

## **Gendered impact of Covid-19 lockdown on employment: The case of India**

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### **Abstract**

In March 2020, India imposed one of the strictest lockdowns in the world to contain the spread of Covid-19 pandemic. As the economic activities came to total suspension of economic activity after the imposition of the lockdown, the unemployment rate reached unprecedented levels. As per CMIE data, the unemployment rate increased by nearly 14.8 percentage points in just one month, rising to 23.5% in Apr 2020. However, the distributional effects of economic slowdown have not be shared uniformly. Using panel data, constructed from four rounds of CMIE's unit level employment survey data, I show that the decline in average employment level for women was higher by 28.1 percentage points relative to men during the lockdown period which further worsened to 41.3 percentage points by December 2020 even as lockdown measures were considerably eased.

## 1. Introduction

Given that no vaccine existed when the world was first hit by Covid-19, the fallback option for most of the countries was to resort to varying degrees of lockdown to contain the spread of the virus.

Governments first called on individuals to change their hygiene and social behaviors (e.g., avoiding handshakes, washing hands more frequently, and avoiding social gatherings), and subsequently imposed more stringent and costly protection measures, such as school and store closures, and stay-at-home orders (Fetzer et.al.). These stringent social distancing norms have generally received support from the public as well. Fetzer et.al found in their large-scale survey, covering 58 countries, that most respondents engage in social distancing and hygiene behaviors, and believe that strong policy measures, such as shop closures and curfews, are necessary.

By May 2020 when Covid-19 had spread to almost every country in the globe, 65 countries accounting for 33 percent of the global population were under complete lockdown. Another 69 countries, accounting for, 58 percent of the global population are under partial lockdown where only essential sectors are not allowed to function<sup>1</sup>. It is no wonder that the IMF has coined the term “The Great Lockdown” for the pandemic given that the economy is barely functioning in a whopping 134 countries accounting for more than 90 percent of the global population.

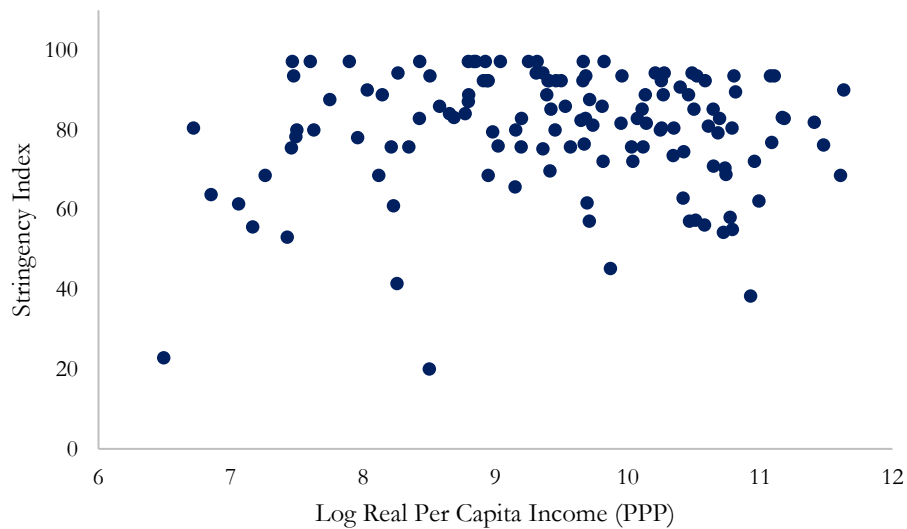
Resorting to a lockdown is not an easy choice, especially for developing countries, as it brings the economy to a near halt. While the richer nations may have the wherewithal to provide safety net to its populations, the same is not true for developing countries with limited resources. As many have pointed out, the choice is not that of life versus economy but of life versus life for these low-income countries. Indeed, we have witnessed the plight of hundreds of thousands of migrant workers in India losing their jobs and lives.

Interestingly, despite the hardship that a lockdown brings to a poor nation, many have opted for it. As we can see in the chart below, poorer countries are as likely to adopt strict lockdown policy as rich countries.

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<sup>1</sup> Although there is no official categorization of complete and partial lockdown, we use the Stringency Index of the Blavatnik Public School to categorize social distancing policies adopted by different countries as either no, full/complete, or partial lockdown. Countries that score less than 60 on a given day are categorized as no lockdown; scoring between 60 and 85 are considered to be under partial lockdown and 85 or above are considered to be under full/complete lockdown.

Figure 1. Income Levels and Lockdown Stringency



Source: Blavatnik Public School and WDI.

Interestingly, the poorer nations have also been quicker, relative to richer nations, in adopting lockdowns. For example, Sudan, Botswana, and Laos had less than 10 confirmed COVID cases at the time of adoption of full lockdown. On the other hand, Spain and France had cases in excess 7000 each before they adopted full lockdown.

What really prompted the poorer countries to embrace most extreme form of lockdown even with low number of COVID cases? It was perhaps necessitated by their poor health infrastructure. Unlike Germans or Koreans, it would not have been easy for these countries to ramp up their testing capacity overnight and provide adequate medical facilities to COVID affected population. As we can see in the table below, 43% countries that are currently are under full lockdown , on an average have lower income levels , and account only for 29% of the total reported COVID cases. However, their share in total COVID death jumps to 40%. Also, early implementation of lockdown may help governments signal their commit to limit the extent of future lockdown in order to support more optimistic investor expectations in the present (*Moser et al*).

