, child care, caring for the sick or elderly or handicapped. These are arduous tasks that have to be performed on a daily basis and from which there is no respite. These are also tasks that are traditionally perceived as "women's works" or roles within the home, or work of a housewife, that is, women engaged in these tasks are reported as "not working". UNDP's Human Development Report for the year 1995 estimates that once a woman has a child, she can expect to devote 3.3 more hours a day to unpaid household work, while her paid work declines by only about one hour. And a woman with a child under five can expect to put in 9.6 hours of total work every day. Women who work full-time still do a lot of unpaid work.

B)Tasks, which are recognised as economic activity and which should correctly be included in calculations of National Income but are often missed. These are tasks for which no payment is made when they are performed for the family, such as subsistence activities like kitchen gardening, post-harvest processing, feeding of farm hands or hired labour, livestock maintenance, gathering of fuel, fodder, water and forest produce, unpaid labour in family farm or family enterprise and so on. Again, these are tasks that are generally performed by women. Since these tasks are performed together with work that a housewife does in any case, women performing these tasks tend to report themselves as "housewives" or "not working".

Objective and Methodology of the Study

The main aim of this paper is to quantify women's unpaid household work in the rural India and attempts to assess an economic value for it. The specific objectives of this paper are to:

- a. Obtain primary data of socio-economic status of the rural household.
- b. Analyze the average daily time spent by women and man on paid or unpaid work.
- c. Quantify and assign an approximate economic value to the unpaid work performed by rural women in the study area.

The research carried a mixed method study using both the quantitative as well as qualitative methodology. The sample consisted of rural men and women. Two villages of the Sewapuri block (Newada and Karadhana) have been chosen for the study. We had tried to take data from homogeneous group which may represent the rural area of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Data collection was carried out in the month of February, 2015. Simple statistical tool are used for data analysis.

Unpaid Workers – A Review

A number of studies and definitions indicates that unpaid work should be properly evaluated we are giving below only few of the important studies or definition which may support our paper-

Nancy Folbre (1995) suggests that care is the work that involves connecting to other people, to help people meet their needs.

Budlender and Brathaug (2000) tried to evaluation of unpaid work applying input method, under which the labour component of the unpaid work is valued by different market wages rates.

Norrey and Taylor (2000) traced that Unpaid work is also seen as "household overhead time" (HOT), which is defined as the minimum number of hours a household needs to mainstream and manage the household, i.e. the minimum number of hours needed to transform raw materials to consumable goods and to provide clean and healthy environment.

Diare Elson (2008) recommended the triple "R" approach for integrating unpaid work with macroeconomic policies. This approach attempts to integrate unpaid work into the mainstream economy by reducing it an by reorganizing it between paid and unpaid work. Such integration is expected to improve the efficiency of the total workforce on the one hand and reap some macroeconomic gains on the other hand.

Some empirical studies (Folbre and Yoon 2008) indicates that even with economic development, the time devoted to unpaid work does not decline.

Hiraway (2010) argued that non-SNA work is a kind of time tax on women throughout their life cycle. This time tax tends to reduce time for remunerative work, leisure time and time for education and health of women. In the care of poorer sections, this time tax tends to trap the poor and particularly poor women in poverty – both income and time poverty.

In poor countries and poor households very limited time is left for restring for acquiring human capital – education skills, or for productive labour market work (Hiraway 2010).

IMF (2013) observed that in spite of constituting 50 percent (48.49 %) of the population, women's contribution to the conventional macro-economy is very small- in terms of their labour market participation rate as well in terms of their share in high productivity sectors. Women contribute much less than their potential to the economy.

The 19th ICLS resolution (2013) on "Statistics on work, Employment and Labour underutilization" includes non-SNA work a part of 'work'. The resolution defines work a "any activity performed by persons of any age and sex to produce goods and services for use of others or own use except for nondelegable personal services (ILO 2013). United Nations (2013) viewed non-SNA work as violation of basic human nights of women. The top-side distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women violates women's right to equal opportunities, right to nondiscrimination, right to education and health; and right to work. It also violates their right to social security as unpaid workers, right to enjoy benefits of scientific progress and right to participation.

Evidence from Micro Studies (Mehta, 2000)

A plethora of micro studies provide detailed estimates of measurement failure. A few of these are cited below and they show the gross inaccuracies inherent in the statistics given above.

In the 1970s, Jain and Chand found that 20 out of 104 females reported as non-workers in a West Bengal village in the Census, were actually winnowing, threshing, parboiling or working as domestic servants for eight to ten hours a day. Gail Omvedt found 239 women workers in one area where the census counted 38 and 444 women workers in another area where the Census listed 9.

Ratna Sudarshan's work shows that while the 1991 census gave the Female Work Force Participation Rate for Punjab as 4.4 percent, NCAER, during a probe, got 28.8 percent. Swapna Mukhopadhyay's survey of 5,981 women workers in six cities found that the Labour Force Participation Rate of women was four times greater than that stated in the Census. The invisibility of women's work is shockingly clear from the following example. Prem Chowdhry refers to an inquiry into dairy development in Ambala, which reported no female to be a worker in animal husbandry. In fact even a cursory familiarity with agriculture shows, women are very clearly allied with animal husbandry, from bringing in fodder, cutting chaff, preparing food mix for cattle, giving water and feed, bathing and cleaning cattle, cleaning cattle sheds, treating sick cattle, making dung cakes, storing them, making compost etc.

Employment Status in Study Area

The worker population ratio (wpr) according to usual status of our 'Primary data' survey villages are presented in the table 1. Here along with this the wpr of 'India', 'Uttar Pradesh' and 'Varanasi' are also presented for the purpose of comparison.

Table 1. Worker population ratio (wpr) per according to usualstatus of Primary data and All India, Uttar Pradesh andVaranasi District in 2009-10 (in percentage)

People	Primary data ¹			e Primary data ¹ Rural			
	Newada	Karadhana	Total	India ²	U.P. ³	Varanasi ⁴	
Male	51.25	52.77	52.43	54.70	50.40	46.12	
Female	7.58	19.21	16.65	26.10	17.40	19.83	
All	30.99	37.06	35.72	40.80	34.40	33.40	
	1	2 8 3					

Source: ¹Primary data ² ^{& 3} Informal Sector and Conditions of Employment in India, NSSO 66th round, p.p.-76). ⁴Calculated from census 2011 data.

 $wpr = (no of employed people \div no of total population) \times 100$

The wpr in the rural sector of 'Uttar Pradesh' (34.40) and that of 'Varanasi' (33.40) are below the wpr of rural 'India' (40.80). As compare to the above our 'Primary Data' reveal that, total wpr was 35.72, which is higher than the wpr of both 'Varanasi' and 'Uttar Pradesh'. Further, among the two villages wpr in 'Newada' was 30.99 and that of 'Karadhana' was 37.06. In these two villages only the wpr of Karadhana are higher than the wpr of 'Varanasi' district.

The male female wise distribution of worker population ratio (wpr) revealed that, while in 'Rural India' the male wpr was 2.1 times greater than the female wpr, likewise in 'Uttar Pradesh' and 'Varanasi' they were 2.9 times and 2.4 times greater than the female wpr. In comparison to the above, in our 'survey area' also we mark that; the total male was 3.2 times more than the female wpr. Further, specifically in 'Newada' the male wpr was remarkably higher (6.8 times) than the female wpr. This is clear from the above table that women's work participation ratio (wpr) is very low (16.65 percent) in comparison of male (42.43 percent) in the study area. This clearly means that as per statistical figure the rest of 83.35 percent rural women are engaged in either as unpaid work or in some other form of household work. Next table could elaborate this fact more clearly.