**Table1. Income level, COVID impact and social distancing policy**

Lockdown Level	Proportion of Countries	Total Cases	Total Deaths	Per Capita Income (\$)
No	11%	8%	5%	23156
Partial	46%	63%	55%	25460
Full	43%	29%	40%	19759

*Source: Author's estimate based on WDI and Blavatnik Public School Stringency Index.*

As far as the economic cost of imposing a partial or full lock down is concerned, the latest downward revision of growth forecast by the IMF suggest that the cost is going to be substantive. Callum J. Jones et al find that optimally imposed a drastic suppression policy reduces the death rate to 0.15% at the cost of an initial drop in consumption of around 25%.

However, the distributional effects of economic slowdown may not be shared uniformly. The impact of recessions on job losses is often gendered, but not necessarily in one direction (*Deshpande, 2020*). For instance, earlier recessions in the USA (2007-9) hit nonwhites especially hard. African American and Latino homeowners were more likely than whites to default on their mortgages or to experience foreclosures of their homes (Pfeffer, Danziger, and Schoeni 2013; Wolff, Owens, and Burak 2011). These distributional effects mean that different groups may prefer very different policies.

In the case of the Covid-19, initial estimates suggest women are likely to be more vulnerable to losing their jobs compared to men because of the nature of businesses facing extended closure and possible threat of permanent closure (Madgavkar, Anu, et al, 2020). Citibank estimates that of the 44 million workers in vulnerable sectors globally, about 31 million female workers face potential job cuts compared to 13 million men, underscoring that women globally are more vulnerable to losing their jobs during the crisis<sup>2</sup>. In the US, over the course of the first 10 months of the pandemic, women lost more jobs than men as industries dominated by women were hit the hardest (Claire Ewing-Nelson, 2021). Overall, women have lost a net of 5.4 million jobs during the recession—nearly 1 million more job losses than men (Boesch and Phadke 2021).

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-05-21/women-s-job-losses-could-shave-1-trillion-off-global-gdp>

The purpose of this paper is to study the impact of lockdown that India imposed on livelihoods of people through the lens of gender. The intrinsic values of gender equality are uncontested. Gender inequality is not only a pressing moral and social issue but also a critical economic challenge. For the country's 600 million women, the impacts could be long-lasting and more severe than the male counterpart.

This issue of gender inequality in labour market is specifically important for India because even before the pandemic, India had some of the worst employment related gender statistics in the developing world. In 2019, before the Covid-19 pandemic, female labor force participation in India was only 23.5%, according to ILO estimates. To make the matter worse, among India's working women 90 per cent are engaged in informal employment. Workers in the informal sector often do not have any social safety net and are the first to suffer the consequences of an adverse economic shock. The hardest hit sectors during the pandemic include retail, hospitality, and the service industry, which employ a large share of women. Many workers in these sectors are at risk of a permanent exit from the labour market, or of being forced into more vulnerable jobs.

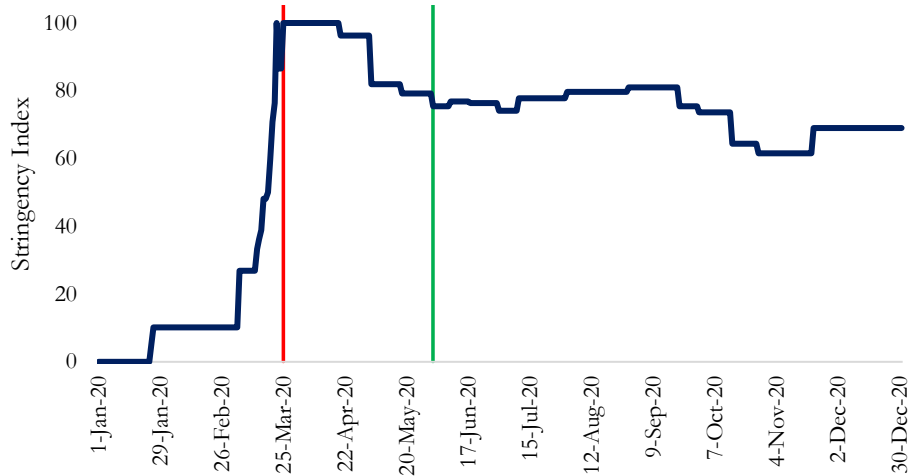
## **2. Lockdown measures in India and its impact on employment**

According to the Stringency Index, developed by the Blavatnik School of Government at the University of Oxford, India imposed one of the strictest lockdowns in the world to contain the spread of Covid-19 pandemic. The lockdown was first announced on 24<sup>th</sup> March 2020 and came into effect from the very next day. At the time of the announcement, India only had 536 confirmed Covid-19 cases and 11 Covid-19 deaths. The lockdown brought all economic services, barring essential ones, to a standstill. It restricted 1.3 billion people from leaving their homes, domestic and international transport services were suspended, educational institutions are closed, and factories are shut down. The lockdown was first imposed for 3 weeks but kept getting to extend with minor modifications and remained in place till 31<sup>st</sup> May 2020. Appendix 1 provides details various lockdown measures and phase wise unlocking guidelines that started from 1<sup>st</sup> June 2020.

I capture these disruptions caused by the lockdown that India imposed through two proxies (see Figures 2 and 3). The first is the lockdown stringency index developed by Hale et al. (2020). This is a subjective assessment of the stringency of government restrictions in each country and date.

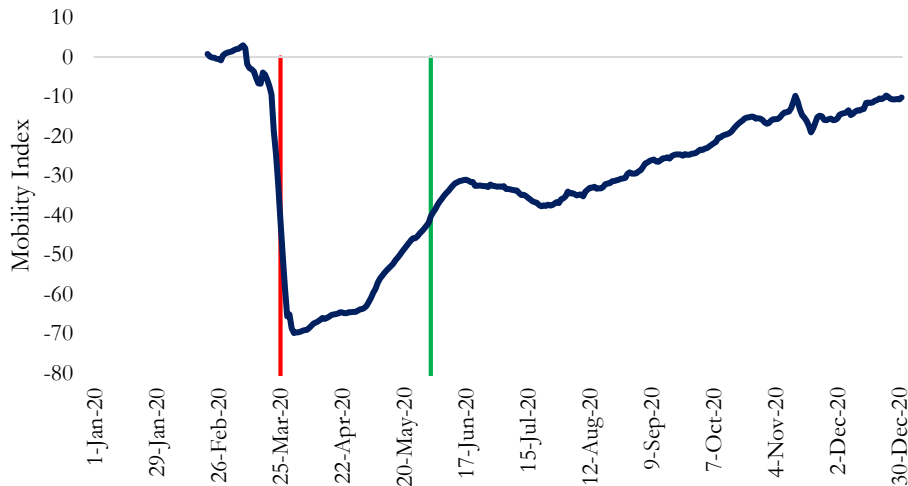
The second is an outcome measure of the reduction in activity and travel as measured by the Google mobility index.

**Figure 2. Lockdown Stringency Index - India**



Source: Blavatnik Public School.  
Note: Red line shows beginning of lockdown and green line denotes start of unlockdown.

**Figure 3. Google Mobility Index - India**

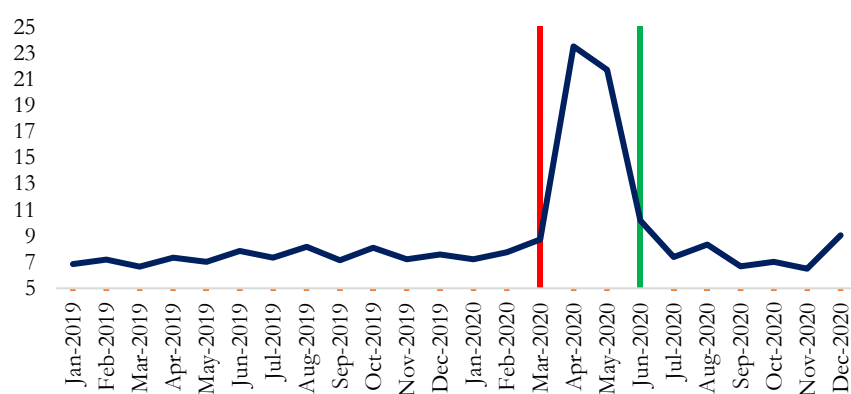


Source: Google LLC.  
Note: Red line shows beginning of lockdown and green line denotes start of unlockdown.

The impact of the lockdown on the economy has been devastating. As the economic activities came to total suspension of economic activity after the imposition of the lockdown, the unemployment rate reached unprecedented levels. The unemployment rate increased by nearly

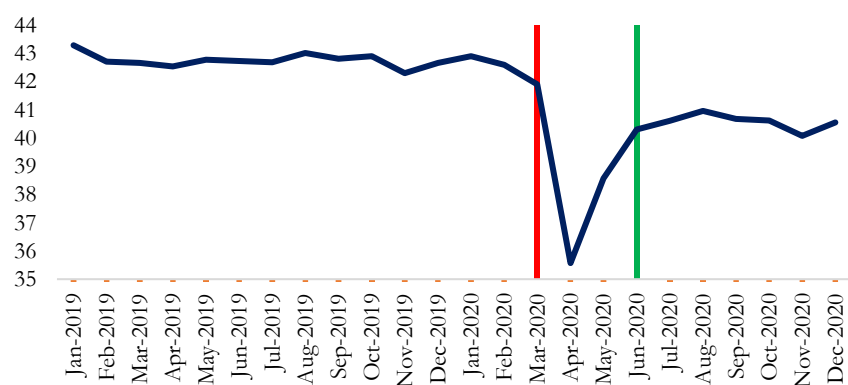
14.8 percentage points in just one month, rising to 23.5% in Apr 2020, according to a survey conducted by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE)(Figure 4). The unemployment rate fell in later months after the lockdown measures were eased and economic activities gathered momentum. However, the normalization of unemployment rate in such exceptional times can be very misleading (Bertrand et. al., 2020). As can be seen in Figure 5, fall in unemployment rate is partly a consequence of labour force participation rate stabilizing at a lower level relative to the pre-pandemic level.

**Figure 4. Unemployment Rate (%)**



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*  
*Note: Red line shows beginning of lockdown and green line denotes start of unlockdown.*

**Figure 5. Labour Force Participation rate (%)**



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*  
*Note: Red line shows beginning of lockdown and green line denotes start of unlockdown.*

Apart from CMIE data, post-lockdown, a large number of independent surveys have been carried out and constitute a valuable resource for analysing the impact of lockdown measures on

unemployment. The Azim Premji University conducted a survey of nearly 5000 respondents between mid-April to mid-May and found that 66 per cent of the workforce in the sample had lost employment during the lockdown. The impact was greater in urban areas than rural (80 per cent as opposed to 56 per cent). The Dalberg also conducted a survey of nearly 25000 respondents in April and May and found that 52 per cent of low-income households had a primary income earner who lost work during the lockdown. The London School of Economics Center for Economic Performance (Bhalotia et. al., 2020) surveyed 8500 workers between the ages of 18 to 40 years in urban India and found that 52 per cent of urban workers had either lost work or received no pay during the lockdown. The NCAER Delhi Coronavirus Telephone Survey (DCVTS)<sup>3</sup> reported that only 32 per cent of casual workers having work in April and May. However, by June this had gone up to 62 per cent.