Economic Activity (pa+sa) of Population

In table 1 we found women's work participation rate as low as 16.65 percent and the rest of the rural women are engaged in unpaid works or some other types of domestic works (Table 2). Analyzing the status of table 2 we found that almost 74.91 percent of rural women are engaged in unpaid works in comparison of only 15.27 for male (Table 2(i)).

Table 2. Economic Activity of the Survey Area of age 15-59

Economic Activity (primary+secondary)	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Cultivator (Farmer)	7.46	0.36	4.15
Agricultural casual labour	0.11	2.73	1.33
Self employed in nonfarm sector	28.97	5.10	17.83
(businessman & small producer)			
Non agricultural casual labourer	24.92	5.75	15.97
Non agricultural contract labourer	0.11	0.04	0.08
Temporary regular salaried person in private	5.49	0.60	3.21
sector			
Permanent regular salaried person in private	5.42	0.56	3.15
sector			
Temporary regular salaried person in co-	0.25	0.04	0.15
operative sector			
Permanent regular salaried person in co-	-	0.04	0.02
operative sector			
Temporary regular salaried person in	0.63	0.60	0.62
government sector			
Permanent regular salaried person in	2.39	0.40	1.46
government sector			
Other HH activities	1.30	17.52	8.88
Domestic works	1.34	46.46	22.41
Schooling	12.81	7.80	10.47
Schooling with domestic works	5.17	10.41	7.62
Self animal husbandry	-	0.16	0.08
Mendicancy / Beggar	0.11	-	0.06
Other	0.84	0.04	0.47
No any work	2.36	1.05	1.75
Unable to do work, to physical disabilities	0.32	0.32	0.32
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Primary data.

 Table 2 (I). Percentage of Economic Activity as Household

 Unpaid works

Economic Activity	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Cultivator (Farmer)	7.46	0.36	4.15
Other HH activities	1.3	17.52	8.88
Domestic works	1.34	46.46	22.41
Schooling with domestic works	5.17	10.41	7.62
Self animal husbandry	-	0.16	0.08
Total percentage	15.27	74.91	43.14

Calculated from table 2

Result of unpaid work in the study Area

As observed in many cases we find unpaid work s highly unequally distributed between men and women (especially in rural areas). The time use survey, though no universal, national or regular in many countries, clearly indicate that (i) unpaid work is highly unequally distributed between men and women, with women sharing its main burden – in terms of participation as well as the time spent on it (ii) paid work is also distributed unequally with men carrying somewhat higher burden of (3) women carry significantly higher burden of total work (paid and unpaid work) than men (Chorwes, 2008; Hiraway, 2010).

Our study in the rural areas of Varanasi district in eastern Uttar Pradesh also confirms the unequal unpaid work status between men and women. Table 3 shows the reported involvement of men and women in various unpaid economic activity in the rural Varanasi (study area). We observed the table that women are for more involved in unpaid economic activities (domestic activities) than men. Applying the time use method on the basis of personal interview and observation we found that on an average women spent 8-9 hour (8.78 hours as per table) daily on eleven categorized unpaid economic activity and on other side men spent only 2-3 hours (2.94 hours as per table 3) for the same.

 Table 3. Time use of male and female in various unpaid economic activity in the study area

No of activity	Work done	Per day average Work in hour	
		Male	Female
1	Agricultural activity	0.89	1.02
2	Animal Husbandry	0.95	1.09
3	Collecting and Fetching of Household's uses	0.00	0.41
4	Manufacturing works	0.00	0.17
5	Husking, making spices etc. for household	0.13	0.40
6	Cleaning, washing and related works for HH	0.09	2.04
7	Making & serving foods	0.24	3.08
8	Caring of children (included teaching)	0.09	0.37
9	Services	0.12	0.00
10	Training, private or government	0.11	0.00
11	Others	0.32	0.20
	Total	2.94	8.78

Source: Primary data survey

Table also reflects that women spent maximum time in the household for cooking, serving the food, cleaning, washing and related works and caring the children in the house i.e. 5-6 hours on average duty (5.49 hours as per Table 3) and also they spent 2-3 hours outside household's for the unpaid economic activity like agricultural activity, animal husbandry, collecting and fetching of household uses and manufacturing

works etc. (3.9 hours daily as per Table 3). The above facts are also depicted through Graphs 1 and 2.