### **3. The gender dimension of the lockdown effect on employment**

Studying the impact of the lockdown on employment through the gender lens assumes significance as even before the pandemic hit the country, the female labour force participation (LFPR) was declining and was only 20% in 2019. Appendix 2 shows the historical trend of India's female LFPR and the cross-country comparison of relationship between per capita income and female LFPR. There is the more general phenomenon, documented by Goldin et. al. (1995), of a U-shaped behavior of female labor force participation with respect to development. Even accounting for the fact that India is on the downward part of the "U", it appears to be significant negative outlier.

Thus, gender disparity in India's labour market may worsen further if women share greater burden of the lockdown. While the early studies conducted during the lockdown period point to a significant job loss, they do not explore the gender dimension of these job losses in much detail. This purpose of this section is to analyze the gender dimension of distributional impact of sharp increase in the unemployment rate and fall in labour force participation rate post lockdown. This is an important aspect to understand as India stands to benefit significantly if it can undertake policies to reduce gender gap in the labour market. Recently at Davos, IMF chief Christian Lagarde, quoting IMF research, said that women's participation in the workforce to the level of

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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.ncaer.org/event\\_details.php?EID=310](https://www.ncaer.org/event_details.php?EID=310)



men can boost the Indian economy by 27 percent<sup>4</sup>. A McKinsey Global Institute report estimates that improved gender diversity can add \$12 trillion to the world GDP by 2025 and India can contribute an incremental \$700 billion to the global GDP.<sup>5</sup>

Since the official unemployment estimates data from the National Sample Survey are only available for 2017-18, to study this gender dimension of unemployment, I use the nationally representative Consumer Pyramids Household Survey (CPHS) conducted by the CMIE. The following section provides the details of the survey.

### **3.1 Data and methods**

The CMIE has been conducting the CPHS since 2014. The database provides detailed data on occupation, nature of occupation and industry of operation. It provides data on employment status, duration of employment / unemployment status, type of employment in terms of being full-time or part-time, employment arrangement in terms of being a salaried job or self-employment, or daily wage earner's job and place of work. The survey collects information on demographics and employment status including industry and occupation. The Survey is administered on a panel of over 170,000 households across India thrice a year. The survey is typically conducted face-to-face but owing to the COVID lockdown in India after the third week of March, the face-to-face interview format was replaced with a telephonic one, allowing CMIE to continue gathering data. The response rate in comparison to the planned execution during the lockdown was a little over 60 per cent compared to over 95 per cent before the lockdown (Vyas, 2020). CMIE maintains that even with this reduced sample, their data is representative of the population across several dimensions.

To analyze impact of and recovery from the Covid-19 lockdown, I use unit-level data from four rounds of CPHS: Round 18 (September - December 2019), Round 19 (January - April 2020) and Round 20 (May-August 2020). Since, lockdown first came into effect in March 2020, I use Round 18 data as the baseline.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.financialexpress.com/economy/wef-davos-2018-gender-parity-can-boost-indias-gdp-by-27-says-imf-chief-christine-lagarde-norway-pm-erna-solberg/1023835/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/employment-and-growth/how-advancing-womens-equality-can-add-12-trillion-to-global-growth>

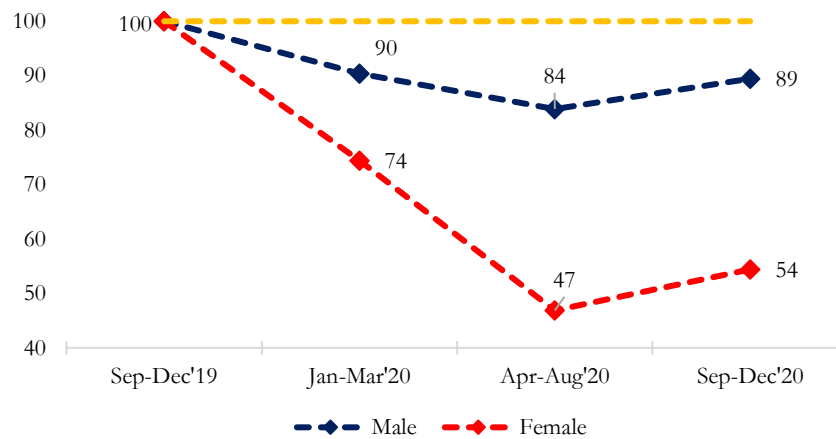
As we are specifically interested in studying the impact of lockdown on employment, I restrict my sample to only those individuals who were employed during September - December 2019 period. Finally, I create a balanced panel of these individuals using the four rounds of CPHS. This balanced panel has repeated observations for 49009 individuals for each of the rounds. enables us to track the employment status through different phases of lockdown. Appendix 3 provides the summary statistics for the sample.

### 3.2 Key findings

Based on the panel data as explained above, I present some key findings on the impact of the lockdown in this section.

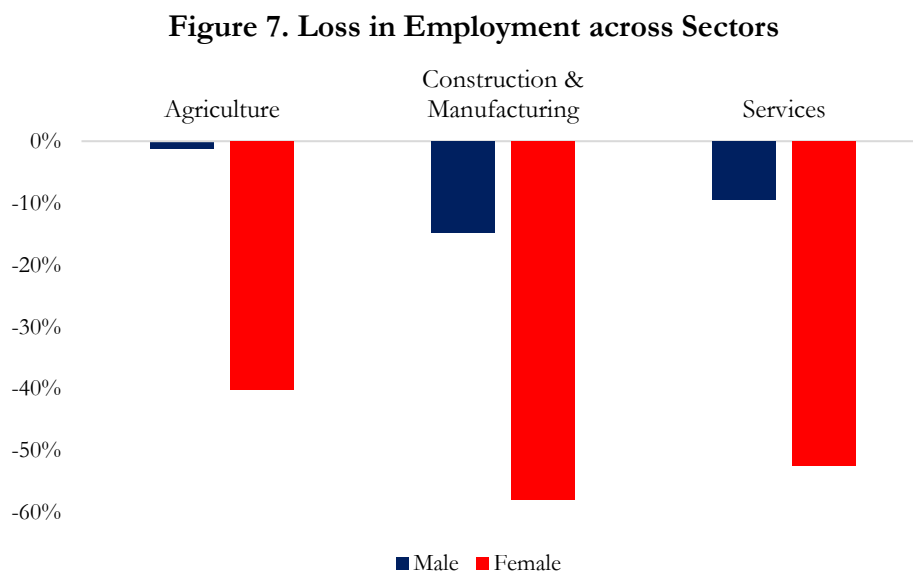
Figure 6 tracks gender-wise employment status pre- and post-lockdown. Two key facts emerge. First, the employment levels have not recovered even after relaxation of lockdown and continue to remain significantly below the pre-lockdown levels. Second, job losses have been much severe for females compared to males. During January-March 2020, 10% men lost their jobs compared to 26% in the case of women. Employment losses peaked during April-August 2020. Relative to pre-lockdown period, 16% fewer males and a whopping 53% fewer females were employed during this period. Employment levels improved but only marginally during September-December 2020. 11% fewer males and 46% fewer females were still unemployed during this period.

**Figure 6. Employment Level Relative to Baseline\***



Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.  
 \*Baseline refers to September-December 2019.

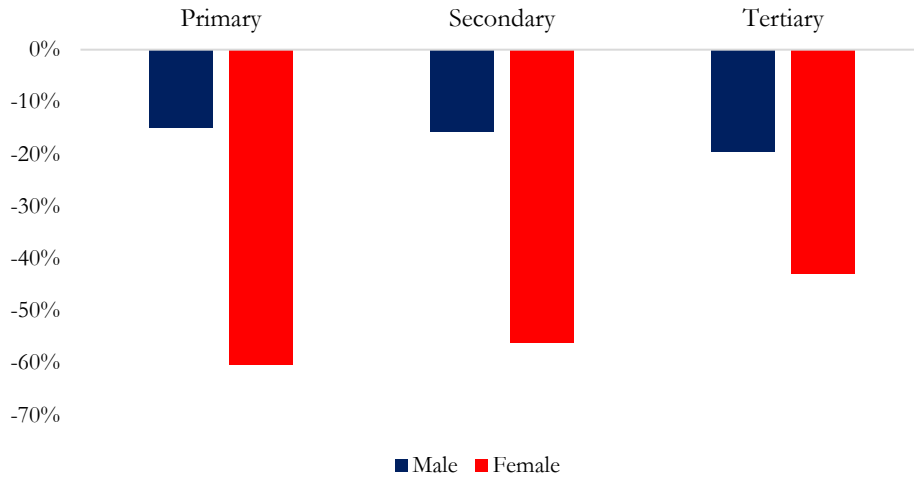
Figure 7 shows the employment losses across major sectors for both men and women. As the job losses peaked during April-August 2020, Figure 7 plots the decline in employment levels since September-December 2019. Again, the disproportionate impact of lockdown on women is striking. In agriculture sector, there was hardly any employment loss for males, whereas for females, employment declines by almost 40%. In construction and manufacturing employment loss was four times higher and in services six times higher for females relative to males during the same time period.



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*

The disproportionate burden of job loss for women is seen across all education levels. Employment decline for women with primary education was four times higher relative to males and the decline was thrice higher in case of secondary and twice in case of tertiary education levels (Figure 8). This disparity in job losses even for women with high level of education is concerning and is indicative of the fact that even in organized sector, women are significantly more likely to lose their jobs.

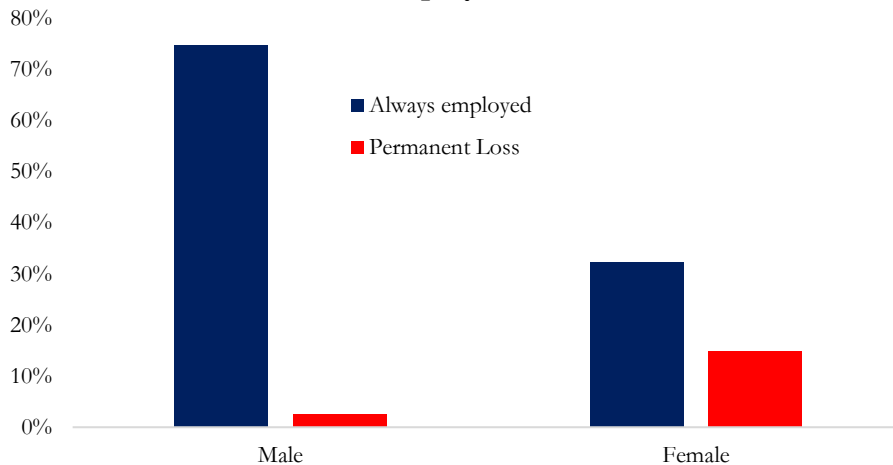
**Figure 8. Employment Loss by Education Level**