Gender and Unpaid Work

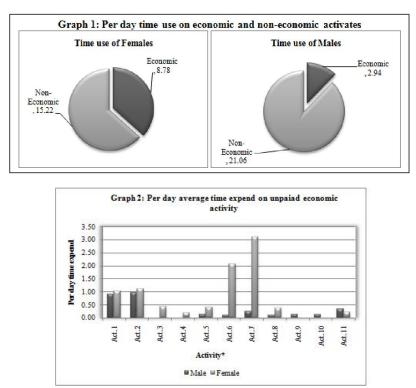
As per interview we found that females got up early than men. Women's day starts at about 5a.m. and ends after 10 p.m. Rural women are for more involved in a range of domestic activities than men and regularly carrying and approximately 33 tasks in which 11 takes can be treated as unpaid economic activities. In contrast men carry less household's task and enjoy more leisure than women. Graph 1 show that males spent their maximum time (21 hours a day) in non-economic activities which includes less use and female spent 15.22 hours as non-economic activities in which very little time is spent on their leisure.

Quantification of Unpaid Work

Earlier we had traced and analyzed the time use of male and female in the study area which reflects that females are more vulnerable and engaged in unpaid work. unskilled labours (Rs. 200/-) for 2013-14 determined by Uttar Pradesh Government.

If the tasks women in the rural areas do for themselves (bathing etc) and leisure time are excluded, rural women still engage in 9 to 10 tasks each day in our study area. When we estimated the per day average cost / value for rural unskilled women we found it as Rs. 219.50 for the rural women and only Rs. 73.50 for the rural men. The main tasks of rural women in the study area was Agricultural activity, Animal Husbandry, Collecting and Fetching of Household's uses, Husking, making spices etc. for household, Cleaning, washing and related works for HH, Making & serving foods, Caring of children (included teaching) etc.

Adding the value of all the 11 tasks in the study area given in the Table 5 female could get Rs. 6585 per month using their time use allotment for the different works.



*1-Agricultural activity, 2-Animal Husbandry, 3-Collecting and Fetching of Household's uses,

4-Manufacturing works, 5-Husking, making spices etc. for household,

6-Cleaning, washing and related works for HH, 7-Making & serving foods,

8-Caring of children (included teaching), 9-Services, 10-Training, private or government, 11-Others

We also found that women are far more involved in domestic works than men. Though it was found that it is difficult to quantify the economic value of women's unpaid work in the rural areas, but for the purpose of our present study a method of calculating economic value based on replacement value was adopted. In this method, the cost of unpaid workers is calculated by the cost of paying someone else based on current wages for comparable work. The calculation of remuneration given in the table 4 is based on per day minimum wage rate of When we estimated the per month average remuneration of male and female in various unpaid economic activity in the study area we found that rural households women are working unpaid for which they could get Rs. 6585 per month for works they usually engaged herself in the various tasks. In contrast rural men are less engaged in unpaid works and also less contributes in the household's works. In our study area men do only $1/3^{rd}$ (Rs. 2205 per month) of the rural women's unpaid work for which we had quantified the value (Table 5).