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*

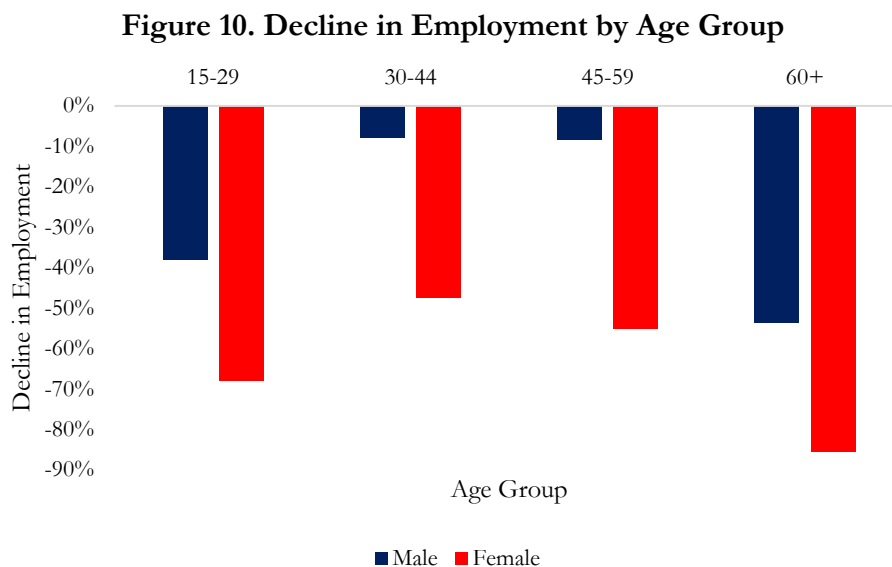
Figure 9 shows two key metrics of the unequal nature of unemployment status. 75% of males were employed throughout September 2019 to December 2020, whereas only 32% females had a job during this entire period. Similarly, only 2% of the male workforce who lost their jobs post-lockdown continued to remain unemployed till December 2020. The corresponding number for females was much higher at 15%.

**Figure 9. No Loss versus Permanent Loss in Employment**



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*

Last, I explore gender-wise age-group composition of decline in employment level between December 2019 and August 2020. Again, consistent with what we saw earlier, job losses for women in much higher across all age groups. Most interesting is the 30-59 years age group where employment level declined by only 8% for men as opposed to more than 50% for women.



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*

#### 4. Regression estimates

To estimate the differential effect of the lockdown and the relaxation in lockdown measure that followed, I run the following regression using the panel data described in section 3.1:

$$Employed_{i,s,m} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(Lockdown) + \beta_2(Recovery) + \beta_3(Female * Lockdown) + \beta_4(Female * Recovery) + \beta_5(Female * Recovery) + FE_{state} + FE_{month} + \varepsilon_{i,s,m}$$

*Employed* is a dummy variable which takes the value of 1 if an individual is employed and 0 otherwise. *Lockdown* is a dummy variable to capture the impact of strict lockdown that government imposed on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2020 to contain Covid-19. Although, the government started to ease the lockdown measure beginning from June 2020, most of the lockdown measures were still in place till August 2020 resulting in minimum economic activities. Hence, *Lockdown* takes the value of 1 if the individual is interviewed during the period January-April 2020 and May-

August 2020. *Recovery* is a dummy variable to capture the impact of relaxation of lockdown measures beginning from September 2020 that led to resumption of major economic activities. It takes the value of 1 if the individual is interviewed during September-December 2020 and 0 otherwise. *Female* is also a dummy variable and takes the value of 1 if the individual is a female and 0 otherwise.  $FE_{state}$  denotes state fixed effect and  $FE_{month}$  captures month fixed effect. Subscripts  $i$ ,  $s$  and  $m$  refer respectively to individual, state, and month. The standard errors are clustered at state level to control for errors being correlated. Notice that I include *Female* only as an interaction term because my baseline sample (August-December 2019 ) only includes individuals who were employed.

The coefficient of interests are  $\beta_3$  and  $\beta_4$  which capture the difference in average change in employment level relative to the baseline period between men and women.

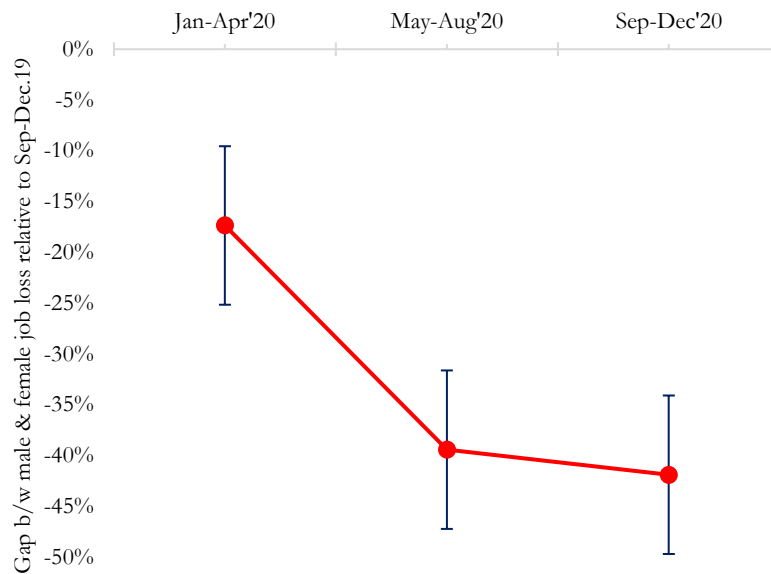
Table 2 shows the regression result. Decline in average employment level for women was higher by 28.1 percentage points relative to men during the entire lockdown period and this gap further worsened to 41.3 percentage points during the recovery phase. Figure 11 is a graphical representation of the coefficient estimates and shows the difference-in-difference coefficient estimates in job losses for women separately for the three survey rounds relative to the baseline period.

Table 2. Regression Coefficient Estimates

	Employed
lockdown	-0.129*** (0.01)
recovery	-0.116*** (0.01)
female X lockdown	-0.281*** (0.02)
female X recovery	-0.413*** (0.02)
constant	1.004*** (0.02)
R-sqr	0.169
Observations	196036

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Figure 11. Excess Employment Loss for Women**



*Source: Author's estimate based on CMIE data.*

The robustness check for these estimates are shown in Appendix 4 where I run a series of regressions that includes additional co-variates to control for individual characteristics such as religion, caste, age, years of education and place of residence. Our coefficient of interests remain significant and the decline in the coefficient estimates are marginal even after controlling for these covariates.

## **5. Conclusion**

India imposed one of the most stringent form of lockdown to contain the spread of Covid-19. It was perhaps necessitated by its population, high density, and poor health infrastructure. While we may quibble about the success of the lockdown saving lives, there is a consensus that it had a significant negative impact on livelihoods of people. As the exit from lockdown starts, albeit slow in pace and differentiated across geographies, it is an opportune time to attempts to understand the differential impact of the lockdown on employment based on gender using balanced panel data of individuals created using several rounds of CPHS data. I find that the employment loss for women post-lockdown is much severe relative to men. At its peak, almost 53% women lost their

jobs compared to 16% for men. Sadly, significant proportion continue to remain out of job even after government started to ease lockdown measures and economic activities started gathering momentum. By end of December 2020, employment level was back to almost 90% of pre-lockdown level for men whereas in case of women the employment level was only marginally over 50%. The paper also analyses the loss in jobs across different dimension such as age, education level, and employment sector finds that women have to bear significantly greater share of the burden. Finally, regression estimates suggest that the decline in average employment level for women was higher by 28.1 percentage points relative to men during the entire lockdown period which further worsened to 41.3 percentage points during the recovery phase.



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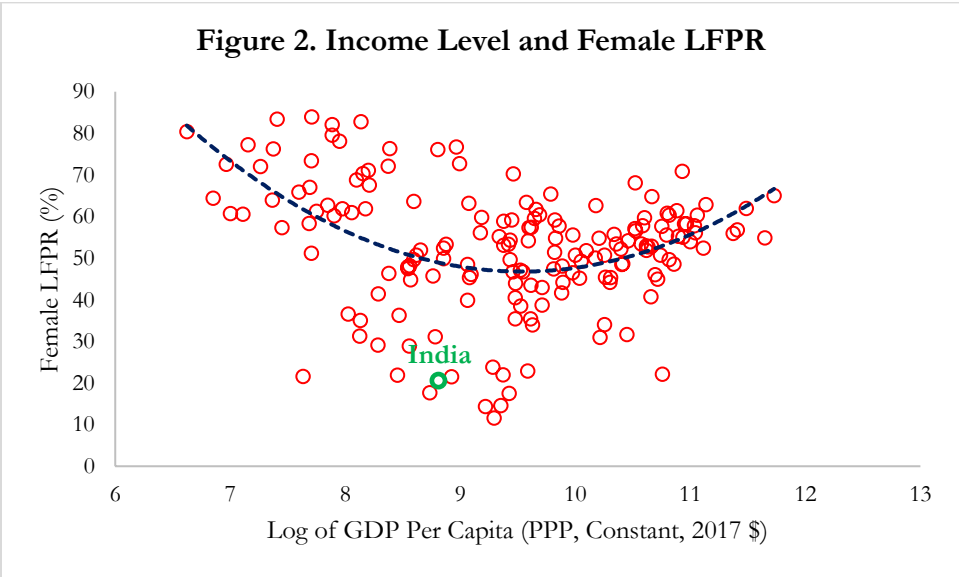
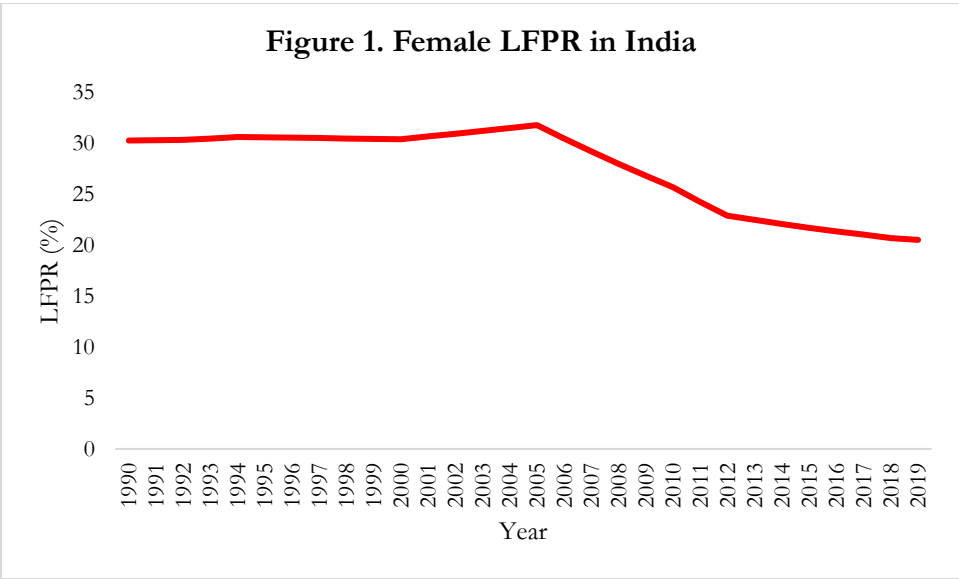
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## Appendix 1.