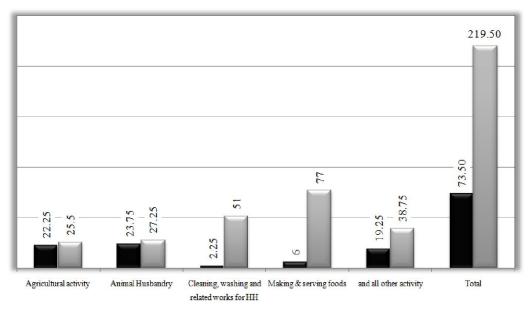
No of activity	Work done	Per day average wages		
		Male	Female	
1.	Agricultural activity	22.25	25.50	
2.	Animal Husbandry	23.75	27.25	
3.	Collecting and Fetching of Household's uses	0.00	10.25	
4.	Manufacturing works	0.00	4.25	
5.	Husking, making spices etc. for household	3.25	10.00	
6.	Cleaning, washing and related works for HH	2.25	51.00	
7.	Making & serving foods	6.00	77.00	
8.	Caring of children (included teaching)	2.25	9.25	
9.	Services	3.00	0.00	
10.	Training, private or government	2.75	0.00	
11.	Others	8.00	5.00	
Total		73.50	219.50	

Table 4. Estimated per day average remune			

Note: 1-The time consume on activities have taken from table 3.

2-The calculation of remuneration is based on par day minimum wage rate of unskilled labours (Rs. 200/-) for 2013-14 determined by Uttar Pradesh Government. (http://www.citehr.com/473332-revised-minimum-wages-uttar-pradesh-pdf-download.html access on 01-11-2015)

3- Per month working day (1/26) and per day working hour (1/8) has been taken. Whereas labour Uttar Pradesh Gov. in 2013 -14, per month working day (1/26) and pr day working hour (1/6) has been determined.



Male Female

Graph 3. Estimated per day remunaration (which is not paid) of male and female in various unpaid economic activity in the study area (in Rs.)

 Table 5. Estimated per month average remuneration of male and female in various unpaid economic activity in the study area (in Rs.)

No. of activity	Work done	Per month average wages		
		Male	Female	
1.	Agricultural activity	667.50	765.00	
2.	Animal Husbandry	712.50	817.50	
3.	Collecting and Fetching of Household's uses	0.00	307.50	
4.	Manufacturing works	0.00	127.50	
5.	Husking, making spices etc. for household	97.50	300.00	
6.	Cleaning, washing and related works for HH	67.50	1530.00	
7.	Making & serving foods	180.00	2310.00	
8.	Caring of children (included teaching)	67.50	277.50	
9.	Services	90.00	0.00	
10.	Training, private or government	82.50	0.00	
11.	Others	240.00	150.00	
Total		2205.00	6585.00	

Note: 1-The time consume on activities have taken from Table 3. 2- The calculation of remuneration is based on par day minimum wage rate of unskilled labours (Rs. 200/-) for 2013-14 determined by Uttar Pradesh Government. (http://www.citehr.com/473332-revised-minimum-wages-uttar-pradesh-pdf-download.html access on 01-11-2015) 3- Per month working day (1/26) and per day working hour (1/8) has been taken. Whereas labour Uttar Pradesh Gov. in 2013 -14, per month working day (1/26) and pr day working hour (1/6) has been determined.

Conclusion and Suggestion

More than in any other area, it is in the recording of the work done by women that serious inaccuracies and measurement failures occur. As a result, their participation in the economy is undermined and seems as disguised exclusion from the mainstream of the economy. Census after Census, women's contribution has been rendered invisible by failing to quantify their work inputs, especially in agriculture and the informal sector. The present study suggests that the value of unpaid work performed by the rural women may be quantified and valued. Rural women continue to be treated as if they contribute nothing of value to society or the nation. Though we experienced that, women's lives have changed rapidly over time. Social, economic and legislative improvements and scientific advancements have allowed women to gain greater control over their lives. But mostly these experiences reflect only in the urban areas.

Unless these trends reach the bottom strata of the society especially in the rural areas, attaining the motive of gender equality and inclusive growth remains an impossible vision. Hence we suggest that adequate recognition should be made of the unpaid works of the rural women to increase their selfesteem and to improve their image in the family and society at large. Also access to and control over production and market resources such as access to training, credit, employment, technical skills, entrepreneurship etc, by women should be increased while recognising that the goal is not to burden women with two full time jobs. We should also take all appropriate measures to ensure that care responsibilities are equally shared by men and women.

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