<b>Lockdown/Unlock</b>	<b>Details</b>
Lockdown Phase 1 (25 March – 14 April)	A nationwide lockdown across India is imposed till April 14, with only essential services kept out of its purview.
Lockdown Phase 2 (15 April – 3 May)	Prime Minister Modi extends the 21-day lockdown to May 3.
Lockdown Phase 3 (4–17 May)	Home Ministry extends lockdown for two weeks starting May 4 with zone-wise restrictions. Divides districts into red, orange, and green zones on the basis of cases.
Lockdown Phase 4 (18–31 May)	Home Ministry extends lockdown till May 31, allows inter-state movement of passenger vehicles, buses with mutual consent of states.
Unlock Phase 1 (1–30 June)	Lockdown restrictions were only to be imposed in containment zones, while activities were permitted in other zones in a phased manner. Centre allows re-opening of malls, hotels, restaurants, and places of worship. Large gatherings were still banned, but there were no restrictions on inter-state travel.
Unlock Phase 2 (1–31 July)	Limited international travel was permitted as part of the Vande Bharat Mission. Shops were permitted to allow more than five persons at a time.
Unlock Phase 3 (1–31 August)	Unlock 3.0 for August 2020 removed night curfews and permitted gymnasiums and yoga centers to reopen from 5 August.
Unlock Phase 4 (1–30 September)	Marriage functions with gatherings of up to 50 people and funereal/last rites ceremonies with of up to 20 people were permitted. Religious, entertainment, political, sports, academic functions, and gatherings of up to 100 people were allowed. Schools partially reopened in several states to enable students studying in Classes 9 to 12 to visit their institutions on a voluntary basis for taking guidance from their teachers.
Unlock Phase 5 (1–31 October)	Cinema halls, that had remained close all this while, could finally be opened from 15 October 2020, with a 50% of their seating capacity.

**Appendix 2.**



### Appendix 3.

Table1. Summary Statistics

	Male	Female
<u>Individual Charecteristics</u>		
Married	82%	88%
	(0.39)	(0.32)
Lives in urban area	68%	62%
	(0.47)	(0.49)
Avg. years of education	9.5	8.0
	(4.16)	(4.78)
Belongs to upper caste	24%	19%
	(0.43)	(0.39)
Hindu	86%	86%
	(0.35)	(0.35)
<u>Employment Arrangement</u>		
Daily wage/ casual labour	23%	28%
	(0.42)	(0.45)
Salaried - Permanent	15%	18%
	-0.355559	-0.380551
Salaried - Temporary	11%	20%
	(0.32)	(0.40)
Self-employed	50%	34%
	(0.50)	(0.48)
<u>Type of Employment</u>		
Full time	99%	94%
	(0.12)	(0.24)
Part time	0%	6%
	(0.05)	(0.23)
Observations	44955	4054

Individuals are the unit of observation. Standard errors for group means are reported in parentheses. 49009 individuals overall, of which 44955 are men.

#### Appendix 4.

I run the following regression:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Employed}_{i,s,m} &= \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Lockdown}) + \beta_2(\text{Recovery}) + \beta_3(\text{Female} * \text{Lockdown}) \\ &+ \beta_4(\text{Female} * \text{Recovery}) + \beta_5(\text{Female} * \text{Recovery}) + Z_{i,s,t} + FE_{state} \\ &+ FE_{month} + \varepsilon_{i,s,m} \end{aligned}$$

$Z_{i,s,t}$  includes set of additional covariates to control individual specific characteristics.

*Urban* is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if the individual resides in urban area.

*Upper caste* is a dummy variable that captures the caste status of an individual and takes the value of 1 if the individual belongs to upper caste and 0 otherwise.

Dummy variable *Hindu* captures the religion status of the individual and is equal to 1 if the individual is a Hindu.

*Age* denotes the age of the individual in years.

*Years of education* captures the level of education of the individual and is set as 0 for individuals with no education, increases progressively from 1 to 12 for individuals between 1<sup>st</sup> standard to 12<sup>th</sup> standard, 15 for graduates, 17 for post-graduates and 22 for PhD holders. Standard errors are clustered at state level.

Table1. Regression estimates

	Employed					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
lockdown	-0.129*** (0.01)	-0.129*** (0.01)	-0.130*** (0.01)	-0.129*** (0.01)	-0.129*** (0.01)	-0.133*** (0.01)
recovery	-0.116*** (0.01)	-0.116*** (0.01)	-0.116*** (0.01)	-0.116*** (0.01)	-0.116*** (0.01)	-0.120*** (0.01)
female X lockdown	-0.281*** (0.02)	-0.282*** (0.02)	-0.281*** (0.02)	-0.282*** (0.02)	-0.282*** (0.02)	-0.279*** (0.02)
female X recovery	-0.413*** (0.02)	-0.414*** (0.02)	-0.413*** (0.02)	-0.414*** (0.02)	-0.414*** (0.02)	-0.411*** (0.02)
urban		-0.019*** (0.0)	-0.020*** (0.0)	-0.021*** (0.0)	-0.021*** (0.0)	-0.022*** (0.0)
years of education			0.000 (0.0)	0.000 (0.0)	0.000 (0.0)	0.002*** (0.0)
upper caste				0.014*** (0.0)	0.015*** (0.0)	0.006* (0.0)
hindu					0.008* (0.0)	0.002 (0.0)
age						0.003*** (0.0)
constant	1.004*** (0.02)	1.019*** (0.02)	1.017*** (0.02)	1.019*** (0.02)	1.012*** (0.02)	0.884*** (0.02)
R-sqr	0.169	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.179
Observations	196036	196036	196036	196036	196036	196036

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